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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

- 1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
- 2. Open the idle factories-operate them under workers' control.
- 3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
- 4. Thirty-thirty-\$30-weekly minimum wage-30hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs. 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability
- Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- 7. All war funds to the unemployed.
- . 8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
- 9. No secret diplomacy.
- 10. An independent Labor Party.
- Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
- 12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Unity For the Miners

The Progressive Miners Union is headed straight for a blow-up which we hope will lead to a unification of the Illinois coal diggers inside the United Mine Workers of America, the union representing the overwhelming majority of the nation's miners.

The rank and file of the P.M.A., led by genuine progressives, has been at loggerheads with the arch-reactionary international officials of the union, Joe Ozanic and Claude Pearcy, for some time. The dispute came to a sharp climax when the International Executive Board of the union expelled Dave Reed and John Battuello, two leading militants, on charges of cooperation with the U.M.W.

The very issue of their expulsion serves to emphasize the reactionary character of the P.M .-A. officialdom. A few months ago Reed and Battuello joined in a common action with the Illinois district of the U.M.W. to force operators to comply with state mining laws. The action was successful and as a result will cost the operators hundreds of thousands of dollars in the enforcement of these laws-to say nothing of the hundreds of miners' lives that will be saved from needless mine disasters.

What could be more natural than a united front of the two miners' unions on this vital issue? Yet, on precisely this issue the P.M.A. leadership expelled Reed and Battuello. The charge made by the two expelled miners, that the P.M.-A. officials acted in this matter in connivance with the coal operators, has every appearance of truth. Moreover, they present evidence showing that in June, 1939 the Coal Producers Ass'n of Illinois asked for their removal from their local

The expulsion of Reed and Battuello comes only as a culmination to a seven-year reactionary course that has brought disgrace to what was once America's most promising militant union. In full revolt against the dictatorial policies of the Lewis machine, 50,000 Illinois miners broke away from the U.M.W. and formed the Progressive Miners Union in the fall of 1932. They waged a militant strike against coal operators, deputies, Lewis' thugs, National Guardsmen and martial law-a strike that made history in the American labor movement. More than a dozen martyrs stand as an eternal monument to that

But, soon after, leadership of the union was seized by a reactionary group that paraded as militants. In short order they made a mockery of the name "progressive." They kept the P.M.A. out of the unorganized coal fields of West Virginia and Kentucky, thus cramping its growth by restricting it to the narrow confines of the state of Illinois. They expelled the militants and began a red-baiting drive that must have made eyen the Lewis of that time blush for shame and envy, They converted the union organ into a Coughlinite-Huey Long fascist rag that forgot about miners' problems and spent its time railing at "international bankers, jews and communists." Slowly the union dwindled down in membership until only a few thousand miners remained, held by their enduring resentment to the murderous Lewis methods they remember—and because of P.M.A. job control in their mines. But the . There are some things you can't hide.

United Mine Workers staged a great comeback, * enlisting the bulk of the miners in its fold. In Illinois, too, it recouped its fortunes and won the majority of the miners. The P.M.A. was left with a shell.

Meanwhile the P.M.A. officials, at the end of their rope, turned to the Executive Council of the AFL for affiliation. Bill Green chartered this dual union for no other reason than to make trouble for the CIO and John L. Lewis. After two years, with twenty organizers in the field, an enormous payroll and a wretched policy of collaboration with the operators-Joe Ozanic, the union president, now admits "disastrous defeat." The coal diggers still in the P.M.A. are up in revolt. Local 3 with a membership of 550 defied the International and reinstated Reed to membership. Local 1, the most powerful in the union with a membership of 2,200, reinstated Battuello in defiance of the International. And now local after local is demanding that an election for international officials be held within 60 days or dues will be withheld. This is one revolt the P.M.A. skates won't stop by red-baiting and expulsions. The coal diggers are fed up.

Battuello and Reed are fighting the battle of the Illinois miners. Victory rightly belongs to them. We hope this victory will lead to the longneeded unification of the mine workers of Illin-

LAW'S MAJESTIC EQUALITY

Convicted of stealing two loaves of bread-value 20 cents-John Richmond, 22, of Boston, was fined \$25 by Judge Robert W. Frots. Well, if a millionaire had stolen the bread, he also would have been fined!

Hitler's Secret Weapon

The great fear that animated the imperialist powers before the outbreak of war-and animates them still-is the fear that the war would bring in its wake the destruction of capitalism

This is what postponed the outbreak for so long. This is what lay behind the desperate efforts of the British and French imperialists to strike a bargain with Hitler by voluntarily giving him what he threatened to take. This is what | cratic" powers. Only our comrades carry on the still makes them hesitate, even now, before taking what they have reason to believe might be a fatal plunge for all of them.

In his new book retailing Hitler's private conversations with his principal henchmen, Herman Rauschnig, former Nazi leader of Danzig, reveals that Hitler has made conscious use of this

"We may be destroyed," he cried on one occasion, "but if we are, we shall drag a world with us-a world in flames."

Is this, perhaps, Hitler's "secret weapon" of which so much has been heard?

ONE WAY RACKET

When two Minnesota youths were halled before a judge, charged with cheating a pin ball machine by using a magnet to draw the ball into the winning pockets, the judge fined them and ruled that it is illegal to take advantage of the pin ball machine

Can't Hide Cold!

On the same page of the New York Post (February 20) there appear two items with London datelines.

"BRITISH HIDE WAR BUDGET-Even Commons Won't Know Amounts.

"It is neither practicable nor desirable," says a treasury official, "to present to parliament detailed estimates purporting to cover the whole cost of these services. It would not be desirable in the public interest. . . . '

If you would know why it would be "neither practicable nor desirable" then read the following item which appeared under the much smaller headline:

"COALSHORTAGEINLONDONGROWS

"A coal shortage in London and elsewhere in England is reaching an acute stage, it was disclosed today, with widespread discomfort and suffering in the poorer districts.

"Officials said there was no actual shortage of coal but that the winter and war conditions had disrupted transportation."

Undoubtedly it would be neither "desirable nor practicable" for the worker who slaves at sub-standard wages in war factories to know that the reason for their heat-less homes is the billions the government is putting in the war budget.

But even concealing the war budget won't hide the fact that despite the coal shortage there is still plenty of fuel to feed the blazing fireplaces in the mansions of Messrs. Churchill and Cham-

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens == Increased Attacks Against

Our Belgian Comrades? This week United Press carried the following dispatch from Brussels:

"The Cabinet, which met unexpectedly today, was reported to have discussed means of strengthening legislation against persons disturbing internal order. It was believed that the Cabinet was anxious to suppress the activities of communist agitators who, it was alleged, recently provoked strikes, especially among coal miners."

The most recent strikes among Belgian miners were those of the Levant de Flenu company in the Borinage region, the traditional stronghold of our Belgian comrades, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (P.S.R.). Several weeks ago this column reported suppression of the party's legal organ 'La Lutte Ouvriere" and its reappearance under the title "L'Action Socialiste." The paper had to change from the mining region to Brussels. It is consequently safe to assume that the Cabinet action is directed against our Belgian miner com-

Despite all previous attempts to drive them underground, our comrades have shown a remarkable ability to readjust themselves under fire. Their deep roots among the Borinage proletariat have assured the continuity of their work. If their past performance is any indication, they will be able with the aid of their devoted following in the pits to overcome even these latest moves of the government . Their heroic resistance to the war preparations of Belgian capitalism is an example of the vitality of the Fourth International under increasingly difficult conditions.

Only Fourth Internationalists Fight Against War in Canada From Canada we have just received the latest

issue of "Socialist Action," the excellent little sheet put out illegally by our Canadian comrades. Of all the working class organizations in that country, the section of the Fourth International is the only one that is actively engaged in the struggle against war. The reformist Canadian Commonwealth Federation (Second International) has gone completely patriotic under the leadership of its parliamentary whip, Coldwell. The pacifist wing under Woodsworth, which repeatedly wrote a rather strong anti-war plank into the party's program at the Federation's conventions in recent years, has completely capitulated to the war-mongering leadership of its parliamentary representatives, although it has been known to have a majority in the membership. The Stalinist party seems to have disappeared from the field of public action altogether after the switch in line that followed the conclusion of the Stalin-Hitler pact. At the outbreak of the war in September it was still for the support of the "demostrong anti-war tradition of the Canadian work-

In the elections to parliament which are now going on as a result of the dissolution of the lower house by Prime Minister McKenzie King, the C.C.F. is agitating along avowedly imperialist lines. At a recent meeting, Coldwell made the

following declaration for his party, according to "Socialist Action":

"The C.C.F. believes that our national unity, the allied cause and securing a just peace could be served best by limiting our military and naval participation to defense to our own large territory and lands belonging to the British and French adjacent to Canada. That would include Newfoundland, the Bahamas, Bermuda and such islands as Miquelon and St. Pierre."

Allegedly opposing the sending of Canadian troops overseas, the C.C.F. leader makes clear that this is not due to any real opposition to imperialist policy. On the contrary, he appears to be concerned only to obtain the most adequate defense of allied imperialist interests on the Western hemisphere. As against the openly war-mongering policy of the social reformists in the C.C.F. our comrades are participating in the election struggle under the slogans:

"For a Workers and Farmers Government! Expropriate the 50 big shots! For Workers' Control of Production! Down with Imperialist War!"

How British Trade Union Bureaucrats Deal with Opposition to War

In Great Britain the movement of opposition to the war has become particularly pronounced among local trade union bodies known as the Trades Councils which are similar in structure to our own Central Labor Unions. The opposition springs from the growing realization of the rank and file militants that it is they who-by the decline of real wages and the rise in cost of living -- have to bear the burden of a war which is not of their making. Apparently this movement is giving serious cause for worry to the trade union bureaucrats at the top who are, of course, thoroughly patriotic.

Recently they have been going over from worrying to action. What action? They simply instruct local affiliates of national unions under their control on pain of expulsion to withdraw from Trades Councils which have declared their opposition to the war. In other words, they put on the economic squeeze. Thus, for instance, Ernest Bevin, head of the Transport Workers Union, announces in the Daily Herald of December 29:

"Trades Councils that support the 'peace at any price' policy will find that part of the price of their decision is that they will not receive affiliation fees for 1940 from the Transport and General Workers Union. That 'peace' policy is in conflict with the decisions of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour party. The union has a standing resolution to pay money only to Trades Councils and local Labor parties that accept the national policy of the T.U.C. and the Labour par-

Since then, the branches of the Bevin union have been instructed to withhold fees from the Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh Trades Councils. Such blackmail may deal a temporary blow to the workers' opposition to war. But only a temporary one. For the plan of the Chamberlain government to squeeze a major share for the cost of the coming war year from the pockets of the workers will undoubtedly give it a new impulse. The next wave will only be more embittered because of the dastardly steps taken to stem it.

Powers Gird For Spring Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

All these possibilities are obviously closely interlocked. Making due allowances for time lags that might extend into the Fall and possibly even to next winter, it is clear that if a clear-cut military decision is to be sought, hostilities will spread to all the zones mentioned separately above.

The one possible variant is the continuation of the stalemate situation on the Western front proper, with activity confined to large scale use of artillery and aerial

From the Allied point of view the object would be to inflict a decisive defeat on Germany-a defeat decisive enough to unseat the Hitler regime and bring a chastened Reich into the Allied entente for continued war against the Soviet Union.

From the German point of view the purpose would be to exploit they find themselves in. to the fullest extent possible the German superiority in armaments which cannot long be sustained if itself a larger share in the world's spoils as the price of its participation in a joint enterprise

against the U.S.S.R. Stalin's Downfall!

From the standpoint of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union, the entire perspective, in any or all of its facets, spells the utmost peril. It means that Stalin, against his will and against all his instincts of self-preservation, will find himself engaged in major conflict with the powers and saddled tight in the German alliance. Continuation and extension of the war will mean the downfall of Stalin.

From the standpoint of the workers of Russia and of the rest of the world the question is: will Stalin, when he falls, drag the Workers State down with him? Will he go down under the blows of world imperialism, or will he go down under the impact of the Russian working class, aroused by its peril to the defense of its revolutionary conquests?

The answer to that question will be found not only within the Soviet Union but among the masses of soldiers and workers central objective of American imand peasants bearing the brunt perialist strategy is to focus the of the boss war on all fronts war as soon as possible into a across the tortured face of the war of the powers against the

Fear the Masses

compelled, despite their own fears the Russias. If to do this it is for their own rule, to enter into necessary to crush Hitler first, this titanic test of strength, they the Western powers will get all will soon discover the enemy at the aid they need to do so, ecohome. For they will have to exact nomic and military. It is to see if sacrifices on a scale never before this decision is really inescapable seen and they will not exact them that Roosevelt has sent Welles to

even now, well past the eleventh hour, the efforts continue to find a new balance, however precarious, that will somehow dull the razor-sharp edge of the crisis

America's Central Role

American imperialism, represented by Roosevelt, is playing the Allies are given more time to right now a central role in these whip their war machines into efforts. It regards itself as the shape. Through use of its tre- arbiter-in-chief and intends to mendous power in the air and un- use its power to impose a settlerestricted warfare at sea, Ger- ment that will insure its own parmany would seek to cripple the amount rule in world affairs. If Allies and, if not to achieve com- possible it will seek to do so by plete conquest, at least to carve nanipulating its economic weap-

ons, but is preparing steadily for the inevitable necessity for using its armed strength as well, primarily in the Pacific against its chief rival there, Japan.

Zero Hour

In the immediate situation, the Soviet Union, to crush there the spectre of workers' rule and to If our imperialist rulers are perialist bloc the rich lands of throw open to the victorious im-Europe. That is why Welles has They know this. That is why gone on the very eve of zero hour.

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Government

Just What Happens On Election Day?

Election Day next November will be pointed to with pride by defenders of the "American system" as convincing proof that "genuine democracy" prevails in this country. On that day, they will argue, the adult population, of its own free will, without coercion and by secret ballot, selects its own chief executive, together with the other major officials who govern the nation. In the case of the Presidency, all citizens over 21 years of age may vote for anyone he wishes who is native-born and more than 35 years old. What further evidence could be required to show that the people rule themselves, that they have the kind of government which the majority wants to have?

Universal suffrage and the secret ballot are, in truth, precious rights, and no Marxist will advocate abandoning them; on the contrary, the problem in this country is rather to extend them so that they will apply in fact to all, and not be restricted as at present through various kinds of racial and property disqualifications. Nevertheless, a very little examination of what happens on and before Election Day will be enough to show that universal suffrage and the secret ballot are in themselves powerless to guarantee a full and genuine democracy.

How Do Names Get on the Ballot?

The Presidency is the decisive political office in the United States today. The extension of the power of the executive branch of the government during the past two or three decades gives it in practice the controlling power over the most important political and social issues, including power to involve the country

On Election Day, though theoretically free to vote for anyone we wish, the ballot actually prints the names of electors for only from two to five or six candidates for the Presidency. In many if not most States, only two candidates-those of the Republican and Democratic parties-appear on the ballot.

How did those names get there? If the people have no real say about what names they select from on the November ballot, or what policies the men named stand for, then the pretended freedom of choice in November is largely an illusion. It would be like telling someone he is free to select any card he may wish from a deck, but then constructing the deck so that it contained only two's and three's.

The decision about the two principal names to appear on the November ballot will be made at the national conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties, to be held in June and July. Preparations for these conventions are now going rapidly forward. Beinning next month, a series of primary elections will be held in many States to select the convention dele-

It might seem that through these primary elections, the people should be able to control the work of the conventions, and thus decide whose names go on the convention ballots. This is not at all the case. The delegate slates at the primary elections are publicized as if they were men pledged to Roosevelt, Garner, Dewey, Taft, or whoever it might be; but, with the exception of only one or two States, the pledges are not binding. The delegates are in no way responsible to the people who voted for them; they may do anything they please at the conventions. They are almost always hardened machine-men, ready to do whatever they are told. The public pledge to one candidate or another is only a temporary device to attract votes and interest.

So much so is this the case that many of the chief candidates do not even bother to enter slates in the primary elections. Senator Taft, for example, high on the list of Republican possibilities, is steering clear of public primary battles. He is lining up delegates quietly, behind the scenes in the club-houses and com-

Some years ago, many liberal reformers thought that direct primaries for convention delegates would break the backs of the corrupt political machines. A majority of States introduced them. Experience showed that they were seldom a handicap, and often an additional advantage, to the machines. In recent years, several States have abandoned direct primaries, and gone back to the standard method of selection by the State party committees.

Indirectly, of course, popular feeling influences to some extent the selection of candidates. A convention, unless it wants to cut its own party throat, has got to pick a man with a certain amount of mass appeal, who can be put across to the voters. But it remains a fact that in the United States today there is no serious and responsible democratic control over the major political parties and, through them, over the personnel and policies of the government.

A Labor Party and Democracy

There is no mystery in this fact when once we understand that the existing parliamentary and party machinery in this country has as its object not merely or even primarily to express a certain (very minor) degree of democracy, but to limit and restrict democracy within narrow and closely guarded borders. These borders are defined by the property relations of capitalist economy and the interests of the owners of

Inside those borders, some democracy is permissible, at least until capitalism in order to save itself is compelled to resort to fascist totalitarian politics. Outside those borders, attempts at democracy become-"subversive agitation." The parliamentary machinery, the "two-party system," are designed to defend those borders, and thus to limit democratic control by the masses in such a way that it cannot interfere with capitalism.

These general considerations indicate one reason why it is so vain to hope that the workers can ever "use" either the Democratic or Republic parties to achieve their aims: by their very nature these parties are anti-working class, and workers support them only at the cost of making their own aims impossible.

For the workers to get anywhere on the political arena, the first step has got to be to break out of the framework of capitalist—that is, anti-working class politics; specifically, in this country, to break away from both the Democratic and Republican parties, and build a workers' party with a workers' program and workers' candidates. If this isn't done, the choice in November isn't worth the time it takes to walk to the crucial when the real problem is how to get out of jail.