

OFF THE RECORD

By Dwight Macdonald

In a story about the next world war, printed in a recent issue of the English literary magazine, Seven, there is a marching song which today especially has a certain grim point to it. The author of the story is G. S. Fraser, and he introduces the song thus:

"As they marched, they sang a song which had become popular during the war now known as the 'dress rehearsal'—the Spanish Civil War. A singularly ribald composition, it was said to be the work of a young English communist who had fought in the International Brigade. For obvious reasons (it was coarse, brutal, unorthodox), it had not been included in his slim, posthumous volume.

"The song went like this, to a good marching tune:

"Many the skies and the omens above
But few the defenders and feeble the love:
As I passed by Lerida, I heard a man moan:
The beggars, the beggars won't let us alone!

"They regild the saints, they reopen the church.
By our fine-spoken friends we are left in the lurch.
Our cause was most moral, of words we had tons.
But the beggars, the beggars, who gave them the guns?"

"We went to old Stalin until we were sick,
He said we would beat them with dia-lect-ic!
He said that pure logic would see them in hell!
But the beggars, the beggars manuevered too well!

"We went to old Blum, and he spoke very high,
But he thought of Herr Hitler, and left us to die.
There'll be weeping and wailing in Paris cafe.
But the beggars, the beggars, they're well on their way!"

"We went to Old England, her heart is of oak.
But she soon made us feel we were sorry we spoke.

She wrote us some verse, but blockedad Bilbao
For the beggars, the beggars to give us the kayo.

"O, all you fine rebels, whose guns go rantan,
I am a poor sod of a Government man.
I fought till I blistered, I walked till I austed.
But of all the damned beggars, you aren't the wust!"

Gas Masks and the Class War

All over England these days the ominous letters, A.R.P., are blazoned on billboards, sprinkled through the news columns, discussed over tea tables. A.R.P. means "Air Raid Protection"—a series of measures which have so far been put into effect with neither efficiency nor enthusiasm. A certain Sir John Anderson recently stated publicly: "People write as if we ought to aim at making war safe for civilians. My opinion is that we cannot make war safe for civilians." Sir John's opinion was heard all over England: he is Chamberlain's Minister for National Defense. The reason for Sir John's apathy is the simple fact that in England, as in the other great democracies, nine out of ten citizens are not "people of importance," i.e., people of enough property to make any difference—except to themselves—whether they are blown to bits or not. Those who can pay for it have all the A.R.P. they want, and of the very best quality. Even in the

gases issued by the Government to civilians the class lines are sharply drawn. I am told by a returned traveller that there are three types of masks, costing respectively \$5, \$2.50, and \$1.00. Every Englishman is free, of course, to buy whichever of these he likes. ("How just are the laws of the Republic," said Anatole France, "which with stern impartiality forbid the wealthy as well as the poor to steal bread and to sleep in the parks.") But somehow the well-to-do generally end up with the \$5 type, which is a really excellent commodity; the petty bourgeoisie with the \$2.50 type, which is reasonably effective; and the great mass of workers and unemployed with the ninety cent type, which loses in a month or two such slight protective value as it originally had. My informant also told me that in a recent London slum fire, a tenement dweller put on one of these cheap gas masks to fight his way through the smoke and flames. He was found later, asphyxiated.

"Suffer the little children..."

Last Sunday's New York Times carries a revealing story on another aspect of A.R.P. in our sister democracy across the sea. The A.R.P. officials estimate there are 2,000,000 children in London and other cities who, in case of war, must be moved out into the countryside if they are to escape being bombed. They have been trying to find refuges for some of these children in the great English country estates. "The protests," comments the article, "may seem surprising to any one laboring under the impression that Britain is a democracy on the style of the United States or France. . . . Most British children living in the cities are poor. And as a Suffolk doctor put it very neatly in a letter to the editor: 'Children from working class areas in the towns will not fit in with middle class or upper middle class families in the country. Their ways are completely different.'"

A hunting squire in Gloucestershire "urged the government to remember that slum children would not be happy in the country but would prefer the desolate South Wales mining towns—more like what they were used to." Viscount Hallsham, until a few months ago Lord Chancellor, asks a whole series of "legalistic questions," one of them being who will pay him for damage done his property by the children. The United Ratepayers Advisory Association has organized protests in 150 tax districts. Its slogan: "THINK OF THE DANGERS—DIRT, DISEASE, THEFT, VANDALISM, IMMORALITY, AND STRIFE!" Nonetheless, the article concludes in a more cheerful vein, "most of the better off are quietly preparing to put children either in cottages or in a separate part of the house where there is no good furniture to be scratched." The Duke of Connaught, great-uncle of the King, has been pressed into service by the Prime Minister, who "felt it expedient to ask the royal family to show that such things are 'done'." The Duke has announced that he will allow 200 Cockney kids to find shelter in his country home. The article hastens to add: "His youngsters, to be sure, will not be admitted to the Duke's house itself but will be put up in servants' cottages. . . ." The Duke of Connaught suffers the little children to come into him—but by the servants' entrance, please.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

Out of the Past

By Emanuel Garrett

IRA STEWARD

(March 10, 1831 — March 13, 1883)

Connecticut-born, Ira Steward at the age of nineteen went to work as an apprentice machinist, working twelve hours a day. One year later his bosses fired him for his peculiar views," to wit: twelve hours a day was too long a working day.

What is more, Ira Steward was outspoken about his views to which he added the additional "peculiar" twist that eight hours a day was more than enough for a working man. And that, in the 1840's and 50's, was indeed a "peculiar" proposal.

Steward and the 8-Hour Movement Were One

To the cause of the shorter work-day, Steward devoted the rest of his life. Indefatigably, he pressed the shorter day, sparing himself not at all, with the result that the movement in the United States for the ten and eight hour days was, properly speaking, one and the same with his life and activity. During his lifetime he served as organizer and president of the Boston 8-Hour League and the National 10-Hour League, as well as active participant in other labor organizations.

A delegate to the convention of the International Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths which met in Boston in 1863, he proposed and obtained the passage of a resolution calling for the 8-hour day—the first such resolution adopted in the United States by an important labor body. Thereafter, constantly agitating, speaking, propagandizing, his proposals secured an ever widening basis of support.

It was largely through his efforts that the first effective 10-hour law was passed in Massachusetts. And later, when the 10-hour day had by no means yet become established practice even formally, it was through the tireless efforts of Steward and his co-workers that the 8-hour day was accepted by various localities and industries, if only in limited application.

Shorter Work-Day Not An End in Itself

Eventually, the fight for the shorter work-day became part of the program of every trade union and social reformer. With Steward, however, the shorter work-day was not an end in itself. For him it was the focal point of an attack on the whole system of capitalist society. Shorter hours would result in higher wages; higher wages would compel improvements in technique, and would give the workers an ever increasing share

in the national income of the country; the progressive reduction of working time would allow for the absorption of all unemployed workers, thus keeping wage levels high; and in time the workers would be in a position to buy out the capitalists and institute socialism.

Today, in the light of working class experience and the teachings of the great socialist leaders, Steward's program was, to say the least, inadequate. As a program for overthrowing capitalism it bordered on the ridiculous; it nowhere fully considered the process of capitalist overthrow, and certainly overlooked the detail of boss unwillingness to yield power.

But, in a general and very one-sided way, it did nevertheless posit the absolute necessity for the working class to fight for better economic conditions and indicated the trend of capitalist society towards concentrated production and improvement of technique—essential economic bases for the future socialist society. These are now accepted facts; in those days they were novel and significant. Especially so, since at the time he worked, it was a popular opinion among many of the so-called socialists that it was futile to ask for higher wages because these could not be won under capitalism.

Urged Organization of the Unskilled

Beyond his specific philosophy of social change, Steward's activities contributed considerably to the early inculcation of socialist ideas in the American labor movement. Hardly a pioneer of American socialism in the strictest sense (he had been preceded by Joseph Weydemeyer and scores of others), many "firsts" are associated with his name. His work was perhaps more fruitful than that of most in establishing the identity of labor's economic struggles with the ultimate socialist goal.

In a day when the trend of labor organization was directed towards the skilled workers, he urged the organization of the unskilled. With members of the First (Marx's) International in the United States he founded in 1876 the International Union of Labor—the first really sizeable move towards organizing the unskilled workers.

Steward's writings were few. Works that he planned remained unfinished at the time of his death. But in his speeches, in the articles he wrote for various journals, above all in the movements he created or helped build, we have a record of an important period in American labor's fight for better conditions and emancipation—one in which Ira Steward served as leader and teacher.

British Sole Gainers In Palestine Scheme

(Continued from Page 1)

dence from the Indian masses, the rulers of the Arab kingdoms, whose delegates are working hand in glove with the British in London, are still trusted by the Arab workers and peasants. While in India the native capitalists have lost the leadership of the Congress Socialist movement to the Congress Socialists, in Palestine a clique of reactionary landowners and capitalists still hold undisputed sway over the mass movement.

It must be said bluntly that the main cause of this backwardness of the Arab nationalist movement is that the struggle, instead of being centered against British imperialism, has been diverted to the conflict with the Zionists.

Want Deal With Britain

The present reactionary leadership of the Arab nationalists have welcomed this diversion. This clique neither desires nor would benefit by independence from Britain. It wants only what the ruling caste in Egypt and Iraq have: a juicy junior partnership with Britain as senior partner, in the common exploitation of the Arab masses. Its basic interests are, therefore, in conflict with those of the Arab workers and peasants, whose miserable living standards can only be bettered by putting an end to Britain's blood-sucking of the wealth of the Arab world, by putting an end to the monstrous taxes and rents paid for the back-

breaking privilege of tilling the soil, etc.

This basic conflict between the Arab leadership and the masses who still follow them has been cleverly obscured by a deliberate policy of turning Arab wrath away from Britain to the Jews. Not British rapacity and the vicious landowning and taxation system, but Jewish immigration and land purchases have been held up by the Arab leaders as the cause of the masses' misery and poverty.

Zionist "Ulsterites"

This policy could never have fooled the Arab masses so long, however, had it not been facilitated by the insane policy pursued by the Zionists of every hue. Staking everything on proving their usefulness to Britain, the Zionist leaders sought to build a "loyal Jewish Ulster" amid the revolting Arabs, and as a result have brought down upon themselves a hatred among the Arabs as deep as that of the Irish Republicans against the "loyal" to Britain—Ulstermen. The Arab masses do not discriminate between the Zionist Revisionists, who propose to use "physical force" against the Arabs, and the regular Zionists, bourgeois or "socialist," who propose to establish a Jewish majority under the protection of British bayonets—and the Arab masses are right, for every wing of Zionism is hostile to Arab freedom from British rule.

The Zionist policy is particularly reprehensible because it has been clear for decades that no amount of servility toward Britain would secure in return a Jewish state in Palestine. The Zionist leaders cry, "We are betrayed," because the British document proposes to wipe out the League of Nations mandate of 1922 which directed Britain to establish a "Jewish National Home." But — to mention none of its previous moves against the Zionists—on October 20, 1930, the Passfield White Paper which Zionist leaders then correctly described as a complete annulment of the Balfour Declaration of 1918 pledging England to aid the establishment of a Jewish Homeland. Stephen S. Wise described it as designed "to undo and eventually destroy the Jewish National Home."

Passfield White Paper Stands

At that time, the Zionists declared that withdrawal of the White Paper was the minimum condition of restoring Jewish faith in British intentions. But the paper was never withdrawn. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald gave the Zionist leaders a face-saving letter, on February 13, 1931, which Weizmann and others hailed as "modifying" the White Paper, but the plain truth was that Zionist fund-raising had collapsed after the issuance of the White Paper and MacDonald's letter, which he himself declared in Parliament did

not modify the Passfield document, was "interpreted" by the Zionists to revive the stream of contributions from American Jewry.

It simply never occurred to the Zionist leaders to reorient away from Britain: "The tragic aspect of our situation is that though a Government has failed us, we dare not court irretrievable failure by falling the British," wrote a leading Zionist, Gershon Agronsky, then.

But irretrievable failure has come precisely on the road of courting Britain.

Great Opportunity

A magnificent opportunity awaits any section of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine which would, once for all, recognize that collaboration with Britain is hopeless, and turn boldly toward collaboration with the Arab workers and peasants. Such a step would enormously speed up the process of separating the Arab masses from their present reactionary leadership.

Accepting the minority status which the Arabs demand, such a Jewish group could thereupon submit the British proposal to sharp exposure of its imperialist and anti-independence content, and thereby speed the crystallization of an Arab worker-peasant leadership. Only an alliance between the Jewish workers and the Arab masses can save the Jewish community in Palestine.

HOLLYWOOD MERRY-GO-ROUND

Nothing is more suited to the purposes of a capitalism bent on war than the popular art mediums. Commanding the popular avenues of entertainment, capitalism is wholly able to pervert their use to its own diabolical ends. In a period when mass unrest is widespread and when war is offered as the only solution to mitigate its woes, capitalism makes every possible effort through the facilities at hand to head off the gathering discontent and to enable its macabre adventure on the battlefield.

For capitalism is utterly cognizant that material preparations for its war are not enough. Equally as important and pressing is the setting of an appropriate mood among the masses. And thus, while Washington rumbles ahead at breakneck speed to erect a titan military force, Hollywood is not far behind in its special effort to impose a star spangled attitude of acquiescence among the masses.

Academy Award Is Case In Point

The best symptom of what is yet to come out of Hollywood is revealed in this year's awards of the Academy of the Motion Picture Industry. For the first time since it started making its annual awards, the Academy this year introduced an award for the best pictures dealing with patriotic subjects. Naturally, almost needless to say, the award went to Warner Brothers.

A glance at the production schedules reveals that Warners has for immediate action before the cameras another service picture while Universal announces a cadet picture featuring its child stars. Nor are the other studios asleep. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer has all but clinched the rights to "The American Way," which can only mean that with its usual superlativeness, Metro will do the Kaufman play in those celebrated technicolor pastels: Red, White and Blue. Functioning independently, no less a person than Chaplin is engaged in shooting the "Dictators," from which farce, it is safe to assume, will emerge another long yell for Yankee Doodle Doo and Democracy.

Foreign Films In Same Key

As for the foreign cinema, it too is no slouch in the matter of patriotism, nor any the less aware of its responsibilities to the Fatherland. Most recent of the French films is a Sasha Gultrey crippet entitled "Champs Elysees," a sentimental, nostalgic, not very droll, historical cavalcade which ends just short of a waving tricolor. The much renowned and anointed "Grand Illusion," despite the blurb that goes with it, is anything but anti-war. Although we have come to expect a higher level of cinematic excellence from the French films, the acute situation that prevails in Europe cannot but result in a degeneration to panegyric and flag waving on the screen.

In short, it will become more and more difficult to enter a theatre without having a national anthem thrown at you. So that the best that one can do on entering is to check one's faculties with the usher and dig in for a noisy evening of bang-up buncombe, bunting and bugles.

Nat Levine.

S. W. P. Leaflet To All Jewish Labor

A four-page leaflet in the Yiddish language, calling upon the Jewish workers to unite with all militant labor in the struggle to smash fascism, has just been issued by the Socialist Workers Party in connection with the huge counter-demonstration it called to picket the recent Madison Square Garden meeting of the Nazis.

The Jewish capitalist and social-democratic press, it will be recalled, took a cowardly position towards the Nazi mobilization, calling on its readers to stay at home and refrain from attending the counter-rally. The S.W.P. leaflet attacks this attitude, as well as the sabotaging position taken by the Stalinists.

The leaflet has already been distributed in thousands of copies in the city of New York and is also available for distribution among Yiddish-speaking workers throughout the country. Branches are requested to order bundles of leaflets from the National Office of the party. They are priced at \$2.25 a thousand copies.

Labor Skates Back Mayor Kelly in Chicago Primary

C. P. Paper Boosts Man Responsible for Steel Strike Massacre

Since the article printed below was written, Mayor Kelly has won the democratic nomination in the primaries. As explained in the article, Mayor Kelly's nomination, which in Chicago is equivalent to election, was aided by the combined efforts of the labor skates and the Stalinists.

By ALBERT GATES
As the Chicago mayoralty primary draws to a close it appears more certain now that Mayor Kelly will win the Democratic nomination and Dwight Green the Republican.

The campaign of Bill Thompson is almost non-existent, and in addition to the silence of the press in respect to his candidacy, he is certain to lose.

In the Democratic fight, however, during the early days of the campaign, Tom Courtney was conceded an even chance to win over Kelly.

Labor Skates Back Kelly
What has turned the tide? The intervention of organized labor in support of the mayor. The active campaign in behalf of Kelly now carried on by both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., the latter through Labor's Non-Partisan League, has become little short of a scandal.

Within the last two weeks the labor-skates in the Kelly-Nash-Arvey machine have finally succeeded in rallying a large number of local unions to their support. Every day a new list of labor unions who have endorsed Kelly is published. The Executive Committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor through John Fitzpatrick has denounced Courtney publicly and called upon the organized labor movement to support Kelly.

Forget Steel Massacre
Labor's Non-Partisan League pursues the same policy as the A. F. L. Kelly's conduct during the massacre of the striking steel workers in 1937 has been completely forgotten. No more mention is made of the fact that during the great wave of sit-down strikes in Chicago, it was Kelly's police who broke them up by a concerted campaign of brutality toward the strikers. In the first weeks of the primary, L. N. P. L. did not openly advise voting for Kelly, but they did tell the workers not to vote for Courtney or Green.

As the voting drew near this straddling position gave way to open exhortations to vote for the regular democratic machine ticket.

Finally, there is the Communist Party and its mouthpiece, the Mid-West Daily Record. Its conduct is far more scandalous than that of the labor-fakers only because its pretensions are mightier. Passing off as a working class party the C. P. plays the game of labor's misleaders with a great deal more experience and finesse than its union counterpart.

The Chicago Stalinists have their own mayoralty candidate in

the person of Jack Johnston. This is an outright piece of fakery since his candidacy is more a matter of form than anything else. Aside from a speech or two made by him in his own favor, few know that he is a candidate. The Daily Record hardly mentions his name since all space is devoted to Mayor Kelly.

Heretofore the C. P. and the Daily Record, following a nationwide practice, without in so many words calling for support of Kelly, denounced Courtney as an enemy of the New Deal, progress, peace and democracy. It is true that Kelly was at all times pictured as the champion of all that is progressive, honest, virtuous and beautiful. It was discovered that he is labor's champion, the enemy of reaction and the business interests. By inference, Kelly was presented as Roosevelt's man.

And this was strengthened by biographical sketches showing that some twenty-five or thirty years ago Kelly had actually worked for a few weeks. Need one have any more proof that Kelly was the friend of the working man?

But on Feb. 28, the Daily Record published its special local election issue and no longer equivocated. Kelly, the murderer of striking steel workers, was "labor's choice" and the labor movement was called upon to cast its vote for him.

The issue contained paid ads of Kelly candidates. Column after column was devoted to praise of his machine and his aldermanic candidates. In addition to the paid ads, the Daily Record published a list of its own selections of "labor's" candidates and almost the entire list was culled from the Kelly-Arvey-Nash machine.

The Daily Record has been experiencing financial difficulties and its campaign for sixty thousand dollars has been falling far short of its mark. Yet good copies of this special Kelly issue were distributed free! Reliable information has it that the Kelly machine paid for this issue!

In addition, it has been reported, that hundreds of Kelly's precinct captains have been compelled to subscribe to the Daily Record! There, no doubt, is the pay-off. This fact is borne out by precinct captains who visit workers' homes carrying copies of the Daily Record. They exhort these workers to vote for Kelly on the ground that he is labor's friend and labor's candidate. The proof is in the numerous columns devoted to Kelly in the Daily Record!

Play Ball

All in all it is a happy arrangement between the infamous Kelly-Nash-Arvey machine and their Stalinist bootlickers. Kelly no doubt realizes that in his fight against Courtney he requires every possible vote and he is prepared to play ball not only with the trade unions but even with the Stalinists. He wants their backing because it may mean the

On the Way to the Trenches

Good news for the French worker: The French Academy of Medicine urges the government to begin now collecting blood which will be kept in reserve for operations required by wartime injuries. Is it also proposed to set aside a reserve of arms, legs, heads?

The War Department has asked the House Appropriations committee for additional funds to enable the opening of three more offices connected with the Military Intelligence Division of the army in South America. Colonel E. R. Warner McCabe, chief of the Military Intelligence, explained that the principal mission of his staff was "to obtain the information on foreign

countries necessary for the proper formulation of our defense plans. To accomplish this mission we now have thirty-two officers detailed to twenty military attaché offices maintained abroad." Military Intelligence is, of course, a high-faluting term for spying. (Sh!)

At the same time that British naval estimates for the current fiscal year were announced (\$600,000,000 to be spent on new warships), it was disclosed that next year's would in all likelihood be larger. Special attention is being given the Australian, South African, Canadian and Hong Kong "defense," according to the Admiralty.

BARRIO IS NAMED PRESIDENT, BUT HE PLAYS SAFE

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blow against those who wish to continue the fight against Franco. It asserted that "the political machinery of State, Parliament, high representation of parties, etc., has disappeared within Spain."

It also asserted that "the chief of the Central General Staff," apparently Mija,—"told me in the presence of the Council of Ministers that the war was irremediably lost for the republic."

Azana also asserted that the government "counseled and organized my departure from Spain" after he had proposed to make peace with Franco. Coupled with his statement that recognition of Franco by England and France "deprives me of the international juridical representation necessary to make heard to foreign governments" his proposals for peace, it indicates that the Loyalist cabinet "counseled and organized" Azana's departure in order to have him try to get England and France to act as intermediaries in arranging peace.

Moscow and other forces which treacherously advised the Spanish Loyalists to stake everything on currying favor with the Anglo-French imperialists, continue to give unsolicited advice to those wily foxes, Chamberlain and Daladier. Editorials appearing in Moscow on March 1 deplore Anglo-French recognition of Franco as "short-sighted and weak-kneed," the Journal de Moscou, organ of the Soviet foreign office, exhorting Anglo-French imperialist attention to the "threat to British and French imperial communications" involved.

Appearing as the defender of margin between victory and defeat—and, he is prepared to pay for it. There is no doubt too, that the Stalinists received this little remuneration, no matter in what form it is given, because it fits in perfectly with its pattern of betrayals of the working class.

The great task of the workers in Chicago, as elsewhere, is the establishment of a strong party of their own, an independent labor party, representative of its interests.

"national interests" against the narrower interests of British capitalists, British Labor Party spokesman Attlee shouted at Chamberlain in the House of Commons: "What does it mean to the government if Gibraltar is in danger if we get the Rio Tinto dividends?" (The reference is to the copper mines in the Basque country.)

CARIBBEAN NAVAL MANEUVERS AIM AT INTERVENTION

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and larger in the business and military speculations of Uncle Sam. The Lima conference, the addition of some twenty-odd military attaches to Latin American consulates, the increase of the Military Intelligence force in the lands of our good Southern neighbors—all these, and more, attest the determination of Wall Street's agents to step into the South American picture with an armed show-down in mind.

Afraid of Masses
Germany and other countries have for some years been gradually increasing their business hold in various of the South American nations. England has for long been a potent factor. And for as long a period the U.S. has tussled with these different competitors for control of the markets, and consequently politics, to the south.

But Roosevelt is more afraid of a peasant and proletarian uprising in South America than of any amount of business competition. One is a death thrust at American boss-dom; the other injures it, but leaves it breathing. Hence the particular character of the "games"—to determine what the U.S. would do in the event of a revolution. And it is quite obvious that "good neighbor" Roosevelt not only has in mind the trumped up "revolutions" which are financed by one or the other of the powers, but a real and bona-fide revolt of Latin America's deeply persecuted masses against all the imperialist powers.

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