

The Role of McAdoo - - - -

By JAY LOVESTONE

No one can yet tell how many political futures will crash and how many mighty careers will tumble as a result of the Teapot disclosures.

But if nothing else is achieved by the investigation in its coming labors, it has already caused irreparable loss to one of the most harmful forces in American working class political life. Aside from shedding welcome light on the true nature and role of our government, the oil revelations have dealt a mortal blow to that last gasp of American liberalism, to that half-hearted, weak gesture of the last episode in our liberalism as exemplified by the first Wilson administration.

The exit of Mr. McAdoo from the arena of national politics is significant not so much because one of the strongest figures has been removed from the scene of struggle but because that most poisonous toxin of sham liberalism, as personified by McAdoo, has been fatally impaired as a decisive force for misleading the workers.

McAdoo Served Oil and Steel.

It is not the exit of Mr. McAdoo as an individual that history is con-

cerned with, but the fact that his being unmasked as an agent of the biggest business interests is, to a tremendous extent, precipitating the collapse of liberalism in our political conflicts.

Whoever falls into oil today, falls into bad odor. Anyone who pours oil on his political waters is bound to raise a devastating storm for himself. It is not difficult to understand the hasty retreat that the McAdoo forces are now beating.

Steel is supposed to be king today. It is often said that this is the steel age and our culture is a steel culture. McAdoo, the liberal pretender, has been found to serve the steel interests.

Finance capital, thru its merger, with industrial capital, is the czar of our capitalist system of production and exchange. As Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo turned over the Federal Reserve Board, which is the heart of our circulatory system of commodity exchange today, to such powerful banking and manufacturing groups of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; J. & W. Seligman and Co., and the International Harvester Trust.

To the political innocents at home and abroad it might appear paradoxical that the oil, steel, and banking interests should put their trust in a liberal phrase-monger like McAdoo. We find it easy to explain this seeming contradiction. In the final stage of capitalism, the stage of imperialism, the role of liberalism and civil peace, the role of class co-operationists and industrial democracy schemers, in the class struggles, is to serve as the handmaid of the uppermost crust of the financial and industrial class in its perpetuation of the vilest outrages against the masses. Thus it was that many liberal apologists of individual enterprise and cabinet social-democrats become the wildest Chauvinists and militarists during the war.

Under capitalist-imperialism the class conflicts between the employers and the workers invariably draw in the state—the government in all its numerous ramifications. The state, posing as an arbiter, pretending to act in the interest of all society and above any of the contending classes, serves as a political, social and economic strike-breaking agency.

Particularly in such conditions it is necessary to hide the class character

of the state. Consequently, it is obvious that liberals of the McAdoo and Wilson stripe and social-patriots of the Ebert kidney become the best statesmen and saviors of capitalist world imperialism. Hence it is perfectly easy to understand how it comes about that oil, steel, and financial capital should have chosen Mr. McAdoo, the idol of one of the skilled, upper layers of our working class, the railway men, to do their bidding against the whole mass of expropriated workers and farmers.

In the role of rendering the most invaluable service to the imperialists—that is, in the role of blinding the workers to the character of the government—no one could have served the exploiting class better than, or even as well as did Mr. McAdoo, the Crown Prince of the regime of the liberal Wilson.

And nothing could have dramatized more vividly and brought into bolder relief the exit of McAdoo and the crippling of McAdooism in the immediate political struggles of the workers than his exposure as the loyal servant of that most unholy trinity of the capitalist dictatorship—oil, steel, and finance capital.