

Political Situation Traced by Lovestone in Workers Party Plenum Report

FOURTH INSTALLMENT.

(Continued from yesterday's Daily Worker.)

"Now, as to the political situation in the country. There has developed in the United States a tremendous state apparatus. The growth of state power from McKinley to Coolidge is a reflex of the growth of the power of American imperialism. There are today over 550,000 Federal civil service employees, that is, exclusive of the army and navy. The Federal government appropriations for last year were about three and a half billion dollars. Politically, the imperialists need a powerful, gigantic, highly centralized apparatus to crush the workers. But even strikebreaking costs money under capitalism. Financially, it is an extreme burden, a burden of increasing pressure. Here the bourgeoisie face a contradiction.

"The increasing strike breaking role of the government is obvious. In 1927 \$.82 out of every dollar of Federal expenditures went to pay the cost of past, present and future wars of American imperialism. We notice the increase in the executive power and in the judiciary at the expense of the elected legislative bodies. For instance, the House of Representatives has charge of appropriations, but it is an obvious fact that one of the biggest appropriations in the history of this country—the Teapot Dome—was made by the cabinet. The Senate is supposed to have power over foreign affairs. But the Senate does not even get a chance to talk over foreign affairs. Notice the shutting off of the debate on Nicaragua.

Merging of Capital and Government.

"In America more than in any other country in the world is the merger of big corporate capitalist interests with the government leaders clear. Nowhere in the world is the oneness of big business and big capital so obvious. The other day Mr. Coolidge made a slip of the tongue. In speaking to the newspapers he said 'President Hoover.' Now Mr. Coolidge, who is ordinarily silent, has issued an order that newspaper correspondents have no right to ask him questions, even on paper. The very fact that Hoover is spoken of as the most likely candidate for president, Hoover, who is a millionaire, shows that the bourgeoisie of this country are functioning openly as the leaders and do not resort today to camouflage. Dawes as vice-president is a banker. Mellon is the leading figure of the cabinet. Morrow is the 'peacemaker' for Mexico. Government by lobbies—that is the real situation in Washington. Corruption—Sinclair, Fall, Burns—these are commonplace affairs in American government, except that these happened to miscarry.

"The Supreme Court decision on stock dividends declaring in 1920 that stock dividends are not taxable has brought about a condition where every year in the last seven years the bourgeoisie have had declared a billion dollars in stock dividends—seven billion dollars, in all, free from taxation.

"The power of big capital is decisive today. But there are signs of growing divisions in the ranks of the capitalist class over such problems as agricultural relief, foreign policy, the aggressive imperialist

policies which cause a tightening of the grip by the big bourgeoisie and therefore bring resistance on the part of other layers in the capitalist class. The increasing centralization of state power and the problems of the present depression, these are the basic forces making for change in party alignments in the United States. For example, the 'Solid South' today is certainly cracked wide open insofar as the tariff question is concerned. Senator Bruce of Maryland and Senator Broussard of Louisiana (the sugar interests) are in favor of higher tariff than the most protective tariff senators from New England.

"Here lies the basis for sharpening issues. Here we find the basis for the Norris-Borah bloc recently developing somewhat more clearly on an organizational scale. In speaking of the Norris-Borah bloc we must keep in mind the fact that these representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie will try to capitalize the working class protests for their own interests.

"Reaction is supreme in the United States, though the challenge to reaction too is increasing. No capitalist class in the world has so much consciousness of its class power, has so much class pride as the American ruling class. Secretary of Labor Davis says openly, 'The United States rules the world.' McKenna of Great Britain says the world is now on a dollar basis. This may be slightly vulgarized, but it is very painfully true for Great Britain. Lloyd George says if it were not for American loans to Italy, Fascism would have disappeared from Italy long ago.

"The arrogance of American im-

perialism is so marked as shown in the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti despite the protests on a world scale, not only by workers but even by capitalists, who tried to utilize that occasion for developing opposition to American imperialism. This insolence is further shown by the fact that in such a center as New York immediately after the Sacco and Vanzetti case they resorted to another frameup in the Greco-Carrillo case.

"Recently the Supreme Court declared that railways are not responsible for accidents—automobile accidents on grade crossings. This is another attack in the interest of the biggest capitalist group as against the interests of the smaller, petty-bourgeoisie. We must understand the technique of our ruling class to understand the present political situation. The American capitalist class is very skilled in splitting up its opposition forces. It tries to form alliances with the farmers. It buys off the petty-bourgeoisie now and then. High priced technicians are drawn in as an integral section of the ruling class. That is why the reform parties are disappearing even locally.

"The general ideological reaction in the country is marked in the recent wave of Fundamentalism, the increasing number of laws passed in various States against the teaching of evolution, fraudulent attempts at purifying the stage, and last but not least the tremendous military and naval budgets.

Offensive Against Workers.

"The climax of capitalist reaction, however, is shown in the offensive against the working class. Take certain Supreme Court decisions.

The decision involving the Journeymen Stonecutters' case, which is a decision denying the workers the right to have unions which are effective organs of struggle. The decision in the 'Reed Jacquet' case against the United Mine Workers of America, which tends to legalize the yellow dog contract, the unanimous upholding of the California Criminal Syndicalism Law even by such pure liberalism as Justices Holmes and Brandeis voting with the reactionary group in the Court. Note the injunction mania.

"The smash the union drive has been most extensively in the UMW. The war on the left wing by the bureaucracy is an integral part of the whole offensive against the workers. Take the needle trades situation, the situation in the United Mine Workers, and last but not least the Woll Anti-strike law endorsed and pushed by the American Bar Association, which constitutes a sort of a third chamber in American government.

"A few words about the political parties. The Republican party is the party of the biggest industrial and financial interests. The fact that Hoover, who is supported by the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, and endorsed by Governor Fuller of Massachusetts, is the most likely candidate for President, shows the real reactionary heart and structure of the Republican party.

"The Democratic party: Proportionately the democratic party has a larger share of its following amongst the middle and petty bourgeois elements and even among certain sections of the working class. Here Smith is the possible nominee or even

a probable nominee of the democratic party for the presidency. Ex-Congressman Lever has put the question of Smith very accurately when he said: 'Smith is good enough for big business and knows how to speak the language of the people.' Smith's New York record is as reactionary as anyone's can be. Our position is that we must wage an especially sharp attack against Smith because of the serious danger of large sections of the trade union bureaucracy mobilizing the 'labor vote' for Smith.

Now as to the Norris-Borah Bloc. In our opinion it would be more correct to call this bloc the irregular, rather than the insurgent republican group. This bloc arises at this time thru the wavering of certain elements which followed LaFollette and after his defeat went back to the republican party. These elements are now wavering in their support of the dominant capitalist interests in the republican party. The sharpening economic recession, the acute agricultural crisis, the increasing imperialist aggression and the consequent burdens of militarism—these are the forces making for the organizational form of the Norris-Borah bloc today. But there is very little likelihood of the Norris-Borah bloc splitting in the coming year. There is no likelihood. They are cowardly. They are treacherous. They work today, as always, objectively as props for big capitalist domination. Notice their conduct in the organization of the senate when Shipstead, registered as a farmer-laborite, voted as a republican for the moment in order to help Curtis and Dawes organize the senate for Coolidge.

"A few words about the socialist party. We mention the socialist par-

ty next because the socialist party is closest to the parties of big capital in the country. The socialist party is moving headlong to the right. It has sold out boot and baggage to the trade union bureaucracy. Berger's being the national chairman is a sign of the extreme right trend of the socialist party. Berger's remarks in which he compared Bolshevism to fascism show the extent to which the socialist party leadership has been incorporated in the trade union bureaucracy. The plan of reorganization being worked out by Hillquit for the socialist party, not on a shop or street nucleus basis, but on a republican and democratic ward club basis—no dues payments. You can have your dance if you join the socialist party. This shows the extreme degeneracy of the socialist party.

The resolutions of the last meeting of the National Committee when they proposed arbitration between Nicaragua and the United States in which they proposed that the government, that the federal government, should be criticized because it is not butting in enough in the coal strike situation—not enough thru injunctions. Then there is the attack on the Soviet government by the socialist party. Today there is no excuse for any worker supporting the socialist party. The socialist party is today only seeking to exploit the misery of the working class for vote catching. Here we must lay special emphasis. We must say that the socialist party may, because of the increasing signs of struggle on the part of the masses, resort not only to left phrases but even resort to the nomination of a candidate of the type of Maurer in order to attempt to deceive the workers more effectively. (To Be Continued.)