

THE POLITICS OF THE 'NEW DEAL'

by Jay Lovestone

(Continued on last page)

4. *Maintenance of legal powers of the parliamentary weapons.* It would be a fatal error to conclude that the New Deal proposes to thrust aside the legal powers of parliamentary weapons as is done in Fascism. The New Deal definitely proposes to, and does, continue the system of parliamentary legalism.

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The Role Of The State

5. *Strengthening the illusion about the state as a sacred power.* It is basic with the New Deal to develop a halo around the State as a sort of a saviour, a sort of a sacred power, which shall prove omnipotent where the best individual brains have completely failed. Thus, the New Deal piles mask upon mask on the state, smears the state apparatus with coat upon coat of camouflaged desperately tries to have the state appear as a gentle, humane power and not as a brutal, smashing, frontal of-

fensive machine, as in the case of Fascism. Around the Constitution being torn to shreds, is rewoven the most sacred illusion. We have a paradox of the "Forgotten Man" President, of the President swung into office by the so-called radical block actually rebuilding the government structure to suit big business. In recognition of these past services, as it were, the New Dealer, "hides" his real face behind a mask of sham liberalism. A well-known Washington correspondent has drawn this picture of the whole show: "A poetic statistician estimated that after forty-nine days in office, Franklin D. Roosevelt possesses, is seeking and has been offered more absolute power than the sum of the arbitrary authority exercised at various times in history by Generals Washington, Lee Grant and Sherman Presidents Jackson, Lincoln and Wilson and all the Emperors of the Ming Dynasty."

All of this tinkering has been done, of course, within the framework of the Constitution. No apostle of the New Deal will say that the Constitution has been put

into the ice box but every student of politics must recognize that the Constitution has been republished on India rubber in order to increase its flexibility, and utility in the interest of the biggest business.

6. *The so-called international outlook.* The New Deal is stepping out of the dilemma in which the preceding Administration found itself—the dilemma of having to choose between political isolation and economic intervention in world affairs. America's international economic position makes it impossible for the United States Government to avoid becoming evermore involved in international politics, alliances, combinations and conflicts. With private long-term investments abroad still totalling over fifty billion dollars, with billions of dollars still owed to the Washington Government as war debts, the political "splendid isolation" is a most untenable position for the country. The New Deal recognizes this and now and then garbs its foreign policy in the cloak of pseudo-internationalism—in reality a vigorous, aggressive policy in defense of and an offensive for the interests of Wall Street.

7. *Skillful war preparations.* The reorganization of the American government makes the American political apparatus a much more effective machine for mobilizing the masses for war. The merging of the machinery of government with the machinery of big business as an integral part of the war preparations launched by the New Deal. The extension of state capitalist enterprises as a positive move towards making America much more easily susceptible to a war footing.

8. *The government strike-breaker.* The power of the government over the every day affairs of the average American is now colossal especially because the gigantic public works. The government has assumed mastery over the lives, over the very existence, of hundreds of thousands of working men. Thru the wage boards, provided for by the Industrial Recovery Act, the government is becoming more and more the official arbiter of wages and working conditions. Thru the setting up of state capitalist enterprises the government becomes more and more simultaneous the economic and political boss—of course, on a strictly capitalist basis.

In this setting the government is accumulating terrific strike-breaking powers, now being exercised thru the NRA boards.

9. *Better leadership for the capitalist class.* One thing can already be said about the New Deal. At least for the moment it has succeeded in providing some leadership for the American capitalist class. Particularly in the last days of the Hoover administration did it appear that the executive committee of the American employing class was rudderless and captainless. The faith of even the bourgeoisie in the New Deal is far from unbreakable and the coming months will see the New Dealer sailing into stormy waters. Yet, history will record that in the midst of the worst crisis to date, overwhelming Wall Street, the New Deal Administration has provided a certain amount of relatively or temporarily stable leadership.

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