

ago. "It's getting hot." Then he added: "He's my commander-in-chief, but I don't like the way he's going. There's plenty to do over here." He read the newspapers carefully, line by line, knew how business activity was decreasing, unemployment rising. "They're bent on war," he remarked. "When war is near, you've got to be careful. I don't see how it can be averted." That was in January. In February the American Youth Congress convened in Washington. "I heard Roosevelt's speech on the radio," the general said. "It was a shame to treat those young people that way. He's trying to shut them up, to get them into war." But the general also read John L. Lewis' speech and felt the power in it. "There may be a chance of keeping out of war, if the people make up their minds in time."

When General Graves suggested that excerpts from his book be published in *NEW MASSES*, he knew that his days were few. "It's all in there," he said. Up in his little office he discussed the idea of condensing the book into a 5-cent pamphlet. "I'd like millions of people who never read about the intervention to read my book," he said. If he could have published another volume, on the Kerensky loan, showing the connection between Wall Street and intervention, he would have completed his life's work.

NOT A BOLSHEVIK

Was General Graves a Bolshevik, as his enemies charged in 1920 and thereafter? His most decisive statement was "Where the Communists are for justice, I'm for them." That was last September, when so many people were accusing the American Communist Party of subservience to Moscow. To him, Moscow's government meant the government chosen by the people of the Soviet Union. He was a people's general, for people everywhere, whether in Russia or in America—and therefore on the side of those who loyally fought the people's battles. Conversely his statement meant, if the Communists were not for justice, he was against them.

No study of General Graves would be complete without reference to his boyish satisfaction at the solid substance of his understanding of the world. "If I had never gone to Siberia, I wonder if I'd have been like this," he said. Then he told anecdotes about startling his fellow officers with a defense of the Soviets, or an attack on the White Guards. "They look at me as if to say, 'Graves is mad.' But I just look back and say, 'I was there. I know the truth. You don't. I've got the proof. You haven't.'" In his relations with fellow officers he was frank about his views. He knew what this frankness had cost him in the past, for, upon his return from Siberia in 1920, the Army was split into pro- and anti-Graves groupings. His old chief of staff, Peyton C. March, had backed him to the hilt in the Siberian controversies. Graves admired and loved March who, he believed, was a fair and forthright American military leader.

General Graves worried about the younger officers of the Army—the political officers, as

he called them. "In my days, the Army stood aside in political disputes. It was non-partisan in internal politics. Now too many Army officers like the fascist idea." As for the enlisted men, here was one general who cared for them, understood them, protected them. "Back in the Philippine days, I used to go out with my men, sleep with them on the floor of huts, forage with them for supplies. Never could see any use for too much gold braid. And anyhow, when you go into action, officers and men soon find they're all human together. . . ." In Siberia he protected his men diligently, cared for their personal comfort. He also defended their rights, engaging in bitter disputes with the Japanese and White Guards because they had fired at American troops or had held them up for examination at the point of a bayonet. One of the general's great stories was of his successful efforts to keep arms from Kolchak, arms paid for by American money. "No question about it," he said, "he would have used the guns to kill Americans." With that point of view he had plunged into a wordy war which had ramifications right into the council of the Big Four, Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando, then meeting in Paris. Kolchak didn't get the arms. He collapsed and the Soviets took over Siberia. Formal charges were brought before the Big Four by the British, who accused General Graves of favoring the Bolsheviks—not in so many words, but by implication. But March and Secretary of War Newton D. Baker said General Graves was doing his duty as he saw it, and according to orders. There the case rested.

But not permanently. General Graves never rested, until his dying day, in his struggle for the people. He helped organize the Siberian veterans into an American Legion group. A few years ago, they visited him in lovely Shrewsbury; Mrs. Graves spread a picnic lunch and the general sat down and munched sandwiches and listened as the boys sang the old Russian songs they had learned from the simple, honest, peaceful Siberian peasants.

These veterans of Siberia loved General Graves. At the last Legion convention, they sent him a scroll stating that they understood and supported his position in Siberia—a position for the people—like Lincoln's.

REMINISCENCES

Many were the anecdotes the general told as the winter passed, his last winter of life. About the White Guard generals who asked him to meet them at the railroad station in Vladivostok, where he would receive something of interest. "A bribe, I suppose!" he laughed. "I didn't go." About the women agents who wrote him asking for rendezvous—whom he met, cross-examined, and told to go their way. About the time he fought for the rights of Negro officers to promotion—and, as secretary to the chief of staff, won those rights over the heads of a commission which decided against the Negroes. "I said, if eleven million Negro Americans are to

support us in the war, we've got to give them the rights guaranteed them in the Constitution."

He gloried in the acclaim won by his official statement on this subject. A Negro newspaper published it and it was reprinted, in leaflet form, and distributed to Negroes all over America. This was at the very time when Negro regiments in Texas were rebelling at the treatment meted out to them by the same War Department of which General Graves was the outstanding liberal commander.

Sometimes his memory would drift to the old days of the Texas frontier where he was born and grew up: his father's cattle ranch, young William and his brothers riding the range to find long-horns with the Graves brand. Horse-swapping, at which he was never any good—always got the wrong end of the deal while his father roared with laughter at the tall blue-eyed David Harum with solid hands and square shoulders. Memories of West Point days and his classmates, and how much more democratic the Army was then, before imperialism dawned upon America and the Spanish war was fought. Of days when he was posted at Salt Lake City, how he bought a skinny little horse, fed it into strength and beauty, only to find that it was a mean creature which tried to toss and trample upon him. That horse seemed to him a symbol of the forces opposed to the people. Mean forces, greedy ones.

To arrange for republication of excerpts from his sensational *America's Siberian Adventure* was the general's last offensive. For, even as his heart wore out, he kept fighting. He knew no order to retreat. On Tuesday of last week General Graves was to discuss further details of this republication. After his breakfast he lay back in bed to read the *New York Times*. The radio was on, but he seldom listened. ("Those commentators pour out a lot of rubble," he once said.) He was reading about the war when the heart attack came. There were sharp pains. He called Mrs. Graves, that alert, white-haired lady who had been his companion for forty-nine years. She was a soldier too, brave in face of the physical dissolution which now hovered over her beloved husband. Pain wracked the general's tall, vital body. A physician was called. A hypodermic sent the general to sleep. . . .

Mrs. Graves said: "He wanted the publication to go on. . . ." She glanced around the living room and tears filled her eyes as she saw his favorite chair, empty. This had been, since his retirement, their home.

He was an American of the frontier past, bringing frontier democracy back into modern, complex, decadent capitalist America. A pure breeze from the old Southwest. One who, like General Jackson, used simple honesty of judgment as a divining rod in the search for truth. An American who rests now in Arlington, where there should rise over his head a monument inscribed: "WILLIAM S. GRAVES—1865-1940—THE PEOPLE'S GENERAL."

JAMES MORISON.

FDR's Double-Entry Bookkeeping

What the figures show. The poorer people assume more of the burden. Gambling on a war to get out of the red. The bureaus change their functions.

THERE'S a hard dictum we have in America; we say, "Money talks." When the mask slipped on that rainy afternoon in Washington and Roosevelt revealed himself to American youth (and to all others truly adult), he was only repeating what he had already said in another form. For the fiscal program presented to Congress on Jan. 4, 1940, put a smooth surface on the road which this administration has been traveling since last summer.

A federal budget is a compilation of fantastic sums. Only by comparing the expenditures allotted for one year with those for another can we determine the administration's direction. Nor can we discern the full extent of the change without considering the altered functions of government agencies whose transformation is not reflected in the budget. For example, the State Department is today aggressively involved in the advancement of Yankee imperialism; Sumner Welles has been released from bulldozing Latin America for his Grand Tour on behalf of an anti-Soviet "peace." Yet the appropriations for the Department of State are actually \$2,000,000 less for the fiscal year 1941 than for 1940. Finally, since our White House budgeteer is a confirmed practitioner of double entry bookkeeping, we must examine the sources of federal income as well as the expenditures to determine on whom the burdens fall, and who are the beneficiaries.

PURCHASING POWER

Since the budget is a measure of the concern with General Welfare, it may be well to take a perspective on the Roosevelt administration in terms of its approach to the problem of restoring mass purchasing power. Its history may be divided into three phases, although we are concerned here with the last and current aspect. In each period it was responsive to the pressures upon it; at no time did it wholly desert its function in the capitalist state. There were the years of the NRA when the effort to rebuild mass purchasing power was entrusted to business with the government's aid, supervision, and guidance. There was the true New Deal period when, with all the hesitations and backsliding, it was the government which, in the main, bolstered up the sag in consumption. In the present phase, the government is withdrawing its support. It is offering some incentives to business to create employment with expanded war preparations. It is gambling on the war to take up the slack.

When he presented the budget to Congress, the President said, "We must not only guard the gains we have made, but we must press on to attain full employment for those who have been displaced by machines as well

as for the five million net addition to the labor force since 1929." If Roosevelt studies the testimony before the Monopoly Committee (TNEC) he will not dare predict jobs in private industry for the unemployed, about ten million today. Yet he slashes work relief by \$500,000,000. Colonel Harrington is authority for the statement that of the 775,000 workers dropped from WPA in July and August 1939 under the eighteen-month dismissal rule, 87 percent were still without jobs in November. The new budget will throw 1,150,000 more workers off WPA rolls in the next eight months.

The Public Works Administration has given employment to thousands directly, and indirectly to many more. Yet the budget reduces its appropriation to \$117,000,000 from \$373,000,000 for the year ending June 1940, and \$408,000,000 actually spent in the fiscal year 1939. As projects are completed, workers will be fired. In December 1939, 170,000 workers were employed on PWA construction projects. This number already represented a reduction of 34,000 from November; it is 46,000 under December 1938. According to the Department of Labor, payrolls on projects financed wholly or partially from federal funds were \$50,000,000 less for December 1939 than for December 1938. Employment was 800,000 less, comparing the two end-of-year months, including WPA and NYA.

Consider these figures and then recall the President's Fireside Chat of June 24, 1934, when he was charming the radio frequencies with a recital of what the administration was doing "toward saving and safeguarding our national life." Mr. Roosevelt said:

The first was relief, because the primary concern of any government dominated by the humane ideals of democracy is the simple principle that in a land of vast resources no one shall be permitted to starve. Relief was and continues to be our first consideration.

Aids to agriculture are reduced in this budget by more than \$400,000,000. The administration of the Farm Tenant Act, which received a bare \$41,000,000 for the current year, is cut \$7,000,000. The sums allotted here for restoring the tenant farmers to land of their own are so meager in relation to the magnitude of the problem that they can be compared only to the baker's dozen of hospitals which Roosevelt has substituted for the Wagner Health Act. The surplus crop disposal program is cut some \$33,000,000 and the stamp plan will be seriously hampered. Aid to farm labor and parity payments are both sharply reduced.

This, in the face of no greater receipts by the farmers and rising costs for what

the farmer has to buy. In the face too of a steadily growing number of dispossessed and heavily mortgaged farmers—practically half of America's tillers of the soil are working today as tenants. Mr. Roosevelt told Congress that there was a "gratifying general increase in farm income." Actually, however, if we eliminate government payments, the index of cash farm income for the first eleven months of 1939 was 68.4; lower, in other words, than the 69.5 for the same period in 1938.

The drought and the destruction of winter wheat call for emergency loans now, but the budget withdraws practically all appropriations for next year to the Farm Credit Administration and relies upon collections of old loans to farmers. The only explanation of reduced aid to the farmers is the President's expectation of skyrocketing farm prices as a result of Anglo-French demand. The speculators will profit far more than the farmers, should prices rise. But our rural population will undoubtedly read with relish the reports of higher prices on the commodity exchanges well after their crops have been sold at the "lows."

For America's young people the present administration has always trumpeted its special solicitude. But the NYA is to be given \$12,000,000 less, and the CCC is reduced by \$60,000,000. Oddly enough, the "regular" appropriation for the War Department is increased by exactly \$60,000,000, obviously inviting the unemployed youth to join the army.

This budget, when compared with its predecessors, reveals sharply reduced government support to workers, farmers, and the young people. Before big business it dangles the plum of \$1,800,000,000, an increase of \$300,000,000, for the Army and Navy. The Maritime Commission gets \$150,000,000, full \$50,000,000 more, for building and buying ships in the game of capturing the sea lanes from Great Britain. Shipbuilding, aircraft construction, instrument makers are busy and some employment gains are registered here. But rising prices, continued mass unemployment, reduced relief and farm aid, foreshadow the blows which the workers and farmers will suffer, as well as the small independent merchants and the vast majority of professional men and women.

LESS AID TO YOUTH

Examine this budget as an indicator of the administration's concern with the social, health, and cultural needs of the people. Aid to youth is cut. That reduces the number of students in the high schools and colleges who attend only with NYA support. The Wagner Health Bill was given the *coup de grace* even before the New Year. You will

search in vain for increased hospital or medical aid. The Federal Arts Project was killed by the same Congress whom the President now outdoes in "economy." Federal Housing had never been more than pitifully inadequate, but we seemed to be making gains. Now a quietus on government-supported housing is in prospect. Roosevelt's response to the demand for low-cost homes can be found in his Budget Message: "... the starting of important new projects has had to be postponed and the purchase of new land has had rigidly to be limited."

The budget does not tell the whole story. It is the framework which apportions the degree of support that each division and bureau of the state apparatus will receive. The bureaucracy is the budget in action. It is itself a sign of capitalist decay that government bureaus multiply as they have in the past eleven years. Long ago Engels pointed out that an increase in the organs of force within the state corresponds to the intensity of the class struggle and the imminence of wars of conquest.

Those who would be lulled with the nursery theory that the state is some impartial entity above, and impervious to, the antagonisms within society may try to satisfy themselves with the explanation that the more complex our civilization grows, the more intricate its machinery must become. Strangely enough, the reverse is true in industry, for example. There are fewer and fewer workers for more and more complex machinery. But the state is not merely an organ of supervision and centralized bookkeeping. It is the form of class power, what Lenin calls "the organ of class domination, the organ of oppression of one class by another." Its very existence is a confession that society has become hopelessly divided against itself, has entangled itself in irreconcilable contradictions.

ROOSEVELT'S BUREAUCRACY

The bureaucracy under Roosevelt has played three roles in relation to the class forces in America. First, the attempt to regiment labor and the farmers, an effort to rescue business. Second, a program of enlightened and, on the whole, progressive amelioration of social needs. Third, the present day assault upon social, economic, and civil rights in the drive toward war.

Faced with the crisis at its depth, the first step was the National Industrial Recovery Act. Its code authorities smacked strongly of Mussolini's "corporations." It relaxed the anti-trust laws and skyrocketed prices and profits. But the handout to labor in Section 7A became a call to organization which this country had never before seen.

Having rescued the banks and industry from the quicksands, Roosevelt found himself the object of their attack. For with their treasuries replenished, corporations saw a threat to further unlimited profits in the growing strength of labor. It became necessary for business to scuttle the NRA, and the Supreme Court decision followed. For a while

the code authorities persisted. Then, as they expired, there came into being the many-celled structure of the Works Progress Administration, the Social Security Board, the National Labor Relations Board, the National Youth Administration, and many other New Deal agencies.

Renewed business profits emboldened capital. The administration in the years 1935 to 1938 was dependent upon popular support and strengthened by the people's militant defense of democracy, the articulate fight for increased social benefits and for better working and living conditions. The CIO, the Workers Alliance, the many progressive voices in the AFL, the emergence of Labor's Non-Partisan League and the Farmers Union—these helped carry the administration in a progressive direction. The budgets of those years reflected this trend, as they reveal also the pressures upon, and the hesitations within,

the government. The bureaucracy was, in the main, following a progressive course.

TEMPORARY BALANCE

For a short time, some balance was achieved. "At certain periods," Engels has pointed out, "it occurs exceptionally that the struggling classes balance each other so nearly that the public power gains a certain degree of independence by posing as the mediator between them." Organized labor won a new status, collective bargaining became the lawful right of workers, relief and work projects (never really sufficient) were available in some measure to a majority of the unemployed, housing and health programs were at long last discussed. Economic royalists came in for a roasting. The country seemed headed into the possession of its rightful owners, the people.

Yet even during this progressive phase, the New Deal era, there were abundant signs of the administration's essential nature as "the state of the most powerful economic class that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class." We lived in a democratic capitalist republic in the days of a world-embracing crisis, in the period of imperialism gone berserk. It is enough to recall the soft-pedaling of any real investigation and prosecution of monopolies, the "plague on both your houses" attitude during the Little Steel Strike of 1937, the embargo on republican Spain, the solicitude in granting a "breathing spell" to business which led to the 1937-38 debacle.

In other words, the administration was never wholly progressive, and there were whole branches of the bureaucracy which never really subscribed to the New Deal, among them the Department of Justice, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the State Department, the Maritime Commission, to say nothing of the brass hat setups in the War and Navy Departments.

Even within the more liberally guided departments there were entire sections dominated by reactionaries. A case in point is the Bureau of Mines in the Department of the Interior. Its chief, Dr. John W. Finch, was only recently forced by Secretary Ickes to resign. Both coal-mine inspection and an oil conservation program were impeded by Dr. Finch, admits *Business Week* (Feb. 3, 1940). The resignations of confirmed Wall Street proteges from the Treasury Department as they were defeated at various stages of the New Deal program, are another illustration.

Nor should it be forgotten that the War Department prepared its M-day plans at the very zenith of Roosevelt's quest for "the greatest good to the greatest number of our citizens."

As Lenin warned in *State and Revolution*, it is easy to revert from a capitalist republic of the parliamentary type to a reactionary regime because "all the machinery of repression is left undisturbed—army, police, bureaucracy." This change is rendered all the more possible by the very fact that the

The Dove

Sumner Welles was a big, strong man
With a most dependable deadfish pan;
He'll win peace
—if any man can.

"Sumner, my boy,"
Said Franklin one day,
"Take the next boat to Europe,
I'll pay your way."

Sumner Welles was a big, strong man
With a most dependable deadfish pan;
He'll stop the war
—if any man can.

"Tell those ninnies
To close up ranks;
Tell them about our loans,
Tell them about our Yanks."

Sumner Welles was a big, strong man
With a most dependable deadfish pan;
He'll minimize the war
—if any man can.

"Get yourself a passport,
Never mind Cahill;
If there's any trouble,
I'll put up the bail."

Sumner Welles was a big, strong man
With a most dependable deadfish pan;
He'll localize the war
—if any man can.

"But get on over to Europe,"
Said FDR.
"Tell 'em we're for peace—
A piece of the USSR."

Sumner Welles was a big, strong man
With a most dependable deadfish pan;
He'll save capitalism
—if any man can.

W. B. CAHN.