

REFLECTION ON BUSINESS SENTIMENTALITY

By ANALYST.

POPULAR BELIEF has it that there is no sentiment in business. There is at any rate plenty of sentiment in business propaganda. It is pretty well an article of a peculiarly mendacious vein. Appearance of business mind, which has to be sober and realistic in dealing with the solid facts of industry, is not to be mistaken in another way when it steps out of its own proper sphere. Otherwise its fantastic fabrications are likely to be such questions for example as the motives of Mr. Doherty in developing oil fields in Mexico.

C. W. Barron, publisher of the Wall Street Journal and other financial papers, has a typical business mind. It is hard-headed and sober enough when analyzing economic conditions and "stock prospects." These are the qualities that have won for the Wall Street Journal "the widest circulation in the world." But when it comes to talking about business ethics, Barron is indiscreet and thoroughly sentimental.

He has now written articles praising Doherty not as a profiteer but as a philanthropist. Doherty, according to Barron, is a pioneer of civilization. It was in that role that he went into Mexico. Barron means say Barron made it his business to go into Mexico for some of the latter's oil properties. When he asked Doherty what he might expect in his papers about the situation, Doherty replied: "Nothing about me or my associates. We can take care of ourselves. But help the people of Mexico if you can."

Barron declares Doherty, not as a level-headed man yearning to exploit the material resources of Mexico, but as a humanitarian anxious to "give the poor people of Mexico right, justice, and freedom in a modern system of industry." Barron says Doherty told him that to accomplish this end, he would "sink all his interest on this coast in Communist-led work in this area."

After this situation one is somewhat

what prepared for Barron's remark that when he read the atrocious charges of Doherty's testimony at Washington in the oil steal investigation, he could hear "his rugged sincere voice in denial that his loan to a personal friend of 20 years standing had anything to do with the California naval reserve." Having profit swallowed, Barron is not going to strain at a gnat. A man who can believe Doherty wants to raise the Mexican people more than he wants Mexican oil, can believe anything.

Of course Barron may not believe any of the nonsense he is writing about Doherty and his laudatory motives. He may simply be trying to fool others. But that is not a necessary explanation. There is a relation of business, which glorifies all its processes. According to this relation, business is the architect of civilization, the source of all material and spiritual well-being. It is the fountain of progress and the indispensable means of individual and social health. Business is a pillar of this religion. It is conceivable that, like other priests, he accepts the prescribed doctrine of his religion.

There has been nothing in the Wall Street Journal condemning the oil steals. The only article that has been in the Journal says something about labor leaders who formed strikes, and mentions the great oil companies, but it is not a condemnation of the normal working of economic law. Occasionally the paper mildly frowns on Democratic politicians who accept retailers from oil magnates. But bringing public officers to account does not apparently meet with his censure. He provided the allocated provinces could mean that the right hand. This attitude does not, however, prove conclusively that Doherty is a man of moral depravity. It may be only a result of excessive devotion to the business religion.

Consider what this devotion entails.

It rests on the principle that private business is an absolute good, consequently anything that promotes private business must be good, too. Get the valuable public resources into private hands has this effect. It is therefore a merely defensible and praiseworthy. One who thinks it is not to keep oil and coal timber where profit swallowed, he is not out of them. It is not apt to bogie at any irregularities that may be necessary to correct the evil. The end justifies the means. A devotee of the religion of business need suffer no pangs of conscience for not reproaching the oil steals. They will probably yield a stream of profits that will wash away every stain.

Barron and his sort are probably not aware how ridiculous they look in trying to make business look like philanthropy. They have to be more or less under the influence of their own sentimentality in order to spread it with an air of conviction. Moreover, it has the advantage of fooling others as well as themselves, and that is an important consideration. Now that great numbers of people are getting suspicious about the truth of the theory that business is a beneficent force always and everywhere. There is consequently a tendency to be more rather than less illuisioning about business in the future. But it is worth while to puncture the pretty bubble that the agrarism of private business, however achieved, is necessary to public benefit.

This myth springs from the assumption that business is synonymous with the growth. Secretary of State Hughes

has stated the assumption in its classic form in giving his reasons for not recording Russia. Private capitalism is an absolute good, therefore Russia is an economic vacuum, in which no production at all is possible. Since the world is not out of them, it is not apt to bogie at any irregularities that may be necessary to correct the evil. The end justifies the means. A devotee of the religion of business need suffer no pangs of conscience for not reproaching the oil steals. They will probably yield a stream of profits that will wash away every stain.

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Mainspring of International Communism

(Continued from page 1)

number of political and organizational steps to achieve this end. The important step in this direction is the present membership campaign, the so-called Lenin Drive, carried on by the Russian Party in the United States immediately after Lenin's death, the

time close attention will be paid to the petty-bourgeois influences that are making themselves felt in the party. Comrade Molotov's thesis takes cognizance of the fact that certain elements in the party, petty-bourgeois in nature and psychology, are interfering this tendency for party-democratic means to be changed or modified. The thesis proposes to wage a relentless struggle against these elements to the point of completely eliminating them from the party. If this should become necessary, Comrade Molotov's thesis will in all probability be adopted by the Congress.

Conclusion

Great are the responsibilities of our Russian Comrades, but just as great are their opportunities for revolutionary service. We are certain that the Russian Party will successfully solve its problems and will continue in the future, as they did in the past, to guide and promote the efforts of the revolutionary workers the world over to destroy the rule of capitalism and establish the International Soviet Republic.

L. TROTSKY

party has decided to enroll 100,000 new members from among the factory workers.

Up to April 22, new applications for membership have been made to the party to the number of 269,771. Of this number only 125,115 have been accepted thus far. All of those that have applied are factory workers actually engaged in the Russian industry.

Democratization of Party Organization

The process of democratizing the party organization, i. e., drawing the rank and file of the party into active participation in party and Soviet work, is to be continued. At the same

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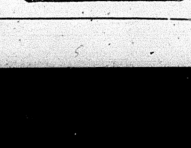
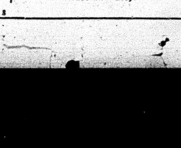
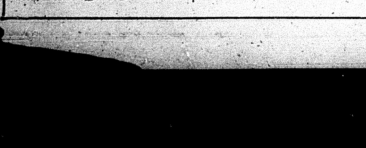
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"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

MAY 30, 1924.

The Mainspring of International Communism

By ALEXANDER BITTELMEAN.

THE Russian Communist Party is at present in Convention assembled, in the city of Moscow, in the heart and stronghold of proletarian world-revolution.

Let us turn for a while our minds to the place of course, and our struggles and glorious conquests, to the spiritual center and fountainhead of revolutionary aspiration for the class-conscious workers the world over. Let's have a glance at the admirable working class and powerful machine of working class energy and purposeful devotion which is known as the Russian Communist Party.

This is the 13th National Congress of the Party, but the first one to be held without Lenin. He will be no longer there to inspire, to direct and to instruct. The brave and proven leaders of the Russian Revolution, the men and women who set an example for the struggling proletariat in every country in the world—this splendid body of working-class workers will be for the first time in their glorious history assembled to transact the business of their party without the alluring and magnetic presence of Leonid Lenin.

But the business of the Russian Revolution will be carried on by the delegates to the 13th National Congress of the Russian Communist Party will continue the work started under the great leader with even more determination, loyalty and devotion. Their responsibilities as leaders of the working class will be felt by every one of them even more keenly than at the time when the immortal Lenin was still in their midst. Under the beaver strain of these new responsibilities, every member of the Russian Communist Party has grown bigger, wiser and stronger. The working class of Russia, and the revolution of every workers the world over, may rest assured, therefore, that the business of the Russian Party is in the right hands, and that in the future just as in the past our Russian comrades will continue to be the guiding spirit and driving force of the revolutionary movement all over the world.

Problems before the Russian Congress

Various problems are confronting at present the Russian Party. Problems, economic, political, cultural problems of the economic structure of the entire Soviet System, questions of internal policies of the Soviet government—all these matters will come before the Congress of the Russian Communist Party. And they will be taken care of. We are certain, with one thing in mind, that it is the further development of the proletarian world revolution.

The Soviet Government and the Capitalist World

From public declarations so far made by the Comrade Zinoviev, Trotsky and other responsible leaders, it can be easily seen that no important changes will be made in the policies of the Soviet Government towards the governments of the capitalist countries.

The fundamentals of these policies can be summarized as follows: Russia desires peace. It is in the very interests of the ultimate success of the proletarian revolution in Russia. But at the same time, Russia cannot forget for a single moment that it is still surrounded by a world of enemies. The Communist are constantly awake, always engaged in intrigue and plotting against the security of the Soviet power.

Poncaré is gone, it is true, but French capitalism is still in the saddle. The new French government, whether it be a Radical-Socialist coalition or a Briand-Poincaré combina-

tion, will continue to fight the battles of French imperialism. Which means, substantially, if not in detail and form, the old Poincaré policy toward Soviet Russia. England is "ruled" by the Labor government which had recognized the Soviet government. This too, is true. It is also true that MacDonald's cabinet is just as much alive and awake to the vital interests of British imperialism as were the cabinets of Lloyd George and Baldwin. Well, what of it? Nothing much but the following: that Soviet Russia is still exposed to the danger of capitalist attacks, military, economic and otherwise; that the question of protecting and defending the security of the Soviet State is still a problem of first importance; and that the present Congress of the Russian Communist Party will have to leave nothing undone to prepare the working masses of Russia for any possible capitalist aggression against the Soviet Republic.

There is yet another phase of this question of Russia's relations to the capitalist world, namely, the question of old debts, credits and concessions. On this score, too, there will hardly be any changes of policy. If anything, this present Congress will put some more steel, backbone and stiffness into the old policy, which was

designed to subsidize the "infant" capitalist industries of the co-operatives. In a special thesis prepared by Comrade Kalinin for the Congress and approved by the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Party, the following views are expressed. First, that the "New Economic Policy" resulted in the villages in a very effective class-differentiation between the rich and poor peasants. Second, that the rich and middle peasant, by accumulating capital (in the shape of cattle, agricultural implements, etc.), are reaching out after new and wider fields of exploitation. Third, that the poor peasants are turning in masses towards the co-operatives as a means of combating the village-exploiters. The economic problems of the village, as seen by Comrade Kalinin, is to utilize the Soviet power (its control of banking and foreign trade) to assist the co-operatives against the "Kulak"—rich peasant.

Maintaining Unity Between Workers and Peasants

This is the political side of the peasant problem, far as the theory of it is concerned, there will be nothing new in it at this Congress. The old Bolshevik slogan of unity between workers and poor peasants ("Smiknuti" as Lenin used to call it) still holds good. Only the present situation in the villages offers a better opportunity than before for the upbuilding of a strong Communist movement among the peasant youth and poor peasants, and consequently, the present Congress will have to see that this opportunity is properly utilized by the party.

Internal Party Structure

This is a very important problem, of course, but most of the work preparatory to the solution of it has been done by the last Party Conference and by the Central Executive Committee of the Party. The thesis on the "Internal Party Structure" to be submitted to the Congress was prepared by Comrade Molotov and approved by the Central Committee. This thesis incorporates the positions of Comrade Zinoviev and the Central Committee.

A Party of Factory Workers

One Comrade is stating in his party to be primarily and substantially a party of factory workers. Comrade Molotov's thesis proposes a

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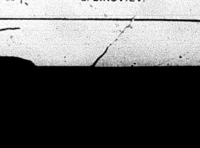
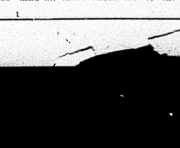
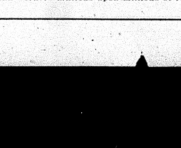
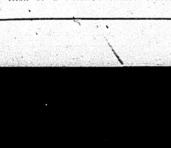
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The Defeat of U. S. Agriculture

By O. PREEDIN

SINCE the beginning of this century agriculture of the United States was in a period of decline on world's market, except only the years of war when its domination was secured by temporary artificial exclusion of some of its important competitors. This decline is expressed in the forecast trade of masses of people here and in other countries, but from the decreased markets, big part parts before are taken by agricultural products of other countries.

CONTRARY movement was started here from the first year of the century. The exports of foodstuffs started now to decrease absolutely and still more relatively in the total "value" of exports. During the first 15 years of this century they showed the following changes:

Year	Value of Exports	Per Cent of Value of Exports
1900-1904	211	28.1
1905-1909	177	23.1
1910-1914	185	19.7

ON the side of foreign trade, in imports foodstuffs did not show any noticeable change during all the times of glorious victories of agriculture of the United on world's market. "Value" of these imports were in yearly averages during 1880-1884 about 232 million dollars and during 1900-1904 about 224 million dollars. But since that time they show a rapid increase to 329,000,000 in average during 1905-1909 and to 337,000,000 in 1910-1914.

THE excess of exports over imports of foodstuffs decreased from 224,000,000 in 1905-1909 and further to about 220,000,000 in average during 1910-1914.

THE above figures show that from beginning of this century the United States were transformed from exporters of food to importers of foodstuffs. Agriculture of the United States, which played an immense role on world's market, was losing its position not only on foreign markets but on the domestic market as well.

THANKS to exceptional conditions existing during the war years excess of exports of foodstuffs increased here again in average to about 270,000,000 a year, during 1915-1919. But as soon as these special conditions were removed, when the sky-high prices came nearer to the earth, the excess of food exports was decreased here again. In 1922, it was only about 110,000,000. That is still considerably higher than it was immediately before the war. But it is in further decrease and the present level (about 120,000,000) is now the natural limit for this downfall.

IN the light of the pre-war developments on food markets, it is clear that war-time disturbances did not cause the fundamental difficulties of U. S. agriculture on the world market. What was "disturbed" in this respect is not the growth, but the frustration. If there must be "adjustment" in the "pre-war standing" of United States agriculture on the world's market.

PURCHASING power of masses of people in many industrial countries of Europe had decreased and the post-war market of foodstuffs has shrunk. In the case of the people of England, Germany, France and other food-importing countries could have sufficient means to satisfy their needs of food, then there would be instead of surplus, a great shortage of food. Competition on markets of foodstuffs could appear then in present forms

only after many years of increased agricultural production. We have to deal not with possibilities under existing circumstances, but with realities of present society. This reality shows absence of competition on every market of agricultural products. In this competition foodstuffs of agriculture are falling to find purchasers not only to the extent of decrease of purchasing power of masses of people here and in other countries, but from the decreased markets, big part parts before are taken by agricultural products of other countries.

T he grain wheat markets, United States supplied from July, 1922, to January, 1923, about 162,000,000 million bushels, but from July, 1923, to January, 1924, only 111,000,000 million bushels. But during this same time when wheat exports from United States decreased by over 50,000,000 bushels, Canada increased wheat exports by over 30,000,000 bushels, while India and Australia more than doubled their exports. Wheat from Canada appeared on many European markets. On the domestic market of the United States, disregarding high import tariff duties, Canadian wheat exports of this product, imports of wheat in the United States during this period, by about 10 million bushels during these years.

THESE facts show that agriculture of United States appears at present in a similar position as was agriculture of the United States at the end of last century made the rapid rise of "land

capital," R. Marx III vol. II part, page 260.

This is true for the present crisis of agriculture of the United States too, but only for the years after the war-time boom.

DURING the first 15 years of the century of U. S. agriculture on the world's market some very essential features of the European crisis were absent here. Instead of depressive periods we had here just the contrary. This was a time of growing prices of agricultural products and of growing costs of living. The best blessings Europe had from her agricultural products were the decreased land rents and subsequent absolute and relative decrease of economic power and influence of the most reactionary class of landowners. Here was nothing of that kind: "land values" were rising here at tremendous speed.

THE Bureau of Land Values, as published by the U. S. Department of Agriculture ("Yearbook 1922", page 285), show that from 1899 to 1914 these "values" increased 2 1/2 times (147 per cent).

The start of agricultural crisis in the United States had specific forms and peculiarities. General economic depression in the United States in 1920-1921, which had its most characteristic and fundamental economic factor in the doubling during these years of "land values" and the disappearance of "free lands" about the end of last century made the rapid rise of "land

values" possible. But this fact alone does not explain anything about dynamical forces which brought this rise into existence.

WE CAN find many parallels in history when similar sudden increase of "land values" occurred in every country where that happened in large extent there was a class of large landowners which united forces on the base of their centralized land monopoly, as in Ireland from about 1840 to 1860, were necessary for creation of this rise.

THE landholders were "agrarianism" here, too. Once in 1900 the United States census bureau made an investigation about ownership of all tenant farms. This investigation disclosed that "81 per cent of the owners of rented farms have holdings representing 43.8 per cent of the aggregate value of such land, thus showing a large relative concentration not only of values, but also of acreage in the hands of comparatively few individuals" ("Twelfth Census of U. S. 1900. Agriculture." Vol. V. Page XCIII).

It is very interesting to note from the complicated table on page XCIII of this report with classification of values according to the "value" of their holdings that the "value" of land per unit increased with the increase

of the size of holdings. The group of small holdings had the "most expensive" lands but the biggest landowners had the "most expensive" lands; the owners of holdings worth \$1,000 and less had 31.5 per cent of acreage but only 4.4 per cent of value. The owners of holdings worth \$25,000 and over had 17.4 per cent of total "value" of rented farms.

IS this explainable by differences in "natural" causes? Here or there these causes may contribute something to the increase of value of land. The process of centralization of holdings, the monopoly of land value which existed in this increase of "value" of large holdings over that of small holdings.

By the following census of 1910 and 1920 investigation of ownership of tenant farms was not continued or not published, as that is necessary every United States government bureau with information which can disclose ownership of land to the detriment of ruling capitalists. The enumerators of the census of 1910 and 1920 were thus hindered to collect material needed for investigation of ownership of rented farms in this same manner as was hindered by the enumerators of the census of 1900. Therefore, withholding of this information for certain reasons is rather acceptable than entire neglect of this too interesting question.

THESE prove that to the extent of their power the big landholders contributed to the increase of land values. The creation and growth of land rent means here introduction of new divisions of produced surplus.

HOW long existed here free access to land so long was there was possible division of created values in agriculture, was described by K. Marx as follows:

"Under these circumstances (where ownership of land can resist application of capital in agriculture) it is possible for a long time—except the lands in highly populated districts, where the situation gives them a monopoly—that surplus-value produced by farmers over average profits is not realized in the price of their products but that they (the farmers) must divide it with their brethren capitalists." (I. Vol. I part, Page 200)

EXISTENCE of "surplus-value over average profits" was and still is in some semi-social countries the economic basis for large profitable operations of "parasitic speculative capital" and of "monopolies of the transportation system" which are marked by the instructions on the agrarian question of the Fourth Congress of C. I. as particular features in "the Anglo-Saxon countries." The limits in which this kind of exploitation does not disturb capitalistic development of agriculture are only for the division of surplus-values among brethren capitalists, are given by the quantities of "free lands" which are exploited only so long as they are not separated and exempted by land holders from all the "brethren capitalists" in the form of land rent. Absolute land rent is nothing else but this "surplus-value over average profits" when and ownership is in fact established and can be met with resistance to the application of capital then landholders are able to take this surplus-value as land rent.

IN such case the "surplus-value over average profits" obligatory must be "realized" in the "form price" of agricultural products.

(Continued next Saturday.)

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The Position of the Parties in England

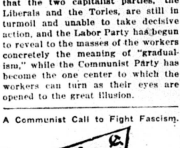
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During the last eight months the party has concentrated so much on organization and the development of the circulation of the party paper, tried so hard to transform itself in terms of a paper scheme that the membership has been dried. It needed new inspiration and enthusiasm. It was complained that the Executive was out of contact with the members and there was good grounds for the complaint. There had been no party conference for months more than a year. It had been put off time and again. Finally we had a conference. Seats were removed. Preparations made for a Party Congress were about. The whole political situation changed and brought new vitality in the fight. And the Party had begun to grow.

But we have still to face the characteristic falling of the British movement as a whole. We have got to get past the stage of the purely propagandist party, conducting general propaganda, and become a party of struggle. For this we need also a lifting up of the quality of the party, the development of its theoretical equipment, in order to be able to diagnose correctly the significance of the political events that are unfolding and to deal with them concretely and with revolutionary purpose. All this will take time and require patience and persistence. But one thing is certain: That the party was never in a better condition than it is today, and it was never covered by greater opportunities for development.

The position of the parties is such that the two capitalist parties, the Liberals and the Tories, are still in turmoil and unable to take decisive action, and the Labor Party has begun to reveal to the masses of the workers concretely the meaning of "gradualism," while the Communist Party has become the one center to which the workers can turn as their eyes are opened to the great illusion.

A Communist Call to Fight Fascism.



May 11, Halle, Germany.

"KOMMENTEN ZUM KU KLUX KLAN"
The dramatic history of Wizard, Dragon, Tiger, Cyclops, Hydra, Purple, Blue, and other members of the Ku Klux Klan as they did the minute the people of the world read this book expect they can buy now book under the sheet. It is written in the "farm paper" style. Copy under from John T. Cooper, 1000-10th Ave., New York, N. Y. Mention The Daily Worker.

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