

and into members of the Soviets managing these farms.

The preservation of large landholdings serves best the interests of the revolutionary elements of the population, namely, the landless agricultural workers and semi-proletarian small holders, who get their livelihood mainly by working on the large estates. Besides, the nationalization of large landholdings makes the urban population, at least in part, less dependent on the peasantry for their food.

In those places, however, where relics of the feudal system still prevail, where "serfdom" and the system of giving half of the products to the peasants prevails and where a part of the soil belongs to the large estates the landlord privileges give rise to special forms of exploitation.

In countries where large landholdings are insignificant in number, while a great number of small tenants are in search of land, the distribution of the large holdings can prove a sure means of winning the peasantry for the revolution, while the preservation of the large estates can be of no value for the provisioning of the towns. The first and most important task of the proletarian state is to secure a lasting victory. The proletariat must put up with a temporary decline of production so long as it makes for the success of the revolution. Only by persuading the middle peasantry to maintain a neutral attitude, and by gaining the support of a large part, if not the whole, of the small peasantry, can the lasting maintenance of the proletarian power be secured.

At any rate, where the land of the large owners is being distributed, the interests of the agricultural proletariat must be of primary consideration.

The implements of large estates must be converted into state property absolutely intact, but on the unfailing conditions of its disposal to the small peasants gratis, subject to conditions worked out by the proletarian state.

If just at first, after the proletarian coup d'état, the immediate confiscation of the big estates becomes absolutely necessary, and, moreover, also the banishment or internment of all landowners as leaders of the counter-revolution, and relentless oppressors of the whole rural population, the proletarian state, in proportion to its consolidation not only in the towns but in the country as well, must systematically strive to take advantage of all the forces of this class, of all those who possess valuable experience, learning, organizing talent, and must use them (under special control of the most reliable Communist workers) to organize large agriculture on Socialist principles.

7. The victory of Socialism over capitalism, the consolidation of Socialism, will be definitely established at the time that the proletarian state power, after having finally subdued all resistance of the exploiters and secured for itself complete and absolute submission, will reorganize the whole industry on the basis of wholesale collective production and a new technical basis (founded on the electrification of agriculture). This alone will afford a possibility of such radical help in the technical and the social sense, accorded by the town to the backward and disperse country, that this help will create the material base for an enormous increase in the productivity of agricultural and general farming work, and will induce the small farmers by force of example and for their own benefit to change to large, collective machine agriculture.

Most particularly in the rural districts real possibility of successful struggle for Socialism requires, in the first place, that all Communist parties inculcate in the industrial proletariat the necessity of sacrifice on its part, and readiness to sacrifice itself for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and that the consolidation of the proletariat be based on the proletariat's knowing how to organize and to lead the working and exploited masses, and on the vanguard's being ready for the greatest sacrifices and heroism. In the second place, possibility of success requires that the laboring and most exploited masses in the country experience immediate and great improvement in their position caused by the victory of the proletariat and by the defeat of the exploiters. Unless this is done, the industrial proletariat cannot depend on the support of the rural districts, and cannot secure the provisioning of them with foodstuffs.

8. The enormous difficulty of organization and education for the revolutionary struggle of the agrarian laboring masses placed by capitalism in a condition of particular oppression, dispersion, and often a medieval dependence require from the Communist parties special care for the strike movement in the rural districts. It requires enforced support and wide development of mass strikes of the agrarian proletarians and semi-proletarians. The experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, confirmed and enlarged now by the experience of Germany and other advanced countries, shows that only the development of mass-strike struggle (under certain conditions the small peasants are also to be drawn into these strikes) will shake the inactivity of the country population, arouse in them a class consciousness of the necessity of class organization in the exploited masses in the country, and show them the obvious practical use of their joining the town workers. From this standpoint the promotion of Unions of Agricultural Workers, the co-operation of Communists in the country, and forest workers organizations formed by the exploited agricultural population closely connected with the revolutionary labor movement. A vigorous agitation is

THE "ONE BIG UNION" OF SCHLESINGER AND HILLMAN.

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perpetrated upon the rank and file. Schlesinger and Hillman simply passed through the motions of creating one big union, while in reality they have left everything intact as it was before. The "organization" they created is as much a fraud and just as impotent as the Triple Alliance in England. Each of the organizations retain their autonomy and their separate form of craft organization, as well as retaining their individual treasuries and their individual powers. The only thing that they have succeeded in creating is another link in the chain which keeps the rank and file in the needle industry captive in the net of the present trade union bureaucracy, and will make it ever so much harder to oust them. In other words, Schlesinger and Hillman have created a "One Big Union" for Schlesinger and Hillman, a new instrument for enslaving and holding down the masses in the needle trades.

Some Practical Measures for the Unemployed.

With amazing rapidity the wave of unemployment mounts higher and higher. Hundreds of factories are laying off their men for the Christmas holidays and many of them for two or three weeks after the holidays. At the same time many employers announce wage reductions from fifteen to twenty-five percent to take effect immediately or the shops will close down.

Possibly between two and three millions are already out of work through out the country. This is not the peak however. The peak of unemployment will be reached perhaps by the middle of the winter when the total of unemployed will double the present figure.

What will happen then is more or less problematical. That depends upon a number of factors which cannot be ascertained beforehand. But one thing will happen. The unemployed and their families will suffer from cold, hunger and lack of shelter. Prices, whether they be low or high will have no meaning for them. They will be unable to purchase anything at all, when their little savings are exhausted. What will the unemployed do then?

The example of their English comrades seizing public buildings and making them their living quarters will certainly be duplicated by the homeless workers here. Shelter is the first instinct of all human beings and no laws or threats on the part of the government will be able to hinder this movement.

Another measure of immediate relief likewise to be carried on among the small peasants.

The Congress of the Communist International denounces as traitors those Socialists—unfortunately there are such not only in the yellow Second International, but also among the three most important European parties, which have left the Second International—who are not only indifferent toward the strike struggle in the rural districts, but oppose it (as does Kautsky) on the ground that it might cause a falling-off of the production of foodstuffs. No programmes and no solemn declarations have any value if the fact is not in evidence, testified to by actual deeds, that the Communists and labor leaders know how to put the development of the proletarian revolution and its victory above everything else and are ready to make the utmost sacrifices for the sake of this victory. Unless this is a fact, there is no escape, no barrier against starvation, dissolution, and new imperialistic wars.

The Communist parties must make all efforts possible to start as soon as possible setting up of Soviets in the country, and these Soviets must be chiefly composed of hired laborers and semi-proletarians. Only in connection with the mass-strike struggle of the most oppressed class will the Soviets be able to serve fully their ends, and become sufficiently firm to dominate (and further on to include in their ranks) the small peasants. But if the strike struggle is not yet developed, and the ability to organize the agrarian proletariat is weak because of the strong oppression by the landowners and the landed peasants, and also because of the want of support from the industrial workers and their unions, the organization of the Soviets in the rural districts will require long preparation by means of creating small Communist centers of intensive propaganda, expounding in a most popular form the demands of the Communists, and illustrating the reasons of these demands by specially convincing cases of exploitation, and pressure by systematic excursions of industrial workers into the country, etc.

would be for the unemployed to declare a rent moratorium—that is refuse to pay rent.

The capitalist press may howl its head off, the landlords may shriek their lungs out, and the sheriffs may threaten to evict the workers and their families, but they cannot extract blood from stone. The rent moratorium will nevertheless persist and become an established fact.

Such revolutionary tactics will in some measure, solve the problem of shelter; it will also awaken the solidarity and class-consciousness of the workers themselves. It will give them new courage and new determination and open up new vistas of struggle which will inevitably lead them finally to the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet form of Government.

But the problem of food is still open. What should the unemployed do to procure food? Why simply seize the warehouses and the stores of food, establish public kitchens, and feed all the unemployed three times a day. This work could be organized through the trade unions and co-operatives and other workers' organizations.

We have attempted to outline a few simple measures which will immediately solve the problem of food and shelter for the unemployed. The instinct of self-preservation is strong—just as strong in human beings as in other forms of animal life—and the unemployed are human after all. If the capitalists or the government attempts to interfere with these legitimate efforts of the unemployed to find food and shelter, so much the worse for the capitalists, and the government.

There is no desperation greater than that of the starving man or woman. Besides Soviet Russia stands before the workers of America as a shining example of what the lowly and exploited workers can do once they make up their minds to it.

Fourth Statement on Unity Proceedings.

January 5, 1921.

TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF C. P. of A.

Dear Comrades:—

The time limit set by the Com. Intern. for the final accomplishment of unity is passed, but unity is not accomplished.

The responsibility for this lies entirely upon the U. C. P.

They have refused and they still refuse to abide by the decisions of the Com. Intern. providing for a joint unity convention on the basis of proportional representation.

They have insisted and they still falsely insist that our statement of dues paying membership for July, Aug., Sept. and Oct., showing an average of 7552, is fraudulent, and that their membership, shown on their statement as 4611, is greater than ours.

They have proposed a joint unity convention on the basis of equal representation, saying that for unity's sake they were willing to make the "concession"; and they have tried to disregard the C. E. C. of the Communist Party,—to have us call our convention together separately too, so the two conventions could "negotiate", and to have us send out to our delegates individually a false and insolent statement of theirs.

Our answer to all these maneuvers and stratagems was always the same: "We insist upon compliance with the mandates of the Communist International providing for unity through a joint unity convention on the basis of proportional representation determined by the dues paying membership for July, August, September and October, according to the official books of both parties."—We demand that the U. C. P. comply with these mandates."

We submitted to the U. C. P. for examination all our books and statements; we wrote long letters and verbally proved to their Unity Committee in detail that our figures were correct, that their "analysis" of them was absurd, and that their "investigation on the ground" was a sham and a fraud. Still, in the face of all this, as a last resort, as the only excuse for evading compliance with the decisions of the Com. Intern., for refusing to let the rightful majority of the Communist Movement in America fully to determine and control the future of the united party, the U. C. P. repeat again and again the lie that the C. P. statement is fraudulent.

In their letter of the 18th of Dec. they pretend to list proofs of their assertions.

Since it was very apparent that the figures and alleged proofs of discrepancies in our membership statement were presented merely as a formality and an excuse, our C. E. C. did not deem it necessary to take them up in the answer to the U. C. P.

To our comrades, however, we want to tell very briefly that the figures in the U. C. P. letter are juggled again, miscalculated and mis-

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