

Workers of all Countries, Unite!

**The Communist International
and the International Organisation of the
Trade Unions.**

**(Struggle Against the Yellow Trade Union International
of Amsterdam).**

Theses by G. Zinoviev.

MOSCOW 1921.

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The bourgeoisie is holding the working class in subjection, not only by means of violence but also by the most refined deception. The school, the church, parliament, art, literature, the daily press — all of them represent powerful means of deceiving the working masses, and of imbuing the proletariat with the ideas of the bourgeoisie.

One of the bourgeois ideas, which the ruling classes have succeeded in inculcating among the working masses, is the idea of trade union neutrality, that is, the idea of the non-political and non-party character of the trade-unions.

For the last decades of modern history, and especially after the close of the imperialist war, the trade-unions throughout Europe and in America have become the largest proletarian organisations, in some countries embracing the entire working class.

The bourgeoisie is fully aware that the near future of the capitalist system depends on the extent to which the trade unions are going to free themselves from bourgeois influences. Hence, the frantic efforts of the bourgeoisie and their myrmidons, the social-democrats throughout the world, to keep the trade unions at any price in the thralldom of bourgeois social-democratic ideas.

The bourgeoisie cannot very well invite the trade unions quite openly to support the bourgeois parties. It is, therefore, urging them not to support any party, the revolutionary communist party included, but in reality the bourgeoisie means that the trade-unions must not support the party advocating communism.

The doctrine of neutrality (or of the non-political and non-party character of the trade-unions) is not of recent growth. For decades this bourgeois idea has been

inculcated in the trade-unions of Great Britain, Germany, America and other countries by the representatives of the priestridden Christian trade unions, as well as by the leaders of the bourgeois Hirsch-Duncker trade-unions, the leaders of the pacific, old British trade-unions, the representatives of the so-called free trade-unions of Germany and by many representatives of syndicalism. Legien, Gompers, Jouhaux, Sidney Webb have been preaching neutrality to the trade-unions for decades. But in reality the trade-unions have never been and could never be neutral. Not only is neutrality harmful to the trade-unions, it cannot positively be maintained. In the struggle between capital and labour no mass organisation of workers can remain neutral. Consequently, it is impossible for the trade-unions to remain neutral in their relations to the bourgeois parties and to the party of the proletariat. This the leaders of the bourgeoisie know full well. But just as it is imperative for the bourgeoisie that the masses should believe in the after life it is imperative for them that the trade unions should maintain neutrality with regard to politics and with regard to the workmen's Communist Party, trade-unions non-political, non-party. } For the exploitation of and the mastery over the workers the bourgeoisie needs not only the priest, the policeman and the general, but also the trade-union bureaucrats, the „leaders“ who preach to the workers neutrality and non-participation in political struggles. }

The falacy of the neutrality idea had become more and more apparent to the advanced proletariat of Europe and America even before the imperialist war. This falacy became still more apparent as the class contrasts became more acute. When

the imperialist mass-murders began in good earnest, the old trade-union leaders were obliged to drop the mask of neutrality and to side quite openly with their respective bourgeoisies.

During the imperialist war those social-democrats and trade-unionists who had been preaching neutrality to the trade-unionists for many years, while driving the workers into the service of the most dastardly murder policy, these recent advocates of neutrality, unblushingly assumed the rôle of agents for certain political parties, but not for the parties of the working class, but for those of the bourgeoisie.

After the imperialist war these same social-democratic and trade-union leaders have again been trying to put on the mask of trade-union neutrality, etc. Now, that the abnormal war conditions are at an end, these agents of the bourgeoisie are trying to adapt themselves to the new circumstances and want to lure away the workers from the path of revolution to the only path which is profitable for the bourgeoisie.

Economics and politics are closely connected together. This connection becomes especially evident in such epochs as the present. There is not a single important question of political life which does not concern not only the labour party, but also the trade-unions, and vice versa. If the French imperialistic government orders the mobilisation of a certain class for the occupation of the Ruhr basin and for the strangulation of Germany in general, can it be said that this purely political question does not concern the French trade-unions? Can a truly revolutionary French trade-unionist remain neutral, and take up a non-political attitude on such a question? Or to use another illustration,—if there is in England a purely economic struggle as the present lockout of the miners, can the Communist party declare that this does not concern it that it is a purely trade-union question? At a time when the struggle against misery and poverty is the order of the day for millions of workers, when the requisitioning of bourgeois houses is imperative for the solution of the housing problem of the proletariat, when the practical experiences of

life force the workers to interest themselves in the question of the arming of the working class, when the seizure of factories by the workers is taking place in various countries, can it be asserted that in such a period the trade-unions must not take part in such a struggle and must remain neutral, which really means that they must serve the bourgeoisie.

With all the wealth of nomenclature of the political parties in Europe and America, these parties are to be divided into three groups with regard to their nature:

1) Parties of the bourgeoisie. 2) Parties of the petty bourgeoisie (chiefly the social-democrats) and 3) The party of the proletariat. All trade unions, which proclaim themselves to be non-party and declare their neutrality with regard to the above mentioned party groups, are practically supporting the parties of the petty-bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie.

II.

The International Trade Union Association of Amsterdam represents the organisation in which the Second International and the Second and a Half International met each other and joined hands. The whole international bourgeoisie looks upon this organisation with assurance and confidence. The principal idea of the International Trade Union Association is the idea of the neutrality of Trade Unions. It is not mere chance that this watchword is used by the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the social democrats, as well as the Right Trade-Unionists to unite the wide masses of workers in Western Europe and America. While the political 2nd International that openly took the side of the bourgeoisie experienced a complete collapse, a certain success may be noted in regard to the International Trade Union Association of Amsterdam that wants to act under cover of the idea of neutrality.

Under the flag of neutrality the Amsterdam Trade Union Association undertakes the execution of the dirtiest and most difficult commissions of the bourgeoisie: the strangling of the miners' strike in England (that task was fulfilled

by the well-known Thomas, who is at the same time president of the Second International and one of the best known leaders of the Amsterdam Yellow Trade Union Association). The decrease of the wages, the organised plundering of the German workers for the sins of Wilhelm and the German Imperialists etc. Noske and Hoersing, Albert Thomas and Jouheaux, Thomas and Wissel, Bauer and Robert Schmidt — they are all leaders of the Amsterdam International Trade Union Association, they all manage to proclaim at the same breath the neutrality of the trade unions in the political struggle and at the same time act as ministers of the bourgeois government.

At the present moment the Amsterdam International Trade Union Association represents the chief support of the International Capital. Whoever does not fully understand the necessity of the fight against the wrong idea of non-political and non-party character of the Trade Unions cannot fight successfully against this capitalist fortress. In order to decide upon the most efficient fighting methods to be used against the yellow Amsterdam International it will be necessary to clearly and definitely ascertain the mutual relations between the Communist Party and the trade unions of each country.

III.

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, that clearly recognized the ways and means to be used for the liberation of the proletariat from the capitalist yoke and consciously accepted the Communist program.

The Trade Unions represent mass organisation of the proletariat which develops into organisations uniting all the workers of a given branch of industry; they include not only the conscious communists but also the medium and backward ranks of the proletariat, who through the lessons taught by their life's experience are gradually educated to understand communism. The part played by the trade associations before the power is secured by the proletariat is different in many respects from the part it plays while this power is being secured and after this has been done. But throughout

the different periods the trade unions represent a wider organisation, uniting a greater mass of people than the party and the relations between the party and the unions must be the same as between the centre and the periphery. Prior to the securing of power the truly proletarian trade unions have to organize the workers principally on an economic basis to fight for the improvements that can be obtained before capitalism is completely defeated. Their principal object however must be the organisation of the proletarian mass fight against capitalism and for the proletarian revolution.

During this revolution the truly revolutionary trade unions conjointly with the party organize the masses for the immediate attack on the forts of capitalism and undertake the laying of a foundation for a social revolution.

After the power has been secured by the proletariat the trade unions concentrate the greatest part of their activity to the organisation of the economic conditions on a socialist basis.

During all these three phases of the campaign, the trade unions must support the proletarian vanguard, the communist party, which takes the lead throughout the proletarian fight.

In order to achieve this end the communists together with sympathising elements must organize communist fractions within the trade unions, which must be completely under the control of the Communist party.

The tactics adopted by the II Congress of the Communist International in regard to the formation of communist fractions in every trade union proved to be fully up to the mark during the course of last year and have given good results in Germany, England, France, Italy and a number of other countries. The principles of the Communist International respecting the participation of communists in the trade union movement must not be influenced by the circumstance that considerable numbers of politically inexperienced workers, have lately left the free social democratic trade unions not expecting to have any direct advantage from the membership in the same (as has lately been the case in Germany). It is the task of the communists to explain

to the proletarians, that they will not find salvation in leaving the old trade unions before creating new ones, as this will only turn the proletariat into a disconnected mob; they must be told that it is necessary to revolutionize the trade unions, to expel the spirit of reformism together with the treacherous reformist leaders and thus convert the trade unions into a real support of the revolutionary proletariat.

IV.

These considerations will define the mutual relations to be established between the Communist International on the one hand, and the International Council of Trade Unions, on the other.

The task of the Communist International is not only to direct the political struggle of the proletariat in the narrow sense of the word, but to guide its entire struggle for liberation, whatever form it may acquire. The Communist International must be not only the arithmetical total of the central organisations of the Communist Parties of different countries. The Communist International must stimulate and coordinate the work throughout class struggle of all proletarian organisations, the purely political organisations, trade unions, the Soviet and cultural organisations, etc.

Quite unlike the Yellow International, the International Council of Trade Unions will in no wise adopt the point of view of non-partyism or neutrality. Any organisation which would wish to remain neutral with regard to the Second, the "two and a half", and the Third International, would unavoidably become a pawn in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The program of action of the International Council of the Red Trade Unions which the Communist International will lay before the First Congress of Red Trade Unions, will be defended in reality by the communist parties alone and by the Communist International. On these grounds alone, if we are to succeed in carrying out the new revolutionary tasks of the trade unions, the red trade unions will have to work hand in hand and in close contact with the Communist Party, and the International Council of trade unions

will have to bring each step of its work in agreement with the work of the Communist International.

The prejudices of neutrality, of "independence", of non-party and non-political tactics, with which certain revolutionary syndicalists of France, Spain, Italy and other countries are infected, are objectively nothing more than a tribute paid to bourgeois ideas. The red trade unions cannot conquer the Yellow Amsterdam International and consequently capitalism without repudiating the bourgeois ideas of independence and neutrality once for all. From the point of view of economising forces and concentrating blows, the formation of a single, united proletarian International would unite in its ranks political parties and all other forms of labour organisations. The future will undoubtedly belong to this type of organisation. However, in the present transitional period, given the actual variety of trade unions in the different countries, it is unavoidably necessary to create an International Association of Red Trade Unions, which will on the whole stand for the platform of the Communist International, but which will admit members much more freely than is done by the Communist International.

The Third Congress of the Communist International promises its support to the International Council of Trade Unions which is to be organised on these lines. To bring about a closer union between the Communist International and the International Council of Trade Unions, the Third Congress of the Communist International proposes that it should be represented by three members on the Executive of the International Council of Trade Unions and vice versa.

The program of action which in the opinion of the Communist International should to be accepted by the Constituent World Congress of Red Trade Unions runs approximately as follows:

V.

During the next epoch the principal task of all communists will be to concentrate their energy and perseverance on winning over to their side the majority of workers in all labour unions. They must not be discouraged by the present

reactionary tendency of the labour unions, but take part actively in the daily struggles of the unions and win them over to the cause of Communism in spite of all resistance.

The real test of the strength of every communist party is the actual influence it has on the workers in the labour unions. The party must learn how to influence the Unions without attempting to keep them in leading strings. Only the Communist fraction of the union is subject to the control of the party, not the labour union as a whole. If the communist fractions persevere; if their activity is devoted and intelligent, the party will reach a position where its advice will be accepted gladly and readily by the unions.

In France the labour unions are now passing through a wholesome period of fermentation. The working class is regaining strength after crisis in the workers' movement and is learning to recognise and punish the past treachery of the reformist socialists and trade-unionists. Many of the revolutionary trade-unionists of France are still unwilling to take part in political fight and are prejudiced against the idea of a political proletarian party. They still revere to the idea of neutrality as expressed in the well-known *Charte d'Amiens* of 1906. The point of view of this fraction of the revolutionary trade-unionists may be regarded as a source of great danger for the movement. If this fraction should gain control of the majority in the unions, it would not know what to do with this majority. It would be helpless against the agents of capitalism, the Tonhaux and the Dumoulins.

The revolutionary trade-unionists of France will remain without definite lines of demarcation as long as the communist party itself lacks such lines. The Communist Party of France must strive to work in friendly cooperation with the best elements of revolutionary trade-unionism. It is however essential that the party should only rely solely upon its own elements. Sections should be formed wherever three communists are to be found. The party must at once undertake a campaign against neutrality. It must point out in a friendly but decided man-

ner the defects in the position of revolutionary trade-unionism. This is the only possible way to revolutionise the trade union movement in France and to establish close cooperation between the party and the trade union movement.

In Italy the situation is very peculiar. The majority of the trade-union members are revolutionary, but the leadership of the Conf. del Lavoro is in the hands of reformists and centrists whose sympathies are with Amsterdam. The first task of the Italian Communists will be to organise a persevering daily struggle in every section in the trade unions; to endeavour systematically and patiently to expose the treachery and indecision of the leaders; and to wrest the trade-unions from their control. In regard to the revolutionary trade-union elements of Italy, the Italian communists will have to adopt the same measures as the Communists in France.

In Spain we have a strong revolutionary trade-union movement, which still lacks a clearly defined final purpose, and a young and relatively weak Communist Party. In view of the existing conditions, the party must do everything possible to secure a firm foothold in the Trade Unions. It must support the unions in word and deed, and exercise a clarifying influence on the whole trade-union movement. It must likewise establish friendly relations with the unions and make every effort to organise the whole struggle in common.

Important developments are taking place in the British trade-union movement which is rapidly becoming more and more revolutionary. The mass movement is growing, and the influence of the old trade-union leaders is on the wane. The Party must do its utmost to establish itself firmly in the great Trade Unions (miners, etc.). Every member of the Party must work actively in some trade-union, and must endeavour to make Communism popular through active and persevering work. Every effort must be made to get into closer contact with the masses.

The same process is taking place in America, although at a slower rate. Communists must on no account leave the ranks of the reactionary Federation of Labour. On the contrary, they should

get into the old trade unions in order to revolutionise them. Co-operation with the best sections of the I. W. W. is imperative; this does not, however, preclude an educational campaign against the prejudices of the I. W. W.

In Japan a great trade-union movement has rapidly come into being, but it lacks an enlightened leadership. The communistic elements of Japan must support this movement and use every effort to direct it in Marxian channels.

In Szekho-Slovakia, our party is backed by the majority of the working class, but the trade-union movement is, to a great extent, still in the hands of the social patriots. This is because the party itself has lacked organisation and clearly defined principles. The party must make a great effort to put an end to these conditions, and to get control of the leaders of the trade-unions.

In Austria and Belgium the social patriots have with great cunning succeeded in getting control of the trade-union

movement. The trade-union movement is the chief field for revolutionary action in these countries. That is why it should have received more attention from the Communist Parties.

In Norway the party which has the majority of the workers behind it, must become more influential over the trade-union movement.

In Sweden the Party has not only to contend with reformism, but also with petty bourgeois tendencies in the socialist movement.

In Germany the Party is gradually getting control of the trade-union movement. On no account should concessions be made to the partisans of the movement "Leave the Trade-Unions".

This would play into the hands of the social-patriots. All attempts to expel communists from the Unions must be met by constant and energetic resistance if we are to win over to Communism the majority of the organised workers.

THE SCHEME.

The Program of the Activity.

1. The acute economical crisis spreading all over the world, the catastrophical fall of wholesale prices, the overproduction of goods combined with an actual lack of sale, the militant policy of the bourgeoisie towards the working class, the tenacious tendency towards the reduction of wages and the throwing of the workers far backwards; the growing exasperation of the masses on one side and the impotence of the old trade unions and their methods on the other, — impose new problems to the revolutionary class trade unions all over the world. New methods of economic struggle are required. Called forth by the decomposition of capitalism, a new aggressive economic policy of the Trade Unions is necessary in order to parry the attack of capital, and strengthening the old position - pass over to the offensive.

2) The basis of the tactics of the trade-unions is direct action of revolutionary masses and their organisations against capitalism. The gains of the workers are in proportion to the degree of direct action and revolutionary activity of the masses. Under „direct action“ we mean all forms of direct pressure of the workers upon the employers and the state: boycott, strike, street demonstrations, seizure of the factories, armed uprisings and other revolutionary activity, which tend to unite the working class in the fight for socialism. The aim of the revolutionary trade unions is, therefore, to turn direct action into a weapon of education and fighting ability of the working masses for the social revolution and institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3) The last year of the struggle has

shown with a particular vividness the inability of strictly trade union organisations. The fact of the workers in one concern belonging to several unions produce a weakning effect on the struggle. It is necessary—and this should be the starting point of a tenacious struggle — to pass from a strictly trade union, to an organisation of trade unions on the struggle of production. „One union for one enterprise” — this is the militant motto in the organisation structure. The fusion of related unions into one union should be effected in a revolutionary way putting this question directly before the members of the unions in the factories and concerns and further before district and regional conference, as well as before the national congresses.

4) Each factory and each mill should become a citadel of the revolution. Old forms of communication between rank and file members of the union and the union itself such as money collectors, representatives, proxies and other should be substituted by the formation of factory committees. The factory committee must be elected by the workers engaged in the given enterprise, independently of the political creed they profess. The problems imposed upon the supporters of the Red International of Trade Unions is to involve all the workers of a given concern into the election of their representative organ. The attempt to elect the factory committee exclusively among adherents of same party casting aside the broad non-party rank and file workers should be severely condemned. This would be only nucleus and not a factory committee. The revolutionary workers should influence and act upon the general meeting, as well as committee of action and their rank and file members.

5) The first question to be put before the workers and the factory committee— is the maintainance of the workers discharged on account of unemployment, at the expence of the enterprise. It should not be permitted that workers should be thrown out into the streets without the enterprise being in the least concerned with it. The owner must be compelled to pay full wages to the unemployed and mainly to the workers engaged in the enterprises explaining to

them at the same time that the problem of unemployment is not to be solved within the capitalist regime, and that the only way to abolish it is the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

6) The closing down of enterprises and curtailing of the workers hours are at present time the most effecient weapon for the cleaning of the concern from unreliable elemets with the help of which the bourgeoisie is compelling the workers to accept the reduction of wages, increasing of the working day and the abolition of collective bargaining. Lock-out taken more and more definetely form of direct action on the part of the employers. For this purpose special controlling commissions should be instituted with regard to full raw material, orders, in order to varyify the quantities of avaiilable raw material, necessary for the production, as well as money resources in the banks. Specially elected controlling commissions must investigate in a most careful manner the financial co-relation existing between the given enterprise and other concerns and the practical task of abolishing the commercial mastery, should be imposed upon the workers for this purpose.

7) One of the ways of struggling against such closing of concerns for the purpose of a reduction of wages and standard of life should be the taking hold by the workers of the factories and mills and proceed with production by themselves despite the owners deal.

Owning to the lack of goods it is highly important to proceed with the production and the workers should therefore oppose to the premeditated closing down of factories and mills. In connection with local conditions and the condition of production, the political situation, the tension of the social struggle,— the sizure of the enterprises may and should be followed by other ways of pressure upon capital. On taking hold of the concern the management of the same should be conferred to factories and workshops committees and a representative of the union specially appointed for the purpose.

8) The economical struggle should follow the motto of an increase in wages and of the improvements of the labour conditions to a much higher degree com-

pared with pre-war period. The attempts to bring back the workers to the pre-war conditions of labour must meet with the most resolute revolutionary resistance. The exhaustion of the working class during the period of the war must be compensated by an increase in wages and the improvement of the labour conditions. The reference of capitalists to foreign competition should by no means be taken into consideration: the revolutionary. Trade Unions are bound to approach the question of wages and labour conditions not from the point of view of the competition between rapacious capitalist of different nations; but solely from that of the preservation and the defense of the living labour force.

9) In the case of such tendencies of reducing wages taken up by capitalists of an economic crisis in the country, the task of the revolutionary trade unions should consist in their endeavours to prevent the reduction in wages by turn in each separate concern, in order not to be defeated in parts. The workers engaged in the enterprises of public welfare such as the mining, railroad, electric, gas concerns and others, should be drawn in at once, in order that the struggle against the onslaughts of capital should touch the very nerve of the economic organism.

All ways of resistance from a separate intermittent strike up to a general strike embracing all large fundamental industries on a national scale are in such a case not only advisable but strictly necessary.

10) The trade unions must consider it their practical task to prepare and organise international action in each separate industry. The interruption in transport or coal mining on an international scale is a mighty weapon in the struggle against the reactionary attempts of the world bourgeoisie.

The trade unions must attentively study the course of events all over the world choosing [the most appropriate moment for their economic action, not forgetting for a single instant that international action is possible only in the case of real revolutionary class conscious trade unions, on an international scale, being formed, having nothing in common with the yellow Amsterdam International.

11) The belief in the absolute value of collective stipulations propagated by the opportunists of all countries, must be met with a resolute and keen resistance from the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. The collective stipulation is nothing more than an armistice. The owner always violates these collective compacts when the smallest opportunity prevents itself for doing so. The respectful attitude toward collective stipulations testifies only that the bourgeois conceptions are deeply inrooted in the minds of the leaders of the working class. The revolutionary trade unions without rejecting as a rule the collective stipulation must realize its relative value and clearly define the methods to abolish these stipulations when it proves to be profitable to the working class.

12) The struggle of the labour organizations against the individual and collective employer, while adapting itself to the national and local conditions should utilize all the experience acquired during the previous periods of the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

Therefore, every large strike should not only be well prepared but simultaneously with the declaration of it, there must be organized special detachments for the struggle against scabbing and for counteraction, as well as, the provocative movement on the part of all kinds of white-guard organizations, encouraged by the bourgeoisie and the government. The Fascists in Italy, the Technical Aid in Germany, the civil white guard organization consisting of ex-commissioned and non commissioned officers in France and in England — all these organizations pursue the aim of disorganizing and forestalling all the actions of the workers with the purpose not only to replace the strikers by scabs, but to destroy materially their organisations and kill the leaders of the labour movement. The organization of special strike militia and special self defiance detachments, is a question of life and death to the workers under similar conditions.

13) These militant organizations should not only struggle against the attacks of the employers and the strike breaking organizations, but take the initiative by stopping all the freight and products

transported to their respective factory and all other enterprises and the Union of the transport workers ought to play a specially prominent part in this case; the task of stopping the transportation of freight has fallen on their shoulders, can be realised by the unanimous support of all the workers of the given locality.

14) All the economical struggle of the working class should gather around the slogan of the control over the industry, which control ought to be realized as soon as possible without waiting for the ruling classes and the government to prevent an initiation of the same. It is necessary to carry on a merciless struggle against all the attempts of the ruling classes and reformists to establish intermediary labour affiliations and intermediary control committees, that control to be realized directly by the workers themselves only then the results will be definitive. The revolutionary trade unions ought to fight resolutely against that perverted socialism and graft with which the leaders of the old trade unions, aided by the ruling classes are practising. All the talk of these gentlemen about the peaceable socialisation of the industry is done with the sole aim to withdraw the attention of the working class from revolutionary actions and the social revolution.

15) In order to withdraw the workers from their direct problem and instil in them the petty bourgeois aspirations they advance the idea of workers participating in the profits, which means the return to the workers of that insignificant part of wealth created by them, which is called additional value. This slogan, only meant for the demoralization of the workers should be met by severe and rigorous criticism: "Not the participation in the profits, but the entire elimination of capitalistic profit" is the slogan of the revolutionary unions.

16) While carrying on the struggle for the improvement of labour conditions, the elevation of the living standard of the

masses and the establishment of the workers control it is always necessary to remember that it is impossible to solve all these problems within the limits of the capitalistic forms of government. Therefore the revolutionary trade unions wrenching out concessions from the ruling classes everywhere, forcing them to legislate socialistic laws, should always clearly explain to the workers that only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can solve that painful question. Therefore, every local uprising, every local strike and every small conflict should be guided by the above mentioned principle. The revolutionary trade unions ought to make these conflicts general, elevating the consciousness of the workers to the comprehension of the inevitability of the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

17) Every economical struggle is also a political one, that is a general class struggle. Such a struggle under similar conditions, no matter what large element of workers it may comprise in each respective country, and carried through for the greatest benefit of the entire working class only then, when the revolutionary trade unions will act in perfect unity with the Communist Party in each respective country. To divide the theory and the practice of the struggle of the working class to two distinct parts is extremely detrimental especially at the present moment. Ever uprising requires the maximum concentration of forces which is only possible under the greatest strain of the revolutionary energy of the working class, i. e. all its communistic and revolutionary elements divided action on the part of the Communist Party and the revolutionary red trade unions is doomed to failure in advance. Therefore the unity of action, and the organic connection between the Communist Party and the Trade Unions is the preliminary condition leading to success in the struggle against capitalism.