

# International Relations Section

## France and General Wrangel

THE recognition by France of the de facto Government of General Wrangel was announced on August 11. On August 30 the *Daily Herald* (London) published the following agreement, which was officially denied but widely reasserted.

For the promise of official recognition by France, and military and diplomatic support against the Soviet Government, General Wrangel engages himself:

1. To recognize with priority all debts due to France by the Russian state and municipalities, to be paid in compound interest.
2. The Soviet Government having been overthrown, France converts all Russian debts to a new loan, at a yearly interest of 6½ per cent for 35 years, with partial yearly amortization.
3. The paying of interest and the yearly amortization of capital is to be guaranteed by:
  - a. The handing over to France for exploitation of all railways of European Russia for ——— years.
  - b. The handing over to France of the right to draw customs and port charges at all ports on the Black and Azov Seas.
  - c. The placing at the disposal of France of the surplus of the corn of the Ukraine and Kuban districts during the ——— years, the export before the war to be taken as the basis.
  - d. The placing at the disposal of France of three-fourths of the exported quantities of naphtha and benzine during ——— years, according to estimate of before the war.
  - e. The surrendering of one-fourth of the quantity of coal in the Don district during ——— years.

Note: The number of years for points a, c, d, e to be settled by a special agreement, not yet drawn up.

Points b, c, and e take effect immediately after Wrangel's conquest of the corresponding territories. The sums obtained by the export of raw materials should be used for the payment of interest for old debts.

4. To the Russian financial, commercial, and industrial ministries shall be attached officials of the French financial and commercial chancelleries, whose rights shall be settled by a special treaty.

5. Russia engages itself to restore liability to military service upon the same basis as before the war.

6. France undertakes to restore the Russian rifle and munition factories and the primary equipping of the new army. France and Russia enter into a military offensive and defensive alliance for 20 years.

By a secret treaty is settled the policy of France concerning the border states separated from Russia, and their mutual relations to Russia.

## The Conditions of the Third Internationale

AT the Second Congress of the Third or Communist Internationale, held at Moscow in July, certain conditions were formulated which parties wishing to enter the Third Internationale should fulfil. These conditions were printed in the *Freiheit* (Berlin) of August 25, and in the *Bulletin Communiste* (Paris) for September 2. The text printed below follows the French version, additional matter included in the German version being given within square brackets. The press of the German Independent and the French Socialists divide, many calling the conditions impossible; the American Socialists unanimously reject them.

The First Congress of the Communist Internationale did not lay down definite conditions for admission of parties into the

Third Internationale. Up to the time of calling the first congress there were in most countries merely Communist wings or groups. The Second Congress meets under other conditions. In most countries there now are Communist parties and organizations. Parties and groups which very recently belonged to the Second Internationale and now desire to enter the Third although they have not become truly Communist, are turning more and more often to the Communist Internationale. The Second Internationale is wrecked. The middle parties and Centrist groups, understanding how hopeless is the outlook, are attempting to lean upon the Communist Internationale which is becoming more and more powerful. Nevertheless they hope to retain a sufficient degree of autonomy to enable them to carry out their old opportunist or Centrist policy. The Communist Internationale has, in a way, become the fashion. The desire of the leading groups of the Center to enter it is an indirect proof that the Communist Internationale has won the sympathies of the great majority of the class-conscious workers of the world and is daily stronger.

The Communist Internationale might be menaced by the invasion of unreliable elements noted for their half-way methods and not yet free of the ideology of the Second Internationale. Furthermore in some of the great parties (Italy, Sweden, [Norway, Yugoslavia, etc.]) which have Communist majorities there remain large reformist and pacifist groups which only wait the occasion to raise their heads again, to begin the active sabotage of the proletarian revolution, and so help the bourgeoisie and the Second Internationale. No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The amalgamation of the Hungarian Communists with the reformists cost the Hungarian proletariat dear. Hence the Second Congress of the Communist Internationale considers it necessary to define with precision the conditions for the admission of new parties and to direct the attention of those parties which have been admitted to the Communist Internationale to the duties incumbent upon them. The Second Congress of the Communist Internationale determines the conditions for membership as follows:

1. The daily propaganda and agitation must have a clear Communist character [and agree with the program and decisions of the Third Internationale]. The party press must be edited by responsible Communists, who have proved their devotion to the cause of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be discussed as a current and formal phrase; propaganda for it should be such that its necessity, deduced from the facts of daily life, would be obvious to every worker, soldier, and peasant, and regularly noted in our press.

In the columns of the press, at public meetings, in the trade unions, in the cooperatives, wherever the supporters of the Third Internationale have access, the bourgeoisie and also its accomplices, the reformers of all types, must be systematically and unmercifully branded.

2. Organizations desiring to affiliate with the Communist Internationale should regularly and systematically remove the reformists and Centrists from all responsible posts, major or minor, in the labor movement (party organizations, editorial offices, trade unions, parliamentary groups, cooperatives, municipal administrations, etc.) and replace them with tried Communists, without hesitating, especially at the beginning, to replace "experienced" opportunists by workers of the rank and file.

3. In countries where because of a state of siege or of exceptional laws the Communists are unable to carry on all their work legally, it is absolutely necessary to combine legal with illegal activities. In nearly every country of Europe and America the class struggle is entering upon the phase of civil war. Under such circumstances the Communists cannot rely upon bourgeois legality. It is their duty everywhere to create parallel to the legal an illegal organization capable at the decisive moment of fulfilling its duty to the revolution.

4. A systematic and vigorous propaganda must be carried on

in the army. Communist nuclei should be formed in every military unit. Most of this work will be illegal but to refuse to do it would be treason to revolutionary duty and incompatible with membership in the Third Internationale.

5. A systematic and well-planned agitation must be carried on in the country districts. The working class cannot triumph unless it has the support of at least a part of the farm workers (day workers and poorer farmers) and unless its policy has won the neutrality of at least a part of the backward rural groups. Communist activity in the country is coming to be of capital importance. It must be carried on chiefly by the urban Communist workers who have connections in the country. Refusal to do this work or confiding it to unreliable semi-reformist hands is equivalent to renunciation of the proletarian revolution.

6. It is the duty of every party desiring to belong to the Third Internationale to denounce not only avowed patriotism, but also dishonest and hypocritical pacifism, and systematically to demonstrate to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international court of arbitration, no discussion of the reduction of armaments, no "democratic" reorganization of the League of Nations can preserve mankind from fresh imperialistic wars.

7. It is the duty of parties desiring to belong to the Communist Internationale to recognize the necessity of a complete and final break with reformist and Centrist policies, and to preach this break among the members of the party. Without this a consistent Communist policy is impossible.

The Communist Internationale demands imperatively and without discussion that this break be made within a very short time. The Communist Internationale cannot admit that such avowed opportunists as Turati, [Kautsky, Hilferding, Hillquit, Longuet, Macdonald,] Modigliani, etc., should have the right to call themselves members of the Third Internationale. That would make the Third Internationale too much like the Second.

8. A particularly clear-cut stand should be taken in the matter of colonies and oppressed nationalities by parties in those countries whose bourgeoisie possesses colonies and oppresses nationalities. Parties belonging to the Communist Internationale are duty-bound pitilessly to unmask the acts of their own imperialists in the colonies, to support every movement for emancipation in the colonies not only with words but with acts, to demand the expulsion of their own imperialists from those colonies, to nourish in the hearts of the workers in their own countries a genuine fraternal feeling for the working population of the colonies and for the oppressed nationalities, and to sustain a systematic agitation among the troops of their countries against all oppression of the people of the colonies.

9. Parties desiring to belong to the Communist Internationale should carry on a systematic and persistent propaganda within the trade unions, [the workers' and shop councils,] the co-operatives, and other mass organizations of the workers. Within those organizations Communist nuclei should be formed, whose stubborn and persistent work will win the trade unions to Communism. It will be their constant task to expose the treason of the social patriots and the instability of the "Center." These Communist nuclei should be completely subordinate to the party as a whole.

10. It is the duty of parties belonging to the Communist Internationale vigorously and persistently to fight the yellow Trade Union Internationale organized at Amsterdam. On the other hand they should aid with all their power the international union of the Red trade unions affiliated with the Communist Internationale.

11. It is the duty of parties desiring to belong to the Third Internationale to revise the personnel of their parliamentary groups, to expel all unreliable elements, and to make these groups subject to the party executives, not only in form but in fact, by demanding that each Communist member of Parliament subordinate all his activity to the true interests of revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

12. The periodical and non-periodical press and all party

publishing concerns should be under the complete control of the party executive, whether that be legal or illegal. The organs of publicity cannot be permitted to abuse their autonomy and to follow a policy not in complete accord with the party policy.

13. Parties belonging to the Communist Internationale should be organized on the principle of democratic centralization. In the present period of acute civil war the Communist Party can fulfil its function only if organized in most centralized fashion, if controlled by iron military discipline, and if the party executive, armed with large powers, exercises uncontested authority and has the unanimous confidence of the active membership.

14. The Communist parties in countries where the Communists work legally must carry out periodic housecleanings of the party organization to rid the party of petit bourgeois and special interest elements.

15. Parties desiring to belong to the Communist Internationale should give unqualified support to all soviet republics in their struggles against the counter-revolution. They should untiringly preach refusal to transport munitions or supplies to the enemies of the Soviet Republic, and, whether legally or illegally, they should carry on propaganda among the troops sent against the soviet republics.

16. Parties which have hitherto retained their old Social Democratic programs are duty-bound to revise those programs without delay, and to work out a new program in the spirit of the decisions of the Communist Internationale adapted to the special conditions of their countries. As a rule the programs of parties belonging to the Communist Internationale should be confirmed by the Congress of the Communist Internationale, or by its Executive Committee. If the program of a party should not be sanctioned by the Executive Committee, the party may appeal to the Congress.

17. All decisions of the Congress and of the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale are binding upon all parties affiliated with it. In this period of acute civil war the Communist Internationale must be far more centralized than was the Second. The Communist Internationale and its Executive Committee should take into consideration the very varied conditions in the different countries, and make general and binding resolutions only when they can be carried out.

18. In accordance with the above, all parties belonging to the Communist Internationale should change their names. Any party desiring to join the Communist Internationale should be called "Communist Party of . . . (Section of the Third Communist Internationale)." The question of name is not a mere matter of form, but has considerable political importance. The Communist Internationale has declared war upon the entire old bourgeois world and on all the old yellow Social Democratic parties. It is important that the difference between the Communist parties and the old official "Social Democratic" and "Socialist" parties which have betrayed the banner of the working class should be made clear to every workingman.

19. It is the duty of all the leading press organs of the parties to print all important official documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale.

20. All parties belonging to the Communist Internationale, or which have applied for admission to it, should as soon as possible, at the latest within four months after the Second Congress of the Communist Internationale, call a special convention to examine these conditions. The Party Executive should see that all local organizations are made acquainted with the decisions of the Second Congress.

21. Parties desiring to enter the Third Internationale which have not yet radically changed their former tactics should arrange that before entrance into the Third Internationale at least two-thirds of the members of the Party Executive and of all the important central bodies shall have clearly and publicly declared in favor of entrance into the Third Internationale before its Second Congress. Exceptions may be allowed with the approval of the Executive Committee of the Third Internationale. The Executive Committee may also make exceptions in



the cases of the Centrist adherents named in Condition 7.

[22. Party members who on principle reject these conditions laid down by the Communist Internationale are to be expelled from the party. This applies especially to delegates to the special party convention.]

## The Petrograd Elections

**E**LECTIONS to the Petrograd Soviet were held during the week of June 23-30. The following extracts and summaries are from the Bolshevik papers of that period.

The *Pravda* (Petrograd) of June 16 contains an announcement of the forthcoming elections, signed by Zinoviev, chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, and Trilliser, secretary, setting forth the rules and regulations for the balloting.

The distinguishing feature of Soviet elections is that the voters are grouped occupationally and not geographically. The workers vote at their factories or at their union headquarters, the soldiers in their barracks, the students at their universities. Housewives and other scattered workers are provided with special polling places.

The general ratio of representation, as prescribed in the regulations, is one delegate to each 400 voters. Concerns employing more than 150 and less than 400 workers elect one delegate; those having less than 150 workers combine with other groups in kindred occupations. Soldiers and sailors elect delegates at the ratio of one for each 200. Detached units numbering less than 200 elect one delegate each. Brain workers (writers, scientists, professors, artists, etc.) elect delegates through their professional organizations.

The large organized bodies of workers also elect delegates to the soviet, so that the citizens have a certain degree of double representation, by delegates from their shops and from their respective unions. The Petrograd Council of Trade Unions elects one delegate for each 5,000 members. Each registered industrial and trade union numbering not less than 2,000 members elects two delegates. Organized professional sections having not less than 500 members (artisans, transport workers, clerks, etc.) elect one delegate each.

Nominations are made by groups of workers, soldiers, etc., and the different tickets are presented to the factory or shop committees, or to the boards of their unions, or the district military sections, as the case may be. These tickets must be posted in the election places at least 24 hours before the election. The date of the elections, which may be held at any time during election week, is determined by the factory and shop committees, trade union boards, etc. Notice of the election must be posted in the place where it is to be held at least 24 hours in advance. Elections where voters are scattered (house servants, janitors, etc.) must be advertised in the press.

An election is legal regardless of the number of those voting. The number of delegates is established in proportion to the number of voters employed in the concern where the election is held, and not in proportion to the number who actually vote.

With the official announcement of these regulations, *Pravda* prints two specimen blank forms, one for giving notice of elections and the other for reporting the results. Each has to be duly certified by the local election board and delivered to the Central Election Board. This board is composed of seven members, appointed by the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, the Council of Trade Unions, and the Military Section of the Petrograd Soviet.

A typical campaign editorial appears in the Petrograd *Pravda* of June 18. The official organ of the Communists appeals for support on the party's record. The editorial says in part:

"Once more the workers will have to say to whom they will intrust the leadership at this complicated and serious moment. We stand before a new attack by the Allies. We have delivered a strong blow against the Polish *shlachta* (landlords) who attempted to grab us by the throat. But the battle is not yet

ended. In the south, Wrangel has crawled out from the Crimea, and with the aid of the British and French imperialists attempts to stretch a helping hand to the Poles.

"'Bread and Peace,' was our slogan in 1917; but world imperialism tried to strangle us and we had to fight for our revolution. As a result of our victories, however, the food supply is much better and Petrograd gets more food now than in 1919.

"Now the Soviet Government of Petrograd again asks the workers to tell to whom they will intrust the defense of the great city, under whose banner they will fight against world imperialism. There is no doubt that the proletariat of Petrograd, which was not afraid of Judenich, who almost captured the city, will now give their votes to the vanguard of the working class, the Russian Communist Party."

As the elections progress, the papers flaunt the Communist victories. The following are characteristic headlines:

"Maxim Gorky is elected to the Petrograd Soviet by the Department of Education."

"The Post Office elected 20 Communists and 10 nonpartisans."

"The Housewives made a good start and elected a Communist woman to the Petrograd Soviet."

"The Students of the First City District elected two Communists."

Defeat of the chief opposition party is hailed with exultation. A paragraph headed "Great Failure of the Mensheviks" reads:

"The Mensheviks placed great hopes in the elections at the Post Office, and at the Telegraph and Telephone offices. They made much preparation for the campaign among these workers, who comprise many intellectuals. Result: The Communist ticket elected by an overwhelming majority."

The *Red Gazette* is especially bitter. In the issue of June 26, under the caption "Disgrace," it pours scorn upon two factories which elected deputies from the opposition parties:

"At the Nobel factory two Mensheviks were elected and at the Pal factory one Social Revolutionist. . . . We are not directing attention to the deputies of these factories; we are pointing the finger of scorn at the factories which elected these deputies. Behold the workers of the Nobel factory! Behold the workers of the Pal factory! Look at them, sailors and Red army soldiers! Behold these erring ones, brothers and sisters! They voted for the representatives of those parties which only recently embraced Kolchak and Denikin. They voted for the parties which always hindered our revolution. . . . In all Petrograd only two such enterprises were found which voted for the parties of the plucked crows. These factories may serve as specimens for a museum of freaks; one may look at them with surprise—but one must despise them."

The records of the candidates are rigorously exposed, and the lists and returns carefully scrutinized. There are occasional charges of irregularity and demands for reelection. At the Nobel factory a Menshevik, Dorofeev, was elected on a nonpartisan ticket. Whereupon the workers in the foundry shop of that factory passed the following resolution of protest: "We, the workers of the foundry, protest against a faulty election. Under the banner of nonpartisanship a Menshevik was elected. We do not trust the Mensheviks, who at the present moment under the leadership of a Menshevik, Pilsudski, are waging war against Soviet Russia. We demand a new election for Dorofeev's seat."

The housewives launched a savage attack upon the two factories which had the temerity to elect Menshevik deputies. At their election meeting the housewives of the second city district, numbering 1,500 electors, passed a resolution condemning the action of the Nobel and Pal factories. "Comrades, workers," runs their statement, published in the *Red Gazette*, June 29, "think whom you have elected. At the head of the Polish army stands the traitor Pilsudski, waging war against workers and peasants. . . . And you have elected to the Petrograd Soviet the same kind of Menshevik. It is a shame, comrades, to help the White Guard lords. Death to the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists, together with the Polish lords. Long live the newly elected Communist Petrograd Soviet!"