

munist parties of the world; fourthly, that this political bureau is, in turn, dominated by one man: Stalin.

And we will all conclude that the famous rule of the proletarian class, which is supposed to lead us to an earthly paradise, is the rule, not of the working class, but of Stalin.

The Third International is the outgrowth of the Russian communist party and of the Russian soviet government. I will prove it: The Third International, called *Komintern* in Russian, was created in 1918 by three leaders of the Russian communist party, Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov, at a congress, where 17 of the 35 delegates were members of the Russian communist party. At one of its sittings, Zinoviev spoke as follows:

I say that our party considers that it is very urgent officially to establish the Third International.

Lenin stated:

The aim of the International, its essential function, which is the practical application of the marxist doctrine and the social ideal, of a hundred years standing, of the proletarian movement—that distinctive feature of the Third International—has immediately found its expression in the fact that the new International Union of Proletarians has just identified itself, so to speak, with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, designated by the initials U.S.S.R.

Why have the communist party and the government of Soviet Russia created the Third International? In order to carry on revolutionary activities throughout the whole world. As an official organization of the U.S.S.R., the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs could not very well organize the overthrow of foreign governments. An organization free from suspicion, from scruples and from diplomatic sanctions had to be established. Such an organization is the Third International.

While the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs officially represents the Soviet government and maintains contact with the Foreign Offices of other countries in all official relations between states, the Third International deals, in its capacity of special organization of the Russian communist party and of the Soviet State, with all relations with the masses in foreign countries capable of being used for the purposes of world revolution. It endeavours by various means to obtain the adhesion of these masses to the bolshevist cause and to organize them under the auspices of the *Komintern*, an organization created for the special purpose of acting as an agency of propaganda and world revolution.

I think I have clearly established, first, that the Third International or *Komintern* is a revolutionary instrument, an incendiary torch

destined to light the fire of civil war in all countries. Secondly, I stated that the Russian government is itself the tool of the communist party. Let us look into the matter. It must be admitted that the new Russian constitution established last autumn grants to men and women of 18 years and over the right to vote, that is to choose their rulers. But they cannot choose between candidates. Candidates can be put forward by only one party, the communist party. Section 141 is clear on that point:

The right to nominate candidates is granted to social and workers' organizations, to organizers of the communist party, to trades unions, to cooperative societies, to youth organizations and cultural societies.

Section 126 makes this restriction still more severe, for it says that the communist party—represent the ruling nucleus of all workers' organizations, social as well as state.

The organizations which, under section 141, are allowed to nominate candidates are therefore directed by the communist party. If the candidates among which the rulers are chosen are tools of the communist party, whose iron discipline I shall indicate further on, the resulting government will necessarily be its tool also. Thirdly, the communist party itself is dominated by an executive acting under the orders of an all-powerful political bureau.

In short, the party, composed of only 2,000,000 Russians, holds both government and people under its control by means of its iron discipline. The heads of the party hold that informing and spying are among the duties of every member.

Spying and informing are practised on a large scale. The executive loses no occasion to remove from the party, if not from the land of the living, all those who think differently from the party leaders. Therein is to be found the explanation of the famous trials of the so-called Trotskysts and of others.

According to Ossinsky, the Political Bureau is the last resort. It is the most important section of the party, it is concerned not only with the most serious economic and political problems of Russia, but also with a multitude of less important questions.

Fourthly, it remains to be established that the Political Bureau is dominated by Stalin, that Stalin has the final say, that he is a dictator.

Voroschiloff said before the congress:

It is the Political Bureau that decides upon the policy of the U.S.S.R. . . . I state that comrade Stalin is the most important member of the Political Bureau, although he never claims to be the first; he takes the most active part in the solution of the problems and his proposals are accepted more often than those of the other members.