

POWER STRUGGLE AFTER LENIN

1922-1928 – Stalin background - Trotsky – Criticism – Kamenev – Zinoviev – Lenin’s funeral – “Socialism in one country” – United Opposition – Bukharin - ...

May 1922 – Lenin had his first stroke! This restricted him to participate in politics. The question that now came up was – **Who was going to take over after Lenin?**

The most important members of the **POLITBURO** were **Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin.**

A “summary diagram” of *the Power Struggle after Lenin’s Death*

Stalin’s advantages:

- Hold key posts in party and government (had control over the Party appointments and organization)
- Takes initiative on Lenin’s death

Trotsky’s disadvantages:

- Trotsky’s strange lack of self confidence allowed Stalin to act
- Trotsky lacked a power base in the Party

Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev forms a Triumvirate against Trotsky
(Zinoviev and Kamenev had the same ideas as Trotsky, but they deeply disliked him)

Issues on which Trotsky attempts to fight:

- Bureaucratization
- NEP
- Modernization of the USSR

Major clash:

Trotsky’s idea of a “**permanent revolution**” against Stalin’s idea of “**revolution in one country**”

Stalin’s advantage or the “roots of Stalin’s power”:

Background:

- Stalin had worked closely and loyally with Lenin
- Stalin had been a major worker for the Bolsheviks
- Lenin regarded him as “the wonderful Georgian” (but this changed in 1922...)
- In 1922 Lenin criticized Stalin (esp. after Stalin was rude to Krupskaya (told her to stay out of State business and called her a “whore” – Lenin’s testament)

Key posts taken by Stalin during Lenin’s time:

- People's Commissar for Nationalities (1917)
- Liaison Officer between Politburo and Orgburo (1919)
- Head of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate (1919)
- General Secretary of the Communist Party (1922)

Key moments in January 1924

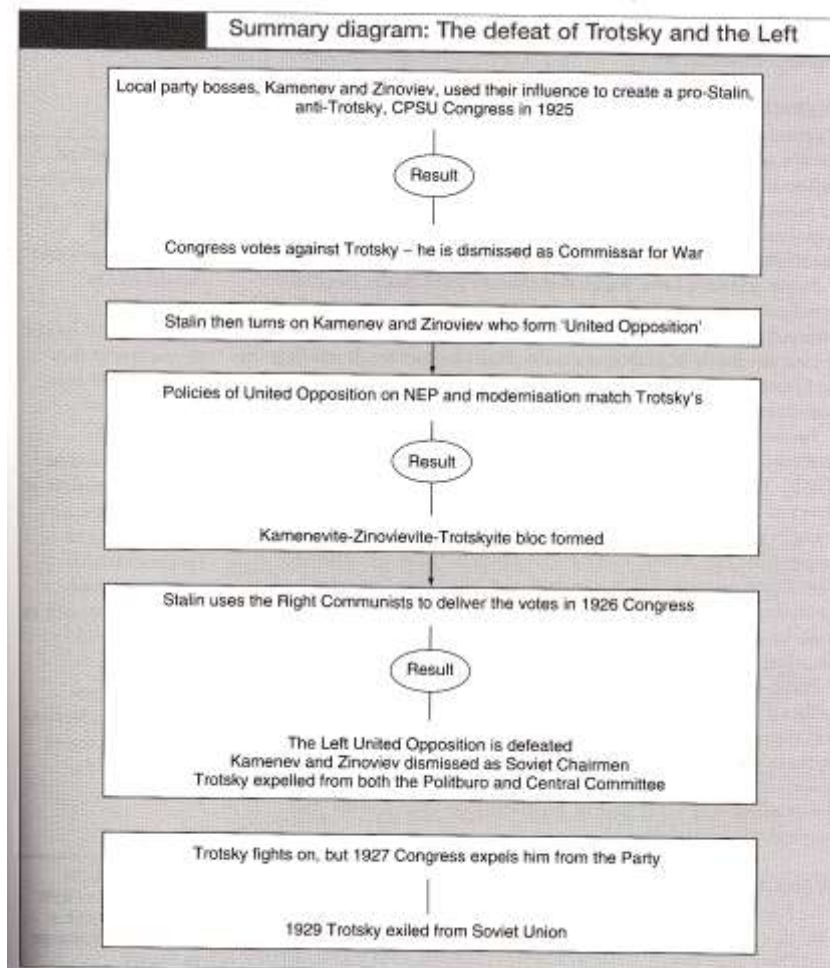
- Lenin's sickness and death prevented his "**Political Testament**" from being published (which saved Stalin from being dismissed as General Secretary)
- Stalin's behavior during the funeral. He tricked Trotsky to be away and he acted like Lenin's successor

Key benefits to Stalin from developments during Lenin's last years:

- The Lenin enrolment (the Party increased the number of members: 340.000 in 1922 to 600.000 in 1925. Stalin was as Party Secretary in charge of this enrolment...)
- The attack upon factionalism (at the Party Congress 1921)
- The Lenin legacy

Criticism against Trotsky:

- He was arrogant
- He focused too much on the administration of the Party/Army
- Trotsky became a Bolshevik during **Summer** 1917. He was a Menshevik after the split 1903. Pretty soon he established an independent intellectual group which worked together up to Summer 1917
- He had been a brilliant leader of the Red Army – so they feared him
- He was a Jew...



1922 – Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev sets up a Triumvirate

Just a few days later Lenin had his second stroke. **The triumvirate between Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev was set up.** They opened up the old Party Records to the Central Committee and took out old letters where Lenin expressed disagreements with Trotsky (and his group of intellectuals – these letters came from the period before Summer 1917). After this they started a “*whispering campaign*” against Trotsky;

- They revealed the earlier disagreements between Lenin and Trotsky
- Trotsky was a “non-Bolshevik” before Summer 1917
- Trotsky was portrayed as someone who was ruthlessly ambitious

At the **12th Party Congress (April 1923)** Trotsky had looked like Lenin’s successor, but he became more and more isolated. At the same Congress Stalin was re-elected General Secretary. The Party Congress also;

- Elected a new enlarged Central Committee. Of the 40 members only 3 strongly supported Trotsky
- A special Control Commission was set up. It was supposed to examine the Party members and dismiss the ones that were not politically correct. **Stalin became the Supervisor of this Commission and he now began to replace Trotsky’s supporters** with supporters of the triumvirate...

Lenin’s funeral: When Lenin died Trotsky was on his way to the Black Sea to recover from his previous illness. Stalin deliberately gave Trotsky the wrong date about the funeral – so Trotsky thought he could not make it back in time. After talking to Stalin it was decided that Trotsky should continue his recovery by the Black Sea. During the funeral Stalin acted like Lenin’s successor. His speech can be seen as the start of a “**LENIN CULT**”. The triumvirate also raised doubts about Trotsky’s absence.

Before the **13th Party Congress (May 1924)** Krupskaya revealed Lenin’s Political Testament to the Central Committee and senior delegates. She and several of her supporters thought this would be enough to stop Stalin’s career...

It was Zinoviev and Kamenev that saved Stalin’s political career by arguing;

- *Stalin has changed the policies he was criticized for*
- *The Party needs to stick together*

The Central Committee decided to not publish Lenin’s Testament (it actually remained a Party secret until 1956!) and Stalin remained the General Secretary. Krupskaya protested!!!, but Trotsky said nothing...

The Congress voted for the condemnation of Trotsky (this had been suggested at the previous conference when Trotsky was ill). Trotsky accepted the verdict of the Party. The triumvirate also acted in **COMINTERN** (the Third International/Communist International – set up in Moscow 1919...). In June 1924 Trotsky was not re-elected as a full member, his was replaced by Stalin. Trotsky was also threatened with expulsion if he engaged in any further political controversies. The **defeat of Trotsky and the Left Opposition** ended the first stage of the Power Struggle after Lenin...

The **later stage of the first phase in the Power Struggle 1924-1926** was relatively quiet... In summer 1924 a campaign against “Trotskyism” was started. During the Autumn 1924 Stalin presented his idea “**SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY**”;

- The new State needs peace and political/economical stability so it can construct socialism on its own
- It rejected the idea of a “Permanent Revolution” – Trotsky’s idea since 1906
- Bukharin now supported Stalin and he supported the idea of “SMYCHKA” – the political and economical alliance between industrial workers and peasants (within NEP)...

In November 1924 Trotsky finally acted;

- He published his speeches and writings of 1917 + a new part “**Lessons of October**”. This new part showed how he had opposed the Mensheviks since 1904... It also showed how close his and Lenin’s ideas were. It further showed how Zinoviev and Kamenev had opposed Lenin, especially about the October revolution in 1917, but there was not any criticism against Stalin...

The triumvirate counter-attack;

- They repeated the disagreements between Lenin and Trotsky
- They attacked Trotsky’s idea about the Permanent Revolution
- They more or less forced Trotsky to step down from his position as Commissar of War. In May 1925 Trotsky was given a new economic post; he was put on the Supreme Council of National Economy - VESENKHA
- They warned Trotsky – Another controversy and he would be expelled from the Politburo and the Central Committee

Trotsky acted again;

- He wrote (from his new position) about the threat of US Capitalism. He instead argued for more Socialist Planning to strengthen NEP and he argued for COMINTERN to adopt a more revolutionary line. This was a controversial statement – many peasants feared that Trotsky’s proposals would increase the Centralization, stop the growing prosperity (especially among the “Kulaks”) and lead Soviet into more wars. Stalin’s (and Bukharin’s) idea of a continuation of NEP (without Trotsky’s changes) and “Socialism in One Country” offered a more attractive future.

During 1925 a split between the members of the former triumvirate appears. Zinoviev and Kamenev now aligned themselves with the earlier Left Opposition and now criticized the idea of “Socialism in One Country” as anti-Leninist. Stalin and the “Centre” now received support from the Right; Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky.

Kamenev had the support of the Party in Moscow and Zinoviev had the support of the Party in Leningrad (Petrograd had been renamed in 1924). During the Summer of 1925 Zinoviev’s supporters started criticizing the growing dominance of the Right and together with Zinoviev and Kamenev they called for the “Struggle for Equality” and the revival of Lenin’s Internationalism. This group is often referred to as the

LENINGRAD OPPOSITION.

In October 1925 the opposition went a bit further. At a Central Committee meeting (which prepared for the 14th Party Congress) **Zinoviev and Kamenev joined forces with Lenin's widow Krupskaya**. They now **demand a free debate on all issues at the next Party Congress**. Stalin was able to defeat this demand, with the support of the Right. The Left was warned to not make any public criticism of the official policies...

At **the 14th Party Congress (December 1925)** it was obvious that Stalin had managed to ensure support. When the questions about Stalin's abuse of power and criticism against the Trotsky campaign came up the Congress voted for Stalin's (and the Right's) view with 559 votes against 65... The **new Central Committee** and the new Politburo received a **Stalinist-Bukharinist majority**. Now the Committee could act against the critics;

- Kamenev was demoted in the Central Committee
- In early 1926 Zinoviev was forced to hand over the leadership of the Leningrad Party to Kirov. Zinoviev's supporters were removed from their positions.

SECOND PHASE OF THE POWER STRUGGLE (1926-1928)...

The next stage in the Power Struggle started with the formation of a new Opposition Group – the **UNITED OPPOSITION**. This group included Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and a few other Party Members. In June 1926 Stalin launched a new attack on Trotsky. Trotsky answered by writing to the Politburo and ask for a Reformation of the Party before the country would be ruled by a new Autocratic Ruler...

The struggle would continue the next 18 months. In July 1926 the UNITED OPPOSITION formally founded the group. They demanded;

- *Greater Party Democracy*
- *More Industrial Planning*
- *Collectivisation of the Agriculture*
- *Permanent International Revolution*

The group did not receive very much support. Only from about 6000 members of the 750 000 possible ones. Stalin, encouraged by their lack of support, banned their meetings and dismissed Oppositionists. He also accused the UNITED OPPOSITION of faction.

Once again a split between Trotsky and Zinoviev+Kamenev occurred. The two later ones made a truce with Stalin (October 1926). One of Trotsky's supporters had the full text of **Lenin's Political Testament published – in New York Times!** Stalin and the Politburo got very upset. They;

- **Expelled Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev from the Politburo**
- **Removed Zinoviev from his position as the President of COMINTERN**

This made Krupskaya and other leaders of the UNITED OPPOSITION to make peace with Stalin... Stalin used newspapers and the whole Propaganda Machinery against the remains of the UNITED OPPOSITION.

- **This made Zinoviev and Kamenev quiet**
- **Trotsky continued the struggle...**
- **Members of the UNITED OPPOSITION were dismissed from their jobs and sent to very isolated parts of the Soviet Union**

Stalin tried to get the Control Committee to expel Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Central Committee, but he failed. He then postponed the 15th Party Congress (so Trotsky and Zinoviev couldn't view their ideas in public...).

The **UNITED OPPOSITION** prepared for the Congress;

- *They tried to get the Party to publish their Policy Program, but the Central Committee refused*
- *Then they published their Program themselves, but they got less people than they hoped for to sign it; about 6000 instead of calculated 20000/30000*
- *During the 10th anniversary of the October revolution they tried to address the crowds, but Stalin's supporters and the Police stopped them*
- *Because of their actions now the UNITED OPPOSITION were accused of factionalism*
- *On Stalin's demand Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the Communist Party, Kamenev was expelled from the Central Committee*
- *Hundreds of UNITED OPPOSITION supporters were also expelled from the Party*

Now Stalin gave his OK for the 14th Party Congress (December). Members of the UNITED OPPOSITION tried to get the Congress to annul the expulsions, but this demand was rejected. **Trotsky now viewed the idea of forming a new Party.** This made Zinoviev and Kamenev surrender to Stalin (they declared that they been "*wrong and anti-Leninist*" – in front of the whole Congress!). This caused a new split between Trotsky and Zinoviev + Kamenev. This was **the end of the UNITED OPPOSITION!** Zinoviev and Kamenev were sentenced to serve at least six months' of probation from the Party. After the Congress 1500 Oppositionists were expelled (and some were deported) – over 2500 signed recantations!

Trotsky was forcibly deported to Alma Ata in Turkestan (January 1928). The State Publishers were not allowed to publish his works and his books were removed from the libraries and the bookstores.

Trotsky and the former leftist leaders were now completely defeated! Now Stalin turned against the Rightists...

THIRD PHASE OF THE POWER STRUGGLE AFTER LENIN (1928-1929)

In 1928 the USSR faced a serious RURAL CRISIS despite three good harvests;

- **Bread shortages**
- **High food prices**

This gave food riots and forced grain collections from the State. The Right resented these grain collections and the general idea of more State Control over the Industrial development. In April 1928 began the Central Committee to openly criticize

“Kulaks”. They called these capitalistic peasants “**enemies of the State**”. The Party Officials who wouldn’t deal with the “Kulaks” (or were to lenient) were removed. Stalin had moved towards the old left. This caused a split among Trotsky’s supporters. Some of them now accepted and supported Stalin.

To further emphasize his more leftist profile Stalin reinstated Kamenev, Zinoviev and about 3000 other former Oppositionists in the Party (June 1928).

During the Summer of 1928 the split between Stalin and the Right became more evident. Both groups now tried to get support from the defeated Leftist Oppositionists...

- *Bukharin approached Trotsky (through Kamenev). He forwarded the idea of “Stalin is a new Genghis Khan” and he “will strangle us” and make Soviet Union into a Police State where he will take total power.*
- *Stalin did not approach the leftist Opposition directly. He just gave some hints about a possible alliance.*

Stalin and his Police now became more and more violent against the peasants. This made Trotsky consider an alliance with Bukharin. The wanted alliance failed due to the reluctance of the supporters to co-operate with the “old enemies” and several leftists believed in Stalin’s move towards the left. So Stalin could defeat the Right without any official support from the left. To prevent future opposition;

- *Trotsky was expelled from Russia (February 1929)*
- *Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky were charged with factionalism. Bukharin was removed as an editor of Pravda, as a political secretary of COMINTERN and from the Politburo. Tomsky was dismissed from the Central Council of Trade Unions.*



More details about Stalin's positions in the Party during Lenin's time

Stalin's previous appointments to key posts in both government and Party proved vital. These had been:

- **People's Commissar for Nationalities** (1917) In this post Stalin was in charge of the officials in the many regions and republics that made up the USSR (the official title of the Soviet state after 1922).
- **Liaison Officer between Politburo and Orgburo** (1919) This post placed him in a unique position to monitor both the Party's policy and the Party's personnel.
- **Head of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate** (1919) This position entitled him to oversee the work of all government departments.
- **General Secretary of the Communist Party** (1922) In this position, he recorded and conveyed Party policy. This enabled him to build up personal files on all the members of the Party. Nothing of note happened that Stalin did not know about.
- **Lenin's funeral 1924 – Stalin took**

Stalin became the indispensable link in the chain of command in the Communist Party and the Soviet government. Above all, what these posts gave him was the power of **patronage**. He used this authority to place his own supporters in key positions. Since they then owed their place to him, Stalin could count on their support in the voting in the various committees which made up the organization of the party and the government.

Lenin's *Political Testament* (1922)

By the stability of the Central Committee, of which I spoke above, I mean measures against a split, as far as such measures can at all be taken. For, of course, the whiteguard in Russkaya Mys (it seems to have been S. S. Oldenburg) was right when, first, in the whiteguards' game against Soviet Russia he banked on a split in our Party, and when, secondly, he banked on grave differences in our Party to cause that split.

Our Party relies on two classes and therefore its instability would be possible and its downfall inevitable if there were no agreement between those two classes. In that event, this or that measure, and generally all talk about the stability of our C.C., would be futile. No measures of any kind could prevent a split in such a case. But I hope that this is too remote a future and too improbable an event to talk about.

I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the immediate future, and I intend to deal here with a few ideas concerning personal qualities.

I think that from this standpoint, the prime factors in the question of stability are such members of the C.C. as Stalin and Trotsky. I think relations between them make up the greater part of the danger of a split, which could be avoided, and this purpose, in my opinion, would be served,

among other things, by increasing the number of C.C. members to 50 or 100.

Comrade Stalin, having become Secretary-General, has unlimited authority concentrated in his hands, and I am not sure whether he will always be capable of using that authority with sufficient caution. Comrade Trotsky*, on the other hand, as his struggles against the C.C. on the question of the People's Commissariat for Communications has already proved, is distinguished not only by outstanding ability. He is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present C.C., but he has displayed excessive self-assurance and shown excessive preoccupation with the purely administrative side of the work.

These two qualities of the two outstanding leaders of the present C.C. can inadvertently lead to a split, and if our Party does not take steps to avert this, the split may come unexpectedly.

I shall not give any further appraisals of the personal qualities of other members of the C.C. I shall just recall that the October episode with Zinoviev and Kamenev was, of course, no accident, but neither can the blame for it be laid upon them personally, any more than non-Bolshevism can upon Trotsky.

Speaking of the young C.C. members, I wish to say a few words about Bukharin and Pyatakov. They are, in my opinion, the most outstanding figures (among the younger ones), and the following must be borne in mind about them: Bukharin is not only a most valuable and major theorist of the Party; he is also rightly considered the favorite of the whole Party, but his theoretical views can be classified as fully Marxist only with the great reserve, for there is something scholastic about him (he has never made a study of dialectics, and, I think, never fully appreciated it).

December 25. As for Pyatakov, he is unquestionably a man of outstanding will and outstanding ability, but shows far too much zeal for administrating and the administrative side of the work to be relied upon in a serious political matter.

Both of these remarks, of course, are made only for the present, on the assumption that both these outstanding and devoted Party workers fail to find an occasion to enhance their knowledge and amend their one-sidedness.

Lenin, 24 December 1922

Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealing among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General. That is why I suggest the comrades think about a way of removing Staling from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite, and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may appear to be a negligible detail. But I think that from the standpoint of safeguards against a split, and from the standpoint of what I wrote above about the relationship between Stalin and Trotsky, it is not a detail, or it is a detail which can assume decisive importance.

Lenin, 25 December 1922

[Source: Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 36 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966), pp. 594-596.]

On The Death Of Lenin

A Speech Delivered at the Second All-union Congress of Soviets

Comrades, we Communists are people of a special mould. We are made of a special stuff. We are those who form the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honor of belonging to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party whose founder and leader was Comrade Lenin. It is not given to everyone to be a member of such a party. It is the sons of the working class, the sons of want and struggle, the sons of incredible privation and heroic effort who before all should be members of such a party. That is why the Party of the Leninists, the Party of the Communists, is also called the Party of the working class.

DEPARTING FROM US, COMRADE LENIN ENJOINED US TO HOLD HIGH AND GUARD THE PURITY OF THE GREAT TITLE OF MEMBER OF THE PARTY, WE VOW TO YOU, COMRADE LENIN, WE SHALL FULFIL YOUR BEHEST WITH HONOUR!

For twenty-five years Comrade Lenin tended our Party and made it into the strongest and most highly steeled worker' party in the world. The blows of tsarism and its henchmen, the fury of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, the armed attacks of Kolchak and Denikin, the armed intervention of Britain and France, the lies and slanders of the hundred-mouthed bourgeois press — all these scorpions constantly chastised our Party for a quarter of a century. But our Party stood firm as a rock, repelling the countless blows of its enemies and leading the working class forward, to victory. In fierce battles our Party forged the unity and solidarity of its ranks. And by unity and solidarity it achieved victory over the enemies of the working class.

DEPARTING FROM US, COMRADE LENIN ENJOINED US TO GUARD THE UNITY OF OUR PARTY AS THE APPLE OF OUR EYE, WE VOW TO YOU, COMRADE LENIN, THAT THIS BEHEST, TOO, WE SHALL FULFIL WITH HONOUR!

Burdensome and intolerable has been the lot of the working class. Painful and grievous have been the sufferings of the laboring people. Slaves and slaveholders, serfs and serf-owners, peasants and landlords, workers and capitalists, oppressed and oppressors — so the world has been built from time immemorial, and so it remains to this day in the vast majority of countries. Scores and indeed hundreds of times in the course of the centuries the laboring people have striven to throw off the oppressors from their backs and to become the masters of their own destiny. But each time, defeated and disgraced, they have been forced to retreat, harboring in their breasts resentment and humiliation, anger and despair, and lifting up their eyes to an inscrutable heaven where they hoped to find deliverance. The chains of slavery remained intact, or the old chains were replaced by new ones, equally burdensome and degrading. Ours is the only country where the oppressed and downtrodden laboring masses have succeeded in throwing off the rule of the landlords and capitalists and replacing it by the rule of the workers and peasants. You know, comrades, and the whole world now admits it, that this gigantic struggle was led by Comrade Lenin and his Party. The greatness of Lenin lies above all in this, that by creating the Republic of Soviets he gave a practical demonstration to the oppressed masses of the whole world that hope of deliverance is not lost, that the rule of the landlords and capitalists is short-lived, that the kingdom of labor can be created by the efforts of the laboring people themselves, and that the kingdom of labor must be created not in heaven, but on earth. He thus fired the hearts of the workers and peasants of the whole world with the hope of liberation. That explains why Lenin's name has become the name most beloved of the laboring and exploited masses.

DEPARTING FROM US, COMRADE LENIN ENJOINED US TO GUARD AND STRENGTHEN THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. WE VOW TO YOU, COMRADE LENIN, THAT WE SHALL SPARE NO EFFORT TO FULFIL THIS BEHEST, TOO, WITH HONOUR!

The dictatorship of the proletariat was established in our country on the basis of an alliance between the workers and peasants. This is the first and fundamental basis of the Republic of Soviets. The workers and peasants could not have vanquished the capitalists and landlords without such an alliance. The workers could not have defeated the capitalists without the support of the

peasants. The peasants could not have defeated the landlords without the leadership of the workers. This is borne out by the whole history of the civil war in our country. But the struggle to consolidate the Republic of Soviets is by no means at an end — it has only taken on a new form. Before, the alliance of the workers and peasants took the form of a military alliance, because it was directed against Kolchak and Denikin. Now, the alliance of the workers and peasants must assume the form of economic co-operation between town and country, between workers and peasants, because it is directed against the merchant and the kulak, and its aim is the mutual supply by peasants and workers of all they require. You know that nobody worked for this more persistently than Comrade Lenin.

DEPARTING FROM US, COMRADE LENIN ENJOINED US TO STRENGTHEN WITH ALL OUR MIGHT THE ALLIANCE OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS. WE VOW TO YOU, COMRADE LENIN, THAT THIS BEHEST, TOO, WE SHALL FULFIL WITH HONOUR!

The second basis of the Republic of Soviets is the union the working people of the different nationalities of our country. Russians and Ukrainians, Bashkirs and Byelorussians Georgians and Azerbaijanians, Armenians and Daghestanians, Tatars and Kirghiz, Uzbeks and Turkmenians are all equally interested in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not only does the dictatorship of the proletariat deliver these peoples from fetters and oppression, but these peoples on their part deliver our Republic of Soviets from the intrigues and assaults of the enemies of the working class by their supreme devotion to the Republic of Soviets and their readiness to make sacrifices for it. That is why Comrade Lenin untiringly urged upon us the necessity of the voluntary union of the peoples of our country, the necessity of their fraternal co-operation within the framework of the Union of Republics.

DEPARTING FROM US, COMRADE LENIN ENJOINED US TO STRENGTHEN AND EXTEND THE UNION OF REPUBLICS. WE VOW TO YOU, COMRADE LENIN, THAT THIS BEHEST, TOO, WE SHALL FULFIL WITH HONOUR!

The third basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat is our Red Army and our Red Navy. More than once did Lenin impress upon us that the respite we had won from the capitalist states might prove a short one. More than once did Lenin point out to us that the strengthening of the Red Army and the improvement of its condition is one of the most important tasks of our Party. The events connected with Curzon's ultimatum and the crisis in Germany once more confirmed that, as always, Lenin was right. Let us vow then, comrades, that we shall spare no effort to strengthen our Red Army and our Red Navy.

Like a huge rock, our country stands out amid an ocean of bourgeois states. Wave after wave dashes against it, threatening to submerge it and wash it away. But the rock stands unshakable. Wherein lies its strength? Not only in the fact that our country rests on an alliance of the workers and peasants, that it embodies a union of free nationalities, that it is protected by the mighty arm of the Red Army and the Red Navy. The strength, the firmness, the solidity of our country is due to the profound sympathy and unfailing support it finds in the hearts of the workers and peasants of the whole world. The workers and peasants of the whole world want to preserve the Republic of Soviets as an arrow shot by the sure hand of Comrade Lenin into the camp of the enemy, as the pillar of their hopes of deliverance from oppression and exploitation, as a reliable beacon pointing the path to their emancipation. They want to preserve it, and they will not allow the landlords and capitalists to destroy it. Therein lies our strength. Therein lies the strength of the working people of all countries. And therein lies the weakness of the bourgeoisie all over the world.

Lenin never regarded the Republic of Soviets as an end in itself. He always looked on it as an essential link for strengthening the revolutionary movement in the countries of the West and the East, an essential link for facilitating the victory of the working people of the whole world over capitalism. Lenin knew that this was the only right conception, both from the international standpoint and from the standpoint of preserving the Republic of Soviets itself. Lenin knew that this alone could fire the hearts of the working people of the whole world with determination to fight the decisive battles for their emancipation. That is why, on the very morrow of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he, the greatest of the geniuses who have led the proletariat, laid the

foundation of the workers' International. That is why he never tired of extending and strengthening the union of: the working people of the whole world — the Communist International.

You have seen during the past few days the pilgrimage of scores and hundreds of thousands of working people to Comrade Lenin's bier. Before long you will see the pilgrimage of representatives of millions of working people to Comrade Lenin's tomb. You need not doubt that the representatives of millions will be followed by representatives of scores and hundreds of millions from all parts of the earth, who will come to testify that Lenin was the leader not only of the Russian proletariat, not only of the European workers, not only of the colonial East, but of all the working people of the globe.

DEPARTING FROM US, COMRADE LENIN ENJOINED US TO REMAIN FAITHFUL TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. WE VOW TO YOU, COMRADE LENIN, THAT WE SHALL NOT SPARE OUR LIVES TO STRENGTHEN AND EXTEND THE UNION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD — THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!