



# REVISION – RUSSIA 1917-1924



*Consolidation of Bolshevik Power (1917-1918)*

*Russian Civil War (1918-1921)*

*Lenin's last years (1921-1924)*

**MATERIAL:** Morris = 186-216

## **OVERVIEW 1917-1924:**

**The Bolshevik temporary government (Sovnarkom) formed** – Faced many problems...

**Election to the Constituent Assembly** (November 1917) Socialist Revolutionaries won...

**Some Bolshevik decrees;** *Decree on the Press / Decree on the Formation of the Supreme Economic Council of National Economy (VESENKHA) / The establishment of a secret political police – the CHEKA*

**Bolshevik coup January 1918** – Lenin closes the Constitutional Assembly

**Decree on the Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly** (January 1918 – Russia = Russia became in reality a Single-Party State – confirmed and formal at the Party Congress 1921)

**Armed Bolshevik Forces:** *the CHEKA* and *the Red Army*

**Bolshevik military control** – Reforms to reinstate discipline (like the death penalty)

**March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1918 - Trotsky signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk – WWI over for Russia**

**More Bolshevik decrees;** *Church was separated from the State / Religious teachings in schools were banned / Banks were nationalized / Mineral resources were nationalized / Industrial concerns were nationalized / Foreign trade was nationalized...*

**New Constitution (July 10<sup>th</sup> 1918) for the RSFSR** (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic)

**Economy 1917-1918** – “*State Capitalism*”

## **Civil War 1918-1920(21):**

**Russian Civil War – “White Forces” against “Red Forces”**

**Russian Civil War – Differences in aims / leadership / unity / geographical positions**

**Russian Civil War – Course of the War** (Three main phases)

**Russian Civil War – “Foreign Intervention”**

**Russian Civil War – Economy - “WAR COMMUNISM”**

**Russian Civil War - Results:** Bolsheviks won but

- “Workers Opposition”
- Economic problems were enormous
- Kronstadt uprising

## **10<sup>th</sup> Party Congress 1921:**

- NEP (New Economic Policy) – temporary economic reform
- GOSPLAN – *The USSR Economic State Planning Commission*
- “On Party Unity”
- Lenin declared that all political parties except the Bolsheviks were outlawed in Soviet Russia

**1921 – DROUGHT – FAMINE – 5 MILLION DIED – INTERNATIONAL AID**

**NEP – Results,** good and bad...

**Lenin had his first stroke 1922... his legacy;**

- The one-party state
- The bureaucratic state
- The police state
- The ban on factionalism
- The destruction of the trade unions
- The politicizing of the law
- The system of purges and show trials
- Concentration camps
- Prohibition of public worship

**The “Power Struggle” starts...**

## CONSOLIDATION OF BOLSHEVIK POWER 1917-1918:

- **The Bolshevik temporary government (Sovnarkom) faced several problems:** *None of the new Commissars had any previous experience of government / The country was in a state of chaos; Petrograd (and several other cities) had a shortage of food and the civil servants of the departments were on strike... / The officials of the State bank refused to release any funds / In many cities the Bolsheviks were forced to work together with other left-wing groups in local Soviets and committees of public safety / The Railwaymen's Union refused to let the Bolsheviks use the railroads as long as the Bolsheviks refused to form a left-wing coalition:* \_\_\_\_\_
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- **Election to the Constituent Assembly:** The day before the election to the Constitutional Assembly, the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, a **congress of peasants deputies** opened in Petrograd. The most influential group in this congress was the **Socialist Revolutionary Party** but they were now **split**. **Lenin exploited this situation by letting some of them enter the government on the Bolsheviks' terms.** Three of them became Commissars in **Sovnarkom**; 108 peasant delegates were added to the central executive committee as well as 100 from the army + navy and 50 from the trade unions. This pleased the Railwaymen's union so much that they declared that they now were satisfied and other unions ended their strikes as well. This also took care of the critique within the Bolshevik party (as well as the fact they were under the threat of being expelled from the party). In the Soviets **in the provincial cities** were the Bolsheviks still had to share power **another strategy** became evident. **Commissars from Petrograd set up provincial congresses of Soviets which claimed higher authority and for some reason happened to have Bolshevik majorities.** They were also helped by the general practice of the Rightist SR's and Mensheviks to walk out in protest...

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of November this election finally took place. Lenin and the Bolsheviks tried to influence it by arresting some leading Kadets and try to make some electors revise the lists of candidates. This did not work. **The Right Socialist Revolutionaries gained 370 seats out of 715 possible** (21 million votes). The Bolsheviks gained 175 seats (9 million votes) and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries only gained 40 seats. The Mensheviks and Kadets received even less... It was now very clear that the Bolsheviks could not let the Constituent Assembly survive: \_\_\_\_\_

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- **"Flood of Decrees";** Lenin lost no time in establishing the new Bolshevik order. A **flood of decrees** issued from **Sovnarkom** and the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets (the Sovnarkom met 6 hours every day under Lenins chairmanship). These decrees included: **Decree on the Press / Decree on 8-Hour Working Day / Decree Abolishing Classes and Civil Ranks / Decree on Courts / Decree on the separation of State and Church / Decree on the Election of Officers and on the Organization of Authority in the Army / Decree on the Equalization of Rights of All Serving in the Army / Decree on the State Independence of Finland / Decree on the Clock Change / Decree on the Formation of the Supreme Economic Council of National Economy (VESENKHA) / The establishment of a secret political police – the CHEKA / Decree on the Nationalization of the Banks ...:** \_\_\_\_\_
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- **Coup – Lenin closes the Constitutional Assembly;** On the first day of the new Constituent Assembly (January 5<sup>th</sup>) the chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets Yakov Sverdlov met the delegates and read a statement from the Central Executive Committee that the Assembly must regard itself as subserviant to the Congress of Soviets

and the decrees of Sovnarkom. This was rejected by a majority of the delegates. Then the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries walked out. The next day the deputies found the building locked down and the Constituent Assembly declared dissolved by the Bolshevik government. A Decree was ratified by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee late on January 6 – this was the **Decree on the Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly**. This is the date and time when the Bolsheviks seized power!!!: \_\_\_\_\_

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- **Big problems in the beginning of 1918;** *The Bolsheviks only controlled Petrograd and Moscow / the industrial production was very low / Russia faced high inflation / severe food shortages, especially in the urban areas / Lots of areas in Western Russia were occupied by Germany and Russia had not yet concluded a peace treaty with Germany and her Allies.* The Bolsheviks had retained control in the name of the Soviets. After they dissolved the Constituent Assembly they also banned all political parties except the Bolshevik Party: \_\_\_\_\_
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- **Armed forces helped the Bolsheviks;** The Bolshevik Government had built up two armed forces to “*destroy the remnants of aristocratic and bourgeois power*”, the **CHEKA** and the Red Army: During 1918 6300 people were executed by the CHEKA according to their own official numbers. The actual figures were probably much higher. The most famous victims were the Tsar family (executed in Yekaterinburg in July 1918). The new Bolshevik regime did not trust the old army so they formed a new one in January 1918: the **RED ARMY**. *It was open to all “class-conscious” workers of 18 years of age or more / The bourgeoisie was banned / 50 000 former Tsarist officers were retained to train the new force / Each unit received a political commissar who was responsible for indoctrination and he should ensure that the army remained under Bolshevik control / The supreme commander of the military forces was Leon Trotsky / In August 1919 the Red Army had 300 000 soldiers – in January 1920 the Red Army had over 5 million men:* \_\_\_\_\_
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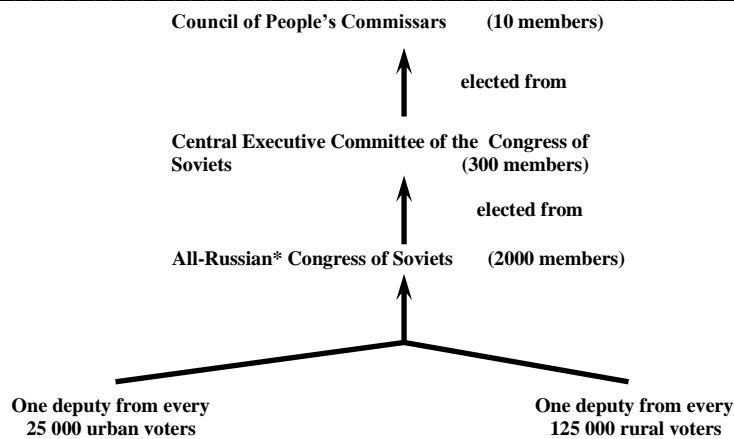
- **Military control;** to reinstate discipline in the Army a few regulations were made in February/March 1918: *The powers of the regimental councils were curtailed / the practice of electing officers was abolished / the death penalty for deserters was reintroduced:* \_\_\_\_\_
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- **March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1918 - Trotsky signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk;** Trotsky (who acted as the chief negotiator), had continued to try to delay the final terms as long as possible, in the hope that either revolution in Germany and Austria-Hungary would topple the Emperor or that the Allies would come to Russia’s aid. Both hopes proved illusory. The Ukrainian government (Ukraine became independent in January 1918) signed a separate treaty with Germany and Austria-Hungary in February 1918. Trotsky then left Brest-Litovsk and declared the war ended with no peace being signed. The Germans responded by a fresh declaration of war and started a new offensive. They advanced far and were only 100 miles from Petrograd when Lenin ordered a resumption of negotiations. The peace treaty that followed was finally ratified by the Congress of Soviets in March 1918. According to the treaty Russia surrendered the Western part of the country. *Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland were given up to Germany and Austria / Areas in Southern Caucasus were given up to Turkey / Finland, Georgia and the Ukraine were to have their independence recognized / 6000 million marks were to be paid as reparations / Russia lost 26% of the population / Russia lost 32% of the arable land / Russia lost 33% of all manufacturing industries and Russia lost 75% of the coal and iron resources.* The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party accepted it by 7 to 4. Lenin’s explanation was that Russia could take no more war, but

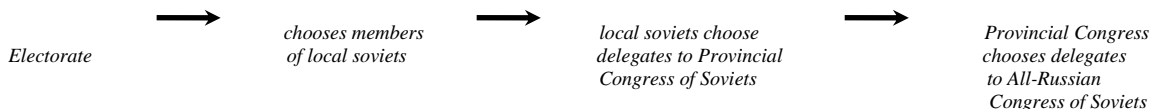
the treaty was only a temporary measure, since the inevitable and promised revolution in Germany (and in the world) would soon come and in its aftermath all comrades would renounce their gains ill-gotten by war. Russia just needed to gain time...: \_\_\_\_\_

- **More Decrees;** *Church was separated from the State / Religious teaching in schools were banned / Banks were nationalized / Mineral resources were nationalized / Industrial concerns were nationalized / Foreign trade was nationalized / Inheritance of property was made illegal:* \_\_\_\_\_

- **New Constitution (July 10<sup>th</sup> 1918) for the RSFSR - the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic:** *RSFSR was a “classless society” / RSFSR had freedom of worship / All private ownership of property was forbidden/ Universal suffrage (except for: former members or agents of the Tsarist government, those who had profited from the labor of others, those with unearned income, priests, lunatics and criminals...) / The economic principle was “he who does not work neither shall he eat”:* \_\_\_\_\_



The Congress of Soviets theoretically represented the entire population. The members were not directly elected by the people, but rather by Provincial Congresses of Soviets whose members were in turn chosen by local soviets. It was for the members of these local soviets that the electorate voted.



- **Economy – “State Capitalism”;** This first period of Bolshevik economy is called **STATE CAPITALISM** due to the temporary freedom within agriculture and the reinstatement of the old managers and specialists in the industries - it lasted to the summer of 1918: \_\_\_\_\_

- **Absolute Bolshevik authority made Civil War highly likely.** Modern research strongly suggests that Lenin truly wanted a civil war. Lenin was convinced that his forces could win and that in winning they would wipe out all their opponents, military and political: \_\_\_\_\_

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## RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR 1918-1921 & LENIN LAST YEARS 1921-1924 - FACTS:

- **Russian Civil War – “White Forces”**; they were called the “Whites” because of the white uniforms worn by tsarist officers. This also meant that the Whites were always associated with the Tsar and the old system of government... Morris identified the “Whites” the following way: *Those attached to other revolutionary groups were hostile to or rejected by the Bolsheviks / Former officers of the Imperial arm were usually resentful of the "betrayal" at Brest-Litovsk / Nationalist groups were seeking independence for their particular minority.* Other suggestions are: *Tsarists, nobilities / Middle-class constitutional democrats / Mensheviks / Socialist Revolutionaries / Foreign Powers / Groups of nationalists, peasants etc... (Greens: Independent groups of nationalists, peasants or bandits who roamed Russia at this time. They fought anyone and raided villages and towns. The most famous was the Ukrainian nationalist, Nestor Makno, who shared his booty with local peasants):\_\_\_\_\_*

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- **Russian Civil War - AIMS**; The **Bolsheviks** had one main aim – *to stay in power so that they could build the new Socialist society...* The “Whites” had more aims: *some wanted the Tsar back, some a military Dictator; others wanted constitutional government or revolutionary change. The only aim they had in common was to defeat the Bolsheviks; they agreed on little else... / Senior Russian Army Officers hated the humiliating terms of Brest-Litovsk. They also wanted to regain control over the Army... / Landowners wanted their land back / Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks had been denied power... / The Foreign Powers were critical against Russia leaving the war (for several different reasons) / The Foreign powers were also afraid of the new doctrine – Communism / National minorities wanted their independence:\_\_\_\_\_*

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- **Russian Civil War – LEADERSHIP/UNITY**; The **Bolsheviks** had a *superb leader in Trotsky. He built up the Red Army from nothing, introducing conscription for men over eighteen years of age. He brought in nearly 50,000 experienced former Tsarist officers and appointed political Commissars - fanatical Bolsheviks - to each unit of men to make sure the officers and soldiers carried out the orders. / Trotsky was personally very courageous. He had a special train which took him and his army of hand-picked soldiers to the places where the fighting was hardest.* The “Whites” had big problems – *They lacked good leaders. Some of the commanders were cruel, treated their men with disrespect and set a bad example, drinking and taking drugs... / The White Generals did not trust each other and would not co-ordinate their attacks. This allowed the Bolsheviks to pick off the White Armies one by one / The Whites had problems inside their Armies, too. There was often fighting and squabbling, because the groups had different aims and beliefs. It was particularly hard for the revolutionaries to co-operate with supporters of the Tsar:\_\_\_\_\_*

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- **Russian Civil War – GEOGRAPHICAL DIFFERENCES**; The **Bolsheviks** held *the central area of western Russia, which contained most of the large industrial centers able to produce munitions and war supplies. They had control of the railroad lines which connected Petrograd and Moscow to the rest of the country. This meant that they could send soldiers and munitions quickly to any place in the battle area.* The “Whites” were scattered around this central area, *often with hundreds of miles separating the different armies / Communications were difficult - that is, if the generals wanted to communicate:\_\_\_\_\_*

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- **Russian Civil War – Course of the War**: Three phases: (1) February to November 1918 (2) November 1918 to December 1919 (3) January to November 1920. During the **first phase**, the eastern front was the most significant. The fronts in the north and southeast did

not register much activity. Admiral Kolchak overthrew the Directorate which had been established in Ufa and proclaimed himself supreme ruler of Russia in November 1918. The **second phase** saw action on the northwestern, eastern, south-eastern, southwestern, and southern fronts. Bitter fighting was the keynote everywhere. The high point of White progress was achieved in October 1919 when Denikin's cavalry reached Orel, 200 miles southwest of Moscow. Yedenich reached the suburbs of Petrograd in late October 1919. The Reds scored notable victories to force Denikin back to the Don in October 1919 and Kolchak was forced to retreat to Irkutsk in December. **Phase three** is dominated by the Polish invasion in May 1920 and Wrangel's drive north from the Crimea in June. The Reds met defeat near Warsaw and conceded territory to the Poles at the Treaty of Riga in March 1921. By the end of the year Soviet Russia had been cleared of all large anti-Bolshevik forces. The **Polish claim was extra difficult since there was a disagreement of the eastern borders**; should the historic borders from before the partition of the old Polish kingdom in 1772 be the new border or should it be fixed by the main areas of the Polish-speaking population (called the Curzon Line). **The dispute about this border would lead to war** between Poland and the new Bolshevik State of Russia in 1920: \_\_\_\_\_

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- **Russian Civil War – “Foreign Intervention”**; several foreign powers intervened on the behalf of the White side. Lenin claimed that the aim of these allies was to suppress Communism. Before the end of WWI most historians claim that the foreign intervention was due to the *allies wanted Russia to restart the war in the east, or at least prevent Germany (Central Powers) from making free use of Russian, Polish, Ukrainian raw materials (and the allied stored supplies in Russia)*. After WWI the motives of the foreign forces became different - *France wanted to have some of the invested money back. Between 1887 and 1917 France invested 16 billion francs in companies/enterprises now nationalized (without any compensation) by the new government / Great Britain and the US had lesser investments to defend / Japan saw an opportunity of territorial gains in Asia (and they were therefore checked by US troops that was more concerned with hindering Japanese annexations than combating Bolshevism further west...* After the Third Communist International (**COMINTERN**) met 1919 and declared that the main aim was to *"overthrow capitalism, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in an International Soviet republic"* the foreign powers become more concerned with suppress and stop Communism. The foreign interventions were very limited: *The US sent only about 6000 men to Siberia (mostly to check the Japanese troops) / Many of the men that were sent over were affected by war-weariness - they were not motivated / The undemocratic regime of some of the White generals made it hard (or impossible) for some of the foreign troops to cooperate (esp. with Admiral Kolchak on the Eastern front... the US troops refused to cooperate and the French troops did it with very big difficulties) / More important for the White armies were the substantial sums of money and the large quantities of military supplies. Unfortunately some of that was checked by corruption and inefficiency which meant that little of the aid actually reached the front - The intervention seemed to have the opposite effect of what it meant to have. The Bolsheviks were skilled in their propaganda when they portrayed their war effort as a defense of Russia against foreign imperialism. The only big exception to the limited success of the international efforts was the **Czechoslovak Legion**. It had been formed in 1917 by Czechs and Slovaks resident in Russia together with POW. Their aim was not anti-Bolshevik, it was to fight for independence in their own country against the weak Austrian-Hungarian Empire. On their way to the Western front they clashed into local Soviet officials who tried to disarm them (in Cheliabinsk). This incident led to this well-organized and well-equipped unit to cooperate with the White forces. It was successful, especially in the beginning of the Civil War, and their success encouraged the White forces. Representatives of the Socialist Revolutionaries combined with the Czech Legion formed one centre of White Administration at the Eastern front (Omsk) \_\_\_\_\_*
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- **Russian Civil War – “WAR COMMUNISM”**; The big socialist reform was the establishment of the “**Supreme Economic Council**” (**Vesenkha**). The Council was established to supervise the economy and to operate nationalized enterprises. This was a first step towards a state controlled economy. This second phase begins with the outbreak of the civil war. It’s characterized by **extensive nationalization**, the **temporary abolition of money as a measure of value**, **equalization of earnings** and the **direction of labor**: **JUNE 1918**: Different local rural administrations were formed, the “*Committees of Poor Peasants*” - who were going to control the rich peasants = “kulaks”. To make sure that the food supply was enough a **decree of 1919 ordered the peasants to hand over to the State any grain surplus to what was needed for subsistence**. This also meant large scale grain requisition. The food was in the end distributed by two centralized bodies: “*Commissariat of Agriculture*” and “*Commissariat of Food*”. In response the peasants simply reduced their production so there was no surplus. By 1921 only about half as much stock was kept and half as much land cultivated as there had been in 1913. Little food arrived in the cities, and the only prospect of a livelihood lay in the countryside. City workers in their thousands simply left and went into the country, to join the thousands of soldiers returning from the wars. The Government continued the confiscation of supplies, sometimes by military help and sometimes also with the CHEKA. Morris writes about War Communism: “*Strict centralized control of all forms of economic production and distribution, the virtual outlawing of all private trade, and the near destruction of the money economy by the printing of vast quantities of banknotes.*”:
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- **Russian Civil War - Results**: The Bolsheviks won but at the same time Russia was in chaos. A group called the “**Workers Opposition**” had been formed. They demanded: Higher wages / Better working and living conditions / more food / Worker’s control of the industry. The **economic problems were enormous**: At the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk Russia lost much land and recourses / the Civil War with the Bolshevik economy of War Communism was devastating – the industrial production fell rapidly (“disastrously”) and the agriculture sector collapsed! In March 1921 came a military reaction – the **Kronstadt uprising**: The sailors of Kronstadt (the previous backbone of the Red Army) released a manifesto – the “Kronstadt Manifesto” where they demanded a new revolution with freedom of speech, of assembly and private trade. This uprising was brutally crushed by Trotsky and the Red Army: 20,000 men were killed and wounded in the attack against Kronstadt and many sailors and soldiers were executed after this uprising:
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- **10<sup>th</sup> Party Congress 1921**: Lenin and the leading Bolsheviks had to deal with the problems At the 10<sup>th</sup> Party Congress March 1921 the following decisions were made:
    1. **NEP (New Economic Policy)** – A “temporary solution” of the economic problems according to Lenin (Trotsky described NEP as the “first sign of the degeneration of Bolshevism”...)
    2. Established **GOSPLAN** – *The USSR Economic State Planning Commission* = The Government body responsible for national economic planning was founded
    3. Resolution “**On Party Unity**”– *The Congress orders the immediate dissolution, without exception, of all groups that have been formed on the basis of some platform or other, and instructs all organizations to be very strict in ensuring that no manifestations of factionalism of any sort to be tolerated. Failure to comply with this resolution of the Congress is to entail unconditional and immediate expulsion from the party*
    4. Resolution that condemned the “Workers Opposition”
    5. Lenin declared that all political parties except the Bolsheviks were outlawed in Soviet Russia:
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- **To deal with the problems Lenin introduced NEP – the New Economic Policy (1921):**  
This “New Economic Policy” included:
    - Grain requisitioning was stopped. An agricultural tax was introduced. The amount to be paid was a fixed proportion of the surplus (to be paid in kind until 1923 and thereafter in cash). Any surplus above that could be sold on an open market.
    - Traders could buy and sell goods (had been illegal before)
    - Smaller industries and trade were returned to their former owners. They were allowed to sell the goods they made and they were allowed to make a profit.
    - The State retained control of the Heavy Industries, the transport system, foreign trade and banking.
    - The currency, the rouble was reconstituted and backed up with gold, silver and foreign currency.
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### 1921 – DROUGHT – FAMINE – 5 MILLION DIED – INTERNATIONAL AID

- **Results NEP:** One great step forward was the electrification of Russia. Lenin saw electric power as the key to modernizing the Soviet Union; “*Soviet Power plus Electrification equals Communism*”. The Soviet Union had been cut off from foreign trade. Now Russia resumed some trade again (but the diplomatic relations with the European Countries was still weak); *Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement (1921) / Treaty of Rapallo with Germany (1922)*

**Table 1.3:** Growth under the NEP

	1921	1922	1923	1924
Grain harvest (million tons)	37.6	50.3	56.6	51.4
Value of factory output (in millions of roubles)	2004	2619	4005	4660
Electricity (million kWh)	520	775	1146	1562
Average monthly wage of urban worker (in roubles)	10.2	12.2	15.9	20.8

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- **Problems NEP:** The results of NEP were in general very good but the economic reform also meant some problems:
    - Prices of manufactured goods became high
    - Entrepreneurs and rich peasants (“*kulaks*”) – gained from the new system, but most peasants and many workers in the urban areas were under strict state control
    - A new group of traders, the “*Nepmen*”, made huge profits from buying food and goods cheaply and selling them more dearly...
    - This economy was a capitalistic economy, based on capitalistic methods. This caused a lot of criticism from the leftist Bolsheviks (caused a split within the Party) – NEP was ideologically incorrect!:
  - Lenin had his first stroke 1922... - this made him politically inactive. A struggle between different leading Bolsheviks about who was going to succeed him started... So what was Lenin’s legacy?
    - **The one-party state** - all parties other than the Bolsheviks had been outlawed.
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- **The bureaucratic state** - despite the Bolsheviks' original belief in the withering away of the State, central power increased under Lenin and the number of government institutions and officials grew.
  - **The police state** - the Cheka was the first of a series of secret police organizations in Soviet Russia whose task was to impose government control over the people.
  - **The ban on factionalism** - prevented criticism of leadership within the party, in effect a prohibition of criticism and free speech.
  - **The destruction of the trade unions** - with Lenin's encouragement, Trotsky had destroyed the independence of the trade unions with the result that the Russian workers were entirely at the mercy of the State.
  - **The politicizing of the law** - under Lenin the law was not operated as a means of protecting society and the individual but as an extension of political control. He declared that the task of the courts was to apply revolutionary justice. 'The court is not to eliminate terror but to legitimize it'.
  - **The system of purges and show trials** which were to become a notorious feature of Stalinism had first been created under Lenin. Outstanding examples of these were the public trials of the Moscow clergy between April and July 1922 and of the SRs between June and August of the same year.
  - **Concentration camps** - at the time of Lenin's death there were 315 such camps. Developed as part of the Red Terror they held White prisoners of war, rebel peasants, Kulaks, and political prisoners, such as SRs, who were considered a threat to Soviet authority.
  - **Prohibition of public worship** - the Orthodox churches had been looted then closed, their clergy arrested or dispersed and atheism adopted as a replacement for religious belief.
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- **Power Struggle starts:** When Lenin had his first stroke a "*power struggle*" started. The most important members of the **POLITBURO** were *Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin*. Trotsky seemed to be the most likely candidate, but several older members resented Trotsky for several reasons; *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...* Zinoviev and Kamenev had the same ideas as Trotsky, but they deeply disliked him. In December 1922 they turned to Stalin – who had control over the Party appointments and organization (General Secretary of the Communist Party). This "triumvirate" 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 also portrayed as someone who was ruthlessly ambitious*. In March 1923 Stalin insulted Lenin's wife Krupskaya which made Lenin furious. He sent a very harsh letter to Stalin. He now intended to crush him politically – then he had his third stroke which left him paralysed and speechless for most of the time until his death in January 1924! Lenin had written a "Political Testament" in December 1922. He outlined the strengths and the weaknesses of all the leading members of the Communist Party. In a Postscript – January 1923 Lenin warned the Party about Stalin and he suggested his removal from power. Due to Lenin's third most serious stroke the POLITBURO took the decision to not read his "Political Testament" at the 12<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in April 1923. This gave Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev time to plan on how to deal with Lenin's criticism. In January 1924 Lenin died!:
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