There is a similar puzzling feature about references to Trotsky in the document known as 'Lenin's Testament'. It was in fact dictated by Lenin to one of his secretaries, Lidya Fotieva. However its authenticity has never been challenged. The passage concerned in Lenin's letter reads:

"Stalin is too rude, and this defect becomes intolerable in a Secretary General. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post."

It is highly probable that Lenin initiated this decision. R. H. McNal, 'Stalin; Man and Ruler' (hereafter listed as 'R. H. McNal', 1988'), London, 1943, p183.

A new Central Committee.. voted to establish the post of General Secretary to run which would be occupied by Stalin's article)'. V. I. Lenin, 'The National Programme of the RSDLP', Collected Works, Volume 19, Moscow, 1963, p539.

As late as March 1922, at the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Lenin was defending Stalin against criticism from Yevgeny Preobrazhensky over the fact that Stalin held the key post (of General Secretary of the Secretariat). It is highly probable that Stalin was not Lenin's personal choice for the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee to which he was elevated in April 1922. A. B. Ulam, 'Stalin, Man and His Era', London, 1956, p19.

It is fanciful for some Soviet historians, official and unofficial, to suggest that Stalin was not the logical person for the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee to which he was elevated in April 1922. A. B. Ulam, 'Stalin, Man and His Era', London, 1956, p19.

"The obvious and indeed the only man with the knowledge, efficiency and authority for this key post (of General Secretary - Ed.) was Stalin. There can be no doubt that Lenin supported the nomination, which he probably initiated". I. Grey, 'Stalin; Man of his Era', London, 1989, p205.

The situation and the fundamentals of a national programme for Social-Democracy have recently been dealt with in Marxist theoretical literature (the most prominent place being taken by Lenin's article). V. I. Lenin, 'The National Programme of the RSDLP', Collected Works, Volume 19, Moscow, 1963, p539.

And as late as March 1922, at the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Lenin was defending Stalin against criticism from Yevgeny Preobrazhensky* over the fact that Stalin held the key post (of General Secretary of the Secretariat). It is highly probable that Stalin was not Lenin's personal choice for the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee to which he was elevated in April 1922. A. B. Ulam, 'Stalin, Man and His Era', London, 1956, p19.

It is fanciful for some Soviet historians, official and unofficial, to suggest that Stalin was not the logical person for the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee to which he was elevated in April 1922. A. B. Ulam, 'Stalin, Man and His Era', London, 1956, p19.

Clearly, something occurred in late 1922 to cause Lenin radically to alter the opinion of Stalin he had held until that date.

### Lenin's Assessment of Trotsky

There is a similar puzzling feature about references to Trotsky in the document known as 'Lenin's Testament'.
And at the end of 1910 Lenin was speaking of; In December 1910, Lenin was no kinder to Trotsky, whose resolution said Lenin; In March By August 1909 Lenin was writing; In 1909; However, Lenin was equally scathing about Trotsky. In October 1904 Lenin wrote; In 1904; In August 1904 Trotsky published his pamphlet 'Our Political Tasks', in which he strongly attacked as 'Jacobinism'** Lenin's concept that a disciplined party was essential to lead the working people to carry on a socialist revolution and supported the idea of a of 'worker's party' modelled on the lines of the social-democratic parties of Western Europe; 'Lenin's methods lead to this; the party organisation at first substitutes itself for the party as a whole; then the Central Committee substitutes itself for the organisation; and finally a single 'dictator' substitutes himself for the Central Committee. ... It is so difficult to see that any serious group ... when it is confronted by the dilemma whether it should, from a sense of discipline, silently efface itself, or, regardless of discipline struggle for survival - will undoubtedly choose the latter course. and say; perishes that 'discipline' which suppresses the vital interests of the movement. This evil-minded and morally repugnant suspicion of Lenin, this shallow caricature of the tragic intolerance of Jacobinism, must be liquidated at the present time at all costs, otherwise the party is threatened by complete political, moral and theoretical decay.' L. D. Trotsky, 'Nos Taches Politiques', Paris, 1970, p192. Trotsky's biographer Deutscher comments on this book; 'Hardly any Menshevik* writer attacked Lenin with so much personal venom. 'Hideous', 'dissolute', 'demagogical', 'slovenly attorney', 'malicious and morally repulsive', these were the epithets which Trotsky threw at the man who had so recently held out to him the hand of fellowship, who had brought him to Western Europe, who had promoted him! I. Deutscher, 1989 (1), p93. However, Lenin was equally scathing about Trotsky. In October 1904 Lenin wrote; 'A new pamphlet by Trotsky came out recently. . . The pamphlet is a pack of brazen lies'. V.I. Lenin, 'Letter to Yelena Stasova and Others', 'Collected Works', Volume 43, Moscow, 1969, p129. In 1909; By August 1909 Lenin was writing; 'Trotsky behaves like a despicable careerist and factionalist. He pays lip-service to the Party and behaves worse than any other of the factionalists.' V.I. Lenin, 'Letter to Grigory Zinoviev', 'Collected Works', Volume 34, Moscow, 1966, p399-400. In 1910; In March-June 1910 Lenin was writing; Trotsky's expenses the very aim of the 'Golos'** group and Otzovists**. . This position-'Trotsky's call for 'friendly' collaboration by the Party with the 'Gobs' and 'Vpe mongering. Trotsky groups all the enemies of Marxism. . . Trotsky unites all to whom ideological decay is dear, all who are not considered on the defence of Marxism struggle against the splitting tactics and the unprincipled adventurism of Trotsky!' V.I. Lenin, 'To Russian Collegium of the CC of RSDLP', 'Collected Works', Volume 17, Moscow, 1963, p20, 21, 22. And at the end of 1910 Lenin was speaking of; 'The resonant but empty phrases of which our Trotsky is a master... Trotsky distorts Bolshevism, because he has never been able to form any definite views on the role of the proletariat in the Russian bourgeois revolution. That Trotsky's venture is an attempt to create a faction is obvious to all. Trotsky ... represents only his own personal vacillations and nothing more. In 1903 he was a Menshevik; he abandoned
Menshevikism in 1904, returned to the Mensheviks in 1905 and merely flaunted ultra-
revolutionary phrases. One day Trotsky plagiarises from the ideological stock-in-trade of one faction; the next day he plagiarises from another, and therefore declares himself to be standing above both factions. I am obliged to declare that Trotsky represents only his own faction and enjoys a certain amount of confidence exclusively among the Otrovnits and the liquidators. V.I. Lenin, 'Historical Meaning of Inner-Party Struggle in Russia', 'Collected Works', Volume 16, p375, 380, 389, 391.

In 1911;

In January 1911 Lenin was referring to Trotsky as:


In September 1911 Lenin declared;

'The Trotskyites... are more pernicious than any liquidator. The Trotsky's deceive the workers'. V.I. Lenin, 'From the Camp of Stolypin Labour Party', 'Collected Works', Volume 17, Moscow, 1968, p243.

In October 1911;

'Trotsky expressed conciliationism ** more consistently than anyone else. He was probably the only one who attempted to give the trend a theoretical foundation. Ever since the spring of 1910 Trotsky has been deceiving the workers in a most unprincipled and shameless manner by assuring them that the obstacles to unity were principally (if not wholly) of an organisational nature. The only difference between Trotsky and the conciliators in Paris is that the latter regard Trotsky as a factionalist and themselves as non-factional, whereas Trotsky holds the opposite view. Trotsky provides us with an abundance of instances of scheming to establish unprincipled unity'. V.I. Lenin, 'The New Faction of Conciliators, or the Virtuous', 'Collected Works', Volume 17, 1968, p258, 260, 264, 270.

And in December 1911;

'Is it impossible to argue with Trotsky on the merits of the issue because Trotsky holds no views whatever. In his case the thing to do is to expose him as a diplomat of the smallest calibre'. V.I. Lenin, 'Trotsky's Diplomacy and a Certain Party Platform', 'Collected Works', Volume 17, 1968, p362.

In 1912;


In August 1912 Trotsky's group got together with the Mensheviks, Jewish Bund** and others to form an anti-Bolshevik coalition known as the 'August Bloc'. Trotsky's biographer Deutscher comments;

'Trotsky denounced Lenin's venture with much sound and fury. His anger rose to highest pitch in April, when the Bolsheviks began to publish in Petersburg a daily called 'Pravda'. He thundered against the 'theft' and 'usurpation' committed by... .

...the circle which lives and thrives only through chaos and confusion'. I. Deutscher, 1989 (1), p198-99.

Lenin wrote in July 1912 to the editor of the paper;

'Trotsky is trying to disrupt the movement and cause a split... Trotsky denounced Lenin's venture with much sound and fury. His anger rose to highest pitch in April, when the Bolsheviks began to publish in Petersburg a daily called 'Pravda'. He thundered against the 'theft' and 'usurpation' committed by... .

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...the circle which lives and thrives only through chaos and confusion'. I. Deutscher, 1989 (1), p198-99.
In 1915, Trotsky... as always entirely disagrees with the social-chauvinists'** in principle, but agrees as always, entirely disagrees with the social-in principle, but agrees with them'. V.I. Lenin, 'The State of Affairs in Russian Social-Democracy', 'Collected Works', Volume 21, Moscow, 1964, p284.

In the same month he was referring to;

'true friends of the people' of Trotsky, who led the Russia Soviet delegation, was always friendly to Germany, and on 22 December negotiations for a peace treaty began at Brest.

On 15 December 1917, the new revolutionary government of Soviet Russia signed an armistice to consider the possibility of a merger. At the meeting Trotsky declared;

In February 1917 Lenin was writing respectively to Aleksandra Kollontai

In 1917; In June 1916 Lenin declared;

In 1916;

In March 1916 Lenin wrote to Henriette Roland

In 1916;

In November 1915 Lenin was saying;

Between July and August 1915 we find Lenin saying that;


and Lenin was asserting that;

In Russia, Trotsky... defends unity with the opportunist and chauvinist 'Nashe Zarya** group. V.I. Lenin, 'Socialism and War', 'Collected Works', Volume 29, Moscow, 1964, p132.

In November 1915 Lenin was saying;

'Trotsky... is repeating his original 1905 theory and refuses to give some thought to the reason why, in the course of ten years, life has been by-passing this splendid theory. From the Bolsheviks Trotsky's original theory has borrowed their call for a decisive proletarian revolutionary struggle and the conquest of political power by the proletariat, while from the Mensheviks it has borrowed 'repudiation of the peasantry's role'. Trotsky is, in fact, helping the liberal-labour politicians in Russia who by 'repudiation' of the role of the peasantry understand a refusal to raise up the peasants'. V.I. Lenin, 'The Two Lines in the Revolution', in 'Collected Works', Volume 21, Moscow, 1964, p419, 420.

in the same month was declaring;

'trotsky... is body and soul for self-determination, but in his case it is an empty phrase'. V.I. Lenin, 'The Peace Programme', 'Collected Works', Volume 22, Moscow, 1964, p167.

In June 1916 Lenin declared;

No matter what the subjective 'good' intentions of Trotsky and Martov* may be, their evasiveness objectively supports Russian social-imperialism'. V.I. Lenin, 'Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up', 'Collected Works', Volume 22, Moscow, 1964, p560.

In 1917;

In February 1917 Lenin was writing respectively to Aleksandra Kollontai* and Inessa Armand*;


and in the same month was declaring;

'Trotsky... is body and soul for self-determination, but in his case it is an empty phrase'. V.I. Lenin, 'The Peace Programme', 'Collected Works', Volume 22, Moscow, 1964, p167.

In April 1917 Lenin reported to the Petrograd City Conference of the RSDLP;

'Trotskysm; 'No Tsar but a workers' government'. This is wrong'. V.I. Lenin, 'The Peace Slogan Appraised', 'Collected Works', Volume 21, Moscow, 1964, p278, 279, 280.


'Trotsky arrived, and this scoundrel at once ganged up with the Right wing of 'Novy Mir'**... That's Trotsky for you!! Always true to himself ' twists, swindles, poses as a Left, helps the Right'. V.I. Lenin, 'Letter to Inessa Armand', 'Collected Works', Volume 35, Moscow, 1966, p288.

In 1915;

In November 1915 Lenin was saying;

And Lenin was denouncing Trotsky's support for the 'neither-victory-nor-defeat' slogan. 'Whoever is in favour of the slogan of 'neither victory nor defeat' is consciously or unconsciously a chauvinist; he is an enemy to proletarian policy... a partisan of the existing governments, of the prevailing classes. Those who stand for the 'neither-victory-nor-defeat' slogan are in fact on the side of the bourgeoisie and the opportunist, for they do not believe in the possibility of international revolutionary action by the working class against their own governments'. V.I. Lenin, 'The Defeat of One's Own Government in the Imperialist War', 'Collected Works', Volume 21, Moscow, 1964, p278, 279, 280.

Between July and August 1915 we find Lenin saying that;

'trotsky... is repeating his original 1905 theory and refuses to give some thought to the reason why, in the course of ten years, life has been by-passing this splendid theory. From the Bolsheviks Trotsky's original theory has borrowed their call for a decisive proletarian revolutionary struggle and the conquest of political power by the proletariat, while from the Mensheviks it has borrowed 'repudiation of the peasantry's role'. Trotsky is, in fact, helping the liberal-labour politicians in Russia who by 'repudiation' of the role of the peasantry understand a refusal to raise up the peasants'. V.I. Lenin, 'The Two Lines in the Revolution', in 'Collected Works', Volume 21, Moscow, 1964, p419, 420.

in the same month he was referring to;


In 1916;

In March 1916 Lenin wrote to Henriette Roland-Holst*;


and in the same month was declaring;

'trotsky... is body and soul for self-determination, but in his case it is an empty phrase'. V.I. Lenin, 'The Peace Programme', 'Collected Works', Volume 22, Moscow, 1964, p167.

In June 1916 Lenin declared;

No matter what the subjective 'good' intentions of Trotsky and Martov* may be, their evasiveness objectively supports Russian social-imperialism'. V.I. Lenin, 'Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up', 'Collected Works', Volume 22, Moscow, 1964, p560.

In 1917;

In February 1917 Lenin was writing respectively to Aleksandra Kollontai* and Inessa Armand*;

What is the people's government? In brief - we demobilise the army'. I. Deutscher, 1989 (1), p175.
Lenin strongly opposed to Trotsky's plan;


And so;

'Trotsky made a private arrangement with Lenin. . . What would happen, Lenin anxiously asked, if they (the Germans - Ed.) chose to resume hostilities? Lenin was rightly convinced that this was bound to happen. Trotsky treated this danger lightly, but he agreed to sign the peace if Lenin's fears proved justified'. I. Deutscher, 1989 (1), p375.

On 9 February Trotsky announced to the peace conference that;

'While Russia was desisting from signing a formal Peace Treaty, it declared the state of war ended with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria simultaneously, giving orders for the complete demobilisation of Russian forces on all fronts'. I. Deutscher, 1989 (1), p375.

Trotsky's delegation then walked out of the peace conference and returned to Petrograd.

On 15 February 1918, as Lenin had foreseen, Germany resumed military operations against Soviet Russia. On 18 February 1918, the Central Committee instructed its delegation to sign a peace treaty immediately. On 23 February 1918 the German government presented new peace terms, significantly harsher than the earlier ones. The Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was formally signed on 23 March 1918.

Lenin commented at the 7th Congress of the RCP in March 1918;

'That I predicted, has come to pass; instead of the Brest peace we have a much more humiliating peace, and the blame for this rests upon those who refused to accept the former peace'. V.I. Lenin, 'Political Report of the Central Committee, Extraordinary 7th Congress of the RCP', 'Collected Works', Volume 27, Moscow, 1965, p102.

And 'The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia', issued by the Soviet revisionists in power in 1972, correctly expresses it;

'On the question of the Brest Peace Treaty, Trotsky maintained an anti-Leninist stand, criminally exposing the newly emerged Soviet Republic to mortal danger. As head of the Soviet delegation to the peace talks, he ignored the instructions of the Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government. At a crucial moment of the talks he declared that the Soviet Republic was unilaterally withdrawing from the war, announced that the Russian Army was being demobilised, and left Brest-Litovsk. The German Army mounted an offensive and occupied considerable territory. As a result, much harsher peace terms were put forward by the German Government'. V.I. Lenin, Political Report of the Central Committee, Extraordinary 7th Congress of the RCP, 'Collected Works', Volume 27, Moscow, 1965, p102.

As the Foreword to 'Against Trotskyism', issued by the Soviet revisionists in power in 1972, comments similarly;

'No less adventurist and demagogic was the position of L.D. Trotsky (People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR at the time) who proposed to declare the war terminated and to demobilise the army but not to sign the treaty. . . As Trotsky, the head of the Soviet delegation was leaving for Brest, it was agreed between him and Lenin, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, that the negotiations were to be prolonged by all possible means until the presentation of an ultimatum, after which the peace treaty should be signed immediately. On January 28 Trotsky presented the adventurist declaration that Soviet Russia would terminate the war and demobilise its army but not sign the peace. Trotsky refused further negotiations, and the Soviet delegation left Brest-Litovsk. Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Volume 4, New York, 1974, p66, 67.

In 1920;

In December 1920 Lenin wrote;

'I have had to enumerate my 'differences' with Comrade Trotsky because, with such a broad theme as 'The Role and Tasks of the Trade Unions', he has, I am quite sure, made a number of mistakes, bearing on the very essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. V.I. Lenin, 'The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and Trotsky's Mistakes', 'Collected Works', Volume 32, Moscow, 1965, p22.

In 1921;

In January 1921 Lenin severely criticised Trotsky for dereliction of Party duty and factionalism;

'The Central Committee sets up a trade union commission and elects Comrade Trotsky to it. Trotsky refuses to work on the commission, magnifying by this step alone his original mistake, which subsequently leads to factionalism, becomes magnified and later leads to factionalism'. V.I. Lenin, 'The Party Crisis', 'Collected Works', Volume 32, Moscow, 1965, p45.

and in the same month, Lenin criticised him for his proposal to 'militarise' the trade unions;

'Comrade Trotsky's theses have landed him in a mess. That part of them which is new is all wrong. Comrade Trotsky's political mistakes distract our party's attention from the class struggle, and lead to factionalism. V.I. Lenin, 'The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and Trotsky's Mistakes', 'Collected Works', Volume 32, Moscow, 1965, p34, 85, 90.

Even as late as in 1922;

There were serious differences between Lenin and Trotsky. Trotsky's biographer Deutscher describes a further rift between Lenin and Trotsky in 1922 over Trotsky's refusal to accept the post of Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars;

'In April 1922 an incident occurred which did much to cloud relations between Lenin and Trotsky. On 11 April, . . . categorically and somewhat haughtily Trotsky declined to fill this office. The refusal and the manner in which it was made annointed Lenin. Throughout the summer of 1922 . . . the dissension between Lenin and Trotsky persisted. On 11 September . . . Trotsky once again refused the post . . . On 14 September the Politburo met and Stalin put before it a resolution which was highly damaging to Trotsky; it censured him in effect for dereliction of duty'. The circumstances of the case indicated that Lenin must have prompted Stalin to frame
The 'Georgian Deviation'  

In July 1921 Stalin, speaking to the Tiflis Organisation of the Communist Party of Georgia, referred to the need for the Transcaucasian Federation to be united in a Federation. On 28 November 1921 Lenin wrote to Stalin stating that, ‘A federation of the Transcaucasian republics is absolutely correct in principle, and should be implemented without fail’. V. I. Lenin, ‘Memo to J. V. Stalin, 28 November 1921,’ Collected Works, Volume 33, Moscow, 1973, p.217.

This unification (in the Transcaucasian Federation - Ed.) was proposed by Lenin. Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Volume 9, New York, 1975, p.405.


And it was confirmed by three subsequent decisions of the Central Committee;


As a result;


Stalin reminded the 12th Congress of the RCP in April 1923 why the formation of the Transcaucasian Federation had been considered essential;

In a place like Transcaucasia... it is impossible to dispense with a special organ of national peace. J. V. Stalin, ‘From very early times Transcaucasia has been an arena of massacre and strife, and, under the Mensheviks and Dashnaks, it was an arena of war. That is why the Central Committee has on three occasions affirmed the necessity of preserving the Transcaucasian Federation as an organ of national peace. The point is that the bonds of the Transcaucasian Federation deprive Georgia of that somewhat privileged position which she could assume by virtue of her geographical position... Georgia has her own port - Batum - through which goods must flow from the West; Georgia has a railway junction like Tiflis, which the Armenians cannot avoid, nor can Azerbaijan avoid it. If Georgia were a separate republic, if she were not part of the Transcaucasian Federation, she could present something in the nature of a little ultimatum both to Armenia, which cannot do without Tiflis, and to Azerbaijan, which cannot do without Batum. There is yet another reason. Tiflis is the capital of Georgia, but the Georgians there are not more than 30% of the population, the Armenians not less than 35%, and then come all the other nationalities. If Georgia were a separate republic, the population could be reshuffled somewhat... Was not a well-known decree adopted in Georgia to resettle the population so as to reduce the number of Armenians in Tiflis from year to year, making them fewer than the Georgians, and thus converting Tiflis into a real Georgian capital?. J. V. Stalin, ‘Report on National Factors in Party and State Affairs, 12th Congress of RCP’, Works, Volume 5, Moscow, 1953, p.256, 257, 258-59.

However, both before and after its formation, the existence of the Transcaucasian Federation was opposed by a group of Georgian nationalists within the Communist Party of Georgia, headed by Polkarp (‘Bud’i) Mdvani and Filipp Makharadze and known as the ‘Georgian deviation’;
... and defended Ordzhonikidze in a telegram of reply dated 21 October 1922; telegraphed a protest, making a strong attack on Ordzhonikidze, nevertheless, even after the Transcaucasian Federation had been formed against the objections of Georgia, formed only a small minority within the Communist Party of Georgia as a whole; The ‘Georgian Deviators’, the latter did all they could to sabotage the functioning of the federation; The ‘Georgian Deviation’ as the desire of the Georgian nationalists not to lose the geographical advantages which an independent Georgia would possess, advantages of which they wished to take advantage; It is these geographical advantages that the Georgian deviators do not lose,. that is by no means the same thing as the matter’s correctness, and the case is decided in another way. They want to leave the federation, and this will create legal opportunities for independently performing certain operations which will result in the advantageous position enjoyed by the Georgians being fully utilised against the Transcaucasian Federation. And all this would create a privileged position for the Georgians in Transcaucasia. Therein lies the whole danger. The Georgian deviators . . . are pushing us on to the path of granting them certain privileges at the expense of the Armenian and Azerbaijani republics. But that is a path we cannot take, for it means certain death to . . . Soviet power in the Caucasus’. J. V. Stalin, ‘Report on National Factors in Party and State Affairs, 12th Congress of RCP’, ‘Works’, Volume 5, Moscow, 1953, p258, 261.

The ‘Georgian Deviators’, while dominating the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, formed only a small minority within the Communist Party of Georgia as a whole; ‘Mdvani group and its opposing federation, was emphatically opposed by its own Party. At the first congress, I, think, out of a total of 122 votes he obtained somewhere about 18; and at the second congress, out of a total of 144 votes he obtained about 20. I. V. Stalin in his Discussion of the Central Committee's Organisational Report, 12th Congress of RCP, ‘Works’, Volume 5, Moscow, 1953, p234-35. Nevertheless, even after the Transcaucasian Federation had been formed against the objections of the ‘Georgian Deviators’, the latter did all they could to sabotage the functioning of the federation; ‘Mdvani and his supporters, constituting a majority on the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, virtually slowed down the economic and political union of the Transcaucasian Republics and were intent, in essence, on keeping Georgia isolated’. I. V. Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 45, Moscow, 1976, p750.


At the 12th Congress of the RCP in April 1923 Grigory (‘Sergey’) Ordzhonikidze*, First Secretary of the Transcaucasian Territorial Party Committee; ‘accused the ‘deviationists’, Mdvani and Makharradze, of a series of improper activities – refusing to take down customs barriers, selling a Soviet ship to foreigners, negotiating with the Ottoman Bank, and closing the frontiers of Georgia to hungry refugees from the North Caucasus and the Volga region... More important, he condemned the Georgian government's failure to implement a radical land reform and eliminate once and for all the noble landlords’. R. G. Suny, op. cit., p218.

The policy of maintaining the Transcaucasian Federation was continued as preparations were made to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. On 6 October 1922 the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party decided; ‘to have Transcaucasia enter the union as one unit’. R. G. Suny, op. cit., p216.

However;

‘the Georgian leadership in Tbilisi insisted on Georgia's separate entry... From Tbilisi the Georgians utilised all the pressure they could against the Transcaucasian Federation. These statements indicate that on the path we cannot take, for it means certain death to . . . Soviet power in the Caucasus’. J. V. Stalin, ‘Report on National Factors in Party and State Affairs, 12th Congress of RCP’, ‘Works’, Volume 5, Moscow, 1953, p258, 261.

A group of the ‘Georgian Deviators’, headed by Kate Tsitamzade and Sergey Kavtaradze* then telegraphed a protest, making a strong attack on Ordzhonikidze, directly to Lenin, who rebuked them sharply and defended Ordzhonikidze in a telegram of reply dated 21 October 1922; I am surprised at the indecent tone of the direct wire message sent by Tsitamzade and others... I am sure that all the differences had been inscribed by the CC Plenum resolutions with my indirect participation and with the direct participation of Midvani. They wanted to oppose federation. They want to oppose Ordzhonikidze and insist that your conflict should be referred in a decent and loyal tone for settlement by the RCC CC Secretariat’. V.I. Lenin, Telegram to K. T. Tsitamzade and S. I. Kavtaradze, 21 October 1922, ‘Collected Works’, Volume 5, Moscow, 1953, p258, 261.

On receiving Lenin's rebuke, the bloc of ‘Georgian Deviators’, who formed nine of the eleven members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, resigned in protest; ‘Faced with Lenin's fury and isolated from the central leaders, the Georgian Central Committee took an unprecedented step; on October 25 they resigned en masse. Ordzhonikidze quickly appointed a new Central Committee of people who agreed with the positions taken up in Moscow, but the Mdvani-Makharradze stepped up their protests’. R. G. Suny, op. cit., p216.

*These leaders were then expelled from the party for their opposition to the formation of the Transcaucasian Federation.
On 25 November the Politburo of the Central Committee decided to send a commission to Georgia, headed by People's Commissar for Internal Affairs Feliks Dzerzhinsky*

"To examine urgently the statements by members of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party who had resigned, and to work out measures to establish tranquillity in the Georgian Communist Party." Notr to V.I. Lenin, 'Collectded Works', Volume 45, Moscow, 1970, p656-57.

Dzerzhinsky reported the findings of his commission to Lenin on 12 December 1922, including the fact that:

'The commission had decided to recall to Moscow the leaders of the former Georgian Central Committee, who were held responsible for everything.' M. Lewin, op. cit., p68.

Then, at the very end of December 1922, Lenin, who had initiated the concept of the Transcaucasian Federation, who had denounced the 'Georgian deviators', and defended Ordzhonikidze against their attacks, suddenly reversed his position on these questions. In the document known as 'Lenin's Testament' he dictated to his secretary Maria Volodicheva on 30 December 1922, he implied that the charges of 'Georgian nationalism' levelled against the 'Georgian deviators' were 'imaginary' (and the product of 'Great Russian chauvinism on the part of Dzerzhinsky';

'Comrade Dzerzhinsky, who went to the Caucasus to investigate the 'crime' of those 'nationalist-socialists', distinguished himself there by his truly Russian frame of mind (it is common knowledge that people of other nationalities who have become Russified overdo this Russian frame of mind'. V.I. Lenin, 'The Question of Nationalities, or 'Autonomisation', 'Collectded Works', Volume 36, Moscow, 1966, p606.

However, Lenin placed the main blame for this 'erroneous policy of Great Russian chauvinism' on Stalin. He declared that it was necessary;

'To defend the non-Russian from the onslaught of that really Russian man, the Great Russian chauvinist, in substance a rascal and a tyrant... I think that Stalin's... spite against the notorious 'nationalist-socialist' played a fatal role here. In politics spite generally plays the basest of roles.' V.I. Lenin, 'The Question of Nationalities, or 'Autonomisation', 'Collectded Works', Volume 36, Moscow, 1966, p606.

On the following day, 31 December 1922, Lenin dictated a postscript on the same lines, referring to Stalin as;

'The Georgian who... casually flings about accusations of 'nationalist-socialist', whereas he himself is a real and true nationalist-socialist and even a vulgar Great-Russian bully... The political responsibility for all this truly Great-Russian nationalist campaign must, of course, be laid on Stalin and Dzerzhinsky'. V.I. Lenin, 'The Question of Nationalities, or 'Autonomisation', 'Collectded Works', Volume 36, Moscow, 1966, p606.

By March 1923 Lenin was dictating a letter to Trotsky asking him to defend the case of the 'Georgian deviators' in the Central Committee.

'It is my earnest request that you should undertake the defence of the Georgian case in the Party CC. The case is now under 'persecution' by Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, and I cannot rely on their impartiality. Quite the contrary, I would feel at ease if you agreed to undertake this defence.'V.I. Lenin, 'Letter to L.D. Trotsky, 5 March 1923', 'Collectded Works', Volume 45, Moscow, 1970, p607.

Trotsky declined to intervene in the affair;


On the following day, Lenin dictated a letter to the leading 'Georgian deviators', giving them his whole-hearted support to their case and offering to assist it with notes and a speech;

'I am following your case with all my heart. I am indignant over Ordzhonikidze's rudeness and the connivance of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky. I am preparing for you notes and a speech.'V.I. Lenin, 'Letter to P.G. Mdviani, F.Y. Makharadze and Others, 6 March 1923', 'Collectded Works', Volume 45, Moscow, 1970, p608.

In conclusion it may be added that Trotsky's efforts in 1923 to persuade the Central Committee to adopt the line of the 'Georgian deviators' and abolish the Transcaucasian Federation were heavily defeated;

'Trotsky's motion in the Politburo on March 26 to recall Ordzhonikidze, decentralise the Transcaucasian Federation, recognised by the minority in the Communist Party of Georgia had not been 'deviationists', failed by six to one'. R.G.Suny, op. cit., p218.

Clearly, something occurred in late 1922 to cause Lenin radically to alter the opinion on Transcaucasia which he had held until that date. And this was the same time at which something occurred to cause him radically to alter the opinions he had held of Stalin and Trotsky until that date.

Lenin's Illness

Lenin fell seriously ill in 1921;

'Lenin fell seriously ill towards the end of 1921 and was forced to rest for several weeks'. M.Lewin, op. cit., p33.

'On 23 April 1922 Lenin underwent surgery to remove one of the bullets fired at him in an assassination attempt by the Socialist Revolutionary Fanya Kaplan on 30 August 1918.' Note to V.I. Lenin, 'Collectded Works', Volume 45, Moscow, 1966, p527.

Then, on 26 May 1922;

'Assassination struck; his right hand and leg became paralysed and his speech was impaired, sometimes completely so... his convalescence was slow and tedious... He never fully regained his health. The return to public life was not to last long'. M. Lewin, op. cit., p33, 34.

and on 16 December, Lenin suffered;
'Two dangerous strokes'. M. Lewin, ibid., pxxii.

and furthermore;

'On December 23 he ... suffered another attack of his illness... He realised next morning that once again a part of his body, his right hand and leg, was paralysed'. M. Lewin, op. cit., p73.

On 10 March 1923;

'A new stroke paralyses half of Lenin's body and deprives him of his capacity to speak. Lenin's political activity is finished'. M. Lewin, op. cit., pxxiv.

Lenin died on 21 January 1924. The doctors who performed the autopsy on Lenin on 22 January found that;

'The basic disease of the deceased was disseminated vascular arteriosclerosis based on premature wearing out of the vessels. The narrowing of the lumen of the cerebral arteries and the disturbances of the cerebral blood supply brought about focal softening of the brain tissue which can account for all symptoms of the disease (paralysis, disturbance of speech)'. R. Payne, 'Report on the Pathological-Anatomical Examination of the Body of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin', 'The Life and Death of Lenin', London, 1967, p632.

The controversial document known as 'Lenin's Testament' was dictated between 23 and 31 December 1922, with a supplement dated 4 January 1923, after Lenin had already suffered four severe strokes which had adversely affected his brain function. Thus Lenin's radical changes of opinion on Stalin, on Trotsky and on Transcaucasia are partly explicable by psycho-pathological factors.

The Role of Krupskaya

However, the puzzles of Lenin's remarkable changes of opinion up on Stalin, on Trotsky, and on Transcaucasia are partly explicable by psycho-pathological factors.

In these conditions of isolation, an extremely important role was played by Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya. McNeal speaks of her;

'Made Stalin personally responsible for the observance of the regime prescribed for Lenin by the doctors,' R.H. McNeal (1988), p73.

Nevertheless, Stalin was prevented from seeing Lenin;


In fact after 13 December, Stalin never saw Lenin alive at all;


This was supposedly for strict medical rules, since;

'Strict rules were established, and it was agreed that no visitors should be allowed. Except for the doctors immediate family, he was permitted to see only his secretaries. .. He was to be isolated almost as completely as a prisoner in the Peter Paul fortress'. R. Payne, op. cit., p555.

In these conditions of isolation, an extremely important role was played by Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya*. Her biographer Robert McNeal* speaks of Krupskaya's;


After Lenin's death in 1924, Krupskaya participated in the Opposition. McNeal speaks of her;

'REadiness to lean towards the opposition. Krupskaya . . . really stood with the opposition. It date on her entry into this status. Krupskaya was in reality coming round to . . . signing a manifesto of protest against official policy. This document was the work of Zinoviev*. .. Kamenev*, Krupskaya and Sokolnikov* (the Commissar of Finance) jointly signed a 'platform' attacking the leadership. . . It was circulated among members of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission. The 14th Party Congress (in December 1925) was the pinnacle of Krupskaya's career in the opposition. It was left to her to begin the opposition's critique. Krupskaya remained in the opposition . . . until October 1926. She signed the major political manifesto that the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition produced in this period, the 'Declaration of the Thirteen' ... along with another protest against Soviet policy in the English General Strike of 1926'. R.H. McNeil (1973), ibid., p250, 251, 252, 253, 256.

Krupskaya stood firmly behind Zinoviev and Kamenev. .. She was now eager to testify in favour of Zinoviev's interpretation of Leninism and against socialism in one country'. I.Deutscher (1989, 2), p247.

At the 15th Conference of the CPSU in November 1926, Stalin hinted that Krupskaya had broken with the opposition;

'Is it not a fact that Comrade Krupskaya, for instance, is leaving the opposition bloc? ... Stalin, 'Reply to the Discussion on the Report on 'The Social Democratic Deviation in our Party'', 'Works', Volume 8, Moscow, 1954, p371.

But not until six months later, in May 1927, did Krupskaya herself confirm this;

'She even explained her membership of the opposition as if it had been quite correct'. R.H. McNeal (1973), p555.

Robert Payne* - a biographer of Lenin who is violently antagonistic to Stalin - admits that Krupskaya took advantage of her role during Lenin's illness to feed selected items of 'information' to him;
which would have been quite alien to Party practice;

In September 1925, in a statement published in 'Bolshevik', Trotsky publicly dissociated himself from Lenin's 'Testament' and it was blackened to seem to be his production. In 1925 the Trotskyist Max Eastman* published the book 'Since Lenin Died' which included excerpts from 'Lenin's Testament' of the CPSU. On the following day she wrote to a letter of complaint to Lev Kamenev* on Stalin's rudeness;

'Stalin subjected me to a storm of the coarsest abuse yesterday about a brief note that Lenin dictated to me. I know better than all the doctors what can and what cannot be said to Ilyich. For I know what disturbs him and what doesn't. And in any case I know better than you do. I have no doubt as to the unanimous decision of the Central Control Commission with which Stalin takes it upon himself to threaten me, but I have neither the time nor the energy to lose in such a stupid farce! N. K. Kruspyka, 'Letter to Lev Kamenev, 23 December 1922', M. Lewis, op. cit., p52-53.

When this incident came to Lenin's knowledge, on 5 March 1923 he wrote to Stalin saying;

'You have been so rude as to summon my wife to the telephone and use bad language. What has been done against my wife I consider having been done against me as well. I ask you, therefore, to think it over whether you are prepared to make your apologies, or whether you prefer that relations between us should be broken off.' V. I. Lenin, 'Letter to J. V. Stalin, 5 March 1923,' 'Collected Works', Volume 45, Moscow, 1970, p607-08.

Lenin's sister, Maria Ullyanova*, wrote to the Presidium of the 1926 Joint Plenum of the CC and CCC, stating that;

'Stalin offered to apologise.' Note to: V. I. Lenin, 'Collected Works', Volume 45, Moscow, 1970, p75

The Subsequent History of the 'Testament'

On 18 May 1924 Kruspyka sent the 'Testament' to Lev Kamenev, who passed it on to Stalin, as General Secretary. On 19 May Stalin passed the documents to the steering committee for the next (13th) Congress, which was due to begin on 23 May 1924. By a vote of 30-10, the steering committee resolved not to publish the document, but to read it to a closed session of delegates;

'With explanations that Lenin had been ill.' R. H. McNeal (1988), p110.

'As regards publishing the will, the congress decided not to publish it, since it was addressed to the congress and was not intended for publication.' J. V. Stalin, 'Speech to Joint Plenum of CC & CCC of CPSU', 'Works', Volume 10, Moscow, 1954, p181.

First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev, in his secret speech to the 20th Congress of the CPSU(B) in February 1956, confirmed that Lenin's 'Testament';

'Was made known to the delegates at the 13th Party Congress who discussed the question of transferring Stalin from the position of Secretary General'. N. S. Khrushchev, op. cit., p7.

At the Congress itself, in view of the criticism of him made in 'Lenin's Testament', Stalin offered his resignation as General Secretary;

'This question, was discussed by each delegation separately, and all the delegations unanimously, including Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev*, obliged Stalin to remain at his post. What could I do? Desert my post? That is not in my nature. I have never deserted any duty. I have no right to do so. . . . When the Party imposes an obligation upon me, I must obey.' J. V. Stalin, 'Speech to Joint Plenum of CC & CCC of CPSU', 'Works', Volume 10, Moscow, 1954, p181.

Khrushchev confirms that;

'The delegates (to the 13th Party Congress - Ed.) declared themselves in favour of retaining Stalin in this post'. N. S. Khrushchev, op. cit., p7.

At the first meeting of the Central Committee elected at the 13th Congress of the Party, and again a year later, Stalin offered his resignation, and each time it was rejected;

'At the very first plenum of the Central Committee after the 13th Congress, I asked the plenum to release me, but I was again obliged to remain at my post. What else could I do?' J. V. Stalin, ibid., p181

In 1925 the Trotskyist Max Eastman* published the book 'Since Lenin Died' which included excerpts from 'Lenin's Testament. As Stalin said in October 1927;

'There is a certain Eastman, a former American Communist who was later expelled from the Party. This gentleman, who mixed with the Trotskyists in Moscow, picked up some rascality and gossip about Lenin's will, went abroad and published a book entitled 'Since Lenin Died', in which he did his best to blacken the Party, the Central Committee and the Soviet regime, and the gist of which was that the Central Committee of our Party was 'concealing' Lenin's 'will'. J. V. Stalin, 'Speech to Joint Plenum of CC & CCC of CPSU', 'Works', Volume 10, 1954, p718-79.

In September 1925, in a statement published in ' Bolshevik', Trotsky publicly dissociated himself from Eastman and denied that Lenin's letter to the Congress constituted any form of 'testament', which would have been quite alien to Party practice;
In several parts of his book Eastman says that the Central Committee concealed\' from the Party a number of exceptionally important documents written by Lenin in the last period of his life (it is a matter of letters on the national question, the so-called 'twill', and there can be no other name for this than slander against the Central Committee of our Party. From what Eastman says it may be inferred that Vladimir Ilyich intended those letters, which bore the character of advice on internal organisation, for the Party. In point of fact, that is precisely untrue. It goes without saying that all those letters and proposals... were brought to the knowledge of the delegates at the 12th and 13th Congresses, and always, of course, exercised the influence upon the Party's decisions; and if not all of those letters were published, it was because the author did not intend them for the press. Vladimir Ilyich did not leave any will, and the very character of his attitude towards the Party, as well as the character of the Party itself, precluded any possibility of such a will. What is usually referred to as a \'will\' in the emigre and foreign bourgeois and Menshevik press (in a manner garbled beyond recognition) is one of Vladimir Ilyich's letters containing advice on organisational matters. The 13th Congress of the Party paid the closest attention to that letter, as to all of the others, and drew from it the conclusions appropriate to the conditions and circumstances of the time. All talk about concealing or violating a \'will\' is a malicious invention. L.D. Trotsky, 'Concerning Eastman's Book 'Since Lenin Died'', 'Bolshevik', 16, 1 September, 1925, p56.

At a Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU in October 1927, the opposition raised the question of 'Lenin's Testament'. Stalin replied:

\'The oppositionists shouted here - you heard them - that the Central Committee of the Party \'concealed\' Lenin's \'will\'. It has been proved and proved again that nobody has concealed anything, that Lenin's \'will\' was addressed to the 13th Party Congress, that this \'will\' was read out at the Congress (Voices; That\'s right!), that the congress unanimously decided not to publish it because, among other things, Lenin himself did not want it to be published and did not ask that it should be published.\' J.V. Stalin, \'Speech at Joint Plenum of CC & CCC of CPSU', p173.

At this point Stalin publicly confirmed and commented upon the reference in the \'Testament\' to his \'rudeness\' and on Lenin's proposal that he should be released as General Secretary;

\'It is said in that \'will\' that Comrade Lenin suggests to the congress that in view of Stalin's \'rudeness\' it should consider the question of putting other comrade in Stalin's place as General Secretary. That is quite true. Yet, comrade Stalin, I am rude to those who grossly and perilously twist and split the Party. I have not concealed this and do not conceal it now. Perhaps some mildness is needed in the treatment of splitters, but I am a bad hand at that: But rudeness is not and cannot be counted as a defect in Stalin's political line or position.\' J.V. Stalin, \'Works', Volume 10, Moscow, 1927, p180-81, 182.

The 15th Congress of the CPSU in December 1927 decided to publish \'Testament\' in the Congress Bulletin, so that;


Finally, after the victory of revisionism in the CPSU following the death of Stalin in 1953, First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev quoted extensively from \'Lenin's Testament\' in his secret speech to the 20th Congress in February 1956, and copies were;

\'Distributed among the delegates. N. S. Khrushchev, op. cit., p6.\'

Later, the \'Testament\' was published in Lenin's \'Collected Works'.

Conclusion

The fact that, despite Lenin's reputation as the world's leading Marxist, his call, in his \'Testament\', for the removal of Stalin from the post of General Secretary could not be accepted by 15th Congress of the CPSU, says much about the circumstances in which the document came to be issued.

But IT SAYS EVEN MORE ABOUT THE HIGH ESTEEM IN WHICH STALIN WAS HELD BY THE PARTY.

Biographical Notes

*ARMAND, Yelizaveta (Trezsa) F. French-born Soviet women's movement worker (1873-1920); head of Women's Department of CC, RCP (1918-22); Georgian Premier (1922-24); Minister to Italy (1927); leader of Trotskyist opposition (1936); expelled from Party for third time (1934); sentenced to death for treason and executed (1936).

*DEUTSCHER, Isaac, Polish-born British Trotskyist historian and journalist (1907-67); emigrated to Britain (1939).

*DZERZHINSKY, Felix E., Polish-born Soviet Marxist-Leninist politician (1877-1926); Chairman, Cheka, later OGPU (1917-23); 1st Deputy Procurator, USSR Supreme Court (1924-26).


*FOTIEVA, Liudmila A., (1881-1921); Chairman, S,

*GORKY, Maxim, (pseudonym of Alyeis I. Peshkov), Soviet Marxist-Leninist writer (1868-1936); President, Soviet Writers' Union (1934-36); murdered by revisionist conspirators (1936).

*KAMPEN, Lev B., Soviet revisionist politician (1883-1938); leader of Trotskyist opposition (1926-28); expelled from CPSU (1927); readmitted (1928); Chairman, Main Concessions Committee (1929); again expelled from Party for Trotskyism (1932); Georgian Premier (1933); again readmitted (1933); Chairman, Main Concessions Committee (1934-35); President, Soviet Writers' Union (1934-35); President, Soviet Writers' Union (1934-36); expelled from CPSU (1937); readmitted (1938); 1st Deputy Procurator, USSR Supreme Court (1924-28); expelled from Party (1932); again readmitted (1933); expelled from Party for third time (1934); sentenced to imprisonment for terrorism (1935); sentenced to death for treason and executed (1936).

*KAUTSKY, Karl J., German revisionist politician (1854-1938).

*KAVARADZHI, Zvi. Georgian, Georgian nationalist politician (1885-1971); Georgian Communist of Justice (1921-22); Georgian Premier (1923-24); 1st Deputy Procurator, USSR Supreme Court (1924-28); expelled from Party (1927); reinstated (1934); USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (1941-5); Ambassador to Romania (1945-52).

*KOLLOINY, Aleksandra H., Russian, Soviet Marxist-Leninist diplomat (1872-1952); Minister to Norway (1920-23), 1st Deputy Procurator, USSR Supreme Court (1924-28); expelled from Party (1927); reinstated (1934); USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (1941-5); Ambassador to Romania (1945-52).

*KUROPSKAIA, Nadezhda K., Lenin's wife (1869-1939).

*McNEIL, Robert H., American historian (1930-67); Minister to Mexico (1926-30).

*MARTOV, L. (pseudonym of Yuly 0. Tsederbauw), Russian Menshevik leader and journalist (1870-1937); emigrated to Germany (1920).

*MEDIANY, Polikarp ('Bude') C., Georgian, Soviet nationalist politician (1877-1937); Georgian Communist of Light Industry and Deputy Premier (1911-36); expelled from Party for Trotskyism (1928); reinstated (1931); again expelled (1936); sentenced to death for treason and executed (1937).

*PAYNE, Robert, British-born American historian (1911-83).

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*PAYNE, Robert, British-born American historian (1911-83).
ORDZHONIKIDZE, Grigory ('Sergo') K., Soviet Marxist-Leninist politician (1886-1937); 1st Secretary, Transcaucasian Party Committee (1922-26); Chairman, CPSU Central Control Commission and USSR Commissar of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (1926-31); member, Politburo, CC; CPSU (1930-37); USSR Commissar of Heavy Industry (1932).

PREOBRAZHENSKY Yevgeny A., Soviet revisionist economist (1886-1937); member, Politburo, Secretary of Central Committee, Commissar of Finance (1921-27) expelled from party (1927); tried for treason; died in prison (1937).

ROHESPISERRE, Maximilien P.-M. de, French revolutionary leader (1758-94); leader of Jacobin Club (1791-92); leader of Committee of Public Safety (1793-94); guillotined (1794).


SOKOLNIKOV, Grigory Y., Soviet revisionist lawyer and economist (1888-1939); USSR Commissar of Finance (1921-26); Chairman, Old Syndicate (1926-28); Ambassador to Britain and USSR Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs (1929-34); USSR Deputy Commissar of Forestry Industry (1934-36); expelled from Party (1936); admitted to treason at public trial and sentenced to imprisonment (1937), died in prison (1939).

TSINTSADZE, Kate H., Georgian nationalist politician (1887-1930).

ULEYNOVA, Marya I. (1878-1937); Lenin's sister.

ZINOVIEV, Grigory Y., Soviet revisionist politician (1883-1936); Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU (1925); headed Leningrad opposition (1926); expelled from CPSU (1927); readmitted (1928); again expelled from Party (1932); again readmitted (1933); imprisoned for terrorism (1935); sentenced to death and executed for treason (1936).

Notes

**BUND** (The General Jewish Workers’ Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia). A Jewish bourgeois-nationalist organisation formed in 1897 which functioned as a centre of Jewish nationalism in the Russian working class movement.

**CONCILIATIONISM** A political trend advocating collaboration, and even unity between Marxist-Leninists and opponents of Marxism.

**DASHNKS.** Members of the 'Dashnaktsutyun Party, a nationalist party of the landlords and bourgeoisie in Armenia, formed in the 1890s.

**GOLOS (The Voice).** A Menshevik daily newspaper published in Paris between 1908 and 1911.

**JACOBINISM.** The policies of the Jacobin Club, representing the left-wing of the French Revolution.

**KAUTSKYITE.** A follower of Kautsky.

**Liquidators.** Followers of 'Liquidationism', a reactionary trend within the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1907-10 which advocated the liquidation of the disciplined revolutionary Party of the working class and its replacement by a legal reformist party of the West European social-democratic type.

**MENSHEVIK.** Member of the right (social-democratic) minority wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

**MEZHRAIONTSI.** Members of the 'Mezhraionnaia' (Inter-borough Organisation), formed in 1913 in St. Petersburg. The organisation joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917.

**MUSSA VATISTS.** Members of the ‘Mussavat’ Party, a nationalist party of the landlords and bourgeoisie in Azerbaijan, formed in 1912.

**NASHE ZARYA’ (Our Dawn).** A monthly magazine published by the Menshevik 'Liquidators' in St. Petersburg between between 1910 and 1914, when it was suppressed and replaced by 'Nashe Delo' (Our Cause).

**NOVY MIIR (New World).** A pro-Menshevik newspaper published by Russian emigres in New York in 1911-17.

**OTZOVISTS (Recallers).** Supporters within the Bolshevik Party of an opportunist trend which opposed legal forms of activity and called for the recall of Social-Democratic Party deputies from the State Duma.

**SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM.** 'Chauvinism' ('Jingoism') takes its name from a French jingoistic soldier, Nicolas Chauvin (b. 1815). 'Social-chauvinism' is jingoism within the socialist movement.

**VPERED (Forward).** An anti-Party group formed outside Russia which opposed the use of legal tactics; it operated from 1909 to 1913.