

1. The power vacuum

1	How had Lenin caused a power vacuum?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Decisions were supposedly made collectively but in practice Lenin had dominated His leadership was based on his personality and his authority. Instead of encouraging democracy, he introduced the ban on factions in 1921 He had had created a huge bureaucracy carrying out orders from superiors.
2	How had a power struggle started before Lenin's death?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Lenin had become unwell towards the end of 1921, and in May 1922 he had the first of a series of strokes By mid-1923 it was obvious that Lenin would never return to government. When Lenin died, there was no obvious successor. A collective leadership was therefore established to govern Russia.
3	What happened when Lenin died?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Lenin's coffin was displayed in Red Square and crowds of people queued to pay their respects. The Politburo preserved his body in a mausoleum in Red Square
4	How did a cult of personality form?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Petrograd was renamed Leningrad, Lenin's statue was built in every Russian city Children were named after the Communist leader.
5	What should have happened with leadership?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Marxism suggested that power should be shared in a collective leadership The Politburo had emerged as the most powerful part of the Government. Therefore, gaining a majority on the Politburo was the key to power From 1922 to 1929, a relentless struggle for supremacy was waged by Politburo leaders.

2. Lenin's Testament

1	What was it?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Lenin's Testament was written a year before his death in 1924. The notes were addressed to the Central Committee and were highly critical of the main contenders for power.
2	What did it say?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Accused Trotsky of arrogance and being too willing to use violence Accused Stalin of impatience and rudeness That Zinoviev and Kamenev had been disloyal to the party immediately before the October Revolution That Bukharin did not fully understand Lenin's ideology.
3	What happened to the testament?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Lenin's widow Krupskaya handed the testament to the Politburo It was supposed to be published in the Party Congress in May 1924. Key members of the Central Committee declined to read it out.

3. The Contenders for power – the Left

1	Trotsky	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Recognised as a hero from the October Revolution and Civil War Inspirational speaker and intellectual Known for his political skills and organisational ability Known to be arrogant and dismissive of those who were not as intellectual as him He failed to build a power base of followers
2	Zinoviev	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Lenin had once called him his 'closest and most trusted assistant' Strong power base in Leningrad One of the best speechmakers with a commanding presence Had opposed Lenin in organising the October Revolution Vain and prone to mood swings also underestimated Stalin
3	Kamenev	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Had helped form Party policy and was close to Lenin Had a strong power base in Moscow Effective at reaching compromises between people. Opposed to Lenin's April Theses in 1917 and his desire to work for a revolution in October 1917. Seen as lacking ambition on his own Underestimated his opponents

Key word	Definition
Collective leadership	When power is not focused on one person but shared amongst everyone.
Cult of personality	When a public figure is presented as a great person who should be admired and loved

5. The Contenders for power – Stalin

- He could claim to be a true the very beginning, in 1903, and had been loyal to Lenin through the whole period from 1903 to 1921.
- His role as General Secretary meant he could appoint supporters to key roles in the party.
- He had fallen out of favour with Lenin prior to his death.
- Colleagues saw him as ill-educated, rude and crude. Lenin had criticised him in the Testament

4. The Contenders for power – the Right

1	Bukharin	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Popular in the party, close to Lenin and Trotsky Widely regarded as the best theoretician in the Party An expert on economics and agriculture He had no party base and wanted to avoid fighting His popularity made him a target Underestimated Stalin
2	Tomsky	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Had a long history of fighting for the Bolsheviks, which meant he was widely respected Strong base of support from being General Secretary of trade unions Hatred of Trotsky blinded him to the threat of Stalin His power base in the trade unions made him a clear target for Stalin
3	Rykov	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Had a long history of fighting for the Bolsheviks, which meant he was widely respected Good administrator – he had helped implement war communism and the NEP Supported by the Sovnarkom His policy of heavy taxation on vodka was very unpopular Opposed Lenin over the timing of the revolution Lacked a power base, too moderate

1. The beginning of the power struggle

1	How was Stalin in a good position?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Stalin held key positions within the Communist Party. In 1919, Stalin was made head of the Orgburo In 1922 he became Secretary-General, which put him in charge of the party organisation. These positions gave Stalin the opportunity to appoint lower and middle ranks of the party and gave him significant powers of patronage.
2	How did Stalin consolidate his position?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> In 1924, Stalin initiated the Lenin Enrolment. From May 1924, this enrolment drive allowed 128,000 people to join the Communist Party. Stalin justified this by arguing that the party needed new working-class members. Because they were interested in getting well paid party jobs they tended to support Stalin, who was able to promote them within the party.

2. Ideological debates – NEP vs Rapid industrialisation

1	Why was this an issue?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The NEP was criticised for not conforming to communist principles Lenin had insisted it was a 'temporary measure' to help Russia recover from the Russian Civil War, so the was divided on how long they should continue with the policy. By 1925, NEP was causing industrial and agricultural concerns as workers' standards of living declined and peasants were hoarding grain rather than selling it. Also Marxism taught that only an industrialised economy could make a socialist society work.
2	What did the Left want?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> To abandon the NEP in favour of state controlled, rapid industrialisation funded by 'squeezing the peasants'
3	What did the Right want?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> To continue with the NEP with the peasants becoming richer. The state would then use the taxes to fund gradual industrialisation
4	What did Stalin want?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Inconsistent attitude. Initially opposed the Left when trying to defeat them, but turned on the NEP once the Left had been eliminated.

3. Ideological debates - 'Permanent revolution' or 'Socialism in One Country'

1	Why was this an issue?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> All theories of Marxism-Leninism had assumed it was impossible for revolution to survive in a single country against all the capitalist countries But Marxist theory was contradicted by real-world events Revolutions in Germany and Hungary were crushed Defeat in the Russo-Polish War blocked the Revolution from extending West The USSR were the only communist country
2	What did the Left believe?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Believed in the theory of Permanent Revolution. Thought Russian communism could not survive alone as it didn't have the economic resources and the proletariat was too small and underdeveloped Spreading the revolution would mean communist regimes in more developed countries could support Russia
3	What did the Right believe?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Believed in the theory of Socialism in One Country. Thought a world revolution was unlikely Aimed to strengthen the USSR as a workers' state could be created to rival the capitalist powers.
4	What did Stalin believe?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Supported Socialism in One Country in 1924. It appealed to Russian patriotism, portraying Trotsky's ideas as out of touch

5. Outcome of the power struggle

1	Stalin	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> By December 1929, Stalin secure as leader of the Soviet Union due to his strong base of supporters and political manoeuvring
2	The Left	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> After they were expelled in 1927, Kamenev and Zinoviev criticised their past actions and were allowed to re-join the party in 1928. Trotsky refused to do this and was exiled. He moved around until, in 1940, he was murdered in Mexico on Stalin's orders
3	The Right	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy were initially allowed to stay in the Party after admitting their mistakes
4	Show trials	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Bukharin, Rykov, Kamenev and Zinoviev were all executed after show trials were held against them in the late 30s. Tomsy committed suicide before he could be put through the same ordeal.

Key word	Definition
Industrialisation	The process of modernising and improving the industry of a country as opposed to agriculture
Permanent Revolution	The concept that continuing progress in the USSR was dependent on communist revolution in other countries
Socialism in one country	The policy of focusing on perfecting communism in Russia before turning focus outwards

4. Chronology

1	Jan 1924	Stalin supposedly arranged for Trotsky to not turn up for Lenin's funeral and uses this chance to set himself up as Lenin's disciple
2	May 1924	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Zinoviev & Kamenev urged that Lenin's testament is not read out. Trotsky kept quiet Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin form the Triumvirate against Trotsky. Trotsky accused the party of becoming less democratic but is outvoted.
3	June -Dec 1924	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Zinoviev and Kamenev question Trotsky's loyalty; Trotsky retaliates with the Lessons of October. Stalin stayed in the background, appearing to be the moderate. He brought more of his followers into the party.
4	Over 1925	Stalin's policy of socialism in one country proved popular with many, including the Rights. A Duumvirate formed between Stalin and Bukharin.
5	Dec 1924	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Kamenev and Zinoviev attack Stalin calling for a vote of no confidence but Stalin's supporters protected him. Kamenev and Zinoviev joined with Trotsky, and were accused of factionalism when trying to appeal to the masses.
6	By 1927	Kamenev, Zinoviev and Trotsky lost their positions in the party
7	1928	Stalin turned against the right, calling for rapid industrialization. Bukharin defended the NEP but was outvoted.
8	1929	Bukharin, Tomsy and Rykov were removed from positions

1. The Great Turn

1	What was is?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> A radical change in economic policy that rejected the NEP It committed to rapid industrialisation under state control and the collectivisation of agriculture It began in 1925 when the 14th Party Congress committed to industrialisation and continued in 1927 with the 15th Party congress announcing the end of the NEP
2	Why did Stalin introduce the Great Turn?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> He knew that a country that was not industrialised was a weak country. To fight a modern war, a country had to have a well-developed industrial base to manufacture the huge quantities of weapons and munitions that would be required. To make the USSR much less dependent on Western manufactured goods. To achieve this, it was especially important to build the heavy industrial plants that were needed for industrial production. He believed that socialism could only be created in a highly industrialised state where the majority of the population were workers. To prove he was the successor and equal of Lenin. To catch up with the West, not just in military terms, but also in the standard of living that people enjoyed.

2. The First Five Year Plan - 1928

1	Central Planning	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Gosplan would set targets for different industrial sectors A command economy would bring a centralised approach to managing the economy
2	Rapid industrial growth	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Overall industrial production was planned to increase by 300% between 1928 and 1932 Heavy industry (coal, iron, steel, oil & machinery) was prioritised Light industry (house hold products & chemicals), although a lower priority were still expected to increase production by 100%
3	Investment in infrastructure	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The plan called for huge increase in the supply of electrical power in order to transform the economy and society. There was significant investment in infrastructure, especially rail
4	New industrial centres	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Thousands of new industrial centres were planned E.g. Magnitogorsk was built into a settlement of 175,000 with steel production at its heart
5	Propaganda & discipline	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Propaganda was the driving force behind the plan Boards outside the factories showed worker output levels and targets Threat of punishment motivated workers and managers to meet the targets
6	Foreign Experts	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Industrial experts were brought in to build the new complexes and train workers

Key word	Definition
Collectivisation	A policy where the agriculture of the country worked towards a state goal and the state would redistribute the produce.
Command economy	The top-down approach that entailed the state controlling the economy to work towards a shared goal
Kolkhoz	A supposedly voluntary organisation of farms pooling their resources
Sovkhoz	State owned collective farm

3. Collectivisation

1	Why?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The revolution had broken up old landlord estates and agriculture was now small-scale which would never produce enough food to feed a socialised workforce Private farming was not socialist. It created petty-bourgeois attitudes that were selfish and capitalistic An important trigger for the acceleration of collectivisation was the grain procurement crisis of 1927-28 Poor harvests had reduced the supply of grain but the state had still set a low price for grain – this led to few incentives to sell In 1928 in the Urals and western Siberia, the grain procurement was down a third on the previous year – Stalin became convinced that the kulaks were hoarding grain
2	What were its features?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> There were two main types of collective farms: Kolkhoz and Sovkhoz. The difference between the two was that the state owned and ran the Sovkhoz. The target for collectivisation under the first five year plan was 15% of the USSR's farms. Although collectivisation was officially voluntary, the Central Committee sent 5,000 industrial workers into the countryside to promote it. They forced peasants to collectivise and removed the kulaks.

4. Impact of the Great Turn

1	How did the party react to industrialisation?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Many party members were pleased to see a commitment to radical social change
2	How did the people react to the Five Year Plan?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Propaganda had a huge effect – urban workers hoped for better employment and living standards Many poor and 'middle' peasants were led to hope they would benefit from further land reform and modern methods Some worried that higher wages of skilled workers would create class differences Many of those managing industrial production were already critical of the adverse impact of central planning
3	How did Stalin use collectivisation?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Bukharin was an opponent of Stalin's hard methods in the Urals and Siberia and of accelerated collectivisation However in 1928, the drive for accelerated collectivisation became more popular in the party This led to Bukharin's political position weakening and in April 1928 he was outvoted on agricultural policy in the Politburo In November 1928, Stalin attacked Bukharin directly, accusing him of not being Marxist enough. In November 1929 Bukharin was removed from the party

1. Features of Stalin's style of government

1	Bureaucratic centralism	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Under Stalin, the government was centrally controlled. The Party leadership controlled the appointment of all key bureaucratic positions, even at local levels
2	Divide and Rule	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> If a party member grew too powerful Stalin encouraged their rivals to bring them down. In this way, no one was ever powerful enough to challenge him
3	Continuing Lenin's Legacy	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> By positioning himself as Lenin's heir and interpreter of Lenin's wishes, Stalin responded to any challenge by showing how Lenin's words supported him
4	Fear	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The role of the OGPU became more universal under Stalin Fear ran through the imposition of all Stalin's policies, e.g. collectivisation
5	Loyal supporters	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> As General Secretary, Stalin influenced the appointment of Party officials . The Politburo, filled with Stalin's supporters, made decisions that the Central Committee approved without question

2. Propaganda and the beginning of Stalin's Cult

1	Why was propaganda important?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Stalin relied heavily on propaganda to launch campaigns and boost enthusiasm for his grand plans – e.g. the Five Year Plans
2	What were the features of his propaganda?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Stalin's image was developed as the 'Great Helmsman', steering the country through all the dangers Stalin used propaganda to position himself as the 'Lenin of today' Stalin boosted the cult of Lenin to add to his own status – if Lenin was a god, then his heir would be too

3. Stalin's foreign policy

1	What were his aims?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Stalin's main aim in foreign affairs was to keep the USSR safe while concentration on building socialism in one country Complete isolation was not possible – there was instability in China, opportunities in Germany
2	What was the role of foreign ministers?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The USSR's main representative were Chicherin and Litvinov – they were both seen as moderates They helped to reassure foreign powers about doing business with the USSR

4. The Comintern

1	What was Stalin's early attitude?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Before 1929, the Comintern was low priority for Stalin as he was focused on socialism in one country and the power struggle The Comintern was associated with Trotsky)
2	How did this attitude change?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> After 1929, Stalin declared a new phase for the Comintern – an all out attack on anti-communist, social democratic parties in Europe ('social fascism') This change in policy may have been a way to attack Bukharin, or due to his fear of foreign powers challenging the USSR
3	What did Stalin want the Comintern to do?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Ensure all foreign communist parties purged themselves of weak elements Impose strict party discipline on foreign communist parties Ensure all communist party followed the USSR party line Soviet control over the Comintern became stronger as Stalin appointed 'yes men' to lead it.

6. Germany

1	What was the situation?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> After the 1922 Treaty of Rapallo, the USSR continued to build good relations with Weimar Germany – Chicherin and his German counterpart (Stresemann) were committed to creating good relations
2	How did the relationship develop?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> In 1926 the Treaty of Berlin was signed - it built further good relations between the two countries It promised neutrality if either country was attacked It also promised that neither country would get involved in economic boycotts against the other
3	What was the impact?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The USSR benefitted by receiving large financial credits from German banks in June 1926 In 1929, with the death of Stresemann, the world economic crisis and the rise of Hitler led to straining relations with Germany

Key word	Definition
Bureaucratic Centralism	A system whereby the central party appointed all government positions and had ultimate say on policy making
CCP	The Chinese communist party
GMD	The Chinese nationalist party
OGPU	The secret police – the Cheka was renamed in 1926
Social Fascism	The view that social democratic parties in Western Europe were helping fascism as they compromised with capitalism

5. China

1	What was the situation?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> In 1911, the Chinese Revolution had overthrown the emperor and after the death of the President in 1925, there was political instability in China The two rival groups were the CCP and the GMD
2	What influenced Stalin's stance?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Stalin's policy towards China was strongly linked to the power struggle in the USSR Trotsky supported the CCP who wanted to lead a proletarian revolution in China – this matched his policy of Permanent Revolution Stalin, however, didn't think the CCP were strong enough to take control and disagreed with some of their views. He was also worried that instability in China would threaten USSR borders
3	What did Stalin do?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Stalin backed a bourgeois revolution led by the stronger GMD – he urged the CCP to temporarily join the GMD This alliance failed – the GMD turned on the CCP and over 1926-1927 the GMD violently suppressed and massacred the CCP. While the Party Congress of 1927 criticized Stalin, Trotsky's accusations of betraying communism didn't stick