

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.

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

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

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 Tomsky 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. Tomsky 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, Tomsky and Rykov were removed from positions