LEFT WING – “Dictatorship of Industry”

Trotsky and other left-wing Communists to call for a radical change in policy
Argued that the NEP was both ideologically and economically misguided
Ideo – favoured peasants and returned power to the capitalists at the expense of the working class
^ Betrayal of the principles of the Revolution which was supposed to give power to the industrial workers
Econo – failure to deliver industrial growth/ successfully stimulated agriculture
– but conditions were yet to improve unemployment in the cities

Addressing the problems = Yevgeni Preobrazhensky proposed ‘squeezing’ the peasants through heavy taxes
Profits would be invested in heavy industry

RIGHT WING – “Socialism at snails pace”

More cautious – economic stability took precedence over rapid industrialization
Favoured continuing the NEP (Smychka alliance of peasants would be threatened by increasing taxes)
Industry would grow, BUT SLOWLY
Stalin agreed with Bukharin that the NEP was the correct policy

- When the NEP began to fail; Stalin abandoned

WORLD REVOLUTION?
Lenin in 1917 wrote that Russia could only survive with the help of revolutionaries of other countries
>However, in other writings, he suggested that Russia could achieve socialism on its own

LEFT WING – “Permanent Revolution”

No socialist society could exist alone/did not believe that Russia had the economic resources or technological sophistication to complete the transition of socialism on its own
^ Trotsky hoped for a revolution in western Europe

RIGHT WING – “Socialism in one country”

Presented Trotsky’s ideas as pessimistic and defeatist
1924 Stalin and Bukharin developed the idea of Socialism in one country – believed successful on its own because of the smychka (workers and peasants)

Socialism in one country was highly appealing because it played on Russian nationalism by giving Russia a leading role in world history.
LEFT WING – “Bureaucratic degeneration”

Concerned that the Communists had transformed from radical revolutionaries into government bureaucrats
Declaration of the Forty-Six 1923 = ordinary Party members had lost their power to the ‘bureaucratic apparatus’
Trotzky claimed that bureaucratization had been accelerated by Lenin
Enrolment (admitted poorly educated workers in Party Membership)

RIGHT WING – “Bonapartism”

Stalin argued that the real threat to revolution was Trotsky

French Revolution = Stalin pointed out the danger of a revolution being hijacked by a military dictator
Napoleon Bonaparte – contrasted with Trotsky (feared he would use the Red Army to become a military dictator)

CONCLUSION

Contenders had to prove that they were an ideological heavyweight and true Leninist
^ As a result when Lenin died, senior members of the Party produced their own accounts of Lenin’s teaching
  - Ideological battles allowed the contenders to win support from the different sections of the Party

Stalin’s theory – ‘Socialism in one country’ was extremely appealing for Russia nationalism

SHIFTING ALLIANCES
X3 stages

1. Ruling alliance = The Triumvirate (Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin)
   ♦ Stage 2 = The Duumvirate (Bukharin and Stalin)
   ♦ Stage 3 = Stalin
2. Opposition faction = Left Opposition (Trotsky)
   ♦ Stage 2 = New Opposition (Zinoviev and Kamenev)
     = United Opposition (Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev)
   ♦ Stage 3 = Right Opposition (Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky)

KEY ISSUES
Stage 1 : Great industrial debate
   Future of the Revolution

Stage 2 : The Great Industrial debate
   World Revolution?
   The future of the revolution
DUUMVIRATE VS New Opposition

After Trotsky gone = Zinoviev and Kamenev can switch from NEP – to immediate industrialization
^ Although no match for the united forces of Bukharin and Stalin = won 559 to 65 seats

Zinoviev and Kamenev position greatly weakened by their Congress defeat
Kamenev = removed from Sovnarkom
1926 = Kamenev + Zinoviev were not re-elected to the Poliburo

Bukharin now is = Chairman of Comintern and Head of the Moscow Party

Trotsky 1925 due to fears that he would become a Bonpartist military dictator = forced to resign from Head of Red Army

TROTSKY RETURNS
NEP continues to have problems throughout 1926 – 1927
Russia’s industry only satisfied wealthy peasants
“Kulak grain strike” = food shortages in the major cities and rising grain prices

Heightened rumours about Germany declaring war on Russia
^ Reinstated to LEFT to fight for a change of policy

Zinoviev + Kamenev + Trotsky = united in the rejecting policy ‘socialism in one country’ = favoured world revolution

UNITED OPPOSITION
Zinoviev/Kamenev/Trotsky – position strengthened by failure of NEP

^ Expulsion of this party at the Fifteenth Party Congress 1927
Zinoviev + Kamenev apologise and are readmitted to the party but authority shattered

Trotsky refused to apologise = sent to exile

STALIN VS Bukharin + Right Opposition

1928 = Stalin rejects NEP, thus Bukharin

Bukharin = appeared stronger with media control/support of Rykov+Tomsky (senior members of the Politburo)

Stalin = lacked distinction; often called ‘Comrade Card-Index’

♦ However it was Stalin’s adoption of left wing economic policy, mastery of the Party Machine, his growing ideological prestige and his devious tactical maneuvering that assured his victory
HOW COLLECTIVISATION WORKED

Emergency Measures
Stalin re-introduced rationing to the cities
Article 107 of Soviet Criminal Code – grain hoarding could be punished
(Stalin rewarded peasants who informed)

Liquidation of the Kulaks
Dekulakisation = marked the end of capitalism and independent farming in the countryside
Proposed 30% of farms would be collectivized by 1934
Stalin appealed to the poorer peasants
ALTHOUGH they ^ were the minority
Majority = rebelled choosing to destroy livestock and grain rather than surrender to collective farms

AS A RESULT 18 million horses
100 million sheep
were destroyed 1929-1933
Kulaks also destroyed the machinery they had

The Twenty-Five-Thousanders
Issued a decree sending 25,000 socially conscious industrial workers to the countryside
27,000 people volunteered for this scheme having set up in countryside
Meant to offer technical help to peasants = of machinery
^ REALITY = used to enforce Dekulakisation

“Dizzy with Success”
Untold Human Suffering = imprisonment/disease/hunger
Stalin, ‘Moscow does not believe in tears’
Collectivisation created CHAOS – wholesale on slaughter of livestock, destruction of tractors + burning of crops

Stalin defended his policy by claiming that local officials had been too ‘overenthusiastic’ whilst implementing collec.
March 1930 ½ farms had been collectivized

FAMINE 1931
Result of government policy rather than natural disaster
Stalin claimed that targets were sabotaged
- Yet Stalin was stubborn = punishment for failing to meet targets, he set up military checkpoints to stop food from entering Ukraine (train windows were shut to stop food falling onto the tracks)
- International offers of aid = rejected as Stalin claimed there was no famine

People forced to make drastic measure; eating horse manure
10 million died during Famine
SECTION 4 – THE MAKING OF A SUPERPOWER – USSR AND THE WORLD

THE FUHRER AND THE VOZHD

Preparing for War
Reformed the military, recruited spies and started to divert economic resources toward rearmament

Reforming the military
1935 – Red Army military discipline was tightened eg. Officer titles had been abolished
   - ALTHOUGH Stalin reintroduced division between officers and soldiers
   - + during 1937 – 1938 the Red Army was extensively purged

International espionage –
Network of spies/had secret information
HOWEVER never analysed due to Stalin's PARONIA (he did not trust his own intelligence service - and majority of resources were on the hunt for Trotsky for most of the 1930s SO little capacity for monitoring foreign enemies)

Economic preparation –
Rearmament was an essential part of the Third Five-Year-Plan

BUT plan never completed due to purges etc
+ There was no military budget for spending
Spent x11 more on defence than the First Five-Year-Plan

1936 = 6 new aircraft factories built
24 new factories for explosives
Tanks produced doubled in 1942 (compared to that of 1938)

NAZI-SOVIE T PACT

Surprising alliance

STALIN + HITLER

(Hated each other, hated their ideologies – fought against each other in the Spanish Civil War 1936)

The Pact
24th August 1939
1. PUBLICALLY agreed = Russia and Germany should respect their territories + settle any problems through negotiation + increase trade as sign of friendship
2. PRIVATELY agreed = Pact divided Eastern Europe into ‘two spheres of interest’ Germany to control Poland + Czechoslovakia