

Who were the contenders of the power struggle?

- Struggle truly between **Trotsky and Stalin**— not clear at first though
- clear split between radical **left wing led by Trotsky**; **right wing headed by Bukharin**
 - many of the party leaders were in the middle, as was Stalin
- Politburo in June 1924: **Right wing— BUKHARIN, Rykov, and Tomsky; Left wing— TROTSKY, Zinoviev, Kamenev; middle— STALIN**

Main Issues in Power Struggle

1. LEADERSHIP

- many members wanted "**collective leadership**" since it would be more **socialist**
- they **feared** if not collective, a **dictator** would emerge — particularly feared Trotsky of becoming this because he was the commander of the Red Army and had an arrogant manner in the direction he wanted party to go
- Also worried of unity of party after Lenin's death — didn't want a leader who caused **divisions**

2. NEP AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

- Everyone agreed **Industrialization was a necessity**, but disagreed on most effective way
- NEP unattractive— high level of unemployment of workers in a "worker's society"; food shortages also appeared again
- BIG question was when should NEP end...
 - **LEFT WING VIEW:**
 - Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev **wanted to end it and go for rapid industrialization** —> militarization of labor, breaking stranglehold peasants had on economy by getting more **grain** out of them
 - **RIGHT WING VIEW:**
 - Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky, and others wanted NEP to **keep going** and encourage peasants to become richer so in turn they would spend more on consumer good which would lead to growth of the manufacturing industry

3. POLITICAL POLICIES: PERMANENT REVOLUTION VS. SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

- **Permanent Revolution:** Trotsky believed in this and was convinced Russian working class was not big enough, so they needed to **branch out** to more industrialized European countries
 - he wanted to put money and energy into working class in other countries to stage their own revolutions as well: a **WORLD COMMUNIST REVOLUTION**
- Socialism in One Country: Stalin put together this policy in 1924— said the Communists had to accept that the world revolution had not happened and was not likely to take place any time soon. He proposed that the Russians build a socialist state in the USSR without outside help...he encouraged nationalism and patriotism with this by saying they needed to solve their own problems and become world leaders.

How *did* Stalin become party Leader?

- Stalin liked power and intended to keep it as soon as he got some. Here is how Stalin built up his base of power:

It was Stalin's positions in all the key organizations in the party — **The Politburo, the Orgburo, the Secretariat, the General Secretary** — That gave him control over party organization, membership, etc.

- Stalin
 - Party Secretary — He controlled what the Politburo talked about, and what information they received

- Orgburo/Secretariat — He controlled appointments to party secretaryships (filled them with his minions)
 - Control of Party organization — He controlled what delegates were sent to the annual Congress where the Central Committee was chosen. Most of the delegates were his minions.
 - Control of party membership — Stalin cut out the revolutionaries that thought, and replaced them with Party members that obeyed.
- Trotsky
 - Red Army & younger members, especially students.
- Kamenev & Zinoviev
 - Zinoviev had a power base in Leningrad, Kamenev had one in Moscow; Zinoviev thought he could fight Stalin with his power base.
- Bukharin
 - Some support in Moscow after Kamenev's defeat; appealed to the youth; main draw was his strength as a theoretician.