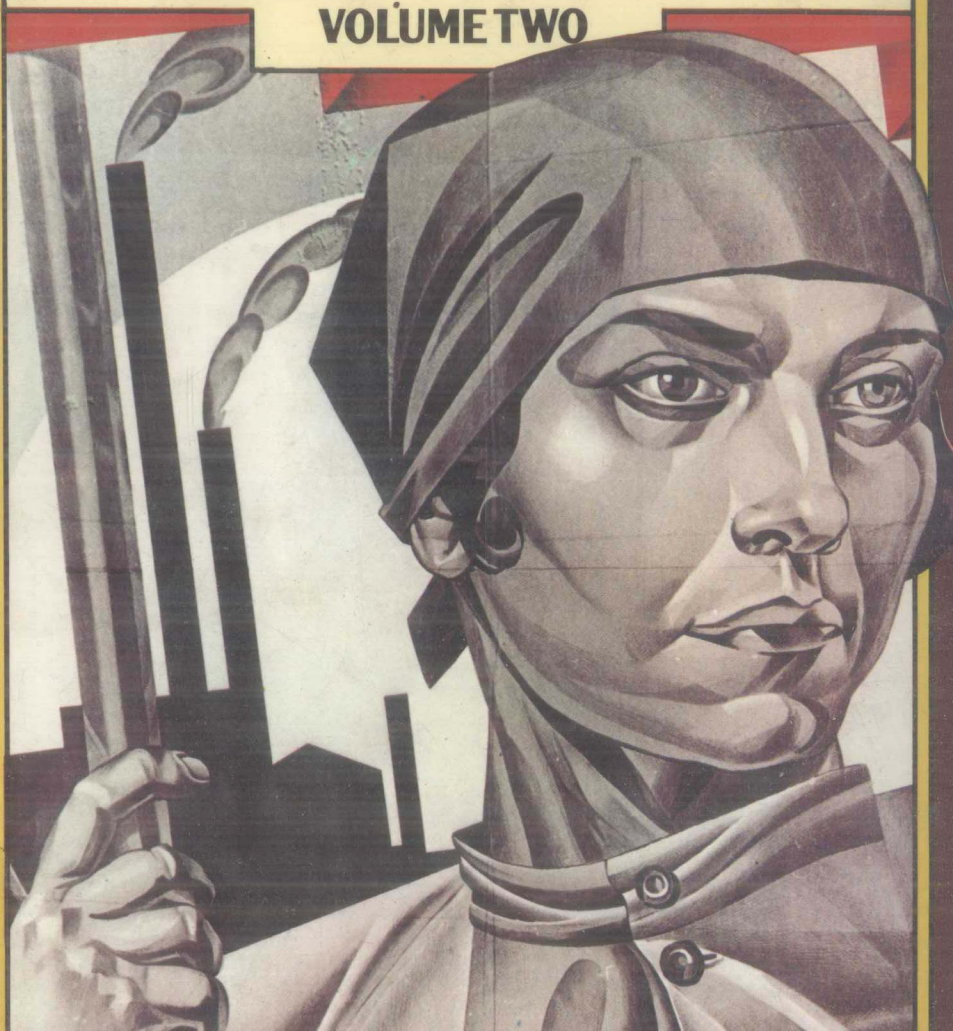


**A HISTORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA 6**

**E.H. CARR**

**SOCIALISM  
IN ONE COUNTRY  
—1924-1926—**

**VOLUME TWO**



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A HISTORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA 6

# SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY 1924-1926

BY  
E. H. CARR  
*Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge*

VOLUME TWO



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# A HISTORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA

# A HISTORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA

by E. H. Carr

*in fourteen volumes*

1. THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION, *Volume One*
2. THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION, *Volume Two*
3. THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION, *Volume Three*
4. THE INTERREGNUM
5. SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY, *Volume One*
6. SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY, *Volume Two*
7. SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY, *Volume Three, Part I*
8. SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY, *Volume Three, Part II*
9. \*FOUNDATIONS OF A PLANNED ECONOMY, *Volume One, Part I*
10. \*FOUNDATIONS OF A PLANNED ECONOMY, *Volume One, Part II*
11. FOUNDATIONS OF A PLANNED ECONOMY, *Volume Two*
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13. FOUNDATIONS OF A PLANNED ECONOMY, *Volume Three, Part II*
14. FOUNDATIONS OF A PLANNED ECONOMY, *Volume Three, Part III*

\*with R. W. Davies

## PREFACE

THE general arrangement of the three volumes to be published under the title *Socialism in One Country, 1924-1926*, of which the present is the second, was explained in the preface to the first of these volumes published last year. Since I worked on the first and second volumes more or less simultaneously, the record in that preface of the names of friends and scholars to whom I had been especially indebted for advice, assistance and encouragement, and of the libraries and institutions which had supplied me with much of my material, applies equally to the present volume ; and I need only here reiterate the very warm thanks which I continue to owe to all of them.

I should, however, like to take this opportunity of adding some further names. Professor Yuzuru Taniuchi, Professor of Political Science and Public Administration in the University of Nagoya, who is engaged in a detailed study of Soviet local government, has given me valuable assistance in the chapters on Regionalization and on the Revitalization of the Soviets. Dr. J. M. Meijer, head of the Russian division of the International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis at Amsterdam, helped me with important material for the chapter on the Red Army, and Dr. R. M. Slusser of the Hoover Library, Stanford, for the chapter on Order and Security ; in the section on party education, I have drawn on an unpublished thesis on the subject written by Mr. Zev Katz in the London School of Economics. To all of these I express my sincere thanks. I am also particularly grateful to Professor Merle Fainsod for having allowed me, while I was at Harvard early in 1957, to inspect the "Smolensk archives" on which he was working. The magnitude of the archives would in any event have prevented my investigating them in detail ; and what I saw confirmed the impression that their major value is for periods later than 1926. But I was able to dip into a few files of special interest to me, and found some points which are recorded in footnotes in the present volume. Professor Fainsod's book,

*Smolensk under Soviet Rule*, which contains a description of the archives, unfortunately came out too late for me to use.

Certain technical points should be noted here. References in the footnotes to "Vol. 1" relate to Vol. 1 of *Socialism in One Country*, 1924-1926 ; the two previous instalments of the History, *The Bolshevik Revolution*, 1917-1923, and *The Interregnum*, 1923-1924, are quoted by their titles. To save space, I have not repeated the list of abbreviations which appeared at the end of Vol. 1 : I have merely listed a few abbreviations which appear for the first time in Vol. 2. Dr. I. Neustadt has once again supplied the index. A bibliography will appear at the end of Vol. 3 ; progress on this volume has been somewhat delayed by illness, but I hope to complete it next year.

The main burden of typing this volume has been most efficiently borne by Miss Jean Fyfe.

E. H. CARR

May 4, 1959

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*PART III*

THE STRUGGLE IN THE PARTY



## CHAPTER II

### LESSONS OF OCTOBER

THE summer months of 1924 were marked by the usual seasonal respite in political strife, while both sides prepared for a renewal of the struggle in the autumn. The thirteenth party congress in May had not only confirmed and registered the defeat of Trotsky and of the opposition of 1923, but had added its quota of encouragement to the cult of Lenin spontaneously initiated after the leader's death. The word "Leninism" crept unnoticed into the party vocabulary, together with the honorific epithet "Leninist" as applied to the "Lenin enrolment" and "Leninist pioneers".<sup>1</sup> In June 1924, when the fifth congress of Comintern assembled in Moscow, the delegates marched in solemn procession to the newly constructed Lenin mausoleum in the Red Square, and listened to commemorative addresses by Kalinin, Ruth Fischer and Roy, whose speech ended with the words "Long live Leninism!"<sup>2</sup> A month later the Russian Communist League of Youth (Komsomol) held its sixth regular congress, and decided to change its name to "Russian Leninist Communist League of Youth". The decision was unanimous, though Krupskaya in her speech at the congress recalled that Lenin had often used the word *ikon* in a derogatory sense, saying of a revolutionary who was honoured, but no longer had any influence: "Well, he is already an *ikon*".<sup>3</sup> The Lenin mausoleum containing Lenin's embalmed body was opened to visitors on August 1, 1924.<sup>4</sup> Petrograd had been renamed Leningrad

<sup>1</sup> See *The Interregnum, 1923-1924*, pp. 354, 361.

<sup>2</sup> *Protokoll: Fünfter Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale* (n.d.), i, 30-39.

<sup>3</sup> *Shestoi S'ezd Rossiiskogo Leninskogo Kommunisticheskogo Soyuza Molodezhi* (1924), p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Leningradskaya Pravda*, August 1, 1924. In the outlying regions of the USSR the cult spontaneously assumed exotic forms. Legends of Lenin in prose and verse current in Central Asia are collected in *Krasnaya Nov'*, No. 7,

immediately after Lenin's death ; in May 1924, before the party congress, Simbirsk, Lenin's birth-place, was renamed Ulyanovsk.<sup>1</sup> These tributes to the dead leader had a surprising sequel, which seems to have been little noticed at the time. In June 1924 Yuzovka, an iron and steel town in the Ukraine, originally named after a British ironmaster who had no doubt founded the works, was renamed Stalinsk ; the neighbouring railway station, known as Yuzovo, became Stalino.<sup>2</sup> It was not till September 1924 that Elizavetgrad, also in the Ukraine, was named Zinovievsk ; and in the same month two other towns, Bakhmut and Ekaterinburg, were renamed, in honour of dead party leaders, Artemovsk and Sverdlovsk respectively.<sup>3</sup> The conversion of Tsaritsyn, the scene of a famous civil war clash between Trotsky and Stalin, into Stalingrad came only in April 1925.<sup>4</sup>

Two minor episodes occurred during the summer of 1924. In a speech to a party meeting in Moscow, after the thirteenth party congress, Stalin went out of his way to join issue with both his fellow triumvirs on points of party orthodoxy. He good-humouredly derided Kamenev by name for having at the congress misquoted Lenin's famous remark about the transformation of NEP Russia into socialist Russia. Kamenev had represented Lenin as speaking of "nepman Russia" ; and this slip Stalin pompously attributed to "habitual carelessness in regard to questions of theory". He went on to dissociate himself more sharply, though without mentioning Zinoviev's name, from the doctrine enunciated by Zinoviev with some emphasis a year earlier of "the dictatorship of the party" : this he bluntly called "nonsense".<sup>5</sup> The motives of this deliberately provocative gesture are September 1925, pp. 306-309, No. 6, June 1926, pp. 188-201 ; the favourite theme was to depict him as a liberator sent by Allah to make people happy. The Transcaucasian SFSR issued a decree in February 1925 prohibiting the sale and distribution of representations of Lenin in painting or sculpture except with the approval of the Narkompros of the republic concerned (*Sobranie Uzakonenii Zakavkazskoi SFSR*, 1925, No. 2, art. 359) ; a year later a further decree required the submission to the presidium of TsIK of the Transcaucasian SFSR of all projects to erect monuments to "revolutionary leaders or other persons" on the territory of the republic (*id.* 1926, No. 5, art. 651).

<sup>1</sup> *Sistematicheskoe Sobranie Deistvuyushchikh Zakonov SSSR*, i (1926), 278-279.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i, 280.

<sup>3</sup> *Sobranie Zakonov*, 1924, No. 8, art. 83 ; No. 11, art. 108 ; No. 25, art. 209.

<sup>4</sup> *Sobranie Zakonov*, 1925, No. 25, art. 171.

<sup>5</sup> Stalin, *Sochineniya*, vi, 257-258 ; for the history of the phrase "dictatorship of the party" see *The Bolshevik Revolution*, 1917-1923, Vol. 1, pp. 230-232.

difficult to assess. Discussion of minor differences between party members was still at this time relatively free. Stalin's criticism of his colleagues was less significant than it would have been at a later date. He was feeling his ground, and was ready to retreat when he found that he had gone too far. Nobody minded the baiting of Kamenev. But Zinoviev, whose vanity was more vulnerable, succeeded, apparently after some delay, in arraigning Stalin before an informal meeting of leading party members and securing a disavowal of his heresy. Stalin submitted; and a full-page anonymous article written by Zinoviev was published in the press reaffirming the true doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the party. It was headed with the three passages in which Lenin had used the phrase, and concluded that "the doctrine of the rôle of the party" was "the most important constituent part of Leninism".<sup>1</sup> The dispute had no sequel. It was by this time more urgent to close the ranks against an expected new offensive by Trotsky than to pay off scores between members of the triumvirate.

The other event which followed hard on the thirteenth party congress was the publication of Trotsky's commemorative pamphlet *On Lenin*. It was distasteful to the other party leaders in two respects. In the first place, it was not a biography of Lenin, but rather a sketch of Trotsky's personal relations with him, which inevitably created, and was consciously or unconsciously designed to create, an impression of the nearness of Lenin to Trotsky and of a distance between him and the other leading Bolsheviks.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, while it treated Lenin in terms of affectionate respect, the writer and the subject of the sketch were clearly placed on terms of equality incompatible with the attitude of veneration of the dead leader which was rapidly becoming the rule in party circles; Zinoviev in a speech delivered a few days after publication of the pamphlet referred indignantly to the way

<sup>1</sup> The article was published in *Pravda*, August 23, 1924. Zinoviev's account of the condemnation and submission of Stalin, who at one point is said to have tendered his resignation, was given to the fourteenth party congress in December 1925 (*XIV S"ezd Vsesoyuznoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (B)*, pp. 454-455), and not contradicted; the meeting which passed the verdict, and was attended, according to Zinoviev, by "15 or 17" party members, was probably identical with the meeting of August 17-19, 1924, described p. 6 below.

<sup>2</sup> This point was emphasized in an enthusiastic review by one of Trotsky's supporters in *Krasnaya Nov'*, No. 4 (21), June-July 1924, pp. 341-343.

in which Trotsky had equated his own error at Brest-Litovsk with Lenin's error in supporting the advance on Warsaw two years later.<sup>1</sup> At a later date the pamphlet became a minor target in the party controversy, and attacks were also directed against a speech in which Trotsky had somewhat rhetorically contrasted Lenin the man of action with Marx the theorist.<sup>2</sup> But the gravamen of the charge was that Trotsky, in purporting to glorify Lenin, had glorified himself by representing himself as the equal partner and coadjutor of the great leader. In particular, he had depicted himself as playing a decisive rôle in the organization of the October *coup*, and Lenin as turning readily to him for advice: even the title of People's Commissar and the name of Sovnarkom had issued from Trotsky's fertile brain.<sup>3</sup>

After Trotsky's declaration of submission at the thirteenth party congress in May 1924,<sup>4</sup> he remained silent throughout the summer on the issues which divided him from the other leaders. When in June he was specifically invited by the presidium of the fifth congress of Comintern to open a debate on the differences in the Russian party, he declined on the ground that the discussion had been closed by the decision of the party congress.<sup>5</sup> But, in spite of this discretion, fear of what Trotsky might do still haunted the triumvirate. In the middle of August, nineteen members of the party central committee (if Zinoviev's count is correct) met in a three-day session to discuss tactics.<sup>6</sup> The only decision known to have been taken was to set up a septemvirate

<sup>1</sup> *Leningradskaya Pravda*, June 13, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> The speech, delivered on April 21, 1924, is in L. Trotsky, *Zapad i Vostok* (1924), pp. 30-41; this and other more abstruse points were taken up in an article in *Bol'shevik*, No. 2, January 31, 1925, pp. 9-23.

<sup>3</sup> Vardin, a Leningrad party official and follower of Zinoviev (see p. 80, note 3 below), reviewed the pamphlet with ironical politeness in *Bol'shevik*, No. 10, September 5, 1924, pp. 80-85, accusing Trotsky of concealing his past differences with Lenin and with Bolshevism, hinting at self-glorification, and convicting him of various errors: Trotsky replied at length *ibid.*, No. 12-13, October 20, 1924, pp. 92-104, and was answered editorially, *ibid.* pp. 105-109.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Interregnum, 1923-1924*, pp. 363-364.

<sup>5</sup> *Protokoll: Fünfter Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale* (n.d.), ii, 583, 619.

<sup>6</sup> Information about this meeting is contained in a statement of Zinoviev to the party central committee of July 1926 preserved in the Trotsky archives. Leaders of first or second rank absent from Zinoviev's list of those present were Kalinin, Molotov, Yaroslavsky, Dzerzhinsky and Frunze; these may have been on holiday, or the list may well be incomplete.

consisting of the six members of the Politburo, excluding Trotsky, and Kuibyshev, together with Molotov, Yaroslavsky, Rudzutak, Dzerzhinsky and Frunze as candidate members of the group.<sup>1</sup> This septemvirate effectively replaced the Politburo, which was hamstrung so long as Trotsky belonged to it, for the next two years, and formed the general staff of the anti-Trotsky campaign. Throughout the summer pinpricks against Trotsky were the order of the day among party leaders,<sup>2</sup> but no concerted action was undertaken. The isolation of Trotsky was carried some steps further. In April Frunze, a staunch supporter of the triumvirate and an antagonist of Trotsky in military doctrine, had succeeded Sklyansky as Deputy People's Commissar for War.<sup>3</sup> In September Trotsky's private secretary Glazman, persecuted or threatened by the party authorities for his association with Trotsky, committed suicide.<sup>4</sup>

From this point the struggle moved forward to a climax which neither side foresaw or deliberately planned. In the battle between Trotsky and the triumvirate, provocation from each side in turn incited the other to fresh extravagances, and both were responsible for a growing intransigence and bitterness which was inherent in the situation from the start. But most of the calculation was done by the triumvirs, who were fully conscious of their aim and consistent in their pursuit of it. Trotsky's behaviour, on the other hand, was often governed by an intellectual passion for debate and, later, by the blindness of anger and desperation. After the Bolshevik victory had been won, current preoccupations caused the disputes which had preceded it to be forgotten or ignored in the party. When in 1922 Trotsky republished a collection of his earlier articles under the title *1905*, and added a note referring to the "ideological re-equipment" of Bolshevism undertaken by Lenin in the spring of 1917, he plainly implied that Lenin had rallied in the "April theses" to Trotsky's original standpoint,

<sup>1</sup> Trotsky refers to the group as a "secret politburo" of seven (L. Trotsky, *Moya Zhizn'* (Berlin, 1930), ii, 240).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, L. Kamenev, *Stat'i i Rech'i*, x (1927), 256; A. I. Rykov, *Sochineniya*, iii (1929), 110; Semashko in *Izvestiya*, August 21, 1924.

<sup>3</sup> For the place of military questions in the campaign against Trotsky see pp. 382-391, 394-398 below.

<sup>4</sup> His suicide is referred to in L. Trotsky, *Moya Zhizn'* (Berlin, 1930), ii, 149, 295; *id. Stalin* (N.Y., 1946), p. 390; no details are on record.



and hinted at the reluctance of other Bolsheviks to follow Lenin at that time.<sup>1</sup> But the publication excited no interest among the other leaders, and passed without comment or reply. Nobody but Trotsky cared to rake over these ashes of dead controversies. In the winter of 1923-1924 a new stage began when Stalin contested Trotsky's credentials as "an old Bolshevik", and Zinoviev referred to "Trotskyism" as "a definite tendency in the Russian workers' movement"; the reference to the significance of Trotsky's "non-Bolshevism" in Lenin's testament, even with the proviso that it should not be "used against" him, inevitably seemed to legitimize the process of delving into Trotsky's past. But, if the skeletons in Trotsky's cupboard were to be exposed, he could hardly be expected not to retaliate. "If the question is to be put on the plane of biographical investigations", he had written ominously in December 1923, "then it must be done properly."<sup>2</sup> In the pamphlet of June 1924 *On Lenin*, some conventions of forbearance were still observed. "The dissensions which came to an open break in the October days", as well as the disputes over the April theses, were mentioned. But none of those implicated was named. In the autumn, provoked by the further pinpricks of the past few months, Trotsky cast aside all restraint and launched an open attack on his persecutors.

The year 1924 had seen a beginning of the publication of the collected works of Zinoviev and of Trotsky.<sup>3</sup> The third volume of Trotsky's writings, which was devoted to articles and speeches of 1917, was due for publication in October 1924. In September Trotsky, then on holiday in Kislovodsk, wrote a lengthy article with the title *Lessons of October*, which was published by way of an afterthought as a preface to the volume.<sup>4</sup> The tone was set, for those in the know, by the appearance on the first page of two

<sup>1</sup> See *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923*, Vol. 1, p. 59, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Interregnum, 1923-1924*, p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> Six volumes of Zinoviev's works (G. Zinoviev, *Sobranie Sochinenii*, i-iii, v, xv-xvi) appeared in 1924; the preface to the first was dated October 1923. Three volumes of Trotsky's works appeared in the same year; according to an undated letter to Ryazanov in the Trotsky archives, Trotsky's contract with Gosizdat provided that Gosizdat should pay the editors and copyists, but that he should receive nothing himself.

<sup>4</sup> *Lessons of October*, dated "Kislovodsk, September 15, 1924", was printed with separate pagination (Trotsky, *Sochineniya*, iii, i, pp. xi-lxvii); the body of the volume had evidently been set up first.