

# CONTENTS

PREFACE	xiii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xvii
Introduction	
<b>TOWARD A NEW OCTOBER</b>	<b>1</b>
Part One	
<b>THE SETTING</b>	
<b>1 THE TSARDOM'S RISE</b>	<b>13</b>
<i>Muscovy Encircled • The Origins of Autocracy • The Crowned Revolutionary</i>	
<b>2 LENIN'S LEGACY</b>	<b>25</b>
<i>The State Builder • A Reformist Road to Socialism • Muscovy Redux • Diverging Bolshevisms</i>	
<b>3 STALIN'S PROGRAM</b>	<b>44</b>
<i>To Revolution Through War • Learning from Russia's Past • Toward Collectivization • The New Peter</i>	

## Part Two

**THE FIRST PHASE**

- 4** STARTING THE SECOND REVOLUTION 69  
*The General Line • Beating the War Drums • The Shakhty Case • The Grain Collections Crisis • Stalin's Leninism*
- 5** THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN FOUR ! 91  
*The Plan Is Only the Beginning • "Cultural Revolution" • The State Swells Up • The Policy of Privilege • The Count and the Commissar*
- 6** THE MAKING OF A RURAL UPHEAVAL 119  
*Stalin's Power • On the Eve • Collectivizing from Above • The November Plenum • The Strategy of Terror*
- 7** THE CULT AND ITS CREATOR 146  
*The Premier Philosopher • Of Real and Other Bolsheviks • The Glorifiers at Work • The Need for Enemies*
- 8** TERROR AND CALAMITY: STALIN'S OCTOBER 172  
*The Terror Strategy in Action • The Emergency and After • Hungry Thirty-Three • Back to Barshchina • The Balance Sheet*
- 9** STALIN'S TIME OF TROUBLE 204  
*The Anti-Stalin Backlash • Political Opposition • Bolshevik Disbelievers • A Death in the Family • The Birth of the Great-Conspiracy Theory*
- 10** THE DIPLOMACY OF RAPPROCHEMENT WITH GERMANY 223  
*The German Orientation • Stalin and the Nazi Revolution • First Overtures*
- 11** THE CONGRESS OF VICTIMS 238  
*The Reconciliation Line • The Cabal of the Regional Secretaries • Reorganizing the Control System • Whither Foreign Policy? • After the Congress • To Remake the Party*

## Part Three

**THE SECOND PHASE**

- 12** THE COMING OF THE GREAT PURGE 271  
*Conspiracy from Above • "Ivan Vasilievich" and the Bolshevik Grandees • Internal Détente • Murder in Leningrad • Tense December*

CONTENTS	xi
<b>13</b> POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN THE PURGE ERA	303
<i>The Quiet Terror • The Birth of a Treason Trial • The New Service Nobility • A People's Vozhd'</i>	
<b>14</b> STALIN AND FASCISM	338
<i>Popular Front Politics • The Dual Diplomacy • Counterintervention in Spain • The Mask of Antifascism • The End of Maxim Gorky</i>	
<b>15</b> THE FORGING OF AUTOCRACY I	366
<i>Old Bolsheviks on Trial • Next Steps • The Antimilitary Conspiracy • The Terror Deepens</i>	
<b>16</b> THE FORGING OF AUTOCRACY II	392
<i>Stalin's Radek and Radek's Stalin • Stalin Woos Hitler • After the Trial • The Fall of the Central Committee • The Storm Breaks</i>	
<b>17</b> THE TERROR PROCESS	441
<i>Stalin's Role • Denunciation • A Spearman's Maneuver • Inquisition • The Why of Forced Confession</i>	
<b>18</b> TERROR, RUSSIAN NATIONALISM, AND FOREIGN POLICY	479
<i>Iosif Grozny • Terror in the Non-Russian Republics • The Great Purge Trial • Antiforeign Terror • Stalin and Munich</i>	
<b>19</b> THE REVOLUTION OF BELIEF	526
<i>An Elite Transformed • Stalin as Party Historian • The Short Course As Autobiography • The Only Authoritative Marxism • The Statist Realm of Socialism • The Outcome</i>	
<b>20</b> THE SCRIPTED CULTURE	551
<i>Culture's Dictator • Heroes and Their Deeds • The Hero-Nation: Russia • Enemies and Their Deeds • The Shadow Culture</i>	
<b>21</b> CULMINATIONS, 1939–1940	585
<i>The Party Congress and After • The Path to the Pact • Collaborating with Germany • Saluting Stalin at Sixty • War Clouds Gather</i>	
<b>22</b> THE RECKONING	620
NOTES	627
BIBLIOGRAPHY	671
INDEX	685