	Illustrations	xi
	Abbreviations	xv
	Introduction	xvii
1	The Civil War: The First Battles (1918)	3
	Why the Red Army won (5); birth of the Volunteer Army (15); the rise of the Whites in Siberia (23); slow emergence of the Red Army (27); the Moscow Centers (28); origins of the Directory (30); Denikin's early moves (34); Kolchak Supreme Ruler (39); Kolchak's policies (42).	
2	The Civil War: The Climax (1919–1920)	51
	Creation of the Red Army (51); its morale and discipline (57); Allied policies (63); Britain's role (68); French intervention (73); Kolchak's offensive (75); Denikin's campaigns in early 1919 (80); Red counteroffensive in the East (83); Denikin orders drive on Moscow (84); the Whites, Poland and Finland (88); the "Greens" (95); Britain reassesses her involvement in Russia (96); Trotsky tries to resign (99); AntiJewish pogroms in the Ukraine, 1918–20 (99); the end of Kolchak (114); the end of the National Center (119); the Whites approach Moscow (121); Iudenich attacks Petrograd and suffers defeat (122); the Reds crush Denikin (125); Wrangel (132); an assessment of the Civil War (135); its costs (138).	
3	The Red Empire	141

The non-Russian population (141); the nationality question emerges in 1917 (146); separatism after October (149); the Ukraine (152); Bolshevik reconquest of Muslim areas (153); the reconquest of the Caucasus

(159).

4 Communism for Export

Early attempts to stir revolutions abroad (167); creation of the Comintern (172); war with Poland (177); Second Comintern Congress (183); Red defeat in Poland (187); emergence of Communist parties in Europe (193); Comintern and the colonies (198); liberal sympathizers (201); "fellow-travelers" (208); support of businessmen (215); the issue of Russia's debts (217); Moscow and Germany (223); Moscow's manipulation of the foreign press (232); Russian émigrés (236); why the Comintern failed (236).

5 Communism, Fascism, and National Socialism

The concept of "totalitarianism" (240); Mussolini's "Leninist" roots (245); Nazi anti-Semitism (253); Hitler and socialism (258); common features of the three totalitarian regimes (262); the ruling party (264); the party and the state (266); crowd manipulation and the role of ideology (269); the party and society (272); differences among totalitarian regimes (278).

6 Culture as Propaganda

Culture and Communism (282); "Proletkult" (287); Communist censorship (292); Bolshevik attitude toward literature (297); Belles-lettres (301); theater and cinema (303); painting, architecture, and music (310); Lenin's "monumental propaganda" (314); schools and schooling (314); besprizornye (320); higher education (321); the drive against illiteracy (325); Communist ethical teachings (328); family and sex (329); expulsion of intellectuals from Soviet Russia (334); concluding observations (336).

7 The Assault on Religion

Communist attitudes toward religion (337); the reestablishment of the patriarchate and first decrees against the Church (340); exposure of relics of saints (346); the 1922 campaign to break the Orthodox Church (346); the drive against religious beliefs (357); the "Living Church" (359); persecution of the Jewish religion (362); treatment of Catholics (366); and Muslims (367); the effect of persecution (367).

240

T66

282

337

8 NEP: The False Thermid	False '	EP: The	8
--------------------------	---------	---------	---

NEP was no Thermidor (369); the great peasant rebellion of 1920–21 (370); the emergence of Antonov (374); the Kronshtadt mutiny (379); the reign of terror in Tambov (386); abolition of forced food exactions and transition to NEP (388); intensified political and legal repression (397); the SR "trial" (403); cultural life under NEP (409); the 1921 famine (410); increased control over foreign Communist parties (420); Rapallo (423); 1923 Communist alliance with German nationalists (430); German-Soviet military cooperation begins (433).

9 The Crisis of the New Regime

Bureaucratization of the Communist Party (437); and of the state (445); "Workers' Opposition" (448); Lenin's illness and Stalin's rise (457); Lenin isolated (462); the controversy over Georgia (471); Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky (475); Trotsky's decline (480); Lenin's death (486).

Reflections on the Russian Revolution

The causes of the Revolution (490); the Bolshevik power seizure (497); Bolshevism not "utopian" (500); the function of ideology (501); Communism and the legacy of Russian history (502); Leninism and Stalinism (506); the human cost of the Revolution (508); the inevitability of Communism's failure (510); the moral implications of its history (512).

Glossary	513
Chronology	515
Notes	519
Selected Bibliography	561
Index	565

369

436

490