

Contents

Illustrations	xii
Preface	xvii
Glossary	xxi
Notes on Dates	xxiii
Maps	xxv

PART ONE RUSSIA UNDER THE OLD REGIME

I The Dynasty	3
i The Tsar and His People	3
ii The Miniaturist	15
iii The Heir	24
2 Unstable Pillars	35
i Bureaucrats and Dressing-Gowns	35
ii The Thin Veneer of Civilization	42
iii Remnants of a Feudal Army	55
iv Not-So-Holy Russia	61
v Prison of Peoples	69
3 Icons and Cockroaches	84
i A World Apart	84
ii The Quest to Banish the Past	102
4 Red Ink	122
i Inside the Fortress	122
ii Marx Comes to Russia	139

PART TWO THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY (1891-1917)

5	First Blood	157
i	Patriots and Liberators	157
ii	'There is no Tsar'	173
iii	A Parting of Ways	192
6	Last Hopes	213
i	Parliaments and Peasants	213
ii	The Statesman	221
iii	The Wager on the Strong	232
iv	For God, Tsar and Fatherland	241
7	A War on Three Fronts	253
i	Metal Against Men	253
ii	The Mad Chauffeur	270
iii	From the Trenches to the Barricades	291

PART THREE RUSSIA IN REVOLUTION (FEBRUARY 1917-MARCH 1918)

8	Glorious February	307
i	The Power of the Streets	307
ii	Reluctant Revolutionaries	323
iii	Nicholas the Last	339
9	The Freest Country in the World	354
i	A Distant Liberal State	354
ii	Expectations	361
iii	Lenin's Rage	384
iv	Gorky's Despair	398
10	The Agony of the Provisional Government	406
i	The Illusion of a Nation	406
ii	A Darker Shade of Red	421
iii	The Man on a White Horse	438
iv	Hamlets of Democratic Socialism	455

II Lenin's Revolution	474
i The Art of Insurrection	474
ii The Smolny Autocrats	500
iii Looting the Looters	520
iv Socialism in One Country	536

PART FOUR THE CIVIL WAR AND THE MAKING OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM (1918-24)

12 Last Dreams of the Old World	555
i St Petersburg on the Steppe	555
ii The Ghost of the Constituent Assembly	575
13 The Revolution Goes to War	589
i Arming the Revolution	589
ii 'Kulaks', Bagmen and Cigarette Lighters	603
iii The Colour of Blood	627
14 The New Regime Triumphant	650
i Three Decisive Battles	650
ii Comrades and Commissars	682
iii A Socialist Fatherland	696
15 Defeat in Victory	721
i Short-Cuts to Communism	721
ii Engineers of the Human Soul	732
iii Bolshevism in Retreat	751
16 Deaths and Departures	773
i Orphans of the Revolution	773
ii The Unconquered Country	786
iii Lenin's Last Struggle	793
Conclusion	808
Notes	825
Bibliography	862
Index	895