"A compulsively readable account...no one has more dramatically told the story of how Stalin eliminated his political rivals." —San Francisco Chronicle

STALIN

THE FIRST IN-DEPTH
BIOGRAPHY BASED ON
EXPLOSIVE NEW
DOCUMENTS FROM
RUSSIA'S SECRET ARCHIVES

EDVARD RADZINSKY
AUTHOR OF THE LAST TSAR

ALSO BY EDVARD RADZINSKY

THE LAST TSAR: THE LIFE AND DEATH OF NICHOLAS II







Preface	xi
Prologue: The Name	3
Introduction: An Enigmatic Story	9
ONE:	
SOSO: HIS LIFE AND DEATH	
JOJO. MIS LIFE AND DEATH	
1. The Little Angel	17
2. Childhood Riddles	28
3. The End of Soso	40
TWO:	
кова	
ROBA	
4. Enigmatic Koba	47
5. The New Koba	87
6. A Grand Master's Games	92
7. The Great Utopia	122
8. The Crisis Manager	141
9. The Birth of Stalin	177
THREE:	
STALIN: HIS LIFE, HIS DEATH	
0. The October Leaders Meet Their End: Lenin	197
1. The End of the October Leaders	211

Ξ	12. The Country at Breaking Point	23
>	13. The Dreadful Year	27
	14. The Congress of Victors	30
	15. The Bloodbath Begins	. 31
	16. "The People of My Wrath" Destroyed	. 33
	17. The Fall of "The Party's Favorite"	358
	18. Creation of a New Country	386
	19. Night Life	391
	20. Tending Terror's Sacred Flame	413
	21. Toward the Great Dream	424
	22. Two Leaders	439
	23. The First Days of War	460
	Interlude: A Family in Wartime	490
	24. Onward to Victory	495
	25. The Leader's Plan	509
	26. The Return of Fear	517
	27. The Apocalypse That Never Was	537
	28. The Last Secret	566
	Afterword	583
	Selected Bibliography	585
	Index	595

I have been thinking about this book all my life. My father dreamt of it till the day of his death. It is to him that I dedicate it.

I can still see that antediluvian day in March 1953 when the improbable happened: the event which it would have been a crime even to think of in our country.

I can see the unbearably bright March sunshine and the endless line of those eager to make their farewells to him. I see myself in the crowd of mourners. How lonely I felt among all those grief-crazed people. Because I myself hated him.

I had suffered a revulsion of feeling toward Stalin as an upperclassman at school: a transition from mindless adoration to a noless ardent hatred, such as only the very young experience and only after mindless love.

This change of heart was brought about by my father and by his dangerous stories about Stalin. The real Stalin. Whenever my father spoke of him, he ended with the same words: *Perhaps someday you will write about him.*

My father was an intellectual with a passionate love of European democracy. He often repeated a saying which he attributed to President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia: "What is happiness? It is having the right to go out onto the main square and to shout at the top of your voice, 'Lord, what a bad government we have!'" My father came from a well-to-do Jewish family. He was a rising young lawyer, twenty-eight years old, when the February Revolution brought down the monarchy. He enthusiastically welcomed the bourgeois Provisional Government. This was *his* revolution. This was *his* government.

But the few months of freedom were soon at an end, and the Bolsheviks came to power.

Why did he—a highly educated man fluent in English, German, and French—not go abroad? It is the old, old story: he was always devoted to that great and tragic country.

In the early twenties, while some vestige of freedom survived, my father edited an Odessan magazine called *Shkvall* (Squall) and wrote screenplays for early Soviet films. His close friends at the time were the writer Yuri Olesha, the theorist of the avant-garde

Viktor Shklovsky, and also the film director Sergei Eisenstein. After my father's death I discovered, miraculously preserved between the pages of one of his books, a letter from Eisenstein complete with a number of brilliant indent drawings—relics of their youthful amusements.

But the epoch of thought control arrived, and the country became a great prison. My father did not grumble but went on living, or rather existing, quietly, inconspicuously.

He gave up journalism and began writing for the theater. He dramatized novels by one of the writers most esteemed by Stalin, Peter Andreevich Pavlenko, author of the scenarios for two famous films, *The Oath* and *The Fall of Berlin*, in which Stalin is among the dramatis personae. Pavlenko's ultrapatriotic screenplay *Alexander Nevsky*, about the thirteenth-century Russian warrior who defeated the Teutonic Knights, was filmed by the great director Eisenstein.

Pavlenko also wrote novels. Stalin conferred on him the highest of literary awards, the Stalin Prize, four times. Pavlenko had seen the Leader on a number of occasions. He had the entrée to the magic circle surrounding the God-Man.

Pavlenko's name saved my father. Many of his friends vanished in the camps, but he himself was not touched. According to the logic of the time, my father's arrest would have cast a shadow on the famous Pavlenko himself.

My father realized, however, that this protection might end at any moment. He expected, and was prepared for, something horrible. Yet in spite of living under the ax, in spite of his thwarted career, he never stopped smiling. His favorite hero was the skeptical philosopher in Anatole France's novel *Les Dieux ont soif*, a man who observed the horrors of the French Revolution with mournful irony. My father observed the dreadful life of Stalin's Russia with the same sort of smile. Irony and compassion were his watchwords.

In my memory he always wears that smile.

My father died in 1969. That is when I began writing this book. I have written it with no feeling of hatred for the Boss. I wanted only to understand the man himself and the horror through which we lived: I wrote surrounded by ghosts of those whom I saw in my childhood. I have included their stories about the Boss in this book, stories which my father loved to retell, always ending with the same refrain: *Perhaps someday you will write about him.*