

SOURCE NOTES

A NOTE ON SOURCES AND SPELLING

This book is based on my research in the RGASPI and GARF archives with their enlightening array of new letters and diaries, from notes between Stalin and his fellow leaders, to the diary of Ekaterina Voroshilova, as well as new research in both RGVA and TSAMO RF. But I have also unapologetically used my own interviews, and the memoirs of both participants and their families. Clearly the latter materials are less reliable than the former but I believe they are still valuable: wherever possible I have checked these interviews against other witnesses. I have used them on matters on which they are likely to be well-informed. For example, Malenkov's children are probably reliable about what stories their father read them at bedtime but worthless on his role in the Politburo. Sergo Beria's memoirs certainly aim to redeem his father's reputation but, to my surprise on checking his stories, I discovered they are fairly reliable about Stalin's courtiers and table talk. Clearly the reminiscences of magnates such as Khrushchev, Molotov, Kaganovich, Mikoyan, Shepilov, and those just published by Mgeladze, are invaluable but often evasive or downright mendacious. I was fortunate to be able to use the mainly unpublished memoirs of Charkviani, Kavtaradze, Budyonny and the son of Dekanozov, but the same rules apply to them.

I have used materials from NKVD confessions such as testimonies aimed at Yezhov in 1939 and quoted in Marc Jansen and Nikita Petrov's new biography of him; those aimed at Vlasik in 1952; and at Beria in 1953. In all three cases, the aim of the 'Organs' was to dehumanize the defendants by smearing them with accusations of sexual misconduct. They come with this health warning but I agree with Petrov that they can still be used carefully. In all three cases, interviews confirm the broader truth of some of these accusations.

I must stress here my debt to the great works of Stalin history that I have used as my essential texts in this book. These include Robert Tucker's two volumes, *Stalin as Revolutionary* and *Stalin in Power*; the many classic works by Richard Pipes; Robert Conquest's *The Great Terror*; Arch Getty's *The Road to Terror*; Robert Service's *A History of 20th Century Russia*; John Erickson's *The Road to Stalingrad* and *The Road to Berlin*; Richard Overy's *Russia's War*; Sheila Fitzpatrick's *Everyday Stalinism*; Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov's *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War*; Gabriel Gorodetsky's *Grand Delusion*; David Holloway's *Stalin and the Bomb*; Amy Knight's *Beria* and *Who Killed Kirov?*; Marc Jansen and Nikita Petrov's *Ezhov*; Harold Shukman's *Stalin's Generals*; Gennadi Kostyrchenko's *Out of the Red Shadows* and Jonathan Brent and Vladimir Naumov's *Stalin's Last Crime: The Doctors' Plot*; William Taubman, Sergei Khrushchev and Abbott Gleason's *Nikita Khrushchev*; Oleg Khlevniuk's collections of the correspondence of Stalin with Molotov and Kaganovich and his works on the thirties and Ordzhonikidze.

On spelling, I have used the most accessible and recognizable versions, e.g. 'Joseph' instead of 'Iosif', even when this leads to inconsistencies: for example, I use 'Koniev' yet

'Alliluyev.' For similar reasons, I have sometimes used Party names if they are more widely used than surnames: e.g. Ordzhonikidze was almost universally known as 'Comrade Sergo' and I have usually used that moniker. However, in the case of Polina Zhemchuzhina, I call her Polina Molotova. For the same reasons, I have persisted in using the traditional Chinese spellings of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai.

I have widely used conversation and dialogue which I hope gives a new immediacy to the chronicle but I have applied rigorous standards to this material: the great majority of it comes from the archives themselves, specifically the minutes of Central Committee Plenums or Stalin's meetings: the RGASPI references are in the Source Notes. I have also made liberal use of the Plenum minutes and other documents published in Arch Getty's *Road to Terror* and these are referred to the page in 'Getty'. Finally, some dialogue comes from reliable diaries and memoirs and my own interviews.

JOURNALS CITED

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<i>Argumenty i Fakty</i>	<i>Novaya i Noveishaya Istoriya</i>
<i>Bolshevik</i>	<i>Novy Mir</i>
<i>Cold War History</i>	<i>Ogonyok</i>
<i>Europe/Asia Studies</i>	<i>Pravda</i>
<i>Ezhegodnik IBERIJSKO-KAVKAZSKOGO Yazykoznanija</i>	<i>Rodina</i>
<i>Far Eastern Affairs, Moscow</i>	<i>Rossiiskaya Gazeta</i>
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<i>Istoricheskii Arkhiv (IA)</i>	<i>Slavonic and East European History Review</i>
<i>Istoricheskii Zhurnal</i>	<i>Sovershenno Sekretno</i>
<i>Istoriya SSSR</i>	<i>Sovetskaya Rossiya</i>
<i>Itogi</i>	<i>Sovetskaya Militaria</i>
<i>Iunost</i>	<i>Soviet Studies</i>
<i>Izvestiya</i>	<i>Svobodnaya Mysl</i>
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<i>Literaturnaya Gazeta</i>	<i>Voenna-Istoricheskii Zhurnal (VIZh)</i>
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<i>Literaturnaya Rossiya</i>	<i>Voprosy Filosofii</i>
<i>Mir Istori</i>	<i>Voprosy Istori</i>
<i>Molodaya Gvardiya</i>	<i>Voprosy Istori Kommunisticheskoi Partii</i>
<i>Moskovskie Novosti</i>	<i>Sovetskoye Soyuz</i>
<i>Nezavisimaya Gazeta</i>	<i>Znaniya</i>
<i>Nezavisimoe Voennoe Obozrenie</i>	

ABBREVIATIONS OF NAMES OF ARCHIVES CITED:

RGASPI Russian State Archive of Social and Political History
GARF State Archive of Russian Federation
RGVA Russian State War Archive
TSAMO Central Archives of Ministry of Defence of Russian Federation
FSB RF Central Archives of Security Service of Russian Federation
RGAE Russian State Economical Archives

RGALI Russian State Archives of History and Literature
APRF Archive of Administration of the President of the Russian Federation
Izvestiya TsK KPSS Izvestiya of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the
Soviet Union
APRF Archive of Administration of the President of the Russian Federation
Izvestiya TsK KPSS Izvestiya of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the
Soviet Union

PROLOGUE: THE HOLIDAY DINNER

- 1 This account of 8 November 1932 is based on the memoirs of Molotov and Svetlana Alliluyeva, interviews with the surviving members of the Stalin family and children of the Soviet leaders along with Nadezhda's health records, letters to and from Stalin, and official reports in the RGASPI and GARF archives, and also published accounts such as Edvard Radzinsky's *Stalin*. Nadezhda's looks: Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters to a Friend*, pp. 90–111. Boris Bazhanov, *Bazhanov and the Damnation of Stalin*, p. 110. Testimony of Nadezhda Stalin quoted in Radzinsky, *Stalin*, pp. 278–9. Women: F. Chuev (ed.), *Molotov Remembers* (henceforth *MR*), pp. 164, 174. Stalin's diary 8 Nov. Postyshev was also in the meeting, *Istorichesky Arkhiv* (henceforth *IA*) 1994 no. 1 to 1997 no. 1 and Index. 1998 no. 4, Posetiteli Kremlevskogo Kabineta IV Stalina 1924–1953. Yagoda: A. L. Litvin et. al. (eds.), *Genrikh Yagoda Narkom vnytrennikh del SSSR, Generalnyi kommissar gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti* (henceforth *Yagoda*), pp. 1–20. Yagoda's Hitlerian moustache: interview Martha Peshkova. Stalin's looks: honey eyes, interview Maya Kavtaradze. Arm not so bad, old greatcoat: interview Artyom Sergeev. Smell of tobacco; interviews Leonid Redens with author and Svetlana Alliluyeva with Rosamund Richardson (henceforth Svetlana RR). Actors copy gait: Galina Vishnevskaya, *Galina, A Russian Story*, pp. 95–7. Layout of Kremlin and homes of leaders: interview Stepan Mikoyan. Wonderful time: RGASPI 74.1.429.65–6, diary of E. D. Voroshilova, 21 June 1954.
- 2 Security: RGASPI 17.162.9.54, quoted in Oleg Khlevniuk, *Le Circle du Kremlin, Staline et le bureau politique dans les années 30. Les jeux du pouvoir*, p. 51. On Lenin: Robert Service, *Lenin*, pp. 400–1. Visits to Bedny: see Pavel Sudoplatov, *Special Tasks*, p. 52. Beggar: *MR*, pp. 14, 213. N.S. Vlasik, 'Moya Biografiya', *Shpion*, vol. 8–9, pp. 25–7: until 1927, Stalin had one bodyguard, Yysis, a Lithuanian who was then joined by Vlasik. Hitchhikers: interviews Yury A. Zhdanov, Artyom Sergeev. Sudoplatov, p. 52. Decree on Stalin's walking: RGASPI 17.162.9.54, quoted in Khlevniuk, *Circle*, p. 51. F. Chuev (ed.), *Tak govoril Kaganovich* (henceforth *Kaganovich*), p. 191. See also *MR* for the story of how Stalin and Molotov met a tramp walking through Moscow. Kremlin children running into Stalin: interview Natalya Andreyeva.
- 3 For the psoriasis theory, which is unproven, see W. H. Bos, and E. M. Farber, 'Joseph Stalin's Psoriasis: Its Treatment and the Consequences' in *Cutis*, vol. 59, April 1997. Thanks to R. Service for bringing this to my attention. For tonsillitis and sore throats: I. Valedinsky, 'Vospominaniya o vstrechah s tov. Stalinym IV' in *Muzei Revolyutsii*, vol. 23, Moscow, 1992, pp. 121–6. Stalin reprimands Vasily: Artyom Sergeev. Also: see Akaki Mgeladze, *Stalin kakim ya ego znal*, pp. 198–9: 'If I had done that, I wouldn't have been Stalin.' 'Five or six Stalins' – *Kaganovich*, p. 154. *Litsedei*: see V. Zubok and C. Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War, From Stalin to Khrushchev* (henceforth Zubok), p. 21. The early formation of Stalin's character: 'Joseph Stalin, the Making of a Stalinist' by Robert Service in J. Channon (ed.), *Politics, Society and Stalinism in the USSR*, pp. 15–30.
- 4 RGASPI 558.11.1550.34–5, Stalin to Nadya 21 June 1930. Nadya the snitch: RGASPI 85.28.63.13, Nadya Alliluyeva to Ordzhonikidze complaining of neglect of Stalin's call for correct training of technicians at Prodakademiya, 2 April 1931. Thanks to Robert Service for this information.
- 5 RGASPI 558.11.1550, Nadya to Stalin 28 Aug. 1929.
- 6 On Nadya's madness: *MR*, pp. 173–4 The mental problems of the Alliluyev family: interviews Kira Alliluyeva and Stanislas Redens. Svetlana RR. Polina quoted in Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 118.

- 7 RGASPI 558.11.1550.27, Nadya to Stalin 27 Sept. 1929.
- 8 RGASPI 558.11.1550.8, Stalin to Nadya 29 Aug. 1929. On Vasily's studies and teacher: RGASPI 558.11.1550.31-2, Stalin to Nadya 2 July 1930. 558.11.1550.61-63, Svetlana to Stalin 21 Sept. 1931.
- 9 RGASPI 558.11.1550.7, Nadya to Stalin 28 Aug. 1929. RGASPI 558.11.1550.8, Stalin to Nadya 29 Aug. 1929. Stalin on Nadya's doctors: RGASPI 558.11.1550.30, Stalin to Nadya 21 June 1930. Stalin's teeth: RGASPI 558.11.1550.43-5, Stalin to Nadya 24 Sept. 1930 and RGASPI 558.11.1550.34-5, Nadya to Stalin 5 Sept. 1930.
- 10 RGASPI 558.11.1550.29, Nadya to Stalin 1 Oct. 1929
- 11 RGASPI 558.11.1550.36-7, Stalin to Nadya 8 Sept. 1930.
- 12 RGASPI 558.11.1550.7, Nadya to Stalin 28 Aug. 1929.
- 13 Nadya to Stalin on politics: for example, RGASPI 558.11.1550.10-12, Nadya to Stalin 2 Sept. 1929. She reports how Ordzhonikidze and Rudzutak had met with Voroshilov; and Ordzhonikidze's view on the economy of Little Kabardia.
- 14 Nadya, Stalin and books. On White literature on Stalin: RGASPI 558.11.1550.65-6, Nadya to Stalin 26 Sept. 1931. RGASPI 558.11.1550.35-6, Stalin to Nadya and Nadya to Stalin 5 and 8 Sept. 1930. RGASPI 558.11.786.123-4, Nadya to A. N. Poskrebyshv 10 July 1932.
- 15 Photographs: RGASPI 558.11.1550.43-5, Stalin to Nadya 24 Sept. 1930. How funny Molotov looks: RGASPI 558.11.21550, 65-6, Nadya to Stalin 29 Sept. 1931.
- 16 RGASPI 535.1.53.18, N. Alliluyeva, IKKI, 12 May 1927. On babas: RGASPI 44.1.1.417, Nadya Alliluyeva to Maria Svanidze 11 Jan. 1926. On chickens: RGASPI 78.1.46.
- 17 RGASPI 558.11.1550.9, Stalin to Nadya 1 Sept. 1929.
- 18 Gulia Djugashvili, *Ded, Otets, Mat i Drugie*, pp. 18-19. Kirov brought Yakov to Moscow in 1921 and looked after him in Petersburg. RGASPI 558.11.1550.10-12, Nadya to Stalin 2 Sept. 1929. On Yasha and Nadya's suicide: RGASPI 558.11.1.213-95, Maria Svanidze diary, 9 May 1935. On Stalin's joke about Yasha's suicide: Svetlana Alliluyeva *RR*.
- 19 Life in Kremlin, memories of Voroshilov and apartment: Artyom Sergeev. Natalya Andreyeva. Stepan Mikoyan. *MR*, p. 210. Here Ivan walked: Zubok, p. 16.
- 20 Nadezhda's looks: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 90-111. Bazhanov, p. 110. Testimony of Nadezhda Stalin quoted in Radzinsky, pp. 278-9. *MR* p. 164. Artyom Sergeev. Mentally unbalanced: Z. A. Zhdanova quoted in Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 112. Smacking Vasily: Rosamond Richardson, *The Long Shadow: Inside Stalin's Family*, pp. 130-1. Nadya's medical records: RGASPI 558.11.1551.
- 21 On presence at the dinner: Andreyevs: Natalya Andreyeva. Mikoyans: Stepan Mikoyan. Ordzhonikidze: Eteri Ordzhonikidze. Bukharin, Molotov, Kalinin: Stalin to Bukharin in Anna Larina, *This I Cannot Forget, The Memoirs of Nikolai Bukharin's Widow*, pp. 142, 291. Pavel and Zhenya Alliluyev: Kira Alliluyeva. Budyonny: Nina Budyonny. White teeth: Isaac Babel, *1920 Diary*, p. 89. Story of Nadya dancing with someone else: 'Somebody was paying too much attention to her at the party ...' Nadezhda Stalin (granddaughter who heard the story from Anna Alliluyeva) quoted in Radzinsky, p. 278. Dancing with Yenukidze: interview Natalya Rykov.
- On Stalin and women: Stalin 'quite handsome' etc.: *MR*, p. 174. 'Pretty' Yegorova: A. T. Rybin, *Stalin v Otktyabre 1941*, p. 20. On Yegorova 'dancing and fun': interrogation record quoted in full by Larissa Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, pp. 103-11. 'Yegorov's beautiful wife who used to be a cinema star': Joseph E. Davies, *Mission to Moscow*, p. 95; Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Only One Year* (henceforth Svetlana *OO1*), pp. 131, 317; interview Nadezhda Vlasik. Fanmail: RGASPI 558.11.726.61, Rachel Dizik to Stalin and Stalin's reply 3 April 1931. On Mikulina: *LA*; E. N. Mikulina's visit to Stalin: Zhores Medvedev, *Politicheskij Dnevnik*, 1975, pp. 364, 428-34, Stalin's *Sochineniya*,

- vol. 12 (1949), pp. 108–15. Story of Rusudana Zhordaniya: A. T. Rybin, *Stalin v Oktyabre 1941*, p. 18. In author's interview with A. Mirtskhulava who knew Rusudana well, he ridiculed the idea of an affair: 'She was so much younger than him'; Interview Natalya A. Poskrebysheva. On Vlasik: Interview with Nadezhda Vlasik. On success with Party women, Stal and Slavotinskaya: *Kaganovich*, p. 160. Stalin letter to Tatiana Slavotinskaya quoted in Miklos Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait*, p. 41. On Dora Khazan: Bazhanov, p. 36. On jealousy (ballerina) and 'self-indulgent': interview with Vladimir F. Alliluyev (Redens). On jealousy (lady barber) and madness: *MR*, p. 173; Natalya Rykova; Davies, p. 95. On Nadezhda's jealous letters to Stalin: RGASPI 558.11.1550.148, 30 June 1930. Dancing: Kozlovsky in Vladimir Karpov, *Rastreblyannye Marshaly*, p. 342. Rosa Kaganovich: *Kaganovich*, pp. 48–50. On women in the Great Terror: Robert Conquest, *Stalin: Breaker of Nations*, p. 216. On Politburo (PB) wives 5 July 1937: APRF 3.58.174.107, quoted in Alexander Yakovlev, *A Century of Violence in Soviet Russia*, p. 42. Michael Parrish, *The Lesser Terror* (henceforth *Lesser Terror*) *Soviet State Security 1939–1953*, p. 33. All Alliluyevs want to sleep with Stalin: Sergo Beria, *Beria My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* (henceforth *Sergo B*), p. 150: story told to Nina Beria by Svetlana.
- 22 On Stalin and Nadezhda's marriage: interview Kira Alliluyeva. A 'peppery woman': Pauker quoted by Alexander Orlov, *Secret History of Stalin's Crimes*, p. 315. Instability of Nadya: Eteri Ordzhonikidze. 'Depression – a form of incipient schizophrenia that plagued' her mother's family – Svetlana RR. On her self-indulgence, her illness, 'even nanny complained she was not interested in the children' – Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens). On her rudeness to Stalin: 'Shut up': interview Nina S. Budyonny; and Maria Budyonny (third wife) in Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, p. 72. On 'someone paying her attention': Nadezhda Stalin in Radzinsky, p. 278. On Yenukidze: Natalya Rykova. On the political toast: Rybin, *Oktyabre 1941*, p. 10. On their rows: beating on the bathroom door, N. S. Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers: the Glasnost Papers* (henceforth *Glasnost*), p. 16. Chicken out of the window and Nadezhda 'a fool' according to her mother: Svetlana *OOI*, p. 317. On Polina Molotova's conversation with Nadezhda on the night of 8–9 November: *MR*, p. 173, and Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 117–18.
- 23 Polina and Nadya, Stalin in apartment: *MR*, p. 173, and Polina's and nurse's account to Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 116–8; plus family accounts to author: Kira Alliluyeva, Artyom Sergeev, Leonid Redens, Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens). Rose dropped; Nadezhda Stalin, granddaughter in Radzinsky, p. 278. The gun: Nadezhda's request to Pavel, door bolted: interview with Kira Alliluyeva. Artyom Sergeev actually handled the pistol, interview with author. The flat: *MR*, p. 189; also Artyom Sergeev. Story of Guseva and foolish guard: Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, pp. 15–17. Time of death: Dr Kushner's secret report: GARF 7523c.149a.2–7.
- 24 Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 116–8: she quotes the accounts of her nanny and Polina Molotova from 1955. Anastas Mikoyan, *Tak bylo* (henceforth Mikoyan), p. 332: even though she was much closer to the gunshot, Zina Ordzhonikidze only heard 'a dull sound' when Sergo Ordzhonikidze shot himself. On the Riutin Platform: Vlasik in interview with Dr N. Antipenko quoted in Radzinsky, p. 286. 'Joseph, Nadya's no longer with us': Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 117. 'Josef, Nadya's dead': Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, p. 67. Yenukidze first to arrive, called by nurse: Larina, p. 142.
- 25 Yenukidze's role: GARF 7523c-149a-2.1–6 including report of Prof. Kushner, document 7. The staff gossip and the official version: GARF 3316.2.2016.1–8. Appeal of A. G. Korchagina to Kalinin for pardon. She had been arrested in 1935 for membership of terrorist group. 'Oh Nadya, Nadya': Mgeladze, pp. 117–18. 'Overturned my life': Nadya Vlasik. 'She's crippled me': Svanidze diary. *Kaganovich*, pp. 73, 154. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 116–20, 'I can't go on living like this.' Shambles: Svetlana, Richardson, *Long*

Shadow, pp. 130–1. Stalin, ‘toy’ pistol: *MR*, p. 173.

I: THE GEORGIAN AND THE SCHOOLGIRL

- 1 Real birthday: RGASPI 558.4.2.2. Poetry: RGASPI 558.4.600. The account of Stalin’s youth and rise in this chapter is essentially based on Robert Tucker’s excellent *Stalin as Revolutionary*, as well as Robert Conquest’s *Stalin: Breaker of Nations*; Radzinsky; Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy* (henceforth Volkogonov); Edward Ellis Smith, *Young Stalin*; the memoirs of Sergei Alliluyev and Anna Alliluyeva, published as *The Alliluyev Memoirs*, ed. David Tutaev, and in Russian, S. Alliluyev, *Proidennyi put*; and the unpublished memoirs of Candide Charkviani to whom Stalin spoke about his childhood and youth. On Keke: Sergo B, pp. 20–1. On Beso and the priest, Keke throwing out Beso and Beso’s visit to the seminary and friendship with the Egnatashvili family, including Vaso and Lieut-Gen. Alexander Egnatashvili, ‘my five-rouble scholarship’ plus ‘five roubles a month for singing’, sent mother money, atheist in first year, death of father, did not like to discuss childhood: Candide Charkviani, pp. 1–7, the seminary, pp. 9/10. On Egnatashvili as godfather, not father, Stalin’s closeness to family: interview with Tina Egnatashvili. Stalin on normal people in history: David Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb*, p. 264. Stalin was discussing the suicide of US Defence Secretary Forrestal. Greasy shirt: Radzinsky, p. 47. Death of father: Miklos Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait*, p. 17.
- 2 Teeth, exile, 1902–3 spent in Batumi and Kutaisi jails; he sees an amputation: ‘I can still hear the scream’, Stalin in Charkviani, pp. 20–5. Tucker, *Revolutionary* p. 134, 156–7; number of seven exiles, six escapes, pp. 94–5, based on Stalin’s official biography, though he may have exaggerated the numbers. Roman Brackman, *The Secret File of Joseph Stalin*, is useful for the atmosphere of the underground.
- 3 S. Alliluyev, *Proidennyi put*, p. 182. ‘Soft spot for Stalin’; Olga ‘hurled herself into affairs’ and ‘weakness for southern men’, Poles, Turks etc.: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 49–58. Stalin on Alliluyev women wanting to sleep with him: see Sergo B, p. 150. Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, p. 55.
- 4 Role in Kartli 1905–7; heists: Stalin’s own memories: Charkviani, pp. 12–14; A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 187–90; Tucker, p. 158; *Argumenty i fakty*, Sept. 1995; Radzinsky, p. 67; Svetlana *OOI*, p. 381. Pelageya Onufrieva/Oddball Osip: RGASPI 558.2.75 and 558.4.647. The full story is best told by Miklos Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait*, pp. 116–18.
- 5 Zubok, p.80. Interview V. Nikonov, May 2001. Interview Natalya Poskrebyshv. Stalin and Stal: *MR*, p. 164. *Kaganovich*, p. 160.
- 6 Police record, 1913: RGASPI 558.4.214. A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 187–90; Tucker, *Revolutionary*, pp. 150–8; *Argumenty i Fakty*, Sept. 1995; Radzinsky, p. 67; Svetlana *OOI*, p. 381. Stalin on Lenin and nationalities in Cracow, 1912–13: Charkviani, pp. 25–7; hunting and freezing in Arctic, p. 22.
- 7 A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 183–90. *MR*, p. 93; Tucker, *Revolutionary*, pp. 150–7, 165. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 253–83. Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, p. 55. Reading to sons: Artyom Sergeev.
- 8 *MR*, p. 96–7. N. N. Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution 1917*, p. 230. Radzinsky, pp. 115–17.
- 9 This account of Tsaritsyn is based on Tucker, *Revolutionary*, pp. 190–7, and Conquest, *Breaker of Nations*, including ‘no man, no problem’/barge, pp. 76–83. On the barge: RGASP 74.2.38.130, Stalin to Voroshilov n.d. Stalin, Voroshilov and Sergo comment on Trotsky version of Tsaritsyn, ‘operetta commander’ in RGASPI 74.2.37.60, Voroshilov and Stalin to Molotov Kaganovich and Ordzhonikidze 9 June 1933. K. E. Voroshilov, *Stalin and the Armed Forces of the USSR*, pp 18–19. Stalin, *Sochineniya*

IV, pp. 118–21, 420. Tucker, *Revolutionary*, 190–7. Roy Medvedev, *Let History Judge* (henceforth Medvedev), p. 13. Svetlana RR. Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, pp. 60–1, 78–9, 90. O. Khlevniuk, *In Stalin's Shadow: the Career of Sergo Ordzhonikidze* (henceforth *Ordzhonikidze*), pp. 7–16.

10 Mikoyan, ch. 4–7. Tucker, *Revolutionary*, pp. 202–5.

11 This brief account of 1920–29 is based on the following outstanding classic works: Robert Conquest's *Harvest of Sorrow*, ch. 5; Robert Service, *Lenin*, pp. 421–94; Service, *A History of 20th Century Russia*, pp. 170–81; Robert Tucker's second volume, *Stalin in Power: the Revolution from Above*, pp. 91–7, 139–43; Geoffrey Hosking's *History of the Soviet Union 1917–1991*, pp. 159–70. Stalin's account of 1928: Charkviani, p. 30; Gerald Easter, *Reconstructing the State*, p. 71. My account of the Party and its ideology is based on the best works on this subject: Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, pp. 14–21; Service, *Lenin*, pp. 142, 153–5, 377–8; Tucker, *Power*, p. 120; Zubok, pp. 3–8. J. Arch Getty and Oleg V. Naumov, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks 1932–9* (henceforth Getty), pp. 5–29.

2: THE KREMLIN FAMILY

- 1 RGASPI 74.1.429.65–6, E. D. Voroshilova, 21 June 1954. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 35.
- 2 RGASPI 74.2.37.46, Voroshilov to Stalin 6 June 1932. Knocking on door: Mikoyan, pp. 53–4; Natalya Andreyeva.
- 3 RGASPI 55.11.1550.29, Nadya to Stalin. 18 Oct. 1929. On Kirov: 558.11.1550.34, Nadya to Stalin 5 Sept. 1930, and 558.11.1550.53–8, Nadya to Stalin, autumn 1931. On Molotov's interference: 558.11.1550.36–41, Nadya to Stalin 8, 12, 19 Sept. 1930; 558.11.1550. 43–5, Stalin to Nadya 24 Sept. 1930. On Kaganovich: 558.11.1550. 46–9, Nadya to Stalin 30 Sept. 1930. On Zina Ordzhonikidze and Molotov visits: 558.11.1550.52, Stalin to Nadya 9 Sept. 1931.
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3: THE CHARMER

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4: FAMINE AND THE COUNTRY SET

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5: HOLIDAYS AND HELL

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- 10 RGASPI 558.11.71.26-8, S. Parchine to Sergeyev 27 June 1927. Also Chinsky, p. 28. Artyom Sergeev. Stalin from the south to Poskrebyshev in Moscow: 'Can you come to see me for a couple of days? If you decide to come, bring books and articles ...' RGASPI 558.11.786.110.
- 11 RGASPI 74.2.7.46-51, Voroshilov to Stalin 6 June 1932 and 21 June 1932.
- 12 *Molotov Letters*, p. 231
- 13 RGASPI 558.11.80.87, Kaganovich to Stalin and Stalin's reply 5 Sept. 1933 and RGASPI 558.11.739.28-29, Kaganovich to Stalin 20 August 1931. Squabbling: *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 185.
- 14 RGASPI S58.11.71.26-8, S. Parchine to Sergeyev 27 June 1927. Also Chinsky, p. 28. On gardener: RGASPI 558.11.786.112, Stalin to Poskrebyshev, n.d., 1930. RGASPI 74.1.429.65-8, E. D. Voroshilova 21 June 1954. Budyonny: Victor Anfilov in Harold Shukman (ed.), *Stalin's Generals*, pp. 57-62. Isaac Babel, *1920 Diary*, p. 89. Babel, 'Kombig 2' in *Collected Stories*, pp. 136-7, 357. Skittles: Artyom Sergeev.
- 15 Amy Knight, *Beria, Stalin's First Lieutenant* (henceforth *Beria*), pp. 15-40. RGASPI 85.29.414.3, 85.29.370 and 85.27.71.1-2, Beria to Ordzhonikidze. *MR*, p. 341. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 27, and Svetlana RR. 'Kill his best friend': GARF 7523.85.236.17-23 Testimony of Lavrenti Tsanova, 24 Mar. 1955. Kirov's warning: Mgeladze, pp. 178-9. Eteri Ordzhonikidze. Artyom Sergeev. Martha Peshkova. S. Lakoba, *Ocherki po politicheskoy istorii Abkhazii*, pp. 101-10, 112-15. Courting of Nina Gegechkori: Sergo B, pp. 4-5. Story of train rape: Svetlana *OOI*, p. 355.
- 16 RGASPI 558.11.778.102, Stalin to Ordzhonikidze. Medvedev, pp. 242-3.
- 17 Mikoyan, pp. 351-2.
- 18 RGASPI 82.2.1420.45, Stalin to Molotov 1 Aug. 1925.
- 19 For tonsillitis and sore throats: Valedinsky, '*Vospominaniya*', pp. 121-6. On dentist Shapiro: RGASPI 558.11.786.117, Stalin to Poskrebyshev 8 Sept. 1930.
- 20 RGASPI 558.11.778.12, Stalin to Ordzhonikidze 13 Sept. 1929. Yenukidze too received regular accounts of his bathing: 'The waters here are marvellous, invaluable' but the 'site isn't good'. RGASPI 558.11.728.22, Stalin to Yenukidze 29 Aug. 1929, and RGASPI 558.11.728.30-2, Stalin to Yenukidze 9 Sept. 1929.
- 21 RGASPI 558.11.769.159-61.
- 22 RGASPI 558.11.778.26, Stalin to Ordzhonikidze 23 Aug. 1930, and then Ordzhonikidze and Kaganovich to Stalin, RGASPI 558.11.778.24-5.
- 23 RGASPI 558.11.778.24, Ordzhonikidze to Stalin 17 July 1930.
- 24 RGASPI 558.11.769.109-16, Molotov to Stalin.
- 25 RGASPI 558.11.1550.53-8, Sept. 1931.
- 26 RGASPI 558.11.1550, 58-60, Stalin to Nadya 14 Sept. 1931.
- 27 RGASPI 74.2.38.47, Stalin to Voroshilov 24 Sept. 1931. RGASPI 558.11.712.108, Budyonny to Stalin 25 May 1931. RGASPI 74.2.37.54-9, Voroshilov to Stalin 26 July 1932.
- 28 RGASPI 558.11.1550.52-67, letters of Stalin to Nadya and Nadya to Stalin between 9 and 29 Sept. 1931, and note of Svetlana to father.

6: TRAINS FULL OF CORPSES

- 1 On famine: Tucker, *Power*, pp. 190–5. Conquest, *Harvest*, pp. 225–59. RGASPI 74.1.429.65–6, E. D. Voroshilova 21 June 1954. Mikoyan: never boring and languages: Artyom Sergeev. Khrushchev ‘cavalier’: Cecil Parrott, *The Serpent and the Nightingale*, p. 83. ‘Shrewd fox’: William Taubman, *Khrushchev, the Man and his Era*, p. 581. Early life, seminary, marriage: Mikoyan. Family life: Stepan Mikoyan and Sergo Mikoyan. Most attractive: Svetlana *OOI*, p. 346. Dodging raindrops: D. Sukhanov quoted in Miklos Kun, *An Unknown Portrait*, p. 295. Songs including church hymns: *MR*, p. 189. Stalin’s favourite ecclesiastical hymn: ‘Mnogaya leta’, *Galina*, pp. 95–7. RGASPI 74.1.429.65–6. Unpublished diary of E. D. Voroshilova 21 June 1954. Orlov, quoting Pavel Alliluyev on p. 322. Dirty songs: K. K. Ordzhonikidze memoirs in Medvedev, p. 329. Professional singer: Charkviani. Stalin to Truman in Gromyko, *Memoirs*, p. 113.
- 2 RGASPI 558.11.712.108, Budyonny to Stalin 25 May 1931. *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 168–9 and pp. 179–180, Stalin to Kaganovich 15 and 18 June 1932. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 119, 190–6, statistics 180–1 and 187. Kopelev, pp. 32–3, 41. Service, *Lenin*, p. 401. *Molotov Letters*, p. 230. Party culture: Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, pp. 14–21; Service, *Lenin*, pp. 142, 153–5, 377–8; Tucker, *Power*, pp. 1–9, 120; Zubok, pp. 3–8. Warrior priests: Sergo B, p. 291; Service, *Lenin*, p. 458. On social system based on blood-letting: Yakovlev, p. 8. Fanatic father: Sergo Mikoyan; Sergo B, p. 133. Candide Charkviani: ‘Stalin had always been a convinced fanatic, he would sacrifice everything for the victory of socialism ... even in family matters’, p. 61. Religion: *Kaganovich*, pp. 106–7. Lozovsky: ‘I was religious until I was thirteen’, and Kalinin, in Joshua Rubenstein and Vladimir Naumov, *Stalin’s Secret Pogrom*, p. 58. Sacredness of ‘comrade’: Julia Minc in *Oni*, p. 16, total faith, Stefan Staszewski, pp. 128–37; inner need, Jakub Berman, p. 207. Molotov’s contempt for the Nazis and Western leaders, *MR*, p. 20, and quoted in Zubok, p. 26. Kirov – no theoretical works: *MR*, p. 221. Stalin on Mao: Zubok, p. 62. Stalin and Krupskaya; *MR*, p. 133. Stalin and Yakovlev quoted in Bialer (ed.), p. 99. Lenin and the Terror: quote from Service, *Lenin*, p. 421. Praise for Stalin as Communist fighter: Rudzutak, 7–12 Jan. 1933, quoted in Getty, p. 93. Stalin and pity for friendships: Stalin to Molotov 24 Aug. 1930, *Molotov Letters*, p. 206. Punching: *Molotov Letters*, p. 210. Stalin to Molotov, 2 Sept. 1930, p. 210. Nadezhda Mandelstam, *Hope Against Hope*, pp. 164–6. Molotov’s love letter discussing Marxism: RGASPI 82.2.1592.8–9, Molotov to Polina 19 Aug. 1940.
- 3 Kira Alliluyeva. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 37. Artyom Sergeev.
- 4 RGASPI 558.11.1549.40, Nadya to Keke Djugashvili 12 March 1932. Larina, pp. 65, 142. Bukharin’s influence and Yenukidze: *MR*, p. 173.
- 5 Nadya the snitch: RGASPI 85.28.63.13, Nadya Alliluyeva to Ordzhonikidze complaining of neglect of Stalin’s call for correct training of technicians at Academy, 2 Apr. 1931. Thanks to Robert Service for this information. Interview with Nina Budyonny. Tormentor and Pauker’s ‘peppery woman’: Orlov, p. 315. Zhenya on sickness and Stalin on caffeine: Svanidze diaries, 9 May 1935 and 11 Sept. 1933. Chicken out of window: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 114–16, 90–104. Irina Yenukidz interview on TV film, *Stalin: Secret History*, pt 3. Eteri Ordzhonikidze. Unbalanced: *MR*, p. 173.
- 6 RGASPI 558.11.754.121, Stalin to Kosior 26 Apr. 1932.
- 7 *MR*, pp. 42–3.
- 8 RGASPI 558.11.90–132, Stalin’s meeting with Transkavkaz Kraikom and Secretaries on appointment of Beria. Medvedev, pp. 242–3. Local bosses try to recall: Beria, intrigue with Redens: RGASPI 558.11.801.42, Redens to Stalin 14 Nov. 1930.
- 9 RGASPI 79.1.777.1, Kaganovich to Kuibyshev 2 July 1932. Holiday: 29 May 1932 meetings with Kaganovich, Kuibyshev, Ordzhonikidze etc., etc.: *IA*. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 109–95. Conquest, *Harvest*, pp. 225–59.
- 10 Lakoba, p. 115.
- 11 RGASPI 74.2.37.54–9, Voroshilov to Stalin 26 July 1932. Also RGASPI

- 54.1.100.101–2, Stalin to Kaganovich.
- 12 Stalin to Churchill: W. S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, 4, pp. 447–8.
- 13 OGPU reports to Stalin on holiday: RGASPI 558.11.79.101 and 129. On 7th August Law: RGASPI 558.11.78.85, Kaganovich, Molotov to Stalin 24 July 1932. Ordzhonikidze also on holiday: RGASPI 558.11.78.39, Stalin to Kaganovich and Molotov 14 July 1932. The Korneiev Case: RGASPI 558.11.79.10, Kaganovich to Stalin 15 Aug. 1932. RGASPI 558.11.79.8–9, Voroshilov to Stalin 15 Aug. 1932. RGASPI 558.11.79.8, Stalin to Kaganovich, Voroshilov 15 Aug. 1932. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 102–3. Chinsky, pp. 88–94. Lose Ukraine, warns Redens: RGASPI 81.3.99144–51, Stalin to Kaganovich 11 Aug. 1932, *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 273. Bukharin and Yenukidze: *MR*, p. 173.
- 14 Riutin: Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 101–2. *Kirov*, p. 154. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 210–11. 27 August: *IA*.
- 15 RGASPI 558.11.1551. *IA*.
- 16 On Riutin Platform and Nadya: Radzinsky quotes Vlasik by Antipenko, p. 286. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 101–2. *Kirov*, p. 154. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 210–11. So many enemies: Mgeladze, pp. 117–8.

7: STALIN THE INTELLECTUAL

- 1 The CC sent Stalin lists of reliable writers arranged into different sections of loyalty and political usefulness. There were old writers like Gorky and a special section for tame outsiders like Alexei Tolstoy and Ehrenburg. RGASPI 558.11.815, Y. Yakovlev to Stalin 3 July 1933.
- 2 RAPP as 'literary wing': Orlando Figes' phrase, *Natasha's Dance*, pp. 262–4, 471. Also *KGB Lit.Archive*.
- 3 RGASPI 74.2.38.89, Stalin to Voroshilov. Mikoyan visits Gorky, Stepan M., p. 38. Svetlana *OOI*, p. 327. Martha Peshkova. *KGB Lit.Archive*, p. 257. Another example of Stalin's cynical view of Gorky: when Gorky showed Stalin another of his works, in which Bela Kun, the brutal Hungarian Bolshevik, was thanked, Stalin suggested removing Kun's name: 'It will only weaken the effect of Humanism. Greetings! Stalin.' RGASPI 558.11.720.28, Stalin to Gorky 16 Mar. 1934.
- 4 *KGB Lit.Archive*, p. 261. *Pravda*, 15 Nov. 1930.
- 5 Yagoda: *Yagoda*, pp. 15–18; spending R3.7 m. on his dachas, p. 444. *KGB Lit.Archive*, pbk, pp. 253–7. 'Everyone goes to see someone': Mandelstam, pp. 79–80, 113. Babel and Yagoda: A. N. Pirozhkova, *At His Side, The Last Ten Years of Isaac Babel*, p. 63. Timosha and Yagoda: Vasilieva, *Deti Kremlya*, pp. 283–7. Yagoda's thoroughbred: RGASPI 74.2.45.
- 6 *KGB Lit.Archive*, pp. 257–9. Radzinsky, pp. 259–63, based on accounts by Peter Pavlenko, Evgeny Gabrilovich and Korneli Zelinsky. Figes, *Natasha*, pp. 470–74. Brooks, *Thank You C. Stalin*, p. 108. Evgenii Gromov, *Stalin: Vlast i Iskusstvo*, pp. 150–5 – pearl penknife, 'taste of iron', laughing at first in account of writer K. Zelinsky. A. Kemp-Welch, *Stalin and the Literary Intelligentsia*, pp. 12–31.
- 7 *Good Soldier Svejk*: Rybin, *Oktyabre* 1941. Dostoevsky: Djilas, pp. 110, 157. Library: Svetlana *OOI*, pp. 14, 327. Still studying: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 222. Reading Chekhov to Alliluyevs: Kira Alliluyeva. Reading Zoshchenko to boys: Artyom Sergeev. Reading Saltykov-Shchedrin to Zhdanov: Yury Zhdanov. Svetlana *OOI*, pp. 335–7. Reading *Knight in Panther Skin* to Voroshilov: Ketevan and Shalva Nutsibidze, *Nakaduli*, pp. 96–105. Deep knowledge of Georgian literature: Charkviani, pp. 68–73. Knowledge of antiquity: *MR*, p. 177. Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*: Oleg Troyanovsky. Stalin's library: RGASPI 558.3.186, Antatole France's *Sub Rosa*. 'Ha-ha-ha!' – see, for example, Gamsakhurdia: RGASPI 558.3.50. Gulia Djugashvili in Enzo Biagi, *Svetlana: The Inside Story*, pp. 53–4 and Svetlana *OOI*, p. 336, Stalin reading

- Gogol, Chekhov, Hugo, Thackeray, Balzac. Stalin wrote his comments on the books as he read them: he really went to town on Anatole France's *Sub Rosa*. When France says he wants to write about love and death, Stalin joked: 'Pity he didn't manage it.' When France discusses how the Jewish God was cruel and petty, Stalin noted, 'Anatole is quite a big anti-Semite. He was a pedant.' France suggested people followed their own dreams, to which Stalin commented: 'Revealed truth', adding, 'Those who trust in God don't understand him.' On God, he mused, 'So didn't know, did not see God did not exist for me. And where can I go? (Greeting to God) Ha-ha!' France claimed that Napoleon would have chosen the Sun as his God. 'Good,' wrote Stalin. On F. Leonidze's work on Georgi Saakadze, he covered the pages with 'What does this mean?' and 'Foolish scene.' RGASPI 558.3.186. On Bulgakov: RGASPI 558.11.711.63 and 74-5, Stalin to V. Bil-Belotsarkovsky, Dec. 1928 and n.d. J. A. E. Curtis, *Manuscripts Don't Burn: Mikhail Bulgakov: A Life in Letters and Diaries*, pp. 69-71, 111-13. On telephone call to Bulgakov: *KGB Lit.Archive*, pbk, p. 91. RGASPI 558.11.773.44, Stalin to N. Y. Marr 20 Jan 1932. Stalin loved Zola, 'find out what they read' and 500 pages a day: Sergio B, p. 142. On Pilniak: see *KGB Lit.Archive*, pbk pp. 139-57.
- 8 Easter, pp. 127, 177. 'Molot', 8 Nov. 1932, and *Pravda*, 19 Nov. 1932. Corpses: Kopelev, p. 33. RGASPI 558.11.1549.40, 12 Mar. 1932. Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, pp. 14-15. On Stalin's meetings 8 November 1932: *LA*. On Yagoda and the report on activities of A. Eismont and A. P. Smimov: Radzinsky, p. 268. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 114-16. Caffeine: Svanidze diaries, 11 Sept. 1933. 'Arrests just before November dinner': Tucker, *Power*, pp. 189, 210-11. Artyom Sergeev. Kira Alliluyeva. Natalya Andreyeva. 'So much pressure, enemies': Mgeladze, pp. 117-18.
- 9 The gun: Nadezhda's request to Pavel: interview with Kira Alliluyeva, 10 July 2001. Artyom Sergeev actually handled the pistol: interview May-June 2001. The flat: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 116-7. Also: Artyom Sergeev. Time of death: Dr Kushner's secret report - GARF 7523c.149a.2-7.

8: THE FUNERAL

- 1 Papers showing Yenukidze's role: GARF 7523c-149a-2.1-6 including report of Professor Kushner document 7. The staff gossip and the official version: GARF 3316.2.2016.1-8. Appeal of A. G. Korchagina to Kalinin for pardon. She was arrested 1935 for membership of terroristic group. 'Oh Nadya, Nadya': Mgeladze, pp. 117-18. 'Overturned my life': Nadya Vlasik.
- 2 GARF 7523c-149a-2.10-11. Stalin's questions: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 120.
- 3 *Kaganovich*, p. 73.
- 4 Natalya A. Andreyeva. GARF 7523c-149a-2.10-11. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 119.
- 5 The funeral: Artyom Sergeev, Kira Alliluyeva, Natalya Andreyeva, Vladimir Alliluyev. Based on the photographs in RGASPI 667.1.42.23-4. *MR*, pp. 173-5. Larina, pp. 141-2. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 119-20. *Kaganovich*, p. 73. The speech: GARF 7523c.149.2.8-10. 'Oh Nadya, Nadya': Mgeladze, pp. 117-18.
- 6 Stalin changed: *Kaganovich*, p. 154. RGASPI 74.1.429.65-66, diary E. D. Voroshilova, 21 June 1954. Spitting on the wall: Zhenya Alliluyeva's account to Kira Alliluyeva.
- 7 RGASPI 74.2.38.80, Stalin to Voroshilov 17 Dec. 1932. Resignation: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 120, and Rosliakov, quoted in *Kirov*, p. 158. RGASPI 558.11.787.10, Postyshev to Stalin and reply 28 Dec. 1932. Svanidze diaries, 28 Dec. 1934, 21 Dec. 1935 and 9 May 1935. Interview with Nina Budyonny, 5 Dec. 2001. The suicide changed history: Leonid Redens. Letters to Stalin on Nadya: RGASPI 558.11.1551.38-42, workmates of Alliluyeva to Stalin 17 Nov. 1932. RGASPI 558.11.1551.31-5, poem translated by Vano Byrkhimova sent to Stalin. RGASPI 558.11.1551.44-5, V. M. Kazanovsky to Poskrebyshev and Stalin to Poskrebyshev 27 Mar. 1948. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*,

- p. 120: Stalin could not live without Nadya. Svanidze diary, 8 Dec. 1934. Visits to Stalin's office: November 1932: *IA*.
- 8 *Kirov*, pp. 1–76: this sketch of Kirov is based on Amy Knight's excellent account, *Who Killed Kirov?* – along with the author's research in RGASPI and interviews with survivors. RGASPI 558.11.746.53, Kirov to Stalin in Kislovodsk 5 July 1925. Stalin wants Kirov all the time: Svanidze diary, 13 Dec. 1934.
- 9 Artyom Sergeev – memories of Stalin and Kirov.
- 10 *Kirov*, pp. 130–1.
- 11 RGASPI 558.11.746.82, Stalin to Kirov 6 June 1928.
- 12 *Kirov*, p. 139.
- 13 RGASPI 558.11.746.131, Stalin to Kirov 21 July 1932.
- 14 Kirov: staying the night at Stalin's – Artyom Sergeev. Svetlana performs for Kirov: Svanidze diary, 14 Nov. 1934. Tensions with Sergo Ordzhonikidze: see *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 276–7 in 1932 and *Molotov Letters* in 1933, p. 234.
- 15 Moving divans and Nicholas I: Charkviani, p. 35. Moving around in the south: Stalin to G. Dmitrov 25 Oct. 1934, in Alexander Dallin and F. I. Firson (eds.), *Dmitrov and Stalin*, 1934–1943 (henceforth *Dmitrov/Stalin*), p. 22.

9: THE OMNIPOTENT WIDOWER AND HIS LOVING FAMILY

- 1 Stalin's spartan décor: Svetlana *OOI*, pp. 345–70. Little Corner: Stalin's office, see Shtemenko in Bialer (ed.), p. 353. Security: RGASPI 17.162.9.54, quoted in Khlevniuk, *Circle*, p. 51. On Lenin: *Service*, pp. 400–1. Visits to Bedny, see Sudoplatov, p. 52. Beggar: *MR*, pp. 14, 213. Moving to Bukharin's flat: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 130. Artyom Sergeev in interview and quoted, with Molotov, in *MR*, pp. 10–11. RGASPI 558.11.801.42–43, Redens to Stalin 14 Nov. 1930.
- 2 Pavel and Zhenya Alliluyev return from Berlin: Kira Alliluyeva. Svetlana RR. Redens 'tough, airs': Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 64. Redens replaced in Ukraine by Balitsky; *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 276–7. Redens ruined: Sergo B, pp. 21, 47. Leonid and Vladimir Redens. Chatterbox Anna: RGASPI 74.2.38.89, Stalin to Voroshilov, n.d.
- 3 Mikoyan, p. 357. Svanidzes: see Maria's diary on family, 5 Mar. 1937; Maria's poem to Stalin, RGASPI 44.1.1.361–6. 'Better looking than 70% of wives/anyone who meets me remembers me for ever': RGASPI 44.1.1.340–4, Maria Svanidze to Alyosha Svanidze. RGASPI 44.1.1.403, Alyosha to Maria on Mikoyan, Sergo and Yenukidze 9 Nov. 1930. RGASPI 44.1.1.417, Nadya Alliluyeva to Maria Svanidze on 'babas', 11 Jan. 1926. Svanidzes: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 81–7.
- 4 RGASPI 558.3.4, Stalin to Yakov. Resembled father: Vlasik, p. 27.
- 5 Svetlana RR. Svanidze diary, 15 Apr. 1935. This account of the family circle and living arrangements after Nadya's death is based on the following sources: author's interviews with Artyom Sergeev, Kira Alliluyeva, Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens), Leonid Redens, Stepan Mikoyan. Svetlana RR. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 130. Svanidze diaries, Sept. 1933 and 4 Oct. 1934. Stalin's distrust of Anna the chatterer: see RGASPI 74.2.38.89, n.d., Stalin to Voroshilov, and also see Stalin's letter to Commandant Efimov about Vasily. On Svanidze and Stalin, *Mikoyan*, pp. 357–8: brothers.
- 6 Vlasik, pp. 25–7. Interview with Nadezhda Vlasik. Letters of V. Stalin, J. Stalin, Commandant S. Efimov, K. Pauker, 1933–8, quoted in A. Sukhominov, *Vasily: Syn Vozhdya* (henceforth *Vasily*), pp. 28–30, 51. On Vasily's sexual tales to Svetlana: Svetlana RR. The pistol: Artyom Sergeev.
- 7 Mgeladze, p. 117.
- 8 Tucker, *Power*, pp. 200–3. *Kirov*, pp. 148–9. Anne Applebaum, *GULAG*, pp. 78–83.

- 9 RGASPI 85.1.144.
- 10 *Kirov*, pp. 167–8.
- 11 Kuibyshev's womanizing and drinking: Oleg Troyanovsky. See also Stalin to Molotov: *Molotov Letters*, p. 233. Stalin to Molotov 1 Sept. 1933 and 12 Sept. 1933.
- 12 RGASPI 74.2.38.89, Stalin to Voroshilov, n.d.
- 13 Nadezhda Vlasik: *Beria*, pp. 47–53. S. Lakoba, *Ocherki po politicheskoy istorii Abkhazii*, pp. 117–8. Stalin's album, RGASPI 558.11.1668. Moving around: Stalin to Dmitrov 25 Oct. 1934 in *Dmitrov/Stalin*, p. 22. *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 308–20.
- 14 RGASPI 558.11.765.72. Mikoyan to Stalin 12 Sept. 1931. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, p. 83–97.
- 15 Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 94–7. *Molotov Letters*, pp. 233, 234. *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 315–23.
- 16 *Molotov Letters*, p. 233. Stalin to Molotov, 1 and 12 Sept. 1933. Also, see RGASPI 79.1.798, Molotov to Kuibyshev 12 Sept. 1933.
- 17 Stalin and Sergo: 'Congratulate you or not?' RGASPI 558.11.778.48, Stalin to Sergo 15 Jan. 1931. 'Are you prepared?' RGASPI 558.11.778.45, Sergo to Stalin. 'Finish with Right' RGASPI 558.11.778.40, Sergo to Stalin 26 Sept. 1930. RGASPI 81.3.99.27/8, Stalin to Sergo 9 September 1931. The archives are full of evidence of Sergo's temper and complaints about it: for example, RGASPI 558.11.737.65. A. Ikramov (Uzbekistan) to Stalin, 12 June 1935: 'No questions were solved because of Comrade Ordzhonikidze ... he scolded me and accused me of all possible things. Some things I can't even repeat ... I think such behaviour incorrect and I ask you to receive me ...' Stalin approves Sergo: 'Really slapped them' RGASPI 74.2.38.25, Stalin to Voroshilov 10 Feb. 1928. Khlevniuk, *Ordzhonikidze*, pp. 7–16, 21–4, 158, quoting E. M. Bogdateva on his strength. On the fight: *MR*, p. 113. His frenzies: S. R. Gershberg in Khlevniuk, p. 149. Eteri Ordzhonikidze. Killing those he hated: Mikoyan, p. 332. Orlov, p. 185. Chivalrous: *KR*, p. 107. Easter, pp. 59–62; *Kaganovich*: Sergo 'I'm kissing you', pp. 63, 162. Perfect Bolshevik: Svanidze diary, 5, 1937. Stalin on Beria and Sergo (vanity): *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 92, 276. On holiday to Kislovodsk: *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 326, and letters to and from Stalin, pp. 340, 342. Stalin on Sergo's nobility: Charkiyani, p. 23. 'Prince': Sergo B, p. 15.

10: SPOILED VICTORY

- 1 Beria, pp. 47–53. Lakoba, pp. 117–18. Stalin's album, RGASPI 558.11.1668. Moving around: Stalin to Dmitrov 25 Oct. 1934 in *Dmitrov/Stalin*, p. 22. Fasil Iskander, *Sandro of Chegem*. Author's visit to Museri, 2002.
- 2 Gagra house: RGASPI 558.11.728.40–2, Stalin to Yenukidze 13 Sept. 1933. Author's visit to Kholodnaya Rechka, Gagra, 2002. Stalin in Gagra: *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 378. See also, later, Averell Harriman and other visitors.
- 3 RGASPI 558.11.728.40–2, Stalin to Yenukidze 13 Sept. 1933.
- 4 This account of the Congress is based on Amy Knight's *Kirov*, pp. 127, 171–7, plus *KR* 1, p. 77. *Kaganovich*, pp. 70–1. Sergo B, p. 17. On proposal of Beria to CC: Kirov warned Stalin: Mgeladze, p. 178. Khlevniuk downplays the relevance of the CC votes story. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 260–3. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 117–23. M. Rosliakov, *Ubiystvo Kirova*, pp. 28–33. Radzinsky, pp. 297–300.
- 5 RGASPI 558.11.746, Kirov to Stalin, 15 July 1933.
- 6 Rosliakov in *Kirov*, p. 160.
- 7 'My Kirich' RGASPI 558.11.746.85. Stalin to Kirov 6 March 1929. Calls to Kirov: Svanidze diary, 4 Oct. 1934. *Kirov*, pp. 158–9, 186. Jokes about 'leader of the proletariat' – Artyom Sergeev. Kirov – centre of attention, Sergo B, p. 15.

11: ASSASSINATION OF THE FAVOURITE

- 1 Mikoyan, p. 534. Anna Akhmatova quoted in Figes, *Natasha*, p. 482–5. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 260–3, 273. *KGB Lit.Archive*, pp. 175–6. Mandelstam, pp. 82, 158, 112–3, 117, 145–7, 23–4. Radzinsky, pp. 300–1. RGASPI 558.11.806.117, Stalin to Stavsky on writer Sobolev and creative caprice, 10 Dec. 1935.
- 2 RGASPI 558.1.5374, Stalin to K. Stanislavsky 9 Nov. 1931.
- 3 RGASPI 558.11.702.6–12 and 41a and 69, expulsion from Kremlin, 4 Sept. 1932. RGASPI 558.11.702.35, Molotov to Bedny cc Stalin, 12 Dec. 1930. ‘Copper Cauldron’: *KR* I, pp. 79–80.
- 4 RGASPI 558.11.754.1–21, V. Kirshon to Stalin and Stalin to Mekhlis 20 Oct. 1932. Kirshon to Stalin and Stalin to Kirshon 9 and 15 Oct. 1932. Reliable writers listed for Stalin: RGASPI 558.11.815, Y. Yakovlev to Stalin 3 July 1933. Pilniak: RGASPI 558.11.786.50.1, Stalin to Pilniak 7 Jan. 1931.
- 5 RGASPI 558.11.754.26, Kirshon to Stalin and Kaganovich and Stalin to Kirshon 13 Aug. 1933. Kirshon and Bulgakov in Curtis, pp. 69–71: Kirshon and Leopold Averbakh, ex-head of RAPP and closely connected to Yagoda, attacked Bulgakov’s play *Flight* and had its run cancelled in early 1929. It was then that Bulgakov, unable to work, appealed to Stalin.
- 6 RGASPI 558.11.786, 9–13, Panferov to Stalin 25 Feb. 1934.
- 7 ‘Yeah! Yeah!’: RGASPI 74.2.37, Stalin to Voroshilov, 15 March 1931. ‘Green steam’: Upton Sinclair to Stalin and Stalin to Sinclair, also commenting on Eisenstein: RGASPI 558.11.804.12, 26. Oct. 1931.
- 8 RGASPI 558.1.5374, Stalin to K. Stanislavsky 9 Nov. 1931.
- 9 RGASPI 558.11.702.6–12, 41a, 69, Expulsion from Kremlin 4 Sept. 1932. RGASPI 558.11.702.35, Molotov to Bedny cc Stalin, 12 Dec. 1930. *KR* I, pp. 79–80. *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 149 and 164.
- 10 RGASPI 558.11.710.24, Bukharin to Stalin and Stalin to Kaganovich on Ehrenburg 9 Aug. 1935. Tolstoy: Tucker, *Power*, pp. 282–20, 114–18. See the excellent chapter in Nikolai Tolstoy, *The Tolstoy. Kaganovich*, pp. 105–7. Mandelstam, p. 164. Stalin at the theatre: see Curtis, pp. 250–1, for Bulgakov’s feelings on Stalin’s comments.
- 11 RGASPI 558.11.775.99, Meyerhold to Stalin. On Pasternak, see Mandelstam, p. 148. RGASPI 558.11.725.130, Gidosh to Stalin 2 Sept. 1932. Bedny and Babel: *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 122 and 149.
- 12 *Kirov*, pp. 179–81: Rosliakov, Kirov to Maria Lvovna.
- 13 This account is based on Yury Zhdanov. Mikoyan, p. 562. *MR*, pp. 221–2. Artyom Sergeev. Zubok, pp. 112–17.
- 14 Zhdanov: Yury Zhdanov. Martha Peshkova. RGASPI 77: Zhdanov papers. For relationship with Stalin, see RGASPI 558.11.730.2–9, Zhdanov to Stalin, u.d. 1934. RGASPI 558.11.83.143, Kaganovich and Zhdanov to Stalin 23 Aug. 1934, RGASPI 558.11.86.2–16, Zhdanov to Stalin 3 Sept. 1934. RGASPI 558.11.730.18, Zhdanov to Stalin 6 Sept. 1934. ‘Have you read this new book?’ – Stalin to Zhdanov, according to Zhdanov’s aide, A. Belyakov, quoted in Rybin, *Oktyabr 1941*, p. 51. Weak, intellectual, wanted to be agriculturalist, picked books with Stalin, prim, loved flowers: Svetlana *OOY*, pp. 360–2. Zubok, pp. 112–17.
- 15 RGASPI 558.11.76.113, Stalin to Beria 19 Sept. 1931. Chinsky, p. 47.
- 16 Stalin to Dmitrov, Dmitrov Diary 7 April 1934, p. 14. A selection of Stalin’s intensely annotated history books includes Kutuzov: RGASPI 558.3.25.2. D’Abernon’s *Ambassador of the World*: RGASPI 558.3.25, 32. Vipper’s *History of Greece*: RGASPI 558.3.36. Von Moltke, *German–French War of 1870*: RGASPI 558.3.224. *Ivan the Terrible*: ‘Teacher’ RGASPI 558.3.350.
- 17 Mamre Tree, warm atmosphere: Yury Zhdanov. Sholokhov: Gromov, *Vlast i Iskusstvo*, p. 144. Jokes, Zhdanov shocked: Artyom Sergeev. ‘Take to my heels’: Kirov to Chudov in *Kirov*, p. 181. E. G. Evdokimov to replace Filipp Medved as Leningrad

- NKVD boss: *Kirov*, p. 161; D. B. Sorokin, Medved's brother-in-law. Evdokimov: see Robert Conquest, *Inside Stalin's Secret Police, NKVD Politics 1936-1939*, p. 25.
- 18 RGASPI 558.11.730.2-9, Zhdanov to Stalin, n.d. 1934. RGASPI 558.11.83.143, Kaganovich and Zhdanov to Stalin 23 Aug. 1934. RGASPI 558.11.86. 2-16, Zhdanov to Stalin 3 Sept. 1934. RGASPI 558.11.730.18, Zhdanov to Stalin. 6 Sept. 1934. Zhdanov to Stalin: 'Before the Congress, Gorky once again tried to criticize the lists even though they'd been agreed with them before ... he complained Kamenev was not elected to the Secretariat. He did not want to go to the Congress or chair the Plenum. Pity ... he's very tired.' RGASPI 558.11.730.1, Stalin to Kaganovich, Zhdanov, Stetsky and Mekhlis 24 Aug. 1934. Kaganovich reported on Gorky's demands and how the entire leadership of himself, Molotov, Voroshilov and Zhdanov had coped. RGASPI 558.11.742.21, Kaganovich to Stalin 12 Aug. 1934 and RGASPI 558.11.742.28, Kaganovich to Stalin 12 Aug. 1934.
- 19 RGASPI 558.11.730.10, Zhdanov to Stalin Sept. 1934. PB sittings: Khlevniuk, *Circle*, p. 122.
- 20 RGASPI 558.11.730.37-40, Zhdanov to Stalin 1 Sept. 1935.
- 21 RGASPI 558.11.730. 21, Stalin to Zhdanov and Kuibyshev 11 Sept. 1934.
- 22 RGASPI 558.11.730.22, Stalin to Zhdanov, Yagoda and Akulov 9 Oct. 1934.
- 23 Destinations of the leaders are found in Kaganovich's letter to Stalin of 1 Sept.: RGASPI 558.11.50.64 *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 470. Kaganovich writes from Kiev. Kirov headed out to Kazakhstan, Mikoyan to Kursk, Chubar to the Middle Volga, Kaganovich to Ukraine, Zhdanov to Stalingrad, Voroshilov to Belorussia and Molotov to Siberia. M. D. Borisov was the bodyguard. RGASPI 79.1.170.1,2, 3, Kirov to Kuibyshev 18 Sept. 1934, and 23 Sept. 1934. *KR* 1, p. 61. *Kirov*, p. 185. RGASPI 558.11.730. 23-36, Zhdanov to Stalin 8 Oct. 1934: Zhdanov reported to Stalin that there were bread-collecting problems in the Stalingrad region: 'Some workers must be sent to trial there,' he wrote on 8 Oct. The Party leaders down there were 'weak'. Kirov to Moscow: *Kirov*, pp. 183-4. Call and arrival, Stalin in bad mood: Svanidze diary, 14 and 26 Nov. 1934.
- 24 S. Frederick Starr, *Red and Hot, The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union 1917-80*, p. 126. Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, pp. 94-5.
- 25 *Kirov*, p. 187.
- 26 Khlevniuk, *Ordzhonikidze*, pp. 65-6. Poison: Sudoplatov, pp. 270-1.
- 27 RGASPI 558.11.27.24, Stalin notes, 7 May 1929.
- 28 Rybin, *Ryadom*, pp. 14-16.
- 29 This account is based on Amy Knight's excellent reconstruction in her *Who Killed Kirov?*, pp. 88-99; Tucker, *Power*, pp. 288-96; Conquest, *Great Terror* pp. 43-61, as well as *Kaganovich*, *MR*, Svanidze's diary, Mikoyan's memoirs *Tak bylo*.

I 2: 'I'M ORPHANED'

- 1 *Kaganovich*, pp. 71-2. Mikoyan, pp. 316-18. 1998: 2. *Kirov*, pp. 199-201. Tucker, *Power*, p. 292.
- 2 Eteri Ordzhonikidze. Khlevniuk, *Ordzhonikidze*, p. 67. Ginsburg in *Kirov*, p. 197. *Kaganovich*, pp. 71-2. Mikoyan, pp. 316-18. *Kirov*, pp. 199-201.
- 3 Tucker, *Power*, pp. 294, 646. Kissing Kirov: Rybin, *Ryadom*, p. 88. 'Take him away the prick': Radinsky, p. 312. See also Orlov. *Kirov*, pp. 200-8, inc. Nikolaev.
- 4 Tucker, *Power*, pp. 294-6. Vlasik saw Pauker 'shaken' when breaking the news about Borisov in *Kirov*, pp. 205-9.
- 5 On Voikov's assassination and Stalin's reaction, see Chinsky, p. 83. On *Instantiya*, thanks to Prof. Derek Beales. For verbal orders, see murder of Mikhoels.
- 6 Stalin loved Kirov: Rybin, *Ryadom*, p. 87; *Kaganovich*, p. 72. Advice on Beria: Stalin

- quoted Kirov's advice against Beria after the war to Mgeladze, p. 178. Larina, p. 291.
- 7 RGASPI 558.11.773.81, Stalin to Chief of Kolkhoz, D. Emalimanova, on case of M. A. Merzlikov, 27 Feb. 1930. Peter Kapanadze, priest and present of 2,000 roubles: Charkviani, p. 45, letter 7 Dec. 1933. Present to Ukrainian boy: RGASPI 558.11.712, Ivan Boboshko to Stalin: 'I received 10 roubles from you, thank you.'
- 8 Kirov's Brain, Zhdanov, Agranov, Yezhov and the funeral: *Kirov*, pp. 214-15. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 294-5, 298. *KR* I, pp. 98-100.
- 9 Svanidze diary, 5-13 Dec. 1934. Mikoyan, pp. 316-8. *Kirov*, pp. 5-8. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 301-2.
- 10 Svanidze diary, 5-13 Dec. 1934. *Kaganovich*, pp. 71-2. Mikoyan, pp. 315-7. Tucker, *Power*, p. 298. *Kirov*, pp. 5-7 including Sergo quotation.
- 11 Tucker, *Power*, pp. 297-9. Svanidze diary, *LA*, 5-13 Dec. 1934.
- 12 RGASPI 558.11.800.113, Rudzutak to Stalin and Stalin's reply 5 Dec. 1934. Larina, p. 173.
- 13 Yury Zhdanov: 'everything changed'. Also Artyom Sergeev: 'Nothing was the same again.' Popovich quoted in Dedijer, *Tito Speaks*, p. 278. Isakov interviewed by Simonov in *Znamya*, vol. 5 (1988), p. 69.
- 14 This account of 21 Dec. 1934 is based on the memories of memories of two of the guests: Maria Svanidze's diary, 23 Dec. 1934; interview Artyom Sergeev. We also have Maria's poem from the archives and the photographs in two versions. I am grateful to Stepan Mikoyan, Natalya Andreyeva and Kira Alliluyeva, all of whose parents were there, for identifying the characters. Poem: RGASPI 44.1.1.361-6. Photograph: RGASPI 558.11.1653.22.

13: A SECRET FRIENDSHIP

- 1 Svanidze diary: July, Oct. and 23 Dec. 1934. Anecdotes of Stalin and Zhenya: Kira Alliluyeva. Also Artyom Sergeev and Leonid Redens. Svetlana RR. Richardson, *Long Shadow*, p. 99.
- 2 Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 149-50.
- 3 *Kirov*, p. 222.
- 4 Film: Jay Leyda, *Kino: History of Russian and Soviet Film*, p. 319. Peter Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society*, pp. 95, 111, 131, 159. Beria in Sergo B, p. 17. Lenin quoted in Figes, *Natasha*, p. 451 and Soviet Hollywood, p. 477. Medvedev, p. 309. Svetlana OOI, p. 331. Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, pp. 93-4.
- 5 RGASPI 558.11.27.88, Stalin as songwriter, 8 July 1935. Alexandrov story: Gromyko, *Memoirs*, pp. 328-9. Leyda, p. 319. Kenez, pp. 95, 111, 131, 158-161. Taylor and Christie, *The Film Factory*, p. 384, quoted in Figes, *Natasha*, p. 477. See also Gromov, *Vlast i Iskusstvo*, G. V. Alexandrov, *Epokha i kino*, and G. Mariamov, *Kremlevskii tsenzor: Stalin smotrit kino* in later section on Stalin and cinema post-WW2.
- 6 RGASPI 558.11.727.33, A. Dovzhenko's conversation with Stalin, with Postyshev, Kosior and Kalinin in attendance, 27 May 1935. Also: Kenez, p. 133.
- 7 Eisenstein: Figes, *Natasha*, pp. 454-9, 477-81. Kirov and *Counterplan*: Leyda, p. 290. Kaganovich and Eisenstein: Kenez, p. 138. Stalin on Eisenstein: RGASPI 558.11.804.12, Stalin to Upton Sinclair Oct. 1931. Stalin to Kaganovich 12 Oct. 1931, in *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 101. 'Very talented': Mgeladze, p. 212.
- 8 Tucker, *Power*, pp. 330-1. Brooks, *Thank You C. Stalin*, pp. 64-6. Stalinism and Kaganovich: *KR* I, p. 75. Mikoyan p. 31. Cults of leaders: Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, pp. 72-4.
- 9 RGASPI 45.1.803.1, Stalin to F. Samoilova 6 Dec. 1938.
- 10 RGASPI 558.11.730.189, Stalin to Zhdanov and Pospelov 24 Sept. 1940. On K. Gamsakhurdia's *The Leader's Childhood* he wrote: 'I ask you to prohibit publication in Russian.' RGASPI 558.11.787.2, Stalin to Zhdanov and Pospelov 24 Sept. 1940.

RGASPI 558.11.730.188, Stalin to Zhdanov 14 Sept. 1940. When Old Bolsheviks wanted to publish their memories of his early days, Stalin ordered: 'Don't publish!' RGASPI 558.11.1496.17, Stalin to Mekhlis 21 July 1937. RGASPI 558.11.773.84, Stalin to Mekhlis 1930.

- 11 RGASPI 558.11.717 Stalin to P. M. Vsiliev 3 Dec. 1930 or 1932.
 12 RGASPI 558.11.786.106, Stalin to Poskrebyshv July 1929.
 13 RGASPI 558.11.711.182, Stalin to Blokhin 29 July 1925.

14: THE DWARF RISES

- 1 Sudoplatov, pp. 270–1. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 301–2.
 2 Kaganovich reshuffle: Rees, p. 132. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 172–7.
 3 On Khrushchev: *Oni*, p. 171. *KR* 1, p. 57; *KR* 2, p. 151. *Kaganovich*, pp. 99–100. Early years: Iurii Shapoval, the Ukrainian Years 1894–1949 in Taubman, pp. 1–17. Pet: William Taubman, *Khrushchev, Man and Era*, p. 75.
 4 Yezhov's rise: M. Jansen and N. Petrov, *Stalin's Loyal Executioner: People's Commissar Nikolai Ezhov 1895–1940*, pp. 25–6. RGASPI 17.3.961.61. Yezhov was appointed to check the NKVD staff and Komsomol. He had been effective NKVD supervisor for Stalin since December 1934 and soon succeeded Kaganovich as Chair of the Party Control Commission.
 5 'Humane, gentle' Yezhov – Yuri Dombrovsky in Jansen-Petrov, pp. 19–20. A. Polianski, *Yezhov: Istoriya zheleznogo stalinskogo narkoma*, pp. 1–40. Mandelstam, pp. 324–5. 'Small slender man' – Lev Razgon, *Plen v svoem otechestve*, pp. 50–1. Women on Yezhov: beautiful blue eyes – Vera Trail, unpublished memoirs, pp. 5–11. *Nikolai Ezhov*, Moscow 1937. Blue-grey eyes, Bukharin's views and teacher in Central Asia; Larina, pp. 250, 268. On Stalin's Sukhumi dacha: author's visit 2002. 'Grey-green eyes clever as a cobra': D. Shepilov, 'Vospominaniya', *Voprosy Istorii*, no. 4, 1998, pp. 3–25. Size: Jansen-Petrov, pp. 1–11, 14.
 6 Jansen-Petrov, pp. 1–11, 14, 22. Getty, pp. 156–7. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 175–7. Polianski, pp. 40–84. Memory: Stalin to Nutsibidze, *Nakaduli*, 2, 1993, pp. 96–100.
 7 Model yachts: Jansen-Petrov, p. 199. 'I don't know a more ideal worker': I. M. Moskvina quoted in Razgon, pp. 50–51. RGASPI 558.11.89.156, Dvinsky to Stalin 17 Sept. 1935. On Yezhov's bisexuality, drinking and farting: Yezhov's confession, FSB 3.6.1, and Frinovsky Case, FSB N-15301.12, in Jansen Petrov, pp. 18–19. Illnesses: Jansen-Petrov, p. 196.
 8 RGASPI 558.11.787.6, Stalin to Postyshev on Yezhov's holiday, 9 Sept. 1931.
 9 RGASPI 558.11.818.3, Stalin to Yezhov 31 May 1935, and RGASPI 558.11.756.88, Stalin to Kaganovich and Yezhov 22 Sept. 1934. *KR* 1, p. 115.
 10 RGASPI 558.11.775. 35, Stalin to Yezhov 23 Aug. 1935.
 11 Trail, p. 8. Jansen-Petrov, p. 22.
 12 Jansen-Petrov, p. 16. Polianski, pp. 88–92. *KGB Lit.Archiv*, pp. 42–4.
 13 Mandelstam, p. 113. Eteri Ordzhonikidze.
 14 RGASPI 558.11.83.16, Stalin via Dvinsky to Besanov, Berlin, 5 Aug. 1934.
 15 Bukharin's views and Central Asian teacher: Larina p. 250, 268. *KR* 1, p. 115.
 16 RGASPI 558.11.83.50,51,93 and RGASPI 558.11.84.14, 18, 66, 110, Berlin Embassy and CC telegrams on Yezhov's health forwarded by Dvinsky to Stalin, Sochi, Aug. 1934.
 17 'Lonely as an owl' in Sochi: RGASPI 558.11.728.40, Stalin to Yenukidze, 13 Sept. 1933. Sashiko and the photograph, Yenukidze sexually abnormal, two hours late for dinner: Svanidze diary, 28 June 1935. Politburo: Svanidze diary, 11 Sept. 1933. Staying the night: Mikoyan, p. 356. Natalya Andreyeva. Kira Alliluyeva.
 18 RGASPI 558.11.728.67–107 and 114, RGASPI 558.11.728.40–2, Stalin to Yenukidze 13 Sept. 1933. Conquest, *Stalin: Breaker of Nations*, p. 189.

- 19 RGASPI 558.11.704.20, *Beria*, pp. 58–62.
- 20 Plenum: Getty, pp. 160–8 Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 149–50. Kremlin Case: Jansen and Petrov, p. 30. APRF 57.1.273. Yenukidze's fall: Jansen and Petrov, pp. 31–3. Y. N. Zhukov, 'Tainy Kremlevskogo delo 1935 goda i sudba Avelia Yenukidze' in *Voprosy Istorii*, 2000, no. 9, pp. 83–113. 'Something rotten': Kaganovich in RGASPI 17.2.547 and RGASPI 17.3.963. Bukharin and Yenukidze 'swayed' Nadya politically; *MR*, p. 173.
- 21 Svanidze diary, 9 May and 28 June 1935.

15: THE TSAR RIDES THE METRO

- 1 Svanidze diary, 29 Apr. 1935.
- 2 'Lonely as an owl' in Sochi: RGASPI 558.11.728.40, Stalin to Yenukidze 13 Sept. 1933. Two hours later for dinner, Sashiko, photograph: Svanidze diary, 28 June 1935. Stronger than the Politburo: Svanidze diary, 11 Sept. 1933. Staying the night: Mikoyan, p. 356. Natalya Andreyeva. Kira Alliluyeva.
- 3 Svanidze diary, 29 Apr. 1935.
- 4 'Russian people are Tsarist': Radzinsky, quoting P. Chagin, p. 323. Molotov: on Ivan the Terrible in Volkogonov, p. 310. Mikoyan: on Ivan, p. 534. 'Stalin Molotov i Zhdanov o vtoroy serii filma Ivan Grozni', *Moskovskie Novosti*, no. 37, 7 Aug. 1988, p. 8. Budyonny *Notes*, 8. Teacher and Ivan: RGASPI 558.3.350. Bukharin as 'Shuisky' in *Kaganovich*, p. 74. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 104, 937. Nadir Shah: RGASPI 558.11.27.24, Stalin notes, 7 May 1929. Sergo B, p. 284. A. W. Harriman and E. Abel, *Special Envoy*, (henceforth Harriman-Abel) on Alexander I: p. 178. Charkviani on Nicholas I: p. 35. Eisenstein: Kenez, p. 179.
- 5 Cadillacs: RGASPI 82.2.897.7, Yagoda to Molotov and Molotov and Stalin to Yagoda 15 June 1935. Rolls-Royces: RGASPI 558.11.81.13, Stalin and Voroshilov to Kaganovich, 19 Sept. 1933, *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 350. Spending on luxuries: RGASPI 558.11.27.95, Stalin, 20 May 1936. There were now seven classes of salaries: a People's Commissar got 500 roubles, Class One officials got 250 roubles, Tucker, *Power*, p. 324. Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, pp. 93–7. Erickson, *Soviet High Command*, pp. 402–3. Bukharin's suit: Larina, pp. 247–8.
- 6 *Trud*, 30 Dec. 1936. Brooks, *Thank You C. Stalin*, p. 71.
- 7 Tucker, *Power*, pp. 284–7. *KR* 1, pp. 84–5.
- 8 RGASPI 558.11.754.101, Stalin and Poskrebyshev to Mirzoian 3 and 21 Apr. 1935, and his reply, 23 Apr.
- 9 Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 154–6.
- 10 RGASPI 81.3.100.91, Stalin to Kaganovich 8 Sept. 1935, and RGASPI 558.11.743.17, Kaganovich to Stalin 13 Sept. 1935. RGASPI 558.11.89.71–6 and 89, Stalin and Salinin to Kaganovich, Yezhov, Molotov 7 Sept. 1935, and Kaganovich to Stalin 10 Sept. 1935. RGASPI 558.11.90.55, Kaganovich to Stalin 23 Sept. 1935. Old farts: RGASPI 81.3.100.91–94 Stalin was also furious that Orakhelashvili was socializing with Yenukidze. Agranov was sending Stalin information on Yenukidze which he distributed to the PB. See also *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 554–8. Chinsky, pp. 39–47.
- 11 Nadezhada Vlasik. Letters of V. Stalin, Stalin, commandant S. Efimov, K. Pauker, 1938–8, quoted in *Vasily*, pp. 28–30, 51. On suicides: Getty, p. 21. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 265, 367. Conquest, *Great Terror*, pp. 86–7.
- 12 RGASPI 558.11.1743.1, Kaganovich to Stalin and Svetlana 16 Aug. 1935, *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 524. RGASPI 81.3.100.89, Stalin to Kaganovich 19 Aug. 1935. RGASPI 558.11.743.5, Kaganovich to Stalin 22 Aug. 1935. RGASPI 558.11.743.23, Kaganovich to Stalin 31 Aug. 1935. *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 527, 530, 543. Stalina/Svetlana notes RGASPI 558.1.5113/558.1.5132.

- 13 RGASPI 558.11.1549.1-41, letters of Stalin and Nadya to E. Djughashvili. The letter quoted in full is RGASPI 558.11.1549.45, Stalin to Keke 24 March 1934. Beria and Keke: Sergo B, pp. 20-1.
- 14 RGASPI 558.1.92.22, Poskrebyshev to Stalin 21 Oct 1929. RGASPI 558.11.92.82, Stalin to CC 29 Oct. 1935. RGASPI 558.11.1549.48-69, letters to E. Djughashvili from Stalin, Yasha Stalin, Sasha Egnatashvili and other relations, 1934-7. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 260-2. On her death: RGASPI 558.11.1549.74-92, Stalin's note for wreath, Tass announcement approved by Poskrebyshev and contents of her house. Stalin's conversation to Keke: Dr N. Kipshidze, her doctor, quoted in Radzinsky, p. 23. Stalin and motherhood, Tolstoy: RGASPI 558.3.353. On her Trotsky comment and gossiping: Sergo B, pp. 20-1. On Stalin and Sasha Egnatashvili, 'What do you expect from an innkeeper's son': Charkviani, pp. 4-5. 'The Rabbit': Brackman, p. 4. Interview Tina Egnatashvili.
- 15 Real people: RGASPI 558.11.730.39, Zhdanov to Stalin 1 Sept. 1935. Getty, pp. 247-8. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 366-7. Conquest, *Terror*, pp. 90-105. *Voprosy Istorii*, no. 2, 1995, p. 17. *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, no. 8, 1989, p. 85.

16: TAKE YOUR PARTNERS; MOUNT YOUR PRISONERS

- 1 Svanidze diary, 7 Dec. 1936.
- 2 *From Factionalism to Open Counterrevolution* by Nikolai Yezhov, APRF 57.1.273. Yezhov to Stalin 17 May 1935, Jansen-Petrov, p. 29. Yezhov's role in the trial - Jansen-Petrov, p. 46.
- 3 *Voprosy Istorii*, no. 2, 1995, p. 17. *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, no. 8, 1989, p. 85. Getty, pp. 247-8. RGASPI 558.11.89.156, Dvinsky to Stalin 17 Sept. 1935.
- 4 Orlov, p. 130.
- 5 Pirozhkhova, p. 61. Larina, pp. 99-100. *KGB Lit.Archive*, pp. 262-99. Martha Peshkova.
- 6 Martha Peshkova. How do you feel? RGASPI 558.11.720.107, Stalin to Gorky 21 May 1936. Svetlana and Stalin visit Gorky, *OOI*, p. 327. 'On all questions touched in your letter including organization, we need to consult Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin is very interested in cultural problems and is personally managing the CC department that deals with this.' RGASPI 73.2.44.21-2, Gorky to Andreyev, Andreyev to Stalin, Stalin to Andreyev 30 Dec. 1935. Stalin corrected Gorky's articles with Kaganovich. RGASPI 558.11.720.69, Stalin to Gorky, n.d.. We visited you at two: RGASPI 558.11.720.120, Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov to Gorky, June 1936. *KGB Lit.Archive*, pp. 251-7, 267-74, 272-5; Yagoda: Averbakh and Kryuchkov testimony, pp. 260-1.
- 7 Serious disease: Chinsky, pp. 99-100. 'That creature': *KGB Lit.Archive*, p. 273. Tension: Yezhov and Vyshinsky vs Yagoda. Vyshinsky frequently complained about Yagoda, obviously with Stalin's backing. GARF 8431.37.70.134, Vyshinsky to Stalin and Molotov 16 Feb. 1935.
- 8 RGASPI 74.2.37.104, Voroshilov to Stalin 25 June 1936. RGASPI 74.2.38.82, Stalin to Voroshilov 3 July 1936. Kaganovich also called them 'scum' in his letter of 6 July when he was on holiday in Kislovodsk: RGASPI 558.11.743.53, Kaganovich to Stalin. On Molotov: Conquest, *Terror*, p. 103. Orlov, pp. 130-40. Tucker, *Power*, p. 368.
- 9 RGASPI 558.2.155.104-7, Vyshinsky's notes form the summing-up for the 1937 trial. Examples of Stalin's insertions: Tucker, *Power*, p. 318.
- 10 RGASPI 82.2.8971.8, 9, 10, Yezhov to Molotov 3 Nov. 1936. Orlov, pp. 162-6. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 183-4. *MR*, pp. 255-60. Stalin-Molotov disagreement: D. H. Watson, *Molotov and Soviet Government: Sovnarkom 1930-41*, pp. 160-2.
- 11 'You work poorly': Larina, p. 94. RGASPI 558.11.27.97, Stalin notes, 13 Aug. 1936. RGASPI 558.11.27.106, Stalin notes, 13 Aug. 1936. Yagoda's last meeting: *IA*, 1994: 4.

- 12 RGASPI 558.11.93.20, RGASPI 558.11.93.2 Yezhov Kaganovich to Stalin 17 and 18 Aug. 1936. Mekhlis, Vyshinsky and Agranov were involved in checking the newspaper articles. Chinsky, p. 102. Kaganovich and Yezhov's telegrams appear in *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 629–40, and Chinsky, pp. 102–22. Orlov, p. 169. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 367–73. Radzinsky, pp. 332–5. Conquest, *Terror*, pp. 113–17. Stalin's world of 'terrorists' is brilliantly described in Tucker, *Power*, pp. 399–403.
- 13 Vyshinsky: his description is based on A. Vaksberg, *Stalin's Prosecutor, The Life of Andrei Vyshinsky* (henceforth Vaksberg), and quoting Fitzroy Maclean p. 115. Princess Margaret: Sir Frank Roberts quoted in Vaksberg, pp. 253–5. Career: pp. 172–5. Same cell as Stalin and Ordzhonikidze in Bailovka prison, Feb. 1908, pp. 19–21. 'People on edge' / sinister, Gromyko, *Memoirs*, pp. 318–20. Joke on Romanians: Djilas, p. 140. Horn-rimmed specs and bright eyes: Enver Hoxha: Jon Halliday (ed.), *Artful Albanian: the Memoirs of Enver Hoxha*, p. 119. Temper: Dobrynin, p. 20. Western admiration: Davies, p. 54. W. Bedell Smith, *My Three Years in Moscow*: charm, pp. 4–5. C. C. Bohlen, *Witness to History*, pp. 285, 48–9. Recommends shooting: GARF 8431.37.70.7–14. Vyshinsky to Stalin and Molotov 7 or 8 Jan 1936. Illustrious Molotov: GARF 8431.37.70.103, Vyshinsky to Molotov: 1 Oct. 1935. Illustrious Poskrebyshev: GARF 8431.37.70.78, Vyshinsky to Poskrebyshev 31 Jan. 1936.
- 14 RGASPI 558.11.93.32–3 and 42–6, Yezhov and Kaganovich to Stalin 19/20 Aug. 1936. RGASPI 558.11.93.35, Stalin to Kaganovich 20 Aug. 1936. *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 629–40. Chinsky, pp. 102–22. Orlov, pp. 9–71, 169. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 367–73. Radzinsky, pp. 332–5. Conquest, *Terror*, pp. 113–17.
- 15 RGASPI 558.11.93.35, Stalin to Kaganovich and Yezhov on Radek 19 July 1936. Tomsky: RGASPI 558.11.93.55, Kaganovich, Yezhov, Ordzhonikidze to Stalin 22 Aug. 1936. *Mise-en-scène*: RGASPI 558.11.93.65, Kaganovich and PB plus Yezhov to Stalin 22 Aug. 1936, and RGASPI 558.11.93.62–3 and 77–80, Stalin to Kaganovich 23 Aug. 1936.
- 16 Bedny: *KR* 1, p. 101. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 370–1. Conquest, *Terror*, pp. 116–17.
- 17 Radzinsky, p. 334.

17: THE EXECUTIONER

- 1 RGASPI 558.11.93.89, Stalin to Kaganovich and PB 24 Aug. 1936. Mikoyan, pp. 300–15. Mikoyan to Kaganovich letter 17 Sept 1936 quoted in Miklos Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait*, pp. 295–6.
- 2 Sudoplatov, p. 165. Michael Parrish, 'Downfall of the Iron Commissar NI Yezhov 1938–1940', *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2, June 2001, p. 87. Blokhin, 'black work': Petrov and Scorkin.
- 3 Tucker, *Power*, p. 373. Vaksberg, *Stalin Against the Jews*, p. 42. Conquest, *Terror*, p. 117. Victor Serge, *From Lenin to Stalin*, p. 146. Orlov, pp. 350–1. Vaksberg, p. 42. Political coward: W. Taubman, *Khrushchev, Man and Era*, p. 266.
- 4 Larina, pp. 294–5, 47–8. Stephen Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution, A Political Biography 1888–1938*, pp. 368–72. *Kaganovich*, p. 74. *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 678. Medvedev, p. 333.
- 5 Jansen-Petrov, pp. 49–50. Days later, Yezhov was informing Stalin that Yagoda had known of a Trotskyite Centre in 1933 and done nothing about it (p. 53). Yagoda later admitted in his own interrogations that he had bugged Stalin's calls with Yezhov (p. 226) using the Frinovsky interrogations (Frinovsky N-15301). Spain: this account is completely based on the new archival research in R. Radosh, M. R. Habeck and G. Sevostianov (eds.), *Spain Betrayed: the Soviet Union in the Spanish Civil War*. Stalin barrow boy, NKVD takeover of Republic and aim not to win but to keep Hitler bogged down: see Introduction, pp. xv–xxv and quotations from Paul Preston, Walter

- Krivitsky and Gerald Howson. For reports on Soviet personnel sent to Voroshilov, see pp. 58–70. Kaganovich and Sergo were involved in economic planning there, see pp. 89–91. For security matters, see Yezhov to Voroshilov, pp. 100–1. Voroshilov sends reports to Stalin: ‘Read it, it’s worth it’, pp. 145–7. Denunciations to Stalin and Voroshilov by journalist M. Koltsov, pp. 267, 521. Stalin seeks discounts on warships: RGASPI 74.2.38.55, Stalin to Voroshilov 10 Jan. 1932. Jansen-Petrov, p. 54, and FSB, Pauker testimony. *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 678.
- 6 *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 682–3 and pp. 701–2. Khlevniuk, *Ordzhonikidze*, pp. 104–5. Khlevniuk, *Stalinskoe Politburo*, pp. 148, 152. Jansen-Petrov, pp. 53–5.
 - 7 Lakoba, pp. 120–3: Stalin offered the job in December 1935. CC banned use of Abkhazian names, 17 Aug. 1936. *Beria* pp. 70–5. Grand Dukes/appanage princes, Stalin at Seventeenth Congress: Getty, pp. 205, 265. Molotov: Tucker, *Power*, p. 389.
 - 8 Khlevniuk, *Ordzhonikidze*, pp. 103–5, 158–9, 178, 190–4. Rees, pp. 118. Friendship of Kaganovich and Sergo, *Kaganovich*, pp. 62–3. Eteri Ordzhonikidze. *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, no. 9, 1989, pp. 36–7. Jansen-Petrov, pp. 45–51.
 - 9 Mikoyan, p. 328.
 - 10 *MR*, pp. 114–5. Mikoyan, p. 328.
 - 11 Khlevniuk, *Ordzhonikidze*, pp. 105–10.
 - 12 Natalya Rykova. Larina, pp. 293–5, 139–42. Khlevniuk, *Ordzhonikidze*, pp. 113–4, 139–40.
 - 13 ‘Crank’: RGASPI 558.11.710.48–76, Bukharin to Stalin and Stalin’s note 2 July 1935. ‘Big child’: RGASPI 558.11.710.91, Bukharin to Stalin and reply. When Bukharin complained of dismissals among his staff at *Izvestiya*, Stalin sent the appeal to Yezhov who scrawled in favourite red pencil back to Stalin: ‘All is done – Bukharin doesn’t complain any more.’ RGASPI 558.11.710.78, Bukharin to Stalin to Yezhov to Stalin 13 Jan. 1936 (cc Yezhov section). Radek: RGASPI 558.11.710.163 Bukharin to Stalin 17 Sept. 1936. Bukharin in dreams: RGASPI 558.11.710.164–6, Bukharin to Stalin 24 Sept. 1936. RGASPI 558.11.710.172–8, Bukharin to Stalin and poem.
 - 14 ‘Honey seagull’ and pistol: Larina, p. 310. RGASPI 74.2.40.138.1, Bukharin to Voroshilov: ‘Why hurt me so?’ RGASPI 74.2.40.137, Bukharin to Voroshilov 3 Jan. 1935. Bukharin to Voroshilov 1 Sept. 1936. Volkogonov, pp. 295–6.
 - 15 My narrative here uses closely the accounts of Getty and Khlevniuk. Plenum: Getty, pp. 304–8, 311–12, 315–29. Khlevniuk, *Ordzhonikidze*, pp. 100, 140.
 - 16 Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, pp. 36–8. Poland: William J. Chase, *Enemies Within the Gates?*, pp. 234–5, 239, 265. Stalin and Glinka opera, *Ivan Susanin*, see Svetlana OOT, p. 337. Getty, pp. 333–59.
 - 17 Svanidze diary, 5 Mar. 1937. I. Valedinsky, ‘Vospominaniya’, p. 124.
 - 18 Khlevniuk, *Ordzhonikidze*, p. 101. *Rodina*, 1995, no. 10, pp. 63–4. *Istochnik*, no. 1, 2001, pp. 63–77. Sergo believed Pyatakov’s confession: Zinaida Ordzhonikidze in Mikoyan, p. 331.
 - 19 RGASPI 588.2.155.104–7, Vyshinsky’s notes of meeting with Stalin. Vyshinsky’s words on 28 Jan. from Conquest, *Terror*, p. 179.
 - 20 Valedinsky, ‘Vospominaniya’, p. 124.

18: SERGO: DEATH OF A ‘PERFECT BOLSHEVIK’

- 1 Tucker, *Power*, pp. 405–7. Conquest, *Terror*, pp. 179–85. RGASPI 588.2.155.104–7, Vyshinsky’s notes of meeting with Stalin. Yury Zhdanov on Stalin joke on apostles. Svanidze diary, Jan.–Feb. 1937. Emotional effervescence in Michael Burleigh, *The Third Reich, A New History*, p. 7. Yezhov in Kremlin; Jansen-Petrov, p. 121. Khlevniuk, *Ordzhonikidze*, pp. 190–4. Railways: Rees, p. 118.
- 2 This account of Sergo’s last days is based on Khlevniuk, *Ordzhonikidze*, pp. 119,

- 126–42, 145. Mikoyan, p. 329. Also *Beria Affair*, p. 110. The account of his death is based on the version of Zinaida Ordzhonikidze told to Mikoyan, pp. 331–3, and that of Konstantin Ordzhonikidze, brother, in Medvedev, pp. 195–6. Stepan Mikoyan, p. 38. Eteri Ordzhonikidze.
- 3 Poem: Larina, pp. 328. RGASPI 558.11.710. 180–1, Bukharin to Stalin, 20 Feb. 1937. Natalia Rykova. Eteri Ordzhonikidze. RGASPI 74.1.429.79, E. D. Voroshilova diary, 1956. *KR* 1, p. 174. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, p. 261.
- 4 The Plenum is mainly based on Getty, pp. 373–97, 413–19. Larina, pp. 64–5, 146, 330, 334–9. Natalya Rykova. Molotov reading out Voroshilov's cruel reply to Bukharin's letter: Volkogonov, pp. 280–6. Railways: Rees, p. 169. Conquest, *Terror*, p. 193. Postyshev was not yet arrested but was demoted to run the Kuibyshev (Samara) Party: Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 233–4, 262, and Khlevniuk, *Ordzhonikidze*, p. 171. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 423, 426, 429.
- 5 Walter Krivitsky, *I Was Stalin's Agent*, p. 197. Orlov, pp. 147, 221. Tucker, *Power*, p. 432. E. P. Frolov quoted in Medvedev, p. 339.

19: THE MASSACRE OF THE GENERALS, FALL OF YAGODA AND DEATH OF A MOTHER

- 1 Jansen-Petrov, pp. 71–2.
- 2 *Yagoda*, p. 20 and p. 89 for the search, 28 Mar.–4 Apr. 1937.
- 3 *Yagoda*, pp. 115–61, 171, 95–118, 109–17, 234, 255–7, 450. Jansen-Petrov, p. 63. Conquest, *Stalin: Breaker of Nations*, p. 203. Orlov, p. 264.
- 4 Budyonny, *Notes*, p. 25. RGVA 4.19.16.265, Budyonny to Voroshilov 22 Aug. 1936; plus Kaganovich and Voroshilov to Stalin, see earlier. Voroshilov forwards Red Army intelligence intercept from German Embassy to Berlin on Red Army officers including Yegorov, Budyonny and Tukhachevsky: RGVA 4.19.1.170–4, 20 Apr. 1936. See also Voroshilov to Stalin on interview of Comrade Tukhachevsky to Polish newspapers: RGVA 4.19.71.52–60, Jan. 1936.
- 5 Stalin's view of Tukhachevsky's plans 1930: RGASPI 74.2.38.59, Stalin to Voroshilov. Jansen-Petrov, pp. 69–70. Timoshenko in Kumanev (ed.), p. 270. Shimon Naveh, *Tukhachevsky*: Harold Shukman (ed.) *Stalin's Generals*, p. 266. 'Napoleonchik' in Larina, p. 198. Spahr, pp. 169, 171 (Tukh's sister's testimony). *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 11, no. 4, Dec. 1998. Book review by John Erickson of *Forging Stalin's Army: M. Tukhachevsky and the Politics of Military Innovation* by Sally Stoecker, Boulder, CO, 1998. The phrase 'military entrepreneur' is hers. *IA* 1998. *Kaganovich*, p. 100. S. Ushakov and A. A. Stukakov, *Front Voennykh Prokurorov*, p. 71. Bloodstains: *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, no. 4, 1989, p. 50. R. R. Reese, *Stalin's Reluctant Soldiers, A Social History of the Red Army*, pp. 131–4.
- 6 Sergo B, p. 22. On her death: RGASPI 558.11.1549.74–92, Stalin's note for wreath, Tass announcement approved by Poskrebyshev and contents of her house.
- 7 *Kaganovich*, pp. 45–6, 100. Mikoyan, p. 552. Stepan M., p. 39.
- 8 Rudzutak: Larina, p. 173. *MR*, p. 273. *Kaganovich*, p. 89. RGASPI 558.11.800.113, Rudzutak to Stalin and Stalin's reply 5 Dec. 1934. Polls: RGASPI 17.2.615.68. *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, no. 4, 1989, p. 50. Getty, p. 448. Farts: RGASPI 81.3.100.91–4.
- 9 RGASPI 17.2.630.56, Plenum: Yegorov, 4 Dec. 1937. RGASPI 17.2.614.377, Veinberg, 26 May 1937.
- 10 *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, no. 4, 1989, pp. 52–4. Spahr, p. 172. *Istochnik*, no. 3, 1994, pp. 72–88. 'Arrest and Testimony of M. Tukhachevsky May–June 1937' by Steven J. Main, *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, March 1997, pp. 151–95. *VIZh*, nos. 8 and 9, 1991. *Molodaya gardiya*, nos. 9 and 10, 1994. For the latest research, see O. F. Suvenirov, *Tragediya RkKA 1937/8*.
- 11 RGVA 4.18.61.7–66, Voroshilov at NKO 9–10 June 1937.

- 12 Medvedev, p. 345. Vaksberg, *Vyshinsky*, pp. 104–5.
- 13 RGVA 4.18.62.1–357. Stalin meets army commanders 3–4 Aug. 1937. Voroshilov's role: Voroshilov to Yezhov note quoted in Miklos Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait*, p. 285. Yakovlev, *Century*, p. 18. Vaksberg, *Vyshinsky*, pp. 104–5. Volkogonov, pp. 323–4. Tucker, *Power*, p. 437. Spahr, pp. 158–65. Ilya Ehrenburg, *Eve of War*, p. 197. Tukhachevsky's wife and two brothers were shot while his mother and sisters were exiled. *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, 1989, no. 4, p. 59. Budyonny: *Vaksberg*, p. 104. Tukhachevsky Case in 1930: RGASPI 558.11./78.43, Stalin to Ordzhonikidze 24 Sept. 1930. RGASPI 558.11.778.38, Menzhinsky to Stalin 10 Sept. 1930. For the story of Stalin, Okhrana file and the generals, see Orlov's account in Edward P. Gazur, *Secret Assignment: The FBI's KGB General*, pp. 441–73. Shooting officers en masse: RGASPI 74.2.38.130, Stalin to Voroshilov, n.d.
- 14 Mekhlis as Stalin's secretary: Stalin's orders RGASPI 558.11.68, Stalin to Mekhlis 17 July 1925. RGASPI 558.11.773.92, Stalin on Congress of Writers' Union to Kaganovich, Zhdanov, Stetsky and Mekhlis 24 Aug. 1934; RGASPI 558.11.773.95, Stalin to Mekhlis criticizing *Pravda*, 17 Dec. 1936. RGASPI 558.11.773.93, Mekhlis to Stalin 4 Dec 1935. Mekhlis supports Gorky's request for Stalin to meet *Pravda* writers. RGASPI 558.11.723.119, Mekhlis to Stalin and Stalin to Mekhlis 27 May 1936. 'Comrade Stalin, Gorky has sent us an article ... which contains philosophical problems ... I'd like you to read it. L. Mekhlis.' Stalin read it and wrote straight back: 'Comrade Mekhlis: Publish without changes.' His days as a literary bully were not quite over. In December, Stalin sent the ex-*Pravda* editor to purge Kiev and 'take all necessary measures' to strengthen 'editorial persons on the Ukrainian newspapers'. Henceforth it was the unfortunate military that were to feel the stinging blows of Mekhlis's 'necessary measures'. He joined the CC on 12 Oct. 1937 and became chief Commissar of the Red Army on 30 Dec. 1937. RGASPI 558.11.702.112, Mekhlis to Stalin, Molotov, Yezhov 19 June 1937, and Stalin's reply, 20 July, and Mekhlis's reply, 21 July 1937. RGASPI 558.11.702.99–100, Stalin to Mekhlis 8 Dec. 1937. Stalin laughs at Mekhlis's 'ludicrous zeal': Charkviani, pp. 30–1. Mekhlis: youth and early career: Y Rubtsov, *Alter Ego Stalina: Stranitsy politicheskoi biografii LZ Mekhlisa* (henceforth *Mekhlis*), pp. 1–100.

20: BLOOD BATH BY NUMBERS

- 1 The quotas: RGASPI 17.162.21.189. Getty, pp. 468–81. Jansen-Petrov, pp. 82–91. Statistics: Jansen-Petrov, p. 91. 'To finish off' once and for all' – Order No. 00447. *Trud*, 4 June 1922, 2 Aug. and 17 Oct. 1997. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 254–6, 210–21: on Yezhov see Voroshilov, 2 Sept.: 'Yesterday Comrade Yezhov received Comrade Gribov. I then discussed this with Comrade Yezhov who declared on the telephone he had neither a file nor a case against Comrade Gribov. I judge it possible to appoint Comrade Gribov CO of the North Causasus.' 'Better too far' – Jansen-Petrov, p. 89, from Frinovsky testimony FSB N15301.5.110–11. National contingents: Jansen-Petrov, pp. 93–101 quoting NKVD Order No. 00439, 25 July 1937, N. Okhotin and A. Roginskii, pp. 54–71; FSB Order No. 00485; consular contacts: FSB 3.4.104. Statistics of nationals: Jansen-Petrov, p. 99, quoting N. Petrov and A. Roginskii, *Polskaya operatsiya*, pp. 30, 31, 33. Mongolia: Jansen-Petrov, p. 101. Numbers of PB/CC arrests: Khrushchev quoted in Jansen-Petrov, p. 103. Total arrests and executions: Jansen-Petrov p. 104. Rees, p. 169.
- 2 'Surpass each other': Yezhov, in testimony of Frinovsky FSB 3-os.6.3, quoted in Jansen-Petrov, p. 85. 'An extra thousand': testimony of N. V. Kondakov, Armenian NKVD chief, May 1939, in FSB 3-os.6.4 in Jansen-Petrov, pp. 85–235.
- 3 Ehrenburg, *Eve of War*, p. 197. Mandelstam, p. 321. Tucker, *Power*, p. 447. Holidays:

- Jansen-Petrov, p. 79.
- 4 RGVA 4.18.62.1-357 Stalin meets army commanders 3-4 Aug. 1937.
 - 5 Cannibals: RGASPI 82.2.887.32, Vyshinsky to Stalin and Molotov 14 Apr. 1937.
 - 6 Svanidze diary, Jan-Feb 1937. Yagoda's diamonds: *Yagoda*, pp. 115-61, 171, 95-118, 109-17. Yakir's villas: Shadenko at RKKA meeting 3-4 August 1937: RGVA 4.18.61.7-66: Stalin commented: 'He traded, he couldn't be without trading.' Voroshilov at NKO 9-10 June 1937. Glittering receptions: Galina Yegorova's interrogation, account of the good life at Embassy parties etc. in Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, pp. 108-9.
 - 7 Yakovlev, *Century*, pp. 8, 15, 20.
 - 8 Molotov: on Ivan the Terrible in Volkogonov, p. 310. Mikoyan: on Ivan the Terrible, p. 534. 'Stalin Molotov i Zhdanov o vtoroy serii filma Ivan Grozny' in *Moskovskie Novosti*, no. 37, 7 Aug. 1988, p. 8. Budyonny, *Notes*, 8. Teacher and Ivan: RGASPI 558.3.350. Bukharin as 'Shuisky' in *Kaganovich*, p. 74.
 - 9 *MR*, p. 254. Kaganovich agreed with this analysis, *Kaganovich*, pp. 35, 37. Tucker, *Power*, p. 445. Also G. A. Kumanev, 'Dve besedy s LM Kaganovichem', *Novaya i Noveishaya Istorii*, no. 2, 1999, pp. 101-16. Molotov received lists of executions sentenced by tribunals of the Military Collegium almost every day: a typical sample during early 1937 showed that 32 were shot on the Amur railway, 36 on another for being Trotskyite wreckers while a further 20 were shot for 'planning terroristic acts against Comrade Kaganovich on his journey to the East'. Molotov underlined the numbers of the executed with his red pen, but never the names. They simply did not matter. *IA* 1998 p. 17. Death-lists: RGASPI 82.2.887.66-9,70,133,163, samples of lists of executions 26-27 March, 3 June, 16 Aug. All Vyshinsky to Molotov, Volkogonov, p. 339.
 - 10 Children and families: PR 5 July 1937. Jansen-Petrov, p. 100. *Trud*, 17 Oct. 1997. *Memorial-Aspekt* nos. 2-3, 1993. Okhotin and Roginskii, *Iz Istorii*, pp. 56-7. Yakovlev, *Century*, pp. 39-45. *MR*, p. 415. Yezhov order Aug. 1937 from *Sbornik zakonodatelnykh i normativnykh aktov o repressiyakh i reabilitatsii*, pp. 8-93. In 1954, there were still 884,057 'specially resettled' children. Clan: Jansen-Petrov quotes Dmitrov, p. 111.
 - 11 RGASPI 558.11.698.33, Aronstam to Stalin and Stalin's reply, 7 May 1937.
 - 12 Father appeals to Stalin and son is spared: RGASPI 558.11.712.11-13, Polish rosegrower: *Oni*, Roman Werfel, p. 104, and Berman, pp. 235-7. Sergo Kavtaradze. Oleg Troyanovsky. Pasternak and Ehrenburg were protected despite appearing in the confessions of many arrested writers. The Egnatashvili brothers were also protected.
 - 13 RGASPI 558.11.805.75, Stalin to Stetsky 17 Jan. 1937, and reply.
 - 14 Budyonny, *Notes*, pp. 28-32.
 - 15 Tucker, *Power*, p. 446. The Spanish connection: Vladimir Antonov Ovsenko, Medvedev, p. 291, 188. See Radosh et al. (eds.), *Spain Betrayed*, pp. 150-3; Koltsov, p. 267, and denunciation to Stalin and Voroshilov, p. 521, no. 60.
 - 16 RGASPI 82.2.896.71-5.
 - 17 RGASPI 558.11.712.65, V. Bonch-Bruevich to Stalin 15 June 1937.
 - 18 On Kanner. RGASPI 558.11.775.100, E. Makarova to Stalin 2 June 1937. RGASPI 558.11.55.822, Stalin to Khitarov 11 May 1937. RGASPI 558.11.726.22, Varo Djaparidze to Stalin 11 Mar. 1937.
 - 19 RGASPI 558.11.756.118, N. Krylenko to Stalin 4 Nov. 1937.
 - 20 Khrushchev to Stefan Staszewski, *Oni*, p. 158.

21: 'THE BLACKBERRY' AT WORK AND PLAY

- 1 RGASPI 558.11.27.129.

- 2 FSB Frinovsky interrogation N- 15301.2.32-5, quoted in Jansen-Petrov, p. 110.
- 3 Jansen-Petrov, pp. 200-1. Razgon, p. 104. Medvedev, p. 241.
- 4 Kostyrchenko, p. 269.
- 5 Jansen-Petrov pp. 117-9. Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, p. 24. Jansen-Petrov, pp. 114-15. Larina, p. 151. Davies, pp. 138, 155.
- 6 Jansen-Petrov, pp. 121-3, 199. G. Zhavoronkov, 'I suitsa nochiu den', *Sintaksis*, no. 32, 192, pp. 46-65; B. B. Briukhanov and E. N. Shoshkov, 'Opravdaniu ne podlezhit: Ezhov i ezhovschina', p. 124; B. Starkov, 'Narkom Yezhov' in J. A. Getty and R. T. Manning (eds.), *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives*, pp. 34-5. B. Kamov, 'Smert Nikolaia Yezhova', in *Iunost*, no. 8, 1993, pp. 41-3. Vasily Grossman, 'Mama' in *Znamya*, no. 5, 1989, pp. 8-15. Vera Trail, pp. 4-11.
- 7 Jansen-Petrov, pp. 123-4. Execution lists: Memorial Archives No. 32D-1355. V. Shentalinsky, 'Okhota v revzapovednike' in *Novy Mir*, no. 12, 1998, pp. 170-96. FSB 3-os.6.4.238-41.
- 8 RGASPI 82.2.904.60, Yezhov to Molotov 12 Mar. 1938.
- 9 MR, pp. 277-8. *Kaganovich*, p. 75. Nina Khrushchev quoted in Sergei Khrushchev *Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower*, p. 18. Yakovlev, *Century*, pp. 15-7. Tucker, *Power*, p. 448. Medvedev, p. 346. Molotov's mask: Mikoyan, pp. 321-7.
- 10 RGASPI 82.2.897.12-13, Vyshinsky to Stalin and Molotov and Molotov to Yezhov. When Molotov's bust was smashed, Andrei Sakharov, the physicist, recalled how it became a dangerous political incident, p. 35, while a boy who knocked over a portrait of Stalin and blundered on to his face was arrested. Volkogonov, p. 269.
- 11 Rees, p. 153. Volkogonov, p. 306. RGASPI 588.2.155.111-3, Molotov to NKVD 7 Apr. 1938. Stalin personally kept up the pressure on the Premier: 'To comrade Molotov,' he wrote on 28 Jan. 1938, 'Why was it impossible to predict this business by studying the financial situation? That escaped you? It is necessary to discuss at the Politburo.' Khlevniuk, *Circle*, p. 258. Execution lists: Memorial Archives no. 32D-1355.
- 12 Tucker, *Power*, p. 447. *Kaganovich*, p. 46. Medvedev, p. 312. Budyonny, *Notes*, p. 47. Testimony of Galina Yegorova in FSB archives quoted in full in Vasileva, *Kremlin Wives*, pp. 105-11. RGASPI 558.11.749.15/15 and 23, A Kollontai to Stalin. Stasova: Dmitrov Diary 11 November 1937.
- 13 Thanks to Dr Dan Healey for his advice on age of consent and morals. Bolshevik modesty: MR, pp. 273-4; *Kaganovich*, pp. 88-9. Primness: MR, pp. 111, 145, 149. Divorces: Khrushchev, *Superpower* p. 29. Kaganovich does not write the word 'slut', just 's...t': Tucker, *Power*, p. 437. Absurd comment on naked girls in Paris by Zhdanov's wife: Svetlana *OOI*, p. 360. Tukhachevsky's filthy morals: RGVA 4.18.61.7-77, Voroshilov, NKO, 9-10 June 1937. Kira Alliluyeva: Svetlana's knees and Stalin's note, *OOI*, p. 318. Volga kiss: Kenez, p. 166. 'Stalin Molotov i Zhdanov o vtoroy serii filma Ivan Grozny', *Moskovskie Novosti*, vol. 37, 7 Aug. 1988, p. 8. *Galina*, p. 96. Georgian cigarettes: Charkviani, pp. 45-9. Kisses at Kulik's birthday party, Karpov, *Rastrelyannye Marshaly*, p. 343. Zhdanov marriage: Sergo B, p. 139. Kuibyshev: Troyanovsky p. 162. During the war, when Stalin learned that the publisher Tikhonov was having an affair, he had his wife flown out of the Siege of Leningrad to put a stop to it. *Lesser Terror*, p. 113. RGASPI 558.11.818.23-27, A. A. Troyanovsky to Stalin 24 July 1934, and Stalin to Yagoda, n.d. Troyanovsky to Stalin 11 Sept. 1938. Beria and sex: GARF 8131sj.32.3289.41, Rudenko to Khrushchev on Sarkisov's denunciation to Abakumov. Dekanozov was also said to have a sexual addiction to young girls, though he too was happily married: Vaksberg, *Vyshinsky*, pp. 290, 353. Rape: Djilas, pp. 93, 108-9; Djilas, *Wartime*, pp. 428-9. Maxim and Ivy Litvinov: see John Carswell, *The Exile. The Life of Ivy Litvinov*, pp. 130-7.
- 14 Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, p. 28. Mikoyan, p. 318.
- 15 RGASPI 558.11.769.173, Stalin to Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Mikoyan 31

Mar. 1937. Tucker, *Power*, p. 416. Stepan Mikoyan.

- 16 *MR*, p. 254. Mikoyan, pp. 318, 552. *Kaganovich*, pp. 27, 28, 30, 45–7. Yury Zhdanov. Maya Kavtaradze. Medvedev, p. 325.
- 17 Faith and thought: Vyshinsky and ‘You lost faith’: RGASPI 558.2.155.104–7. ‘Holy fear’ death for thoughts and the clans: Getty, pp. 486–7. Holy Fear: Tucker, *Power*, pp. 482–4, Toasts/kin/Mikoyan wit: Dmitrov diary, 7 November 1937. Beria to A. A. Yepishev, quoted in Volkogonov, p. 279. RGASPI 558.11.725.1–2, K. Gai to Stalin and reply 25 Mar. 1937. Colonel Starinov learned during an NKVD interrogation that many of the arrested soldiers were accused of ‘lack of faith in the power of the socialist state’. Starinov in Bialer (ed.), p. 71. Killing sect: Jansen-Petrov, p. 65. ‘Brilliant politician of Italian ...’: Ehrenburg, *Eve of War*, p. 306. Bukharin to Stalin, 10 Dec. 1937, Getty p. 557.

22: BLOODY SHIRTSLEEVES

- 1 Torture: Jansen-Petrov, p. 111, citing APRF 3.24.413.5.122, ‘Beat, beat’, M. I. Baranov. ‘Prison or hotel’, Jansen-Petrov, p. 111, citing *Reabilitatsiya*, p. 258. Blood specks: Shepilov, ‘Vospominaniia’, *Voprosy Istorii*, no. 4, 1998, p. 6. Order to torture: Petrov-Jansen, pp. 10–11. *Rossiiskaya Gazeta*, 19 Apr. 1996. *IA* 1998. Order on torture: 20 Jan. 1939, Conquest, *Terror*, p. 206. Tucker, *Power*, p. 467. Kaganovich told Khrushchev ‘we signed everything.’ Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, p. 136. GARF 8131.32.3289.117–8, the investigations by Rudenko into methods of interrogators Vlodzirmirsky, Rodos, Shvartsman, Goglidze etc., 22 March 1955. Since the Yezhov generation did not describe their tortures, this account is based on Beria’s men. Execution place and burial: Nikita Petrov. Jansen-Petrov, p. 188. Account of Yezhov’s execution by N. P. Afanesev in Ushakov and Stukalov, pp. 74–5. On torture of Old Bolsheviks: *Kaganovich*, pp. 138–9. Molotov on Rudzutak’s torture, *MR*, pp. 274–5 and ‘Politburo gangsters’, *MR*, p. 240. Stalin told many jokes about torture and interrogatiogns: this is from Sergo Kavtaradze’s unpublished memoirs, p. 74. Another version, Svetlana *OOI*, p. 333. Molotov’s mask: Mikoyan, pp. 321–7.
- 2 RGASPI 558.11.756.109–6, Krilov to Stalin 26 May 1937. Another the same month denounces spies and Enemies in the Foreign Commissariat. RGASPI 558.11.727.86, Dmitrov to Stalin 15 May 1937. ‘Group faithful to himself’: Stalin to Liushkov on Varekis’s clique in Far East: Alvin D. Coox, ‘The Lesser of Two Hells: NKVD General GS Lyushkov’s Defection to Japan 1938–45’, *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 11, no. 3, Sept. 1998, pp. 145–86.
- 3 RGASPI 558.11.806.122, Semyushkin to Stalin 28 May 1937. Stalin usually ordered Yezhov ‘Check’ or ‘Look into it.’ Denunciations: Voroshilov at RGVA 4.19.14.1–74. Meeting of Supreme Military Council, 16 May 1939. Yakovlev in Bialer (ed.), pp. 88, 102.
- 4 Gramophone scandal: RGASPI 558.11.1082.1–18.
- 5 RGASPI 558.11.756.109–16, Krilov to Stalin 26 May 1937. Another the same month denounces spies and enemies in the Foreign Commissariat. RGASPI 558.11.727.86, Dmitrov to Stalin 15 May 1937.
- 6 RGASPI 558.11.818.35–43, P. V. Tiulenev to Stalin 30 March 1938.
- 7 RGASPI 558.11.132.137–40, P. T. Nikolaenko to Stalin 17 Sept. 1937. RGASPI 558.11.132.36, Stalin to Comrade Kudriavtsev 27 Sept. 1937. Tucker, *Power*, pp. 459–61. *KR* 1, pp. 114–15; Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, p. 32.
- 8 Khrushchev terror: *KR* 1, pp. 113, 129–36. *MR*, pp. 295–7. *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, 2, 1989. *Istochnik*, 1, 1995. Vladimir Naumov in Taubman, pp. 88–90; Yury Shapoval in Taubman, pp. 19–25.
- 9 Zhdanov on Enemies: A. S. Yakovlev, *Tsel zhizni*, p. 17. On Komsomol Case: Mgeladze,

- pp. 170–3. Kuznetsov in Bialer (ed.) p. 96. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 210–11; Tucker, *Power*, pp. 470–9. Beria, pp. 80–5. Lakoba family tortured: see S. Lakoba, *Ocherki po politicheskoy istorii Abkhazii*. Beria's personal use of torture: GARF 8131.32.3289.117–18. The investigations by Rudenko into methods of interrogators Vlodzirmirsky, Rodos, Shvartsman, Goglidze, Tsanova, etc., 22 March 1955. Djafar Bagirov in Azerbaijan also did not require replacement. Arresting the wrong people: see Andreyev: RGASPI 73.2.19.27, Andreyev to Stalin, 18 Aug. 1937. Plus Malenkov denounced: Khrushchev defends Malenkov: Elena Zubkova in Taubman, p. 75.
- 10 Yakovlev, *Tsel zhizni*, p. 18: letter to Yezhov, 15 June 1937, on arrests of members of All-Union Scientific Research Institute and officials in Vneshtorg (Foreign Trade Commissariat). Arrests in Vneshtorg: Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, p. 45. See Katyn later. Mikoyan on purges: p. 583. Stepan M. p. 197. Mikoyan to Kaganovich letter 17 Sept 1936 quoted in Miklos Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait*, pp. 295–6. Mikoyan in Armenia: Tucker, *Power*, p. 488. Beria, p. 84. Mikoyan was accompanied by Malenkov. 'My father saved people': Natalya Andreyeva. Natasha Lopatina: story of her grandfather, Ivan Konstantinovich Mikhailov and K. E. Voroshilov. *Kaganovich*, p. 89.
- 11 On tour: Medvedev, p. 248. More examples of Kaganovich: RGASPI 17.21.3966–4092. Easter, p. 157. Yakovlev, *Century*, p. 18, Mikoyan to Yezhov 15 June on pp. 15–19.
- 12 Andreyev's epic slaughter: RGASPI 73.3.45, 138, notes Oct. 1937. 73.2.19, Andreyev to Zhdanov 6 Jan. 1937. 73.2.19.2, Andreyev to Stalin 12 Apr. 1937, Voronezh. 73.2.19, Andreyev to Stalin 20 July 1937, Saratov. 73.2.19.3, Andreyev to Stalin 4 June 1937, Cheliabinsk. 73.2.19.12, Andreyev to Stalin 21 July 1937, Saratov. 73.2.19.16, Andreyev to Stalin and Stalin orders shooting of MTS workers, 28 July 1937. 73.2.19.19, Andreyev to Stalin 1 Aug. 1937. 73.2.19.22, Andreyev to Stalin 1 Aug 1937, Saratov. 73.2.19.27, Andreyev to Stalin 18 Aug. 1937, Kuibyshev. 73.2.19.34–36, Andreyev to Stalin 17–18 Sept. 1937, Tashkent. 73.2.19.44, Stalin, Molotov to Andreyev 20 Sept. 1937: 'You can arrest him.' 73.2.45.54, Andreyev to Stalin: 'Ikramov arrested.' 21–22 Sept. 1937, Tashkent. 73.2.45.58, Stalin and Molotov to Andreyev 22 Sept, 1937. 73.2.45.72 and 73, Stalin to Andreyev: 'Act according to your consideration and situation', 26 Sept. 1937 and (74) Andreyev's reply to Stalin 27 Sept. 1937; Bokhara (79–84). 73.2.45.86, Stalin to Andreyev in Stalinabad, 29 Sept. 1937. 73.2.45.101, Stalin to Andreyev on NKVD officer, 4 Oct. 1937. 73.3.45.87–101, Andreyev to Stalin and Stalin orders: 'Remove Ashurov', 2–4 Oct. 1937, Stalinabad. 73.2.45.105, Andreyev to Stalin 5 Nov. 1937, Archangel and Voronezh: 'Going to Rostov.' 73.2.45.113, Andreyev to Stalin 15 Nov. 1937, Rostov. 73.2.45.119–26, Andreyev to Stalin and Malenkov 18 Nov. 1937, Krasnodar, Kuban. 'I'm heading to Ordzhonikidze Region.'
- 13 Malenkov: Chadaev in Kumaney (ed.) p. 429. Interviews Igor Malenkov and Volya Malenkova. Zubok, p. 141–3. Svetlana *OOI*, p. 358. Mikoyan, pp. 566, 586. Sergo B, p. 161. Malenkov-type: *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 609. RGASPI 558.11.762, 1a, Stalin to Malenkov 22 Nov. 1938: arrest. His role as a secret persecutor emerges in the appeal to Stalin of Lenin's old secretary, Stasova, who told how Malenkov had accused her of giving money to Trotskyites but ignored evidence of her innocence. Stalin protected her. RGASPI 558.11.805.11, Stasova to Stalin 17 May 1938. On Malenkov in the Purge: Parrish, 'Yezhov', p. 90. Beria, p. 85. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 264–6. Mikoyan, p. 320. Leonid Redens tells of Vasily Stalin's testimony of Malenkov's role. D. N. Sukhanov, *Memoirs*. Inseparables: Sergo B, p. 36. Khrushchev defends Malenkov: Zubkova in Taubman, p. 75. Humour: Sergo B, p. 162, and see also Parrott, *Serpent and Nightingale*, p. 65. Djilas, p. 108: 'under rolls ... moved another man, lively and adept.'

- 14 Yuri Shapoval in Taubman, pp. 12–13. Kaganovich advised him to keep quiet, then told Stalin.
- 15 *MR*, p. 254; Russian version pp. 413–4, 393. Mikoyan, p. 556. Sergo Mikoyan: father fanatic. Kaganovich: ‘Did we permit distortions, outrages, crimes? We did ... I am responsible politically’: Kaganovich at June 1957 Plenum: RGASPI 17.3.153; see *Kaganovich*, pp. 35–7.
- 16 Sergo B, p. 157.
- 17 RGASPI 558.11.737.86, I. Ivanov, ex-Secretary Kursk Obkom to Stalin 21 Feb. 1937. On CC arrests, 70 arrested 15; Molotov in Getty, p. 467.

23: SOCIAL LIFE IN THE TERROR

- 1 Martha Peshkova. ‘Svetlana *khozyaika* but I calmed her’: Stalin in Charkviani, pp. 55–7.
- 2 Natalya Andreyeva. Martha Peshkova. Voroshilov knight – Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, pp. 71–3. Stepan and Sergo Mikoyan. Artyom Sergeev. Davies, pp. 119, 193, 26 March 1938. Kaganovich and the jazz: Starr, *Red and Hot*, pp. 126–9, 178. Thanks to Mariana Haseldine for this. Rustaveli: *Beria*, p. 84. Pushkin cult: Figes, *Natasha*, p. 482. Spanish blouses: A. Adzhubei – Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, p. 69. Song words: Fitzpatrick, p. 71. Cheka anniversary: G. D. Raanan, *International Policy Formation*, p. 171. *Pravda*, 21 December 1937. Parrish, ‘Yezhov’ p. 159. My Uncle Stalin: Artyom Sergeev.
- 3 Zarubina, pp. 29–31. Natalya Andreyeva. Sergo and Stepan Mikoyan. Eteri Ordzhonikidze. Sakharov, p. 93. The most sensitive work on the presence and effects of death is Catherine Merridale, *Night of Stone, Death and Memory in Russia*, pp. 253–63.
- 4 Mikoyan’s pistol: Stepan Mikoyan. *Zarubina*, p. 32. Yury Trifinov, *House on the Embankment*.
- 5 Dachas of dead men: Vaksberg, *Vyshinsky*, pp. 87–93. Svetlana *OOY*, p. 355. Sudoplatov, p. 103. S. Khrushchev, *Superpower*, p. 16. Gamarnik’s Zubalovo dacha passed to Stalin’s favourite officer Shaposhnikov after the former’s suicide, while another favourite, Kulik, got his apartment.
- 6 Expunging: Stepan M. p. 25. Leonid Redens.
- 7 School in terror: Stepan M. p. 37. Richardson, *Long Shadow*, p. 207. At the NKVD School, No. 50, the arrests were even more intense: *Zarubina*, p. 32. Svetlana’s desk: Julia Gorshkova. Children and families: PB, 5 July 1937. Jansen-Petrov, p. 100. *Trud*, 17 Oct. 1997. Memorial-Aspekt, 1993, nos. 2–3. Okhotin and Roginskii, *Iz Istorii*, pp. 56–7. Young witnesses to arrests: Stepan M., p. 47: the boy in question was Oleg Frinovsky, the tall, handsome son of Yezhov’s deputy at the NKVD. This took place in 1939. Parents vetting friends: Stepan M., p. 47. Igor Boytsov telephoned Voroshilov’s adopted son Timur Frunze. Mikoyan cut relations with the Alliluyevs: Kira Alliluyeva. Yury Zhdanov.
- 8 Leonid Redens. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 56–7. Martha Peshkova.

24: STALIN’S JEWESSES AND THE FAMILY IN DANGER

- 1 Bronka: based on the author’s interviews with Natalya Poskrebysheva and stories told to her by her aunt Faina, her half-sister Galina and her nanny. Kira Alliluyeva. Also Brackman’s interviews with Bronislava’s first husband, I. P. Itskov, *Secret File*, p. 329. Itskov claims Bronka only married Poskrebyshev to save her brother from arrest but this seems premature. Also Volkogonov, p. 155.
- 2 Yezhova: Yezhov’s and Yevgenia’s lovers: Jansen-Petrov, pp. 123–4. Simon Uritsky’s interrogation quoted in *KGB Lit.Archive*, p. 56. Polianski, pp. 190–7. Pirozhkova, p. 105. V. F. Nekrasov, *Zelezhnyi Narkom*, p. 211. S. Povartzov, *Prichina smerti-rastrel*, pp. 151.

- Yezhova was from Gomel but grew up in Odessa.
- 3 Rosa Kaganovich: *Kaganovich*, pp. 48–50. Jewish women: Sergo B, p. 211. For the myth: see Kahan, *Wolf of the Kremlin*.
 - 4 Svanidze diary, 5 Mar. 1937. Djugashvili, *Ded Otets Mat i Drugie*, pp. 18–24. Julia adventuress: Svanidze diary 5 March 1937. RGASPI 44.1.1.340–3, Maria Svanidze to Alyosha Svanidze, n.d. Leonid Redens. Kira Alliluyeva.
 - 5 Svanidze: *MR*, p. 174. RGASPI 558.11.27.129, Stalin notes to Yezhov. Maria Svanidze papers, RGASPI 44.1.1.33b. Brackman, p. 287. Mikoyan, p. 359. Kira Alliluyeva. Leonid Redens. Svetlana in Richardson, *Long Shadow*, p. 143.
 - 6 Postyshev: Getty, pp. 503–11. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 231–40. RGASPI 558.11.787.45–6, P. Postyshev to Stalin 16 Mar. 1938. He was arrested 12 Feb. Jansen-Petrov, p. 125. Shitters: RGASPI 558.11.787.6, Stalin to Postyshev on Orders of Lenin, Yezhov holiday 9 Sept. 1931, and Postyshev answers cheekily.
 - 7 Jansen-Petrov, p. 124, quoted Suvenirov, *Tragediya RKKA*, p. 23. On drunkenness: FSB 3-os.6.1.265–70. Frinovsky and Efimov interrogations, N-15301.7.193–4, in Jansen-Petrov, p. 124. New quotas: 48,000 in Getty, pp. 518–19, and fall of Yegorov, pp. 521–2.
 - 8 Shapoval in Taubman, pp. 19–25; *KR I*, pp. 129–36. *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, 2, 1989. *Istochnik*, 1, 1995. Naumov in Taubman, pp. 88–90, 91–2, 167,565 people were arrested in the year and a half to 1940.
 - 9 Jansen-Petrov, p. 134: case of A. I. Uspensky FSB 3.6.1 and 3.6.3. Extra quota: *Moskovskie Novosti*, 1992, no. 25.
 - 10 Bukharin trial: Conquest, *Terror*, pp. 367–425.

25: BERIA AND THE WEARINESS OF HANGMEN

- 1 Kosior and Chubar: RGASPI 558.11.754.122–7, Kosior to Stalin 30 April 1938. *KR I*, p. 106. Dreams: see Tukhachevsky's trial. Medvedev, p. 295. *Kaganovich*, p. 89.
- 2 Stalin to aircraft designer Yakovlev, quoted in *MR*, p. 262.
- 3 RGASPI 558.11.698.33, Aronstam to Stalin and Stalin's reply 7 May 1937. RGASPI 558.11.773.94, Mekhlis to Stalin 13 Jan. 1936 or possibly 1937. RGASPI 588.2.156.43, warning to Vyslinsky. Jansen-Petrov, p. 124, quoted Suvenirov, *Tragedia RKKA*, p. 23. On drunkenness: FSB 3-os.6.1.265–70. Frinovsky and Efimov interrogations, N-15301.7.193–4, in Jansen-Petrov, p. 124. Drunken executioners: Peter Deriabin, *Inside Stalin's Kremlin*, p. 42. Parrish, 'Yezhov', pp. 71–7. Yezhov feels Stalin's dissatisfaction: Jansen-Petrov, p. 143, quoting APRF 7458.3.158–62, Yezhov to Stalin. Even the brutal Beria had at times suffered from the nervous stress of a life in permanent paranoia: 'I can't argue with everyone throughout my lifetime ... it will ruin my nerves ... I feel I cannot go on much longer,' he had written earlier in the Thirties, *Beria*, p. 40, L. P. Beria to Ordzhonikidze.
- 4 'Stalinodar': Jansen-Petrov, p. 117. Parrish, 'Yezhov', pp. 78–9. Slutsky: Jansen-Petrov, p. 230, quotes FSB case of Frinovsky N-15301.3.117–23. Orlov's account of this is essentially accurate.
- 5 Liushkov: Jansen-Petrov, pp. 144–5. Yezhov's unsent letter to Stalin: APRF 57.1.265.16–26. Coox, 'Lesser of Two Hells', pp. 145–86; Coox, 'L'affaire Liushkov: Anatomy of a Defector', *Soviet Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1967, pp. 405–20.
- 6 Yury Zhdanov. Volya Malenkova. See also Andrei Malenkov, *O moem otse Georgii Malenkove*. M. Ebon, *Malenkov*, pp. 38–9. Starkov, 'Narkom Yezhov' in Getty/Manning (eds.) pp. 35–7. Blinking in light: Leonid Redens. Rees, p. 197. Yezhov and Polish spy and Orlov: Jansen-Petrov, pp. 147, quoting FSB 3-os.6.1.350. Uspensky, tracks covered: Jansen-Petrov, p. 148, in FSB 3-os.6.1.350 and FSB 3os.6.3.316. Stalin death-list signed 20 Aug. 1938: APRF 3.24.417.248–53.

- 7 Beria and Yezhov: Khrushchev quoted, Jansen-Petrov, p. 157. *Beria*, pp. 53, 87–91. Jansen-Petrov, p. 149–57. V. A. Donskoi proposed Beria. Starkov, ‘Narkom Yezhov’ in Getty/Manning (eds.), pp. 38–9. *Voенно-Istoricheskiĭ Zhurnal* (henceforth *VIZh*), July 1989, Oct. 1991. Beria personal role in torture: GARF 8131.32.3289.117–18. The investigations by Rudeko into methods of interrogators, 22 Mar. 1955. V. F. Nekrazov, *Beria: Konets karieri*, pp. 374–5. B. S. Popov and V. G. Oppokov, ‘Berievshchina’, *VIZh*, 3, 1990, pp. 81–90.
- 8 IBM or GM: Martha Peshkova. V. I. Novikov quoted in Nekrasov, *Konets karieri*, pp. 229–37. Romanov quoted in Sergo B, p. 245. Y. Cohen, ‘Des lettres comme action: Stalin au debut des années rente vu depuis les fonds Kaganovich’ in *Cahiers du Monde russe*, vol. 38, no. 3, July–Sept. 1997, pp. 327, 307–345. RGASPI 82.2.897.32, Beria to Molotov 26 Feb. 1940. *Beria*, pp. 195, 174. ‘Bull nerves’: interview Nikolai Baibakov. Tireless, clever: ‘An interview with VM Molotov’, *Literaturuli Sakhartvelo*, 27 Oct. 1989, in *Beria*, pp. 195–274.
- 9 Kill best friend: GARF 7523.85.236.17–23, Tsanova, 24 March 1955. Fear and enthusiasm: Sudoplatov, p. 186. ‘Idolized’ – Krotkov quoted in *Beria*, p. 203. ‘Camp dust’: *Beria Affair*, p. 5. King: *KR* 1, p. 125. Interview with Alyosha Mirtskhulava. Cosiness with wife, Mexican bandits: Martha Peshkova. Worshipped Stalin: Sergo B, pp. 144–5. Richardson, *Long Shadow*, p. 158. Clear pince-nez: Golovanov in *MR*, p. 343. Artyom Sergeev.
- 10 Candide Charkviani at Beria’s when Stalin arrived: interview Gela Charkviani. Sergo B, p. 34. Mikoyan, p. 33.
- 11 RGASPI 82.2.897.12–13, Vyshinsky to Stalin and Molotov and Molotov to Vyshinsky, n.d. Volya Malenkova. Martha Peshkova. Kira Alliluyeva. Sudoplatov, pp. 39–40. *Beria*, pp. 87–91. Polianski, p. 190. *KR* 1, p. 118–9. Jansen-Petrov, pp. 154–9.
- 12 Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 240–5. Volkogonov, p. 338.
- 13 RGVA 9.29.390.275, Mekhlis to Stalin and Voroshilov, 23 Aug. 1938. Mekhlis, pp. 103–4, 107. Mekhlis’s role: *Voprosy istorii*, no. 10, 1998, p. 78. Coox, ‘Liushkov’, pp. 145–86. Mekhlis was accompanied by Yezhov’s deputy, Frinovsky. ‘Appoint commission to investigate the Lenin Academy ... if any of the Tolmachev grouping are still there, remove them down to the last one. Mekhlis, 5 July 1938.’ Volkogonov, p. 368. Mekhlis to Stalin 20 Nov. 1938, Mekhlis, p. 102; on Blyukher, p. 106. War and Blyukher: Volkogonov, p. 328. Mekhlis, p. 124. Spahr, p. 186. M. V. Zakharov, *Generalnyi shtab v predvoennye gody*, pp. 137–42. *Kaganovich*, p. 30. Roy Medvedev, ‘Joseph Stalin and Joseph Apanasenko: The Far Eastern Front during WW2’ in *Neizvestnyi Stalin*.
- 14 S. Fedoseev, ‘Favorit Yezhova’, *Sovershenno Sekretno*, 9, 1996. Jansen-Petrov, pp. 150–6, quoting FSB 3-os.6.3.367/Frinovsky Case N-15301.2.32; Frinovsky N-15301.7.195; Dagin in FSB 3.6.3.323, 259; Evdokimov in FSB 3.6.4.403 and FSB 3.6.3.261.

26: THE TRAGEDY AND DEPRAVITY OF THE YEZHOVs

- 1 V. D. Uspenski, *Tainy Sovetnik Vozhdia. Lesser Terror*, pp. 4–6. Jansen-Petrov, pp. 153, 159, 166–7. Shentalinsky, ‘Okhota’, pp. 70–96.
- 2 Molotov’s face like a mask: Mikoyan, pp. 321–7. Molotov, claims to have saved Tevosian, *MR*, p. 294.
- 3 Khlevniuk, *Circle* pp. 224–30. Parrish, ‘Yezhov’, pp. 78–89. Sudoplatov, p. 43.
- 4 Family tragedy of Yezhov: Jansen-Petrov, p. 121–4; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 124; Starkov, ‘Narkom Yezhov’, Getty/Manning (eds.), pp. 34–5. Kamov, ‘*Smert Nikolaia Yezhova*’, pp. 41–3. Vasily Grossman, *Mama*, pp. 8–15. Simon Uritsky’s interrogations quoted in *KGB Lit.Archive*, p. 56. Polianski, pp. 190–7.

- 5 On Beria and Stalin's plan to use Yevgenia against Yezhov: *Politicheskii Dnevnik*, vol. 2, Amsterdam, 1975, p. 136. Kamov, 'Smert Nikolaia Yezhova', pp. 41–3. Yezhova to Stalin: APRF 45.1.729.96, quoted in Jansen-Petrov, pp. 166–8. Polianski, p. 190. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, pp. 122–3. *KGB Lit.Archive*, p. 42. Yezhova to Stalin, APRF 45.1.729.100, quoted in Jansen-Petrov, p. 169. Stalin, Kaganovich and Molotov distance themselves from Yezhov and Terror: RGASPI 17.3.1002.37. On 'troikas': *Moskovskie Novosti*, 21 June 1992 quoted in Getty, p. 531. RGASPI 17.3.1003.85–7.
- 6 Jansen-Petrov, p. 164. *IA*, 1995: 5–6, p. 24. Testimony of I. Dementev in FSB 3-os-6.3.257; APRF 3.24.375.120; testimony of Yezhov in FSB 3-os.6.3.332–333; both quoted in Jansen-Petrov, pp. 170–2. Shentalinsky, 'Okhota', p. 179. The autopsy that described her as a 'woman of 34, of medium height, well-developed physique' reveals that she died of Luminal poisoning. Parrish, 'Yezhov', p. 101. Polianski, p. 190. *Beria*, p. 250. Yezhov's brother was shot. KRI, p. 115–120. Pirozhkova, p. 105.
- 7 Jansen-Petrov, p. 164, orgies and oral sex, p. 173, God's will, p. 174, and 'plague ridden', p. 202. Gay sex with Dementev, FSB 3-os.6.1 and 6.3. Sex with Konstantinov and wife: FSB 3-os.6.3.247–52, all quoted in Jansen-Petrov, pp. 172–3. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 224–30. Parrish, Yezhov, p. 89. *VIZh*, 2, 1993. *IA*, 1998. Getty, pp. 528–39. RGASPI 17.3.1003.34 and 17.3.1004.11.
- 8 Parrish, 'Yezhov', Testimony of Zimin, chief of Lefortovo, and prison doctor Rozenblum in 1956, quoted in Vaksberg, *Vyshinsky*, p. 118. Working with Beria and Yezhov: Dmitrov Diary 24/25 Nov 1938. Beria personally arrested the head of Komsomol, A. V. Kosarev, on 29 November, an act of vengeance for insults. Mgeladze, pp. 168–73; Mgeladze told Stalin the full story of Beria's vindictive destruction of Kosarev after the war. Yet the Kosarev Case had been bubbling for some time: see RGASPI 558.11.725.160, Gorshenin to Stalin 13 July 1937. Larina, pp. 186–200. On Beria's men: *Beria*, pp. 90–4. Sergo B, pp. 179–80. Interviews Martha Peshkova, Gela Charkviani, Eka Rapava, Maya Kavtaradze, Nina Rukhadze, Nadya Dekanozova, Alyosha Mirtskhulava, Nikita Petrov. On Kobulov's shame: Elena Durden-Smith. See also: *Lesser Terror*; Parrish, 'Yezhov'; Petrov and Scorkin.
- 9 Nadezhda Vlasik. Natalya Poskrebysheva. Parrish, 'Yezhov', p. 86. Petrov and Scorkin. *KR* 1, pp. 294–5. Artyom Sergeev. Svetlana *OOY*, p. 333. Vlasik, pp. 24–45.

27: DEATH OF THE STALIN FAMILY

- 1 Richardson, *Long Shadow*, p. 154. PB contempt for Alliluyev women: Natalya Andreyeva. Vlasik's irritation with Anna Redens' constant complaints about laundry: Nadezhda Vlasik. Poskrebyshev treated us like poor relations: Kira Alliluyeva. Richardson, *Long Shadow*, p. 156. Bronka groped by Beria: Natalya Poskrebysheva. Zhenya mocks Beria's flirtations: Svetlana *OOY*, p. 323.
- 2 Redens and slave labour: *Yagoda*, pp. 41, 382–90. Agranov's speech at 1937 Plenum in Getty, p. 430. Banning beating? Leonid Redens and Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens). Petrov and Scorkin.
- 3 Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens). Kira Alliluyeva. Svetlana RR, pp. 144. Orlov, p. 309. Pavel's medical: RGASPI 558.11.1551.43. The story of letter of protest against the Terror based on confession before execution of General D. Pavlov: see Miklos Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait*, pp. 427–9.
- 4 Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 66–7. Beria and Malenkov propose Redens' arrest: Vasily Stalin to Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens). Redens' involvement in plot against Beria 1931: RGASPI 558.11.801.42–3, Redens to Stalin. Redens replaced by Balitsky, Aug. 1932: *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 273–5. Yezhov on Poles: Chase, *Enemies*, pp. 234–5, 239, 265. Richardson, *Long Shadow*, p. 150. Mikoyan, p. 59. Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens). Leonid Redens.

- 5 Stalin and Dmitrov: *Sovershenno Sekretno*, 3, 2000. 'I'm not Stalin': Artyom Sergeev. Slavotinskaya's later career: Miklos Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait*, p. 46.
- 6 Nakashidze: Sergo Mikoyan. Martha Peshkova. Leonid Redens. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 135-7. Marriage for Stalin: Volkogonov, p. 155.
- 7 Kira Alliluyeva. Kostyrchenko, p. 80.
- 8 Stalin appreciative of well-dressed women, flirtations: Kira Alliluyeva, Leonid Redens. Svanidze diary. Stalin's types, Schpiller and Davydova. Svetlana *OOI*, p. 329. Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, pp. 74-6. Galina, p. 95. *MR*, p. 174. Maya Plisetskaya and Tim Schott, *I, Maya* (henceforth *Maya*), p. 81. Davydova's belt: Rybin, *Ryadom so Stalinym v Bolshom Teatre*, pp. 32-3, 67-9. Stalin nicknamed his favourite ballerina, Lepeshinskaya, 'the Dragonfly'. 'Joseph Vissarionovich, did I dance well?' the 'Dragonfly' asked Stalin. 'You whirled well,' he would reply, 'but Asaf Messerer was better than you!' His favourite actress at the Moscow Arts Theatre was Alla Tarasova.
- 9 Rusudana Zhordaniya: Rybin, *Oktyabr 1941*, p. 18. Interview with Alyosha Mirtskhulava: he knew Rusudana well and ridiculed the idea of an affair: 'She was so much younger than him,' he told the author. He also saw nothing suspicious about Stalin's invitation via himself to the Georgian girl. Dancing: Kozlovsky in Karpov, *Rastreyanniye Marshaly*, p. 342. Women with ideas: Svetlana *OOI*, p. 329. *MR*, p. 174. Kaganovich, pp. 160-2. Kuzakova in Radzinsky, p. 65. Istomina denies Davydova: Rybin, *Stalin i Zhukov*, p. 63. Chatterbox, comfortable soul: Lozgachev in Radzinsky, p. 560. Father's creature comforts: Richardson, *Long Shadow*, p. 248. Artyom Sergeev. Martha Peshkova. Kira Alliluyeva. On confidentiality of service staff: conversation with Roy Medvedev. One common-law wife: Kaganovich's daughter-in-law: Vasilieva, *Kremlevskie Zheny*, p. 372. Jealousy of Valechka's husband: Rybin, *Oktyabr 1941*, p. 18. Vladimir Putin, *First Person*, p. 3; also Oleg Blotsky, *Vladimir Putin: The Story of My Life*. 'Nobody's business'/Engels' housekeeper: *MR*, p. 208. In apron like nurse: Popovich quoted in Dedijer, *Tito Speaks*, p. 282. Stalin's love of discretion: Berman in *Oni*, p. 236. Valechka at Yalta and Potsdam: Volkogonov, p. 574. Stalin's pride in his underwear drawer: Charkviani, p. 35. 'Of course it was known she was his wife': Poskrebyshchev's daughter Natalya.
- 10 Stalin stops the Terror: Volkogonov, pp. 337, 344. Beria moved into Chubar's dacha: *Beria*, p. 98. Svetlana *OOI*, p. 355. RGASPI 558.11.773.101, Mekhlis to Stalin and reply 6 Nov. 1939. Vyshinsky, for example, wrote to complain that the NKVD had arrested officials without the Procurator's warrant. It would be naïve to say that legality was reasserting itself; it was merely that the illusion was replacing a frenzied witch hunt. RGASPI 82.2.897.28, Vyshinsky to Stalin/Molotov 31 Mar. 1939. We can follow the complex wranglings between Vyshinsky and the NKVD with Malenkov trying to restore some order between them: RGASPI 588.2.155.39.60. Stalin, Khrulev and Mekhlis, Kumanev (ed.), p. 343. Children's case of Novosibirsk: RGASPI 588.2.155.65, Vyshinsky to Stalin and reply 2 Jan. 1939. We can see the working of the leadership and the practice of absolute dictatorship in this example of relaxation. When Molotov suggested, after some prompting from Vyshinsky, that non-political female prisoners, who had committed the grievous crime in this slave-labour state of leaving work during the day, should be freed, Molotov agreed but Stalin personally specified: 'I'm opposed. I think it would be right if such women paid a fine instead of prison of one month's salary and it must be done thus; 25% of their salary must be deducted for four months. Stalin.' This became law three days later: RGASPI 588.2.1551.27-33, Vyshinsky to Molotov to Stalin 23-26 Aug. 1940. Nikolaenko: RGASPI 558.11.132.141-5, P. T. Nikolaenko to Stalin and Khrushchev 20 Feb. 1939 and Stalin to Khrushchev. Trotsky: Sudoplatov, p. 66.

- 11 Tucker, *Power*, p. 586–9. *Lesser Terror*, pp. 31–2. Kutznetsov tells how Frinovsky was casually sacked by Stalin and replaced by him, Bialer (ed.) p. 92. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 260–6. *Beria*, p. 94. Yezhov's arrest before and after: Yezhov to Stalin in APRF 45.1.20.53 quoted in Jansen-Petrov, p. 178. Darts at Water Transport: Medvedev, pp. 458–60. Conquest, *Stalin: Breaker of Nations*, pp. 208–9. N. G. Kuznetsov, 'Krutiye povoroty: iz zapisok admirala', *VIZh*, 7, 1993, p. 50. N. P. Dudorov, Interior Minister in 1957, told the CC Plenum that Beria had interrogated Yezhov especially about Malenkov producing 20 pages of evidence against him, Jansen-Petrov, p. 158. Sudoplatov, p. 63. Parrish, 'Yezhov', p. 90. Polianski, pp. 216–17. D. Likhanov and V. Nikonov, 'Ya pochistil OGPU' in *Sovershenno Sekretno*, 4, 1992. Jansen-Petrov, pp. 182, 176 quoting Piliatskin, *Vrag Naroda*, and APRF 57.1.287.7–18. 'Think yourself lucky ...' Sergo B, p. 161. Explanatory note of D. Sukhanov on loss of testimony of N. I. Yezhov against G. M. Malenkov, 21 May 1956, in O. Khlevniuk, I. Gorkitsky, L. P. Kosheleva, A. I. Miniuk, M. Y. Prozymenshikov, L. A. Rogovaya, S. V. Somonova, *Politburo TsK BKP i Soviet Ministrov SSSR 1945/1953*, p. 203 (henceforth *PB/Sov-Min*). Svetlana note: RGASPI 558.1.5160.

28: THE CARVE-UP OF EUROPE

- 1 This analysis is based on the outstanding books on Soviet foreign policy, and on the lead-up to the German invasion: Zubok and Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War*, and Gabriel Gorodetsky, *Grand Delusion: Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia*. Litvinov sacked, foreign-policy change: *Beria*, pp. 100–1. Soloviev quoted in Zubok, pp. 20–88. Fake Georgian and Molotov; Slow Kartvelian and Stalin: Nadya Dekanozova. Stalin mocks Dekanozov's ugliness: Maya Kavtaradze. Erickson, *Soviet High Command*, pp. 513–25. Ehrenburg, *Eve of War*, p. 276. Tucker, *Power*, p. 614. Carswell, pp. 145–9. Medvedev, p. 309. Stalin ordered Yezhov to arrest Kandelaki on 2 April 1937 – he tops the handwritten 'to do' list, RGASPI 558.11.27.129, Stalin note to discuss with Yezhov 2 Apr. 1937. Gnedin in *Beria*, p. 101. Larina, p. 200. Parrish, 'Yezhov', p. 91. Litvinov car accident: *KR* 1, p. 282. Sergo B, pp. 47–8. Vaksberg, *Stalin Against Jews*, pp. 34–5. New diplomats: Gromyko, *Memoirs*, p. 24. *Kaganovich*, p. 64, 154. Mikoyan in Kumanev (ed.), p. 22. Litvinov on Stalin the diplomat, Stalin quotes Talleyrand and Bismarck: Gorodetsky, pp. 1–9, 316; Bismarck reading on Franco-German War of 1870: von Moltke, *German-French War of 1870*, RGASPI 558.3.224. Bismarck: R. Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Stalin*: chapter 'Stalin's Personal Archive'. Molotov's letters to Polina: We live under constant pressure ... your sweetness and charm: RGASPI 82.2.1592.40–5, NYC, 20 Nov. 1945. Knowing our stuff: RGASPI 82.2.1592.19–20, 8 July 1946 from Paris. Reading on Hitler: RGASPI 82.2.1592.1, 13 August 1940. I was the focus of attention: RGASPI 82.2.1592.40–5, NYC, 20 Nov. 1945? Revolutionary-imperial paradigm, Zubok, pp. 1–5; Molotov the diplomat, pp. 80–98. Stalin on poker: 'They're playing poker again' in Volkogonov, p. 349.
- 2 Stalin and the Jews: Clear out the synagogue and number of Jews in leadership, Lenin, *MR*, p. 120; *Kaganovich*, pp. 47–8, 100, 105, 128–9, 175. Statistics, *Lesser Terror*, p. 137. Stalin's *Marxism and the National Question* quoted in Vaksberg, *Stalin Against Jews*, p. 4. Bazhanov: Mekhlis and Yids, p. 59. Stalin Enemies all Jews: *Kaganovich*, p. 128. *Kaganovich* Israelite: *KR* 1, pp. 122, 283. RGVA 4.18.62.1/357, use of 'natsman' Stalin to Red Army, 3 and 4 Aug. 1937. Jews cannot drink: *Kaganovich*, p. 106. Jews like mimosa: *Kaganovich*, p. 191. Stalin's favourite flower mimosa: Mgeladze, pp. 95–7. Mekhlis: Jews pure as crystal in Simonov diary, RGALI Notebook, 1 Apr. 1945. Anti-Semitism: lists of things to do: RGASPI 558.11.27.32. Cannibalism speech, 23 Dec. 1930. Birobidzhan: the Tsar, J. Rubenstein and V.P. Naumov, *Stalin's Secret Pogrom*,

- pp. 34 and 511. Stalin criticizes others for anti-Semitism: K. Simonov, 'Glazami cheloveka, moego pokoleniya, *Znaniya*, 5, 1988, p. 85. No need to excite Hitler: Brooks, *Thank You C. Stalin*, p. 171. Y. Yakovlev and Jewish names: *KR* 1, pp. 119–20. Kaganovich and Mikhoels: Rubenstein and Naumov, pp. 293, 399. Birobidzhan Kaganovich theatre: Kostyrchenko, pp. 42, 144. The Black Hundreds and the Cathedral of the Saviour in Moscow: *Kaganovich*, p. 47. Thanks to Robert Service for his valuable ideas on this subject.
- 3 This account of the negotiations between USSR, Germany, France and UK is based on Gorodetsky, *Grand Delusion*; Richard Overy, *Russia's War*; Anthony Read and David Fisher, *The Deadly Embrace: Hitler, Stalin and the Nazi-Soviet Pact 1939–1941*, *Molotov Remembers*, *Khrushchev Remembers* and G. Hilger and A. Mayer, *Incompatible Allies: A Memoir History of German-Soviet Relations*. Gorodetsky, pp. 5–9; Raanan, pp. 15–18. Yury Zhdanov. Overy, pp. 34–53. Michael Bloch, *Ribbentrop*, pp. 239, 245; Volkogonov, pp. 349, 255; Andrew Roberts, *The Holy Fox: A Biography of Lord Halifax*, p. 166; Erickson, *Soviet High Command*, p. 525. Read-Fisher, pp. 128–30, 230–2 and Dmitrov Diary. 'Farmhand ...' Dmitrov Diary 7 Sept 1939. Far East: Zhukov, *Vospominaniya* (henceforth Zhukov) 1, pp. 242–3, 273. Simonov, 'Zametki k biografii Gk Zukkova' *VIZh*, no. 6, pp. 50–3. Spahr p. 209. D'Abernon: RGASPI 558.3.25.32. Revolutionary-imperial paradigm: Zubok, pp. 1–5; Molotov the diplomat, pp. 80–98. Stalin on poker: 'They're playing poker again' in Volkogonov, p. 349. *KR* 1, pp. 125–9, 149. *Kaganovich*, pp. 58, 90. Yury Zhdanov. Sergo B, pp. 49–52. Bloch, p. 245. RGASPI 558.3.36. Vipper's *History of Greece*. The account of the signing of the Pact is based on *MR*, pp. 9–11. Hilger-Mayer, pp. 290–2. Read-Fisher, pp. 251–9. Dinner after signing: Dmitrov Diary, 21 June 1941. Yury Zhdanov on Zhdanov's joke. Great Game: *MR*, p. 31, and also Molotov to Dmitrov, in Dmitrov Diary 21 June 1941: 'A great game is being played.'
- 4 Polish invasion: Hilger-Mayer, p. 312. Volkogonov, pp. 358–9. 'We see nothing wrong ...' Dmitrov Diary 7 Sept 1939. Khrushchevs: S. Khrushchev, *Superpower*, p. 5. Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, pp. 182–3. Looting Poland: RGASPI 588.2.155.168, Vyshinsky to Stalin and Stalin reply 21–31 Oct. 1939. Statistics: Overy, pp. 51–2. Burleigh, p. 435. Khrushchev's role; Taubman, p. 23. Parrish estimates 1–2 million deported, *Lesser Terror*, p. 47. *KR* 1, p. 160. By June 1941, Deputy NKVD Chernyshev reported to Stalin that 494,310 former Polish citizens had arrived in USSR and that 389,382 were in prisons, camps and places of exile. Volkogonov, p. 360. Serov's role: 'The Last Relic': Serov, *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1997, pp. 107–10. Sudoplatov, pp. 110–11.
- 5 Hilger-Mayer, pp. 301–2, 312–13. *MR*, pp. 9–11. *Kaganovich*, pp. 58, 90. Kaganovich grandson recalling K's telling of story: Joseph Minervin. Read-Fisher, p. 357. The Estonian Foreign Minister: Bohlen, p. 91.

29: THE MURDER OF THE WIVES

- 1 Conquest, *Stalin: Breaker of Nations*, p. 216. *Lesser Terror*, p. 33. Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, pp. 103–11. Census: Volkogonov, p. 516. *Molotov Letters*, 23 Aug. 1930, p. 203. *Kaganovich*, p. 150. 'Extra-curious about other leaders' wives. Not that he was attracted to them as women': *KR* 2, p. 177. No one who contradicts Stalin keeps his wife: Sergo B, p. 148. Stalin's Jewish mistresses: Sergo B, p. 211. Kalimina: *Kremlin Wives*, pp. 119–23. Larina, p. 231. Kollontai letters: RGASPI 558.11.749.14–15, 23. A. Kollontai to Stalin. Polina: Andreyev, Malenkov and Zhdanov were charged to find her another job: in November, she was appointed to run the Textiles-Haberdashery Administration of RSFR's Light Industry Commissariat. On Abakumov and the 1939 case as well as the 1949 case, when the same characters were arrested again,

- against Zhemchuzhina: GARF 8131.32.3289.144, Rudenko speech at Beria's trial. Khlevniuk, *Circle*, 257–8. Kostyrchenko, pp. 119–20. Mikoyan, pp. 298–9. Fitness instructor: RGASPI 82.2.904.80–1, Vlasik to Molotov 7 Feb. 1940.
- 2 Natalya Poskrebysheva. Galya Poskrebysheva in Volkogonov, p. 165.
- 3 Kavtaradze and Nutsibidze: Nutsibidze, vol. 2, pp. 96–100. Interview Maya Kavtaradze and Prof. Zakro Megrelishvili (son of Ketevan Nutsibidze): my thanks to both of them. 'You all wanted to kill me': *Literaturnaya Rossiya*, 12, 1989, pp. 17–20: interview Sergo Kavtaradze. Stalin orders Kaganovich to help Kavtaradze: *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 246. Medvedev, p. 311. Larina on release of Sofia Kavtaradze: p. 234. *Beria*, p. 247.
- 4 *KGB Lit.Archive*, pp. 22–44, 26, 43–8 including Beria's report on Babel to Zhdanov. On French wrestling: GARF 8131.32.3289.117–18. The investigations by Rudenko into methods of interrogators Vlodzirmirski, Rodos, Shvartsman, Goglidze etc., 22 March 1955. Jansen-Petrov, pp. 185–6. Pirozhkova, pp. 110–13. Parrish, 'Yezhov', pp. 94–8. Polianski, pp. 211–8, 244, 259–61. Eikhe: Testimony of Leonid Bashtakov in 1955 quoted in Vaksberg, *Vyshinsky*, pp. 197–8, 350, 167. Babel's trial 26 Jan. 1940: Jansen-Petrov, p. 191. Ulrikh sentenced them on 1/2 Feb. The gala: 2 Feb. 1940. Marshal Yegorov shot on Red Army Day, 23 Feb. Spahr, p. 177. Yezhov's sentencing: *Moskovskie Novosti*, no. 5, 30 Jan. 1994. Statement before Military Collegium, 3 Jan. 1940. Polianski, pp. 304–5. Jansen-Petrov, p. 188. Getty, pp. 560–2. Execution of Yezhov quoting N. P. Afanasev: Jansen-Petrov, pp. 188–9. Ushakov and Stukakov, pp. 74–5. Death certificate 4 Feb. 1940 signed by a Lieut. Krivitsky but it is likely that Blokhin performed this important work himself. Thanks to Nikita Petrov.
- 5 Rat: Yakovlev, *Tsel zhizni*, p. 509. Stalin coins *Yezhovchina*? Mgeladze, pp. 170–1; 'scum', p. 211; unbelievable evidence, p. 167; everyone confesses, pp. 168–73, 210–11. Stalin and Kaganovich on Babel: *Kaganovich Perepiska*, pp. 49, 189, 198. Black work and Blokhin: Nikita Petrov. Redens: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 66. *Beria*, p. 90. Leonid Redens.

30: MOLOTOV COCKTAILS

- 1 Karpov, *Rastreyanniye Marshaly*, pp. 325–6, 343. Kira Alliluyeva: Svetlana's knees and Stalin's note. *OOI*, p. 318. Volga kiss: Kenez, p.166. 'Stalin Molotov i Zhdanov o vtoroy serii Ivan Grozny', *Moskovskie Novosti*, vol. 37, 7 Aug. 1988, p. 8. *Galina*, p. 96. Kozlovsky quoted in Karpov, p. 337.
- 2 Finland: Erickson, *Soviet High Command*, pp. 541–8. Raanan, p. 14. Overy, pp. 55–7. K. A. Meretskov, *Na sluzhbe narodu*, pp. 171–7. Mikoyan: Bohlen, p. 93. *KR* 1, p. 152. Voronov in Bialer (ed.), pp. 131–3. Spahr, pp. 220–7. Voroshilov purge: Volkogonov in Harold Shukman (ed.) *Stalin's Generals*, p. 317. Harold Shukman (ed.) *Stalin and the Soviet-Finnish War*, pp. xxi–xxvi, p. 29. (Stalin's comment on forests is from the meeting of the Supreme Military Council, 14–17 Apr. 1940.) Also: RGVA 4.19.73.19–23, NKVD Maj. Bochkov Special Section of GUGB to Narkom Voroshilov and his reply 1 Feb. 1940. RGVA 4.19.75.1.12, Bochkov to Beria 28 Dec. 1939: Mekhlis' letters to wife: p. 130. TSAMO RF 5.176705.1, Stalin to Mekhlis 9 Jan 1940. RGVA 9.29.554.111, Mekhlis to Stalin 9 Jan. 1940. RGVA 9.29.554.76, Mekhlis to Stalin 9 Jan. RGVA 9.29.554.59, Mekhlis to Stalin 11 Jan. 1940. RGVA 9.29.554.62: the next day, Mekhlis reported the execution of a wounded officer, an NKVD commissar. RGVA 9.29.554.228, Mekhlis to Stalin and Voroshilov 12 Dec. 1939. Mekhlis's courage: Gen. A. F. Khrenov and Adm. Kuznetsov in *Mekhlis*, pp. 132–3. RGVA 9.29.554.55, Mekhlis to Stavka, 12 Jan. 1940. RGVA 9.32.85.80, Kulik to Kuznetsov (deputy chief Police Dept.) 19 Dec. 1939. 'Lapsing into panic ...' Dmitrov Diary 21 Jan 1940. *KR* 1, p. 154. Stalin birthday party: Dmitrov Diary 21 Dec 1939.

- Valedinsky, 'Vospominaniya', p. 124. Pavel Aptekov and Olga Dudorova, 'Peace and statistics of losses, Unheeded Warning and the Winter War', *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, Mar. 1997, pp. 200–9. Read-Fisher p. 401–17. Red Army good for nothing: Bohlen, p. 60. Losses: statistics from Russian sources, O. A. Rzheshesky and O. Vechvilayninen, *Zimnaya vojna 1939–40*, vol. 1: Finland 48,243 killed; 43,000 wounded; 1,000 POWs; USSR 87,506 killed, 39,369 missing, 5,000 POWs. Thanks to Dr M. Mjakov for this information.
- 3 Whipping boy Voroshilov's argument with Stalin: *KR* 1, pp. 185, 154. Hysterical speech: Khrulev's memoirs in *Mekhlis*, p. 135, Shukman, *Stalin and Soviet-Finnish War*, pp. xxi–xxvi, and Supreme Military Council 14/17 Apr. 1940, pp. 29, 269, 250, 252. Volkogonov in Shukman, *Stalin's Generals* (henceforth *Stalin's Generals*), pp. 365–6, 243, and Rzheshesky, p. 225. Voroshilov arts supremo: Mikoyan, p. 386. Mekhlis State Control Commissar: Khrulev, memoirs in *Mekhlis*, p. 140. Promotion of marshals: Erickson, *Soviet High Command*, p. 552. Timoshenko, youth and rise, dual command: Victor Anfilov in *Stalin's Generals*, p. 239–42. Savitsky in Babel, 'My First Goose', *Collected Stories*, p. 119. Brave peasant: Mikoyan, p. 386. Zhdanov's role: Volkogonov, p. 368. Roskossovsky: *Sovershenno Sekretno*, 2000, 3. Also: Harrison Salisbury, *900 Days* (henceforth *900 Days*) p. 111. Marshal Golovanov quoted in *MR*, pp. 265–95. Budyonny *Notes* on request to Stalin about Serdich. Spahr, p. 230. Also: military purges, see *Stalin's Generals*, p. 361. On 20 June, for example, Timoshenko appealed to Stalin on behalf of K. P. Podlas, one of the generals in the Far East; 'From my side, I ask for his release.' Stalin agreed. RGVA 4.19.71.243. Timoshenko to Stalin 20 June 1940 and Stalin's reply. Freed officers: RGVA 9.29.482.11–13.
 - 4 RGVA 4.18.54.1–499, Supreme Military Soviet of NKO 21–7 Nov. 1937.
 - 5 Triumph of Tsaritsyn group and economic management meanderings: Mikoyan, pp. 339–44 and Kumanev (ed.) p. 22. Kulik's saying: Voronov in Bialer (ed.), p. 159. Kulik and Mekhlis's power: 4 *KR* 1, pp. 188, 200. V. E. Korol, A. I. Sliusarenko, I. U. Nikorenko, 'Tragic 1941 and Ukraine: New Aspect of Problems', *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, Mar. 1998, pp. 147–64.
 - 6 Parrish, 'Yezhov', p. 87. Karpov, *Rastrelyannye marshaly*, pp. 316–17, 324–5, 335–9, 340–4, 360–3. Kira Kulik was said to be having an affair with recently arrested director of the Bolshoi, Mordvinov. Mekhlis report 'kompromat materials' July 1941, RGVA 9.39.105.412–17.
 - 7 Katyn Forest: RFE/RL Research Report, vol. 2, no. 4, 22 Jan. 1993, p. 22. Beria was at first one of the 'troika' in charge of the liquidation but Stalin crossed out his name and put in Kobulov, probably because Beria was busy enough. It is certainly not evidence that Beria was opposed to the massacre since 'the Theoretician' and 'the Samovar' were his closest associates. Overy, p. 53. Stepan M., p. 197. *Lesser Terror*, p. 57; Parrish, 'Yezhov', pp. 83–5; 'Serov', *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 10, Sept. 1997, p. 110. Sergo B, pp. 55, 320.
 - 8 *KR* 1, p. 157.
 - 9 Baltics and Bessarabia: the very day of the French collapse, Timoshenko produced plans to move into the Baltics. RGVA 4.19.71.238, Timoshenko to Stalin and Molotov 17 June 1940. *Beria*, p. 104. Zhukov 1, pp. 275–6: Zhukov commanded the liberation of Bessarabia. Parrish, 'Serov', p. 107. Burleigh, p. 535. Gorodetsky, pp. 34–5. (By the time of Stalin's death, 175,000 Estonians, 170,000 Letts and 175,000 Lithuanians had been deported.) Stalin's ostensible wish for Germany to beat England: *Sovershenno Sekretno*, 2000, 3.
 - 10 Wagner: Yury Zhdanov. Spies: Gorodetsky, pp. 39, 50; on Golikov/Merkulov, pp. 53–4. Dmitrov Diary 20 Feb 1941. Stalin's knowledge adding to sorrow: Zubok, p. 24; never went looking. Modin, p. 24. Molotov quoted in Gorodetsky, p. 53.

31: MOLOTOV MEETS HITLER

- 1 RGASPI 82.2.1592, Molotov to Polina 13 Aug. 1940. This account of Molotov's trip to Berlin is based on Berezhkov, pp. 24–42, inc. Hitler's hint about meeting Stalin; *MR*, pp. 15–20, 145; Hilger-Mayer, pp. 321–7; Yakovlev in Bialer (ed.), pp. 117–22; Gorodetsky for Stalin-Molotov instructions and cables, pp. 58, 74, 76, 81, 83; Volkogonov, pp. 372–2; *Beria*, pp. 102–3; Zubok, p. 92; Read-Fisher, pp. 510–33. Merkulov/Himmler: *Lesser Terror*, p. 61.
- 2 Meetings up to the war: 'More afraid if I'd known': Nikolai Baibakov. 'Never call him by his name': Emelianov, in Bialer (ed.), p. 113; Kuznetsov, pp. 95–7, 173; Yakovlev, p. 100. Dmitrov Diary 7 Nov 1940.
- 3 Gorodetsky, pp. 125–31. Also: Kazakov in Bialer (ed.), pp. 139–45; Yeremenko, pp. 146–51. *900 Days*, pp. 55–7. Insomnia: Stalin to Churchill, *Record of private talk between Prime Minister and Generalissimo Stalin after Plenary Session, July 17, 1945, Potsdam*, PREM 3/430/7, Churchill and Stalin, FCO Historians, March 2002. Korol, Sliusarenko and Nikolarenko, pp. 147–64.
- 4 Experiences in Civil War: Zhukov 1, pp. 95–115, 148; on purges: Zhukov 1, 137–40, 180–2.
- 5 Gorodetsky, p. 228. Zhukov 1, pp. 305–73.
- 6 Kulik, Zhdanov and Howitzers: Vannikov in Bialer (ed.), pp. 153–9. Mad tanks and planes: Emelianov in Bialer (ed.), p. 109; Yakovlev, p. 101.
- 7 Aircraft crashes: RGVA 4.19.14.1–74. Supreme Military Council, 16 May 1939. Stalin received complaint about the poor parts in aeroplanes: RGASPI 45.1.803, N.Sbytov to Stalin 14 Sept. 1940. This was only one of many others: but he was also informed closer to home. *Vasily*, p. 66: Vasily Stalin to Stalin 13 Nov. 1939. On Vasily and marriage to Galina: Svetlana RR. *Vasily*, pp. 81–3; Vasily Stalin to Stalin 4 Mar. 1941. Spahr, p. 230. Shukman, *Stalin's Generals*, Ghosts, p. 366. Simonov, 'Glazami', p. 73. *Lesser Terror*, p. 30.
- 8 Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 265–7. Volkogonov, p. 374. *Beria*, p. 106. Medvedev, *Stalin's Men*, p. 132. Medvedev, p. 310. *MR*, pp. 228–9. *Kaganovich*, pp. 29, 77–8. Kaganovich's beads – Strakhov in Bialer (ed.), p. 443.
- 9 Gorodetsky, pp. 146–51, 193, 197–9. Zubok, p. 83. *MR*, p. 21. Sudoplatov, pp. 118–19. Party: Leonid Redens and his brother Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens). Svetlana/Stalin note: RGASPI 558.1.5164.
- 10 Gorodetsky, p. 166. Zhukov thought Stalin believed Hitler was wrapped around his finger – hence his mysterious trust in the Führer. Simonov, 'Zametki', pp. 50–3.
- 11 Felix Chuev (ed.), *Sto Sorok Besed s Molotovyim*, p. 31. Meretskov, p. 202. Reginald Dekanozov, *Some Episodes of the History of Soviet/German Relations Before the War*. Nadya Dekanozova. Zhukov 1, pp. 321–36. Gorodetsky, pp. 207–34. Ehrenburg, *Eve of War*, pp. 275. Dekanozov stood between Stalin and Voroshilov – photo collection of Nadya Dekanozova. V. A. Nevezhin, 'Stalin's 5th May Address: the Experience of Interpretation', *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, March 1998, pp. 116–46.
- 12 Khlevniuk, *Circle*, pp. 265–9, 274. Mikoyan, pp. 344. Chadaev on Voznesensky, Beria and Malenkov, in Kumanev (ed.), pp. 383–442. Development of Zhdanov/Malenkov feud: see Jonathan Harris, 'The Origins of the Conflict between Malenkov and Zhdanov 1939–1941', *Slavic Review*, vol. 35, no. 2 (1976). Zhdanov was officially raised to Stalin's Deputy in the Party Secretariat, the position held by Kaganovich during the early thirties. On 7 May, Stalin became the chief of the inner Buro of the Council of Commissars with Voznesensky, his Deputy, alongside Molotov, Mikoyan, Beria, Kaganovich, Mekhlis and Andreyev. Voroshilov, Zhdanov and Malenkov joined in the next few days. Beria supervised the security Organs as well as various industries. Stalin's new clothes: Charkviani, p. 37.

- 13 Nevezhin, pp. 116–46. Suvorov debate: Klaus Schmider, *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, June 1997, pp. 183–94; *RUSI Journal*, 130, 2, June 1985, pp. 183–94; Victor Suvorov, ‘Who was planning to attack whom in June 1941?’ B. V. Sokolov, ‘Did Stalin intend to attack Hitler?’ *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2, June 1998, pp. 113–41. Also on Vasilevsky: Spahr, p. 237. Gorodetsky, p. 207.
- 14 Supreme Military Council 4 June 1941: Zhdanov, Malenkov and Budyonny discuss new propaganda documents, TSAMO RF 32.11302.20.84–6.
- 15 Mikoyan, p. 377. Gorodetsky, pp. 212–16. Dekanozov, *Episodes*. Nadya Dekanozova.
- 16 Hess: Mikoyan, p. 377. *KR* 1, p. 155. Gorodetsky, pp. 234–8, 241–3. May paralysis: Zhukov 1, pp. 341–6. Stalin to Koniev: Simonov in Brooks, *Thank You C. Stalin*, p. 251. Beria’s dungeons: N. G. Pavlenko, ‘G. K. Zhukov: Iz neopublikovanykh vospominanii’, *Kommunist*, 14, Sept. 1986, p. 99. Kulik – Voronov in Bialer (ed.), p. 209. Simonov, ‘Zametki’, pp. 51–3.

32: THE COUNTDOWN

- 1 Last days: Zubok, p. 24. G. Kumanev, ‘22-go na rassvete’, *Pravda*, 22 June 1989. Account of meeting with Stalin threatening to shoot Timoshenko: Timoshenko in Kumanev (ed.), pp. 270–1. Zhukov 1, pp. 332–69. Merkulov often reported with P. M. Fitin, Head of the NKGB’s Foreign Directorate. *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, 4, 1990, p. 221, Merkulov to Stalin, 16 June 1941. Sudoplatov, pp. 120–1. Gorodetsky, pp. 296–8. *Lesser Terror*, pp. 260–3. *Slavic Military Studies*, June 1999, p. 234. Molotov worried: Kuznetsov in Kumanev (ed.), p. 294. Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, p. 56.
- 2 Yury Zhdanov. *MR*, p. 25. Mikoyan, pp. 377–81. *Lesser Terror*, pp. 260–5. Vaksberg, *Vyshinsky*, p. 219. Nekrasov, *Beria*, p. 399. See also: *Vestnik*, 10, 1989. Dmitrov diary, 21 June 1941. Gorodetsky, pp. 306–15. Overy, pp. 71–4. L. Trepper, *Bolshaya igra*, p. 125. Djilas, p. 123. Tiulenev in Bialer (ed.) p. 202. V. P. Naumov, *1941 god*, Bk 2, p. 416. Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Stalin*, chapter ‘Stalin and the War’. Mao Tse-tung warning from Chou En-lai who heard it from Chiang Kai-shek: Dmitrov Diary 21 June 1941.

33: OPTIMISM AND BREAKDOWN

- 1 The account of the Great Patriotic War in the two ‘War’ sections is based on John Erickson’s two masterpieces, *The Road to Stalingrad* and *The Road to Berlin*; on Richard Overy’s outstanding narrative history, *Russia’s War*, on Harold Shukman’s excellent *Stalin’s Generals*, on memoirs such as those of Molotov, Mikoyan, Kaganovich, Khrushchev, Sergo Beria, Svetlana, Zhukov and other soldiers; on Budyonny’s *Notes*; on the Dmitrov Diary; on the author’s research in the archives of RGASPI, RGVA, TSAMO, GARF; interviews with witnesses, and recent Russian histories such as Rubtsov’s biography of Mekhlis, *Alter Ego Stalina*. Beria on phone/Stalin’s confidence: Dmitrov Diary 22 June 1941.

Last hours: Read-Fisher, pp. 612–42. Budyonny, *Notes*. Anfilov on Budyonny, *Stalin’s Generals*, p. 62. Zhukov 1, 369–71, and 2, 1–14. Pavlenko, ‘Zhukov’. p. 99. Stalin’s logbook: *IA* 1998. Hilger-Meyer, pp. 335–6. *MR*, pp. 34–7. Mikoyan, p. 388. Volkogonov, pp. 401–7. Bloch, p. 333. Gorodetsky, pp. 309–15. Mikoyan in Kumanev (ed.) pp. 24–5, Chadaev, pp. 409–12. Nina Budyonny. Yury Zhdanov. *Mekhlis*, p. 151. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, p. 394. Burleigh, p. 489. Kuznetsov in Bialer (ed.) pp. 195–6. Voronov quoted in *Mekhlis*, p. 153. Anfilov on Timoshenko, *Stalin’s Generals*, pp. 246–7. Natalya Poskrebyshchev: Poskrebyshchev told her Stalin called him to say the bombing had begun. Berezhkov in Bialer (ed.) pp. 216–8. Number of Soviet forces: 3 million refers to Western districts. The Soviet soldiers were inferior in numbers to the Germans but superior in equipment. Total number of Soviet soldiers: 5 million.

- Y. Kulikov, 'Napadeniye Germanii na SSSR' in *Mirovye voiny XX veka*, bk 3, pp. 133–86. Molotov says no and trains/supplies: *Kaganovich*, p. 88. Mikoyan, pp. 388–9. *MR*, p. 39. Press, Koniev: Brooks, *Thank You C. Stalin*, pp. 166, 168. Erickson, *Stalingrad*: pp. 101, 136–8. Chadaev in Kumanev (ed.), p. 42. Budyonny *Notes*, p. 49. Zhukov 2, pp. 12–13. *IA* 1998:4, 22, 23, 24 June 1941. Spahr, on Kulik, p. 265.
- 2 RGVA 9.39.100.252, Bolotin, Chief of 4th Unit of Dept of Special Units NKVD, to Zhukov 21 July 1941, and Mekhlis and Zhukov's reply. Zhukov 2, p. 14.
- 3 RGVA 9.39.99.329–39, Mikheev, Chief of 3rd Dept NKO, to Mekhlis on Kulik, 15 July 1941. Report of Regimental Commissar Boldin in *900 Days*, p. 29. Spahr on Kulik, p. 265.
- 4 Mamsurova, 1988, pp. 12–13 quoted in Spahr, pp. 255–8.
- 5 TSAMO RF 215.1184.48, 30. Mekhlis to all fronts 22 July 1941. *Mekhlis*, pp. 179–83. KVS, 1991, nos. 14 and 65. Mikoyan, p. 541. Volkogonov, pp. 421–2. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, p. 137–78.
- 6 Spahr, p. 251.
- 7 On Yakov, Chadaev in Radzinsky, p. 451. On red dress: Gulia Djugashvili, *Ded, Otets, Mat i Drugie*, p. 25. Artyom Sergeev. *MR*, pp. 210–11. *Vasily*, pp. 92–3. Zhenya Alliluyeva; interviews Kira Alliluyeva, Vladimir and Leonid Redens; Svetlana RR; *OOY*, p. 322. Svetlana places this call in August 1941 but Zhenya's daughter Kira places it in the 'first ten days'.
- 8 Chadaev in Radzinsky, pp. 450–5. Chadaev based his account on conversations with Deputy Chief of Staff Vatutin. *KR* 2, p. 7. Khrushchev, *Memuary*, pt 6, p. 682, quoted in *Beria*, p. 255. Zhuykov 2, pp. 33–40. Mikoyan, pp. 390–2. *MR*, p. 39. Stalin afraid: Mikoyan, p. 389. Stalin's surprise at exclusion of Mikoyan: Mikoyan: pp. 391–2. Mikoyan in Kumanev (ed.), pp. 31–3. Chadaev in Radzinsky, pp. 453–5. Molotov quoted in Mikoyan, p. 390. *MR*, pp. 238–9. Sergo B, p. 324. Volkogonov, pp. 411, 424. On Mikoyan's hiding, Stalin expected the worst; tension left Stalin's face: Sergo B, p. 71. Chadaev in Radzinsky, p. 455, is based on the account of Bulganin who was probably not present. He was not a candidate Politburo member until 1946 though he was a member of the newly formed Sovnarkom Commission, to run daily government, with Voznesensky and Mikoyan so he may have joined the group. Neither Mikoyan nor Molotov mention him. Stalin enjoyed our support again: Mikoyan, p. 392. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 171–82; *Soviet High Command*, p. 601. *Beria*, p. 111. *KR* 1, p. 182.
- 9 Zbarsky and S. Hutchinson, *Lenin's Embalmers*, pp. 119–20. Rybin, *Kto Otravil Stalina?*, p. 38.
- 10 Zhukov 2, pp. 64–5. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 180–5. Overy, pp. 81–8.
- 11 Volkogonov, p. 427. Simonov, 'Zametki', p. 56. FSB 66.1.6.314–43: NKGB Order No. 246 'On Procedures for Bringing to Justice Traitors to the Motherland and Members of their Families 28 June 1941' in Yakovlev, *Century*, p. 172.
- 12 *MR*, p. 209. Volkogonov, pp. 429, 609. Radzinsky, p. 457. Svetlana RR. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 177. Mikoyan, p. 362. Artyom Sergeev. On Stalin's cursing: 'The fool' Stepan M. Arrest of Julia: Gulia Djugashvili, *Ded, Otets, Mat i Drugie*, pp. 28–9. 'I'd have stopped being Stalin': Mgeladze, pp. 198–9. One prisoner enough for me: Vasily Stalin to Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens).
- 13 TsKhSD Party Control Commission 13/76, vol. 1, p. 30. Sudoplatov's testimony on 11 Oct. 1960: Sudoplatov, pp. 146–7.
- 14 Zhukov 2, pp. 119–22. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 178–9. Mekhlis as 'gloomy demon': S. P. Ivanov quoted in Spahr, p. 59. Simonov 'Zametki', pp. 55–6.
- 15 *KR* 1, pp. 196, 201–2. Stalin to Khrushchev: Dmitrov Diary 16 August 1941. On Budyonny and Timoshenko: Nina Budyonny. Budyonny, *Notes*. On military situation: Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 204–9. On Stalin and Timoshenko: Anfilyov in *Stalin's*

Generals, pp. 248–9.

- 16 Balandin: Yakovlev in Bialer (ed.) p. 301. Meretskov: Vaksberg, pp. 221–3. Beria had been a student with Vannikov at the Baku Technical School, a connection that may have saved his life. Mikoyan, pp. 425–6. *Lesser Terror*, p. 73. Sudoplatov, p. 127.
- 17 Mikoyan, pp. 359–60. Overy, pp. 82–3.

34: 'FEROCIOUS AS A DOG'

- 1 This account of the Siege of Leningrad is based on Harrison Salisbury's *900 Days*, John Erickson's *Road to Stalingrad*, pp. 83, 120, 143, 145–8, 181–95, 262–3, Richard Overy's *Russia's War*, pp. 99–112, and the author's research in RGASPI and TSAMO. RGASPI 558.11.492, Stalin to Voroshilov and Zhdanov 17 Aug. 1941. Mikoyan, p. 393. *900 Days*, p. 218.
- 2 RGASPI 558.11.492.6, Stalin, Molotov and Mikoyan to Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Popov, etc. 23 Aug. 1941.
- 3 *900 Days*, pp. 208–9, 304, 402.
- 4 *900 Days*, pp. 181–7.
- 5 RGASPI 558.11.492.57, Stalin to Zhdanov and A. A. Kuznetsov 4 Oct. 1941. Andrei Alexandrovich: *900 Days*, p. 542. Yes or no! RGASPI 558.11.492.63, Stalin, Molotov to Zhdanov, Kuznetsov 18 Oct. 1941. Say it straight: RGASPI 558.11.492.66, Stalin to Zhdanov on telephone, 8 Nov. 1941.
- 6 Voroshilov: Volkogonov, in *Stalin's Generals*, p. 317.
- 7 Kuznetsov in Kumanev (ed.) p. 294. Malenkov vs Zhdanov: Sukhanov, *Memoirs*, Library of Congress, Volkogonov Collection, Reel 8. *900 Days*, pp. 260–1. Beria vs Zhdanov in Raanan, pp. 171–2; *Beria*, p. 263. Yury Zhdanov. Volya Malenkova – her father told the family about Zhdanov's drunken cowardice but added that he had not reported this to Stalin. Sergo B, p. 75, heard from his father that Malenkov proposed Zhdanov's court martial and Beria vetoed it. Zhdanov's confession of cowardice to Stalin: Mikoyan, p. 562. Stalin now spoke to Molotov and Malenkov as well as Zhdanov in his daily calls. RGASPI 558.11.492.29–33, Stalin to Kuznetsov, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Popov and Molotov 27 Aug. 1941, and reply from Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Popov, Kuznetsov, Molotov and Malenkov 28 Aug. 1941. On return to Moscow, Malenkov often spoke to Zhdanov on Stalin's behalf: 'On Comrade Stalin's order, I ask the following ... Are tanks taking part – how many and what kind ...' he would begin his calls. RGASPI 558.11.492.73–8 and 79 (16 Nov.) and 90 (2 Dec.), Malenkov to Zhdanov 13 Nov. 1941. *MR*, p. 40. Mikoyan, p. 562. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 188–9. *900 Days*, pp. 208–9, 304, 402.
- 8 RGASPI 558.11.492.35–8, Stalin to Kuznetsov, Molotov, Malenkov 29 Aug. 1941.
- 9 RGASPI 558.11.492.49, Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov, Beria to Voroshilov and Zhdanov 9 Sept. 1941. Zhukov and Stalin: *900 Days*, pp. 265–6.
- 10 RGASPI 558.11.492.50 and 51, Stalin and Molotov to Voroshilov and to Zhukov and Zhdanov, both 13 Sept. 1941. *900 Days*, pp. 265–6. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, p. 189. Simonov, 'Zametki', p. 48.
- 11 Bychevsky in Bialer (ed.), pp. 435–8. Kuznetsov in Kumanev, (ed.), p. 294. *900 Days*, pp. 267, 344, 346. Simonov, 'Zametki', p. 48.
- 12 TSAMO RF 217.1258.14.16, Zhdanov to Leningrad Front, 27 Sept. 1941.
- 13 TSAMO RF 217.1258.11.18, Khozin, Zhdanov, Kuznetsov to Military Councils of 8th and 55th Armies, 13 Nov. 1941.
- 14 RGASPI 558.11.191–3, Zhdanov to Stalin, 5 Dec. 1941.
- 15 Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 194–5. *900 Days*, pp. 351, 415, 403, 451; starvation figures p. 515. Zhdanov quoted in *900 Days*, p. 518. Overy, pp. 111–12: over a million dead. Zhdanov's visit to Moscow: *900 Days*, p. 416. *IA*, 1998:3.

- 16 RGASPI 558.11.492.86, Stalin and Molotov talk to Zhdanov 1 Dec. 1941.
- 17 RGASPI 558.11.191-3, Zhdanov to Stalin 5 Dec. 1941.
- 18 This account is based on Beaverbrook's Moscow Narrative in BBK/D/96/98/99/100 in Anne Chisholm and Michael Davie, *Beaverbrook: A Life*, pp. 406-20. Berezchkov, pp. 138-50. A. J. P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, pp. 487-91. Harriman, pp. 86-101. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 210-15. Mikoyan, pp. 408-15. Molotov chaired the Soviet delegation on Western aid; Mikoyan negotiated the details. Western aid: Mikoyan reports to Stalin who tots up planes: RGASPI 558.11.765.80-104, Mikoyan to Stalin July 1941-Dec. 1942.
- 19 This account of the Battle of Moscow is based on Erickson, Overy and the memoirs of Zhukov, Molotov and Mikoyan. *Lesser Terror*, p. 113. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, p. 217. Telegin in Bialer (ed.), pp. 274-6.
- 20 RGASPI 558.11.492.59, Stalin to Zhukov 5 Oct. 1941.
- 21 TsKhSD Party Control Commission 13/76, vol. 1, p. 30. Pavel Sudoplatov to the Party Control Commission 11 Oct. 1960. See also: Sudoplatov, pp. 146-7. Sergo B, p. 324. Beria, p. 112. Zhukov 2, pp. 201-3. Volkogonov, pp. 172-3, quotes Marshal K. S. Moskalenko on Beria's 7 Oct. 1941 peace probe, via Stamenev again. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 221-2. Anfilov, Zhukov in *Stalin's Generals*, pp. 350-1.
- 22 TsAMO 48a.1554.91.346, Shaposhnikov to Budyonny and Koniev appointing Zhukov Stavka rep. 6 Oct. 1941. Zhukov 2, pp. 201-16. Spahr, pp. 269-71. Anfilov, Zhukov in *Stalin's Generals*, p. 351; *Stalin's Ghosts*, Woff, p. 364; Rzhesheshevsky, Koniev, p. 95. Simonov, 'Zametki', Molotov and Zhukov, p. 56. S. Khrushchev, *Superpower*, p. 236. Overy, pp. 114-5. Plumber Bulganin: Sergo B, p. 127.

35: 'CAN YOU HOLD MOSCOW?'

- 1 Voronov; Bialer (ed.), p.302; Zhukov's tone: Belov, p. 295. TSAMO 132.2642.233, Stalin to Fedorenko, commander of Tank Dept, Red Army 3 Aug. 1941. By 12 October, Stalin uses AA guns vs tanks; TSAMO 132a.2642.45.26, Stalin Stavka order 12 Oct. 1941. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, p. 238.
- 2 RGVA 9.39.103.390, Beria to Mekhlis 12 Dec. 1941. RGVA 9.39.100.312-4, Abakumov to Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov, Mekhlis, Zhukov 28 July 1941. *Lesser Terror*, pp. 47-9. RGASPI 558.3.25, p.32. D'Abernon, Stalin's Library.
- 3 Yakovlev, *Century*, p. 174. *Lesser Terror*, pp. 47-9.
- 4 Natalya Poskrebyshchev. *Lesser Terror*, pp. 69-72. Anatolii Sulianov, *Arrestovat v Kremle; O zhizni i smerti marshala Beria*, p. 189.
- 5 Panic: Valery Soyfer, *Lysenko and the Tragedy of Soviet Science*, p. 148: account of A. A. Prokofyeva-Belagovskaya. Harriman-Abel, pp. 84-5. Panic in Moscow; Beria, Kaganovich, Malenkov; Ilya Novikov, secretary of Sverdlovsk Committee; Vasily Pronin, in Rybin, *Stalin v Oktyabre 1941*, pp. 3-14. Sudoplatov, p. 135. Chaos at factories: Mikoyan, p. 420. V. P. Pronin, *Izvestiya TsK KPSS* 4 (1991), p. 218; *VIZh* 10, (1991); p. 39. Overy, pp. 113-18. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 249-50.
- 6 Voroshilov marksman: Rybin: *Kto Otravil Stalina?* - memoir of V. Tukov, pp. 55-6. Panic: Rybin, *Stalin v Oktyabre 1941*, pp. 3-10. Belov in Bialer (ed.) p. 296. Stalin walking: Natalya Andreyeva. Berezchkov, p. 145. Brooks, *Thank You C. Stalin*, p. 178. Simonov, 'Glazami', p. 251. Ivan the Terrible book: RGASPI 558.3.350. Parachutists: Voronov, Bialer (ed.), p. 302.
- 7 Mikoyan, pp. 417-22. *MR*, p. 42. Rybin, *Stalin v Oktyabre 1941*, pp. 8-14. Rybin, who uses the testimony of bodyguards though he himself was no longer one of Stalin's personal security guard, being responsible for security of the Bolshoi Theatre, claims that the events described during the night of 15th and morning of 16th preceded the meeting described by A. Shakhurin, the People's Commissar for Aircraft Production.

- Naturally the bodyguards did not know which meeting was which. V. P. Pronin, *Izvestiya TsK KPSS* 4 (1991), p. 218; *VIZh* 10 (1991), p. 39.
- 8 Soyfer, p. 148. Account of A. A. Prokofyeva-Belagovskaya. Berezhkov, pp. 153–5. Mikoyan, pp. 417–22. Natalya Poskrebysheva. Zhukov's doubts on Stalin: D. I. Ortenberg, 'U Zhukova v Perkhushkogo' in *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 30 Nov. 1991, p. 5. Kuibyshev: Radzinsky p. 467. House in Kuibyshev: S. Khrushchev, *Superpower*, p. 25. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 172–3. Mikoyan, pp. 417–22. *MR*, Rybin, *Stalin v Oktyabre 1941* (henceforth *Oktyabre 1941*), pp. 8–14. Vaksberg, pp. 225–7.
 - 9 A. Shakhurin, *Voprosy Istorii*, 3, 1975, pp. 142–3. Shakhurin claims this meeting took place on 16 October but it is clearly later than Mikoyan's meeting which had a different agenda. Commissars came and left during these meetings which moved between Stalin's apartment, his office and shelter at Kirovskaya Metro (see next note) and his dachas, so that this is surely a section of the meeting. His logbook of visitors shows Stalin was not in his office on 15–18 Oct.: we know Shakhurin's meeting took place in his private quarters where no record was kept of meetings: *IA*. He worked mostly at the house over Kirov Street near Kirovskaya Metro: Rybin, *Oktyabr 1941*, quotes bodyguard N. Kirilin on p. 12. Mikoyan, p. 417–22.
 - 10 I am grateful for the access to General Y. Gorkov's new work on the Kirovskaya Metro headquarters. Also: *Nezavisimoe Voennoe Obozrenie*, 19, 2002, p. 5; Memoirs of Communications Official Vladimir Kazakov. Shtemenko: Jukes in *Stalin's Generals*, pp. 234–8. Deriabin, 'bunked together', p. 105. Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, p. 65. Volkogonov, p. 416. *IA*, 1996: 2, pp. 68–9. Kuznetsov: Bialer (ed.), p. 428.
 - 11 *IA*, 1996: 2, pp. 68–9. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 220–2. Peshkova on Istomina's 'ever smiling'. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 172–3. Rybin, *Oktyabre 1941*, pp. 8–14, including Istomina. Stalin also discussed this with Zhdanov in Leningrad. Chadaev in Kumanev (ed.) p. 419. RGASPI 558.3.32 *Kutuzov* by M. Bragin, p. 60. Zhukov in Bialer (ed.), p. 291. Pronin, *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, 4, 1991, p. 218. Zhukov dates this conversation after 19 Nov. but Pronin heard a similar one during 16 and 17 Oct. Zhukov 2, pp. 230–6. Belov, Bialer (ed.), p. 296.
 - 12 Volkogonov, pp. 434–5. Rybin, *Ryadom*, p. 86. Rybin, *Oktyabre 1941*, pp. 9–13. Belov in Bialer (ed.) p. 296. Visit to train? *Vlast* 5, 2000. Interview E. Zhirnov with Mikhail Smirtukov, Assistant to Sovnarkom.
 - 13 Telegin: Bialer (ed.), p. 304. V. P. Pronin, 'Gorod-voin, Bitva za Moskvu', p. 465; Pronin, *Izvestia TsK KPSS*, 4, 1991, p. 218. Pronin, *VIZh*, 10, 1991, p. 39. Pronin, 'Gorod u linii fronta', *Moskovskie Novosti*, no. 21, 26 Mar. 2 Apr. 1995, p. 14. On Beria's anticipating Stalin's view and Stalin's attack on Shcherbakov, Sergo Beria quoting what his father told his mother; he puts Shcherbakov's crisis in June: pp. 75–6, 71. Djilas, p. 38. Zhukov 2, pp. 235–40. Rybin, *Oktyabre 1941*, pp. 11–13. Pronin said the meeting took place in the evening but Stalin's logbook shows the meeting on 19th starting at 15.40 and ending 21.20. Spades: Timoshenko in Kumanev (ed.), pp. 272–3. Not your tail: Mikoyan, pp. 417–22. *MR*, p. 42.
 - 14 Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 221–2. Overy, pp. 113–20. On Malenkov and Far East, the call was from G. Borkov: Sukhanov, *Memoirs*. Albert Seaton, *Stalin as Military Commander*, pp. 124–6. Zhukov 2, pp. 235–40. Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Stalin*: chapter on Joseph Stalin and Joseph Apanasenko: 'The Far Eastern Front during WW2', quoting memoir of Gen. A. P. Belodorov in *Sovietskaya Rossiya*, 20 Oct 1989. The Far Eastern commander Apanasenko managed to camouflage the disappearance of most of his army by forming an instant new one and building it up to a million troops to ensure that the Japanese did not realize his weakness and decide to attack after all.
 - 15 Bunker: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 172–3. Simonov, *Glazami*, p. 37. Belov in Bialer (ed.) p. 295. Kaganovich and bunkers: Rybin, *Oktyabre 1941*, p. 7. Shaposhnikov:

- Rzheshesky on smoking, patronymic and respect from Stalin, *Stalin's Generals*, pp. 226–30. Mikoyan, p. 386. Never without checking: Bialer (ed.) p. 592. Old fellow: Spahr, p. 83. Stalin limits hours: GKO, 11 May 1942. Very kind: Voronov in Bialer (ed.), p. 211. Fear of Beria: S. P. Ivanov, *Shtab armeiskii*, p. 250. Voodoo: FO 800/360, John Reed, Moscow, 19 Aug. 1942 *Churchill and Stalin* FCO, March 2002. Also Alanbrooke, p. 303. Trip to front: Volkogonov, pp. 433–4.
- 16 Volkogonov, p433–4. Malenkov bomb: Volya and Igor Malenkov. Mikoyan, p. 415. Svetlana *Twenty Letters*, pp. 172–3.
- 17 Chairs: *Zarubina*, pp. 47–8. On 6–7 Nov. Stepan M, p. 69. P. A. Artemev in Bialer (ed.), pp. 305–9. Volkogonov, p. 436. Sudoplatov, pp. 133–6. *900 Days*, p. 384. The music: Rybin, *Ryadom so Stalinyim v Bolshom Teatre*, p. 32.
- 18 Zhukov 2, pp. 235–44.
- 19 Berezkhov, pp. 160–2.
- 20 Maisky, *Memoirs of a Soviet Ambassador*, pp. 229–37. Berezkhov, pp. 162–8. Alanbrooke, p. 302. TSAMO RF 208.2524.20.124, Zhukov and Bulganin to Golubev, CO Tenth Army 20 Dec. 1941. Overy, pp. 117–22. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 248–96. Zhukov: Bialer (ed.), 292. Seaton, pp. 132–4. Anfilov, Zhukov in *Stalin's Generals*, p. 352. Zhukov 2, pp. 240–50.
- 21 Zhukov 2, pp. 254–8.
- 22 On Beria: Chadaev in Kumanev (ed.) p. 429–32. On Malenkov: Sukhanov. *Memoirs*, Mikoyan, pp. 424–6. On Kaganovich: Nikolai Baibakov. Werner Hahn, *Postwar Soviet Politics: the Fall of Zhdanov*, p. 348. *Beria Affair*, Andreyev speech, p. 154.

36: MOLOTOV IN LONDON, MEKHLIS IN THE CRIMEA, KHRUSHCHEV IN COLLAPSE

- 1 Erickson, *Stalingrad*, p. 398. Berezkhov, pp. 188–9. Golovanov in Stalin's office: April/May 1942: *IA*. Golovanov: *MR*, pp. 46–9, 72, inc. quotation from Churchill, p. 49. Churchill 4, pp. 296–304. Molotov's vanity: RGASPI 82.21592.19–20, Molotov to Zhemchuzhina 8 July 1947, and RGASPI 82.2.1592.40–5, Molotov to Zhemchuzhina Apr. 1945.
- 2 *Mekhlis*, pp. 181, 193. Stalin's attitude to Mekhlis: Meretskov quoted in *Mekhlis*, p. 228, Mekhlis into Stalin's office, A. A. Afanasev quoted p. 275; mustard, Khrulev, p. 249. Jokes on manic Mekhlis: Charkviani, pp. 30–1. Zamertsev: Bialer (ed.), pp. 442–7. Starinov: Bialer (ed.), pp. 456–7.
- 3 Spahr, pp. 277–80. Meretskov, pp. 228–52, 280–3. Leonid Redens. Volkogonov, Voroshilov in *Stalin's Generals*, p. 318. Vlasov: *KR*, p. 204. Volkogonov, pp. 443–4.
- 4 Kulik on the Crimean Front and Mekhlis's investigation: Spahr, pp. 266–7, 294. V. Bobrenov and V. Riazantsev, 'Marshal protiv Marshala,' *Armiya*, 1993, no. 9, p. 47. David Glantz, 'Forgotten Battles of German Soviet War – the Winter Campaign: the Crimean Counter-Offensive', *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1, Mar. 2001, pp. 121–70. On Kulik denunciations: Kompromat materials in Mekhlis files RGVA 9.39.105.412–7, July 1941. Kulik's young wife, Olga: Kira Alliluyeva. Karpov, *Rastrelyannye marshaly*, pp. 323. Court martial: Volkogonov, *Rise and Fall of the Soviet Empire*, p. 116.
- 5 Mekhlis in the Crimea: *Mekhlis*, pp. 200–31. Glantz, 'Forgotten Battles', pp. 121–70. Stalin and Hindenburg in Spahr, pp. 287. Hindenburg quoted by A. M. Vasilevsky, *Delo vsei Zhizni*, pp. 186–7. Simonov quoted in Medvedev, p. 463. Simonov, p. 36. TSAMO 215. A 1184.73.19, Vasilevsky and Mekhlis conversation on reinforcements and the big music, 23 Jan. 1942. David Ortenberg, *Stalin Shcherbakov Mekhlis i drugie*, pp. 60–6, 183–4. Mekhlis: 'Damn you' said Stalin – Chadaev in Kumanev (ed.), p. 437 states 3 June but *IA* suggests 28 May. Also: 'Go to hell!' Simonov to Kapler,

- quoted in Biagi, p. 34.
- 6 The Kharkov offensive: Zhukov 2, pp. 271–8. Anfilov Timoshenko in *Stalin's Generals*, p. 251. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 332–7, 345–7. Overy, pp. 154–8. Seaton, pp. 144–5. Spahr, p. 282. Stalin liked Timoshenko, to whom he could be surprisingly polite: when Stalin asked Timoshenko to hand over some units to another command, he wrote: 'Pass on my words to the Marshal – that I very much ask his agreement with the Stavka proposal to transfer ... I know will be a very big sacrifice. But I ask for that sacrifice.' Stalin to Timoshenko, 27 Oct. 1941. US Library of Congress, Volkogonov Collection, Gen. Staff Reel. Mikoyan on Timoshenko, brave peasant, p. 386. Telephone call: Khrushchev exaggerated his prescience: his call to Stalin was on 18th not 17th. Mikoyan p. 465. Stepan M. p. 104. *KR* 1, pp. 205–7. Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, pp. 60–2. Zhukov 2, pp. 271–82. Kharkov losses: Vasilevsky, p. 193.
 - 7 'Learn to wage war better'. TSAMO 3.11556.6.16, Stalin to Timoshenko 27 May 1942. Timoshenko denounces Khrushchev for lack of faith and mental illness and for denouncing him: RGASPI 558.11.818.7, Timoshenko to Stalin 7 June 1942. See also RGASPI 558.11.818.10–11, Timoshenko to Stalin 22 June 1942 and RGASPI 558.11.818.9, Timoshenko to Stalin June 1942. 'Hitler not as bad': RGASPI 558.11.489.9, Stalin to Timoshenko 13 June 1942. Khrushchev and Bagirov story, Natalya Poskrebysheva. Khrushchev denounces Timoshenko: Stalin confirmed this to Zhukov, see William J. Spahr, *Zhukov, The Rise and Fall of a Great Captain*, pp. 95–101. Bulganin investigation: Chadaev in Kumanev (ed.), p. 442. *KR* 1, pp. 210–12. Kharkov: David Glantz, 'The Kharkov Operation, May 1942', *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 5, no. 3, Sept. 1992, pp. 451–94; vol. 5, no. 4, Dec. 1992, pp. 611–86. Volkogonov, p. 433. Ashes on K's head: William Taubman, *Khrushchev, Man and Era*, p. 168.
 - 8 Divisions are not needles: TSAMO 96a.2011.26.137–42, Stalin and Timoshenko 4 July 1942. Antony Beevor, *Stalingrad*, pp. 69–72. Overy, pp. 156–8. Seaton, p. 147. Divisions in the market: Jukes, Vasilevsky in *Stalin's Generals*, p. 281.
 - 9 The fall of Rostov, approach to Stalingrad and North Caucasus: Order no. 270, 16 Aug. 1941, TSAMO 3.11.556.9. Volkogonov, p. 459. TSAMO 298.2526.5a quoted in Volkogonov, p. 427. Order No. 227, 16 Aug. 1942, TSAMO 48.486.28.8, quoted in Beevor, p. 85. Overy, pp. 158–61. Seaton, *Stalingrad*, pp. 150–3. 4 and 5 August: *IA*.

37: CHURCHILL VISITS STALIN

- 1 Kuntsevo: O. A. Rzheshesvsky, *Winston Churchill in Moscow 1942, Churchill and Stalin*, FCO, March 2002. Churchill 4, pp. 429, 437. Also: FO 800/300. John Reed (Moscow) 19 Aug. 1942. Doc. 32.
- 2 Churchill 4, pp. 428–36. Harriman-Abel, pp. 52–5. Cab. 127/23: Record of conversation between Churchill and Stalin 12 Aug. 1942, *Churchill and Stalin*, Doc. 29, FCO, March 2002. APRF 6.4.14.131.20–23, Pavlov notes of Churchill–Molotov meeting, quoted by Rzheshesvsky, *Churchill in Moscow*.
- 3 Harriman-Abel, pp. 155–9. Churchill 4, pp. 436–2. CAB 127/23: Record of conversation between Churchill and Stalin 13 Aug. 1942, *Churchill and Stalin*, Doc. 30.
- 4 APRF 45.1.282.48–52: Pavlov's notes of dinner in honour of Churchill and Harriman, 14 Aug. 1942, quoted by Rzheshesvsky, *Churchill in Moscow*. Berezhkov, pp. 193–9. On eunuch-like Malenkov and hearty Voroshilov: FO 800/300, John Reed. (Moscow), 19 Aug. 1942; Churchill cold shoulders Stalin: FO 800/300, journal Sir A. Clark Kerr, Moscow, 16 Aug. 1942, both in *Churchill and Stalin*. Churchill 4, p. 443. Alanbrooke, pp. 301–3. Harriman-Abel, p. 160. APRF 45.1.282.64, record of Churchill's meeting with Stalin in his apartment on night of 15–16 Aug. 1942, quoted by Rzheshesvsky, *Churchill in Moscow*. V. N. Pavlov, 'Avtobiographicheskie Zametki', *Novaya i Noveishaya Istoriya*, no. 4, 2000, pp. 109–110; Svetlana, redheads, the present,

Marlborough. In addition, this account uses the conventional sources of Churchill 4, pp. 445–51. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 178–9. PRO, Prem 3/ 7612, pp. 35–7, Maj. Birse's notes. A. H. Birse, *Memoirs of an Interpreter*, p. 19. Churchill waving his legs, sulks: FO 800/300. Journal entry of Sir A. Clark Kerr, Moscow, 16 Aug. 1942, *Churchill and Stalin*. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, p. 369.

38: STALINGRAD AND THE CAUCASUS

- 1 RGASPI 558.11.489.11, Stalin to Budyonny 27 July 1942, uniting of Malinovsky's Southern Front with Budyonny's North Caucasus Front. Kaganovich, *Zapiski*, pp. 463–79. Strakhov, Bialer (ed.) pp. 442–7, 608. TSAMO 132a.2642.32.145–7, Stalin to Kaganovich Aug. 1942. RGASPI 558.11.712.119–20, Budyonny to Stalin 19 Sept. 1942 and 25 Nov. 1942. On Stalin's fury about Kaganovich's wound: Sudoplatov, p. 148, and Sergo B, p. 83. Kaganovich was wounded in late Oct. and visited Stalin 19 Nov. 1942, *LA*.
- 2 Beria, p. 120. Sergo B, pp. 79–85. Sudoplatov, pp. 148–51. Tiulenev in Bialer (ed.) pp. 451–2, and Strakhov, pp. 442–7, 608. Interview Nikolai Baibakov. Also: Baibakov, p. 113. Beria's arrival at Ordzhonkidze: Gela Charkviani from Candide Charkviani, notes. Beria was away 20 Aug.–17 Sept. Overy, pp. 157–9. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 370–1, 376–81. Kaganovich, *Zapiski*, pp. 463–79. TSAMO 132a.2642.32.145–7, Stalin to Kaganovich, Aug. 1942. RGASPI 558.11.712.119–20, Budyonny to Stalin 19 Sept. 1942 and 25 Nov. 1942. 'I've been back in Moscow for seven days and I want to see you but you are very busy. To be without work in the present situation is impossible ... please receive me.'
- 3 The main sources for this account of Stalingrad are A. Beevor, *Stalingrad*, Overy, *Russia's War*, and Erickson, *The Road to Stalingrad* and *The Road to Berlin*, D. Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*, and the memoirs of Zhukov and Vasilevsky. TSAMO 3.11556.9, Stalin to Vasilevsky, Yeremenko and Malenkov 23 Aug. 1942.
- 4 Zhukov 2, pp. 293–9. Erickson, *Stalingrad*, pp. 384–5. Volkogonov, p. 461. Beevor, *Stalingrad*, pp. 117–27. Overy, pp. 166–9. Vasilevsky flew back, leaving Malenkov down in Stalingrad to work with Zhukov. Stalin and Zhukov's characters: Zhukov, 'Korotko o Staline', *Pravda*, 20 Jan, 1989, p. 3. *KR* 1, p. 218. Victor Gobarev, 'Khrushchev and the Military. Historical and Psychological Analysis', *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 11, no. 3, Sept. 1998, pp. 128–44, inc. Gobarev: 'K's finest hour.' Luganski in Bialer (ed.), pp. 54, 610: Gen. Stepan Mikoyan, Vasily Stalin's friend and son of Mikoyan, casts doubts on this story. Thanks to Antony Beevor for this.
- 5 A. M. Vasilevsky, *Delo Vsey Zhizni*, p. 95–6. Volkogonov, p. 470. Thanks to Prof. Oleg Rzhesheshevsky for the rest of the story based on his own conversation with Vasilevsky. Money orders: *MR*, p. 303. On Stalin: 'my father was a priest too ...' *Ogonyok*, 2 Apr. 1988, no. 14, p. 20. Alexander Bolotin, 'Shto my znaem o Liapidevskom?' the famous aviator Anatoly Liapidevsky met Stalin at the Kremlin: 'Comrade Liapidevsky, your father was a priest, mine was a priest too. In case of need, contact Comrade Stalin directly,' quoted in Tucker, *Power*, p. 3. Stalin's lifelong friendship with priest Peter Kapanadze: Charkviani, pp. 45–6. On Stalin's freeing a prisoner: Vasilevsky on his friend Shavlovksy in Kumanev (ed.) p. 236. On timetable and Stavka: Erickson, *Road to Berlin*, p. 41. Shaposhnikov and Voodoo: FO 800/300, John Reed (Moscow), 19 Aug. 1942. TSAMO 215.1184.48.179, decision of GKO no. 1723, signed Stalin Ch, GKO, 11 May 1942. Vasilevsky had actually been serving as Acting Chief of Staff since 24 Apr. when Shaposhnikov had first attempted to retire: Jukes, Vasilevsky in *Stalin's Generals*, pp. 279–80. Won't hurt a fly: Sergo B, p. 339.
- 6 Zhukov 2, pp. 307–41, 342–58. Anfilov, Zhukov in *Stalin's Generals*, p. 354. Erickson, *Berlin*, pp. 433, 445, 425, 429, 452, 461–3, 458, 452. Beevor, *Stalingrad*, pp. 213, 232–4.

240. Alan Clark, *Barbarossa*, p. 218. *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 10, no. 4, Dec. 1997, pp. 104–39. Insomnia: PREM 3/430/7: Record of private talk between the PM and Generalissimo Stalin after Plenary Session 17 July 1945, Potsdam: *Churchill and Stalin*, FCO 2002. On Operation Mars: see David Glantz, *Zhukov's Greatest Defeat: the Red Army's Epic Disaster in Operation Mars 1942*, in which he estimates losses of up to 500,000. Soviet data suggests much lower losses of 70,000 killed and missing. (A. S. Orlov, 'Operaziya Mars: razlichnye traktovki' in *Mir Istoriï*, vol. 4, 2000.)

39: THE SUPREMO OF STALINGRAD

- 1 Stalin at war: sleeps in clothes, I. Orlov in Rybin, *Oktyabr 1941e*, p. 13. Shtemenko in Bialer (ed.) p. 351–9. TSAMO 3.11.556.13.247–8. Stalin to Vasilevsky 23 Aug. 1943. Vasilevsky, Jukes in *Stalin's Generals*, pp. 279, 283. Zhdanov: RGASPI 558.11.492.86. Stalin and Molotov talk to Zhdanov 1 Dec. 1941. Antonov: green files: Shtemenko in Bialer (ed.) p. 351–8. Antonov, 'dark handsome lithe' Djilas, p. 109. Anteroom: Starinov in Bialer (ed.) pp. 456–7. I. V. Kovalev in Volkogonov, p. 419. Zhukov by Simonov in Volkogonov, p. 385. 'Wise decision, Comrade Stalin', Volkogonov, pp. 390–1. 'Frank discussions, Stalin listened', Mikoyan, pp. 463–5. Mikoyan in Kumanev (ed.), p. 70. 'I don't think so': Golovanov quoted in *MR*, p. 306. Stalin style: Nikolai Baibakov. Voznesensky: Vasilevsky, in Kumanev (ed.), pp. 237–8. Bafflement: Belov in Bialer (ed.), p. 295. Kuznetsov in Bialer (ed.) p. 349, incl. 'his associates never argued ...' Zhukov in Bialer (ed.), pp. 259, 267, Belov (haggard, sallow) p. 295, Shtemenko p. 352. 'Bag of bones' – Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, p. 65. Pipes: RGASPI 558.11.775.110, Maisky to Stalin 18 Aug. 1943. Stalin as military expert: Mikoyan, pp. 463–5; *KR* 1, p. 145; Zhukov (English ed.), pp. 281–4, Khrulev refuses railways: Khrulev in Kumanev (ed.), pp. 349–50. Stalin also ordered the writer Alexei Tolstoy to be kept away from the front: Brooks, *Thank You C. Stalin*, p. 185.
- 2 Fear: Zhukov, Anfifov in *Stalin's Generals*, p. 347. Golikov denounces Yeremenko: RGASPI 558.11.725.180–2. Golikov to Stalin 12 Sept. 1942. Voronov in Bialer (ed.) pp. 457–9. *Mekhhlis*, p. 99. Mikoyan, pp. 396–9. *KR* 1, 196, 214, 218, 226–7; during the Battle of Kiev, V. T. Sergienko repeatedly informed on Khrushchev to Stalin, p. 196. Rzheshesvsky, Koniev in *Stalin's Generals* p. 94. Yaroslav: *MR*, p. 24. Khrulev: N. Antipenko, 'Tyl Fronta', *Novy Mir*, vol. 8.
- 3 Magnates at war: Mikoyan, p. 394, 400, 463–4. Stepan M. p. 110. On Zhdanov *900 Days*, p. 542. *KR* 1, p. 155. *Beria*, p. 111, 118; *Lesser Terror*, p. 73. Bugging: Sudoplatov, p. 328. Zhukov officers arrested: Spahr, *Zhukov*, p. 197; V. S. Golushkevich. *Beria*: Mikoyan, p. 424. For example of generals' 'coffee with Beria', see *The Times*, 18 Jan. 2003, 'Beria's Terror Files are opened'. On sacking Kaganovich: *Beria Affair*: Andreyev's speech, p. 154. Khrulev, Kumanev (ed.) pp. 349–50. Stalin admires Kaganovich: Mgeladze, pp. 203–4. Labour statistics: Anne Applebaum, *GULAG*, pp. 521–5.
- 4 RGASPI 558.11.490.7–49: the Stalingrad press releases are nos. 34–49. Tobacco: Mgeladze, p. 40. When his former secretary wrote to him asking if he could come to Moscow, it was Stalin himself who replied: 'You can come to Moscow. Stalin.' RGASPI 558.11.726.4–6, Dvinsky to Stalin 25 July 1942.
- 5 Shtemenko in Bialer (ed.), p. 350–7. Kaganovich sleepless nights: Kovalev, Volkogonov, p. 419. Rest time: Shtemenko in Bialer (ed.) pp. 352–3. Jukes, Vasilevsky in *Stalin's Generals*, pp. 279–80. Marshal of Artillery Yakovlev story: Artyom Sergeev. Hours of work for Poskrebyshev: Natalya Poskrebysheva.
- 6 Mikoyan, pp. 463–4. Dinners, Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, p. 66. Tea ritual: Kovalev in Volkogonov, pp. 419, 471.
- 7 Zhukov 2, pp. 307–42. Volkogonov, p. 469. S. S. Smirnov, *Marshal Zhukov: kakim my*

ego pomnim, p. 245. Overy, pp. 177–85. Erickson, *Berlin*, 2, pp. 1–27. Beevor, *Stalingrad*, pp. 292–3, 300–1, 320–3. RGASPI 558.11.490.49, Stalin on Battle of Stalingrad, Sovinformburo.

- 8 Stalin treats British radio as contraband: RGASPI 558.11.765.105, Mikoyan to Stalin and Molotov 5 Jan. 1943; Stalin to Molotov Beria, Malenkov, Mikoyan 21 Jan. 1943. Erickson, *Berlin*, pp. 38–41. Brooks, *Thank You*, p. 120. I. I. Kuznetsov, ‘Stalin’s Minister VI Abakumov’, *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, Mar. 1999, pp. 149–59. *Beria*. p. 125.

40: SONS AND DAUGHTERS

- 1 Yakov: *MR*, p. 209. Paulus swap and ‘I had to refuse ... I would have stopped being Stalin’, Mgeladze, pp. 116, 198–9. Svetlana RR. Svetlana *Twenty Letters*, pp. 168–77. Mikoyan, p. 362. Artyom Sergeev. On Stalin’s cursing: ‘The fool’ – Vasily Stalin via Stepan Mikoyan. Arrest of Julia: Gulia Djugashvili, *Ded, Otets, Mat i Drugie*, pp. 28–9. Volkogonov, pp. 429, 609; TSAMO 7.11.250.39.37. Radzinsky, p. 457. One prisoner enough for me: Vasily Stalin via Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens).
- 2 Vasily: Sudoplatov, p. 151. Stepan M. pp. 74–85 and interviews. Vasily: ‘short red-haired ...’ Zarubina, pp. 30–1. Crown Prince: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 176–8, 221–9. Good person who would give away last shirt: Sergo B, p. 154. Vasily’s wife-beating, drunken flight, Svetlana’s early maturity and love affair: Martha Peshkova. Full Colonel: *Lesser Terror*, p. 179. Protected from fighting; Zubalovo Heaven: Leonid Redens. Life at Kuibyshev: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 172–3. Galina Bourdonovskaya Stalin: pretty blonde: interview Yuri Soloviev. KGB school: Svetlana RR. Erickson, *Berlin*, pp. 49–51. Svetlana and Kapler: Kapler interviewed by Biagi, pp. 15–34. Vladimir Alliluyev. Leonid Redens. Yury Soloviev. Svetlana shows Kapler’s articles, Kapler playing, brooch, screenplay: Martha Peshkova. Kira Alliluyeva. Svetlana RR: Vasily’s dirty talk, Kapler could talk, sex outside marriage, the greatest teacher, my father overreacted. Kapler’s appeal, 27 Jan. 1944, in Volkogonov, p. 154. Vasily’s punishment Feb. 1943: Stepan M., pp. 83–6. Vasily after dismissal: *Vasily*, p. 108. Volkogonov, p. 468. Stepan M., pp. 89–90. TSAMO 132.2642.230.15, Stalin to Novikov 26 May 1943. On Vasily’s Rolls-Royce and shooting out the tyres: Yury Soloviev.
- 3 Kursk: Erickson, *Berlin*, 2, pp. 65–72, 97, 99–120. Overy, pp. 198–211: ‘hand to hand combat’ is Overy’s excellent phrase. Mikoyan, p. 452. Zhukov 3, pp. 3–31, 43–57. Shtemenko in Bialer (ed.) p. 361–7. Zhukov, ‘Na Kurskaya Duge’, *VLZh*, Aug. 1967, pp. 70–1. Slave labour: M. Parrish, review essay, *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2, June 1998, pp. 172–8. Yakovlev in Bialer (ed.) pp. 381–2. Seaton, pp. 179–83. On tank numbers: M. Myagkov, in *Miroviye voiny XX veka*, bk 3, pp. 159–61: Central and Voronezh Fronts had 1.3m men and 3,400 tanks but Steppe Front had a further 500,000 men and 1,400 tanks.
- 4 Leonid Khrushchev: Interviews with the following: Sergo and Stepan Mikoyan. Julia Khrushcheva: Khrushchev’s humiliation, never knew parents; Natalya Poskrebysheva. Artyom Sergeev. Igor Malenkov. Volya Malenkova. Martha Peshkova. Leonid Khrushchev denounces Stalin: N. Vaschchenko, *Za Grani Istorii*. S. Khrushchev, *Superpower*, pp. 21–4. *MR*, p. 352: Stalin would not pardon LK. *Lesser Terror*, p. 178. Rybin, *Oktyabre 1941*, p. 3, repeats the rumour of Vlasovite. Stepan M., p. 76. Vasilieva, *Kremlevskie Zheny*, p. 387. Y. Izumov, ‘Why Khrushchev took revenge on Stalin’, *Dosye Glasnost*, no. 12, 2001. Taubman, *Khrushchev, Man and Era*, pp. 155–60.
- 5 Mikoyan sons: Sergo Mikoyan. Stepan Mikoyan. Vano Mikoyan in Vasilieva, *Kremlevskie Zheny*, pp. 326–7. Stepan M., pp. 99–100. Leonid Redens was also exiled to Central Asia. Don’t lose any more Mikoyans: Vasily Stalin via Stepan M., p. 86.

41: STALIN'S SONG CONTEST

- 1 Mikoyan, p. 563. Rybin, *Ryadom*, pp. 39–42, the greatcoat, supper, fall of Orel and Belgorod. Rybin, *Oktyabre 1941*, pp. 13–14. NKVD in village/money for lady: M. Smirtukov in *Vlast*, 2000, no. 25, p. 46. Voronov in Bialer (ed.), pp. 438–9. Erickson, *Berlin*, pp. 116–18. Medal: GARF 7523.149.5.1, Yeremenko to GKO cc Kalinin, Molotov, Makenkov, Beria 21 Sept. 1943. Overy, p. 211. Shtemenko in Bailer (ed.), pp. 361–7. Seaton, pp. 189–92. Volkogonov, p. 481.
- 2 RGASPI 558.1.3499.1–27 and RGASPI 558.1.3399. ‘My Byom ikh’ – ‘we are beating them’ sounds like ‘ebiom ikh’ – ‘we are fucking them’ – when sung fast. RGASPI 558.1.3399, Stalin’s corrections. The dates on El Registan’s hastily written notes are problematic because he sometimes writes the 23rd when he means the 28th and November when he means October. I have tried to form some order from chaos. RGASPI 558.1.3499 1–27. ‘Why drain your glasses?’ Gromov, *Stalin Vlast I Iskusstvo*, p. 343. Diplomatic dinner: Berezhkov, pp. 206–33. Harriman-Abel, p. 239. Erickson, *Berlin*, 2, p. 131. Bohlen, pp. 130–1. RGASPI 558.1.3399; Registan’s notes say the final approval meeting on 4 November took place at 9 a.m. but it seems much more likely to be 9 p.m. given Stalin’s customs and Registan’s occasional confusion with dates and times. On Mikhalkov’s poem: RGASPI 558.11.775.112, S. Mikhalkov to Stalin and Stalin to Molotov 7 Feb. 1944. On their presence in Stalin’s office on 28 Oct. and 4 Nov. 1943: *IA*.
- 3 Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, p. 66. Nov. 1943 reception: Maya Kavtaradze. Bohlen, p. 130. Harriman-Abel, pp. 242, 253–5. Alexander Werth, *Russia at War 1941–5*, p. 753.

42: TEHERAN

- 1 Golovanov quoted in *MR*, p. 306; Shah surprised, p. 50. HIM Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Mission for My Country*, p. 79. Beria and Tsereteli in Teheran: *Beria*, pp. 130–1 incl. descriptions of Tsereteli and Beria, search of British Embassy, by Nicholas Kviatashvili. Zarubina: the table, Molotov’s tantrum, Stalin’s residence, bumping Stalin pp. 1–7. Harriman-Abel, pp. 263–4. Professor Vinogradov: Kostyrchenko, p. 264. Bohlen: clumsy bear, pp. 131, 135–43; Molotov’s pact with Hitler, p. 340. Berezhkov – Stalin’s walkout at Baku airport, pp. 254–92. Interview: Hugh Lunghi: Voroshilov, Pavlov present. Alanbrooke, pp. 482–9. This ice-cream episode combines Lunghi’s and Alanbrooke’s accounts. Erickson, *Berlin*, pp. 156–8. Overy, pp. 220–1. On German assassins: Sudoplatov, pp. 130, 230. Sergo B, pp. 92–5, on flight, bugging, morally reprehensible, timetable. Churchill, 5, pp. 302–60 on Stalingrad sword, security arrangements, Voroshilov doing his best, Stalin’s 50,000 executions joke, searching the British Legation, Alanbrooke insult, birthday dinner. Stalingrad visit: A. Kravchenkov in Rybin, *Ryadom*, p. 87. FDR diaries quoted in Ted Morgan, *FDR*, pp. 692–704: *FDRL OF 200 3/N*. See K. Sainsbury, *The Turning Point*.
- 2 Mikoyan, pp. 465–6. *MR*, p. 210. Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, p. 66. Kavtaradze, *Memoirs*, p. 74. RGASPI, 73.2.44.26–7, Andreyev to Malenkov 6 Oct. 1943. GARF 9401.2.67.379–80, Beria to Stalin, Molotov and Malenkov 22 Nov. 1944. GARF 9401.2.64.60, Beria to Stalin, Molotov 19 Dec. 1944. GARF 9401.2.69.220, Beria to Stalin 21 Apr. 1944. Beria to Stalin, GARF 9401.2.69.346, Beria to Stalin and Molotov; Molotov’s reply: ‘I think this is right’ 25 June 1944. GARF 9401.2.64.13–62, Beria to Stalin and Stalin to Beria 26 Jan. 1944, 8 Jan. 1944, 29 Jan. 1944. GARF 9401.2.64.9, Beria to Stalin 4 Jan. 1944. GARF 9401.2.64.8, 53,57,90, Beria to Stalin 5 Jan., 8 Jan., 12 Jan., 4 Feb. 1944. GARF 9401.2.67.283–92, Beria to Stalin 5 Nov.

1944. GARF 9401.2.64.291, Beria to Stalin and Molotov 17 Apr. 1944. On purging of Belorussia: GARF 9401.2.93.50, Beria to Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov 22 Feb. 1945. GARF 9401.2.64.157-63, Ukrainian nationalists: Beria to Stalin 3 Mar. 1944. Deportations: Overy, pp. 232-3. Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Volkogonov Reel, 18, Beria to Stalin 16 Aug. 1943. GARF 9401.2.64.1, Beria to Stalin and Molotov 3 Jan. 1944. GARF 9401.2.69.44-5, 121, Beria to Molotov and Molotov replies 29 Jan. 1944, 24 Feb. 1944, inc. requests for more trains from Kaganovich and Beria, *Beria*, pp. 126-7. *Lesser Terror*, pp. 103-5; Karachevsk renamed Mikoyan-Shakhar on 5 Oct. 1944. Overy, pp. 232-4. Mikoyan objects: Mikoyan, p. 514. GARF 9401.2.69.137-9, Beria to Molotov and Molotov replies 4 Mar. 1944. GARF 9401.2.64.213,258a, Beria to Stalin 31 Mar. 1944: 'Pay attention to this'. The Tartars, food allowances, trains: GARF 9401.2.64.41-52, food 49, trains 115, totals 119 and 126. GARF 9401.2.64.254-6. The law for these deportations was backdated and presented by Beria to Kalinin on 7 Apr. 1944. GARF 9401.2.64.121, Beria to Stalin and Stalin agrees 20 May 1944. GARF 9401.2.64.161-3, Beria to Stalin 29 May 1944: Beria lists total of 225,000 from Crimea including all the later deportations. GARF 9401.2.64.158, Beria to Stalin Mar.-Dec. 1944.
- 3 Rokossovsky in Bialer, pp. 460-1. Erickson, *Berlin*, pp. 199-231. Overy, pp. 239-46. Zhukov 3, pp. 145-50. Zhukov, *Korotko o Staline*.
- 4 Erickson, *Berlin*, 2, pp. 269-86, 199-231. Overy, pp. 239-46: 'not help ... but forestall'. Overy, p. 247. Zhukov 3, pp. 169-72. Simonov, 'Zametki', p. 59. Rokossovsky in Overy, p. 248. Harriman-Abel, pp. 314-39.
- 5 Soviet record of 'percentages' conversations: RGASPI 558.11.283.6-14, *Zapis besedy Tov IV Stalina s Churchillem 9 Oktyabrya 1944 g v 22 chasa*. Also: *Istochnik*, 4 (17), 1995. O. A. Rzheshesky (ed.), *War and Diplomacy: the Making of the Grand Alliance*. Stalin flat: Berezhkov, pp. 369-70. Alanbrooke, pp. 601-11. Martin Gilbert, *Churchill: A Life*, pp. 796-801. Harriman-Abel, pp. 353-64, incl. Kathleen Harriman's account. Churchill, 6, pp. 197-212. Geoffrey Roberts, 'Beware Greek Gifts: The Churchill-Stalin Percentages Agreement of October 1944': my account based on the shrewd analysis of Geoffrey Roberts. GARF 9401.2.93.255 Old satyr: Djilas, p. 102. Borders by force, 1942: Erickson, *Berlin*, 1, p. 398.
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43: THE SWAGGERING CONQUEROR

- 1 Zhukov, 3, pp. 171-3. Simonov, *Zametki*, p. 59. Woff, Rokossovsky in *Stalin's Generals*, p. 191. Overy, pp. 256-63. Erickson, *Berlin*, pp. 424-6. Shtemenko in Bialer (ed.), p. 479; Koniev, p. 481. Overy, pp. 256-63. Djilas, pp. 108-9. Rapes: Antony Beevor, *Berlin*, pp. 28-9 and (Malenkov) p. 108; offensive pp. 15-17. K. Rokossovsky, *Soldatskii dolg*, p. 286. Harriman-Abel, p. 353.
- 2 Yalta: GARF 9401ss.2.94, Beria to Stalin/Molotov 27 Jan. 1945. Churchill, 6, pp. 300-44. 'My father ran Russia', Natalya Poskrebysheva. Sudoplatov, p. 222. Sergo B, p. 104. Gromyko, *Memoirs*, pp. 77-114. GARF 9401c.3.321, *Conference of Leaders of Three States in Crimea 1945*, and also Stalin's own album in RGASPI: L. Ilichev to Poskrebyshchev 27 Mar. 1945. Sergo Kavtaradze was also at Yalta. N. G. Kuznetsov, 'Memoirs', *Voprosy Istorii*, vol. 4, 1965, pp. 122-5. Gromyko, *Memoirs*, pp. 87-99. Bohlen, pp. 173-196. Interview Hugh Lunghi. Alanbrooke, pp. 655-60. Overy, pp. 252-4. Vaksberg, *Vysinsky*, p. 245. On Beria: Sergo B, pp. 104-6, 113. Harriman-Abel, pp. 383-408, 415. Bohlen, p. 355. A. Gromyko, *Pamyatnoye*, p. 241.

Beria, p. 130. Nekrasov, *Beria*, pp. 221–2. How many divisions has the Pope: Stalin to Enver Hoxha in Halliday (ed.), *Hoxha*, p. 133. The bear: Mgeladze, p. 137. Palaces for Stalin: GARF 9401.2.93.219, Beria to Stalin 27 Feb. 1945 and Stalin/Chadaev/Sovnarkom order. Churchill relative: GARF 9401.2.93.255, Gen. Gorbатов to Beria 5 May 1945.

- 3 Berlin: Overy, pp. 264–7. Erickson, *Berlin*, p. 522. Zhukov 3, pp. 211–14, 219–224, 242–5; 4, pp. 125, 226. Zhukov in Bialer (eds.), pp. 512–13; Koniev, pp. 513–16, 527. I. S. Koniev, *Sorok pyatyri*, pp. 91–3. S. Shtemenko, *Generalny shtab v gody voiny*, pp. 328–31. Beevor, *Berlin*, pp. 146–7, 206, 244, 343, 358: ‘April Fool’ and ‘largest firepower ever assembled’. Yakov: Mgeladze, pp. 198–9. Harriman-Abel, p. 440. FDR: Mgeladze, pp. 130, 137. Simonov, ‘Zametki’, p. 60. Koniev, pp. 116–17. *LA* 1992: 2.

44: THE BOMB

- 1 Hitler: Mgeladze, p. 137: the dinner was in 1950. Zhukov, 3, pp. 244–66, 271; 4, pp. 269–70. Krebs in Moscow: Gorodetsky, p. 198. Overy, 277–8. Elena Rzhnevskaya, ‘B tot den pozdnei oseni’ in S. S. Smirnov, *Marshal Zhukov: kakim my ego pomnim*, pp. 292–5. German letters and interrogations of Göring, etc: GARF 9401.2.97.159–217, 366–445, Beria to Stalin 6 July 1945 and Serov to Stalin 17 July 1945.
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- 3 RGASPI 558.11.775.122, O. Meshakova to Stalin 8 May 1945. Djilas, p. 106. Generalissimo/Promotions: *MR*, pp. 175–6. V. Tukov in Rybin, *Oktyabre 1941*, p. 41. Promotions 9 July 1945: I. I. Kuznetsov, ‘KGB General Naum Isakovich Eitingon 1899–1991’, *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1, March 2001, p. 375. Brooks, *Thank You C. Stalin*, p. 186. Volkogonov, pp. 525, 500. Radzinsky, p. 523. Merkulov became General of the Army; Kobulov, Abakumov, Serov, Colonel-Generals. Most magnates were already Generals: Khrushchev, Lieutenant-Gen. Zhdanov, Col.-Gen. Nosenko joke: *Sovershenno Sekretno*, 3, 2000, pp. 12–14.
- 4 Potsdam: GARF 9401c.2.97.124–30, Beria to Stalin and Molotov 2 July 1945. On arrangements with English and Americans: GARF 9401c.2.97. 73–6, Beria to Stalin, Molotov and Antonov n.d. Stalin always tired: Gromyko, *Memoirs*, p. 100. Sergo B, pp. 15–18. Churchill 6, pp. 548–79. Zhukov, 3, pp. 325–36. N. G. Pavlenko, ‘Razmyshleniya o sudbe polkovodtsa’ in *VIZh*, no. 12, pp. 30–31. Natalya Poskrebysheva; Nadezhda Vlasik: fathers at Potsdam. Kuznetsov, *Memoirs*, pp. 111–13: waiting at the station. Gromyko, pp. 97–114. Bohlen, pp. 227–40. Harriman-Abel, pp. 484–93. Overy, pp. 281–4. Charles L. Mee, Jr, *Meeting at Potsdam*, pp. 77, 90–3, 96–105, 118–120, 171–5, 218. *Record of private conversation between PM and Generalissimo Stalin after Plenary session 17 July 1945 at Potsdam*, PREM 3/430/7 Doc. 70, *Churchill and Stalin*. On Truman/A-bomb: Mgeladze, pp. 130, 170. I like Stalin, Pendergast: Truman to wife, quoted in Roy Jenkins, *Truman*, p. 72. Sergo B, pp. 115–17. Stalin distrusts scientists, Molotov’s slowness, appoints Beria, Holloway, pp. 35, 117–19. Sudoplatov, p. 178.

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45: BERIA: POTENTATE, HUSBAND, FATHER, LOVER, KILLER, RAPIST

- 1 Bomb: Spahr, *Zhukov*, p. 197. Pavlenko, 'Razmyshleniya', pp. 30-1. Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, pp. 60-2. Stalin at 25 Jan. 1946 meeting with Molotov and Beria, quoted in Holloway, p. 147. Zubok: Stalin and Malenkov - Party, p. 141. Beria reports to Stalin on Kurchatov and scientists: GARF 9401.2.97.283/99, Beria to Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov 8 July 1945. Stalin on bomb 'barbarity': Mgeladze, pp. 129-30.
- 2 Beria's style: unusual but great criminal: Stefan Stazewski in *Oni*, p. 172. Colossal: Artyom Sergeev. Zubok, p. 142, quoting Vladimir Novikov, p. 310. Risky in steets: Golovanov quoted in editor's notes, Sergo B, p. 346. Swiss clock: V. I. Novikov quoted in editor's notes, Sergo B, p. 345. Sakharov, pp. 145-9. Holloway, pp. 134-41. Gromyko, *Memoirs*, p. 319. Kurchatov in *Beria*, pp. 137-9. Shoot them later: Holloway, p. 212. R&D: Sakharov, p. 145. *Beria*, p. 133. *Lesser Terror*, p. 47. RGASPI 558.11.744, Stalin to P. Kapitsa, 4 Apr. 1946. Technical bafflement: Holloway, p. 137. Sakharov, p. 79. Atomic Politburo: Roy Medvedev's phrase, *Neizvestnyi Stalin*: Stalin and the bomb.
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- 4 Worming their way into Stalin family: Martha Peshkova on Sergo and Beria. Sergo B, pp. 151-2. Stalin mentions three boys. Stepan M, p. 145. Beria disapproves: Mikoyan, pp. 362-3. Also: Sudoplatov quotes Beria's secretary Ludvigov, p. 321. Svetlana RR.
- 5 Martha's prettiness: Sergo B, p. 191. Martha: scented cloud, difficult to have as a friend - Gulia Djugashvili, *Ded, Otets, Mat i Drugie*, p. 55. Stalin favours Yury Zhdanov, encourages friendship with Martha: Svetlana OOI, p. 319. Details of life at Beria's:

Martha Peshkova.

- 6 Leonid Redens. Svetlana RR: 'I was not in love with him.' Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*: Stalin wouldn't meet but never asked her to divorce, pp. 193–6. Svetlana similar to Stalin: Charkviani, p. 58, quoting Mikoyan. Svetlana's jealous threats: Martha Peshkova. Svetlana's father furious: Sergo B, p. 192. RGASPI 558.11.727.92, Julia Djughashvili to Stalin 29 May 1946. Gulia Djughashvili, *Ded, Otets, Mat i Drugie* p. 28.

46: A NIGHT IN THE NOCTURNAL LIFE OF JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH

- 1 *MR*, pp. 8, 71. Mgeladze, pp. 78–9.
- 2 Barminess and conceit: Kaganovich, p. 154. *MR*, pp. 73, 210, 'most dangerous', pp. 212–3. Mikoyan, pp. 465–6, 513. Mikoyan in Kumanev (ed.), p. 22. *KR* 1, p. 333. Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, p. 66. Volya Malenkova: 'My father said Stalin changed after the war.' Pebbles: Ehrenburg, *Postwar Years*, p. 131. Stalin: calmness and tempers, indirect orders, always obeyed, Charkviani, pp. 37, 70. Lemon trees: Mgeladze in *MR*, p. 175. 'Stepped aside from direct ruling' – Smirtukov in *Vlast*, no. 7, 2000, p. 53. 'My reasons are clear': Stalin to Politburo, 3 Nov. 1947 in RGASPI 558.11.712.142 on Bulganin's Marshalate. Exhaustion: *MR*, p. 190; Mgeladze, p. 68. View of doctors: 'How they talk!' RGASPI 74.2.38.89, Stalin to Voroshilov n.d. 'If I faithfully followed the advice of doctors, I'd be in my grave', Harriman, pp. 349–53. Natalya Poskrebysheva. Rybin, *Next to Stalin*, p. 43. Yakov Rapoport, *The Doctors' Plot: Stalin's Last Crime*, pp. 17–8. Svetlana in Richardson, *Long Shadow*, p. 170. Writers: Simonov, 'Glazami', p. 41. My shadow: Rzhnevskaya, 'B tot den pozdnei oseni', p. 307
- 3 Vassals: Bierut: Minc, p. 19, Berman, p. 308, in *Oni*. Dobrynin, p. 21. Show your hands: E. Zhirnov, in *Vlast*, no. 25, 2000, p. 44. Cinema: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 152. Bolshakov's translations: *KR* 1, p. 318. Papava story about movie 'Academician Ivan Pavlov', Gromov, *Stalin*, pp. 214–6. Bolshakov, cinema, Stalin's mood, projectionists, Bolshakov's 'brothel', Goebbels' films, where have we seen this actor, Zhdanov's comments, Zhukovsky film by Pudovkin, Comrade Ulrikh and where's the next stop on your train: G. Mariamov, *Kremlevsky Tsenzor: Stalin smotrit kino*, pp. 7–13. Rise of Bolshakov and fall of Dukelsky and Shumiatsky: Kenez, pp. 116–8. Bolshakov gives Stalin a surprise: Zhirnov in *Vlast*, no. 25, 2000, p. 46. Bedell Smith, p. 219. Ivan the Terrible: 'Stalin, Molotov i Zhdanov o vtoroy serii filma "Ivan Grozny"', *Moskovskie Novosti*, no. 37, 7 Aug. 1988, incl. Ivan's kiss. On Beria and MGB reports to Stalin on Eisenstein and Ivan the Terrible: GARF r9401.2.67.283–92, Beria to Stalin 5 Nov. 1944. *Ivan, Part One*: Zhdanov gives instructions Jan. 1941: Kenez, p. 179; Bolshakov and Eisenstein, pp. 196–8; Bolshakov, p. 190; masterpieces June 1948, p. 189; Kaganovich vs Eisentein, p. 138. Stalin to Kaganovich on Eisenstein: almost a Trotskyite, *Kaganovich Perepiska*, p. 101. Talented, watched Nevsky repeatedly: Mgeladze, p. 212. Stalin comments on movie scripts: e.g. RGASPI 558.11.713.115, Vsevelod Vishnevsky to Stalin with thanks for comments on his script, *Unforgettable 1919*, which Stalin sent via Mikhail Chiaureli, 20 Jan. 1950. Stalin makes comments on movie throughout, mixes up reality and film: Djilas, p. 103. *KR* 1, p. 318. Mariamov, pp. 7–13. Believed Hitler's propaganda film on Danzig, *KR* 1, p. 158, but also believed his own films, p. 185. Discussion of policy – 'certain special problems' – *MR*, p. 321. Films change policy: on aircraft carriers and navy, Stalin influenced by Ushakov movie, *KR* 2, p. 20, and on surface to air, *KR* 2, p. 43. Also on destruction of villages in front line areas in WW2: Volkogonov, p. 478. Stalin loved *Volga! Volga!* and Charlie Chaplin; Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 198–9. Favourite foreign films: *Leyda*, p. 380. Stalin shows Hull film about Japan: Berezhkov, p. 234. Mikoyan and Khrushchev uneasy about Stalin's enthusiasm for film about killing fellows: Mikoyan, p. 534. *KR* 1, pp. 318–28. On Zhdanov and CC resolution on film:

- Leyda, pp. 390–1; Kenez, p. 195. On Bolshakov and USSR film industry: Leyda, pp. 299–391. Choosing films: Troyanovsky, p. 154. Chiaureli and Gelovani at Stalin's: Charkviani, pp. 44–5. Tarzan: *Istochnik*, no. 4, 1999, Bolshakov to Poskrebyshev, 31 Jan. 1951. On movie guests: Gelovani: Charkviani, pp. 44–45; Diky: Artyom Sergeev. Clark Gable/Spencer Tracey: Gulia Djughashvili in Biagi, pp. 81–3. John Wayne assassination: Michael Munn, *John Wayne: the Man Behind the Myth*, pp. 130–3, 205–60. Accents: Medvedev: *Neizvestnyi Stalin: Stalin as Russian nationalist*.
- 4 Cars: K. Popovic in Dedijev, *Tito Speaks*, pp. 280–4. Chooses route: *KR* 1, pp. 318, 320, 325. Djilas, pp. 67–9, 147. Guests 'if you have time': Chiaureli and Gelovani: Charkviani, pp. 44–5. Cleanliness: Popovic in *Tito Speaks*, p. 282. Notebooks: Djilas, pp. 67–9, 147–8: Zhdanov on German names, Voznesensky takes note also. Malenkov takes notes: 'I hated such toadying', Mikoyan, p. 586. Lavatories: Djilas, p. 148. *KR* 1, pp. 307, 320, 324: 'Stalin lying', 'Even in childhood he drank too much.' Seating: Berman in *Oni*, pp. 235–7. Djilas, pp. 75–6, 108–9. Drink: champagne favourite – *MR*, p. 177. Mikoyan, pp. 353–4. *KR* 1, pp. 330–2. Berman in *Oni*, p. 234. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 116; Stalin sometimes drunk, singing with Health Minister Y. Smirnov; Beria incites drinking, Svetlana *OOI*, pp. 332–3. Djilas, pp. 148, 155–7, resembling Beria's conversation with Clark Kerr; see Yalta. Sergo B, p. 168, and couldn't resist a drink, pp. 120–1. See also Troyanovsky, p. 156. *Kaganovich*, p. 106. Djilas on Molotov: practically a drunk, p. 77. Khrushchev's hard drinking: *MR*, p. 177. Stepan M., p. 71. Food and cigarettes: Stalin's own bottles of wine: see Karpov, *Rastreblyanniye Marshaly*, on Kulik's dinner. On Egnatashvili as Rabbit, see Brackman, p. 4; as logistics/food MGB Lieut-Gen., see Charkviani, pp. 5–7. On food testing: Svetlana *OOI*, p. 334. Khrushchev's version of story: Beria, Malenkov and Mikoyan suborn waitress but claim they were betrayed by Shcherbakov, *KR* 1, p. 322.
- 5 Pond: *Sergo B*, p. 141. Svetlana *OOI*, pp. 332–3. *KR* 1, pp. 330–2. Roses: Natalya Poskrebysheva. Birds: Shtemenko quoted in Jonathan Lewis and Philip Whitehead, *Stalin: A Time for Judgement*, p. 157. Gottwald: Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, pp. 131–3; Rakosi: *KR* 1, pp. 325, 330–2. S. Khrushchev, *Superpower*, p. 31. Julia Khrushcheva. Volya Malenkova. Food: Mikoyan, pp. 353–5, 529–33. Food tasting before Stalin: *KR* 1, p. 321. Food/waitress: Berman in *Oni*, pp. 235–7. Djilas, pp. 75–7. Malenkov's and Khrushchev's weight: Sergo B, p. 140. *KR* 1, pp. 318–20. Djilas, p. 77. Beria's vegetarianism: Martha Peshkova. Rybin, *Ryadom*, p. 88: P. Lozgachev – Beria, fish and pears, also small children. Peppering guards: Rybin, *Kto Otravil Stalina*; Lozgachev, pp. 5–10, and *KR* 1, p. 324. Rybin, *Oktyabre* 1941, V. Tukov, p. 47. Rybin, *Stalin i Zhukov*: memoirs on gardens, lamb, hothouse, S. Solovev, pp. 42–4.
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- 7 Guide to survival: Mikoyan, pp. 355, 564, 521, 563. Sergo B, p. 312. *KR* 1, p. 178, 277 (avoiding eyes). Lozgachev quoted in Radzinsky, p. 553. RGASPI 558.11.732.42–5, B. Dvinsky to Stalin 23 Sept. 1946. Gromyko, *Memoirs*, pp. 319–21. Bohlen, p. 255. RGASPI 588.2.156.31–41, Manuilsky to Stalin 28 Dec. 1948. S. Khrushchev, *Superpower*, p. 29. Wolf on Rybalko in *Stalin's Generals*, p. 214. *KR* 1, p. 218, e.g. Khrushchev on Yeremenko, on Kulik and Pavlov, pp. 199–200, spring wheat,

- pp. 260–1, 335, checking with Beria, p. 271. Bugging: all leaders bugged – Deriabin, pp. 43–4. Molotov warned by Chekists: *MR*, p. 224. Voznesensky: Kovalev in Simonov, ‘Glazami’, p. 58. Sudoplatov, p. 231.
- 8 Stalin teases Mikoyan, Sergo B, p. 140. Beria’s jokes with tomatoes against Mikoyan and tossing his hat into the trees, Lozgachev in Rybin, *Kto Otravil Stalina?*, p. 10. Mikoyan vs Beria: *MR*, p. 233; Beria ‘didn’t trust any Armenian’, Mikoyan, p. 582. Chicken bones – Stepan Mikoyan. Mikoyan dashing: Svetlana *OOY*, p. 346. Mikoyan, ‘fancy airs’: *KR* 1, p. 406. Tricks, tomatoes, salt or vodka in wine, main victims Poskrebyshv and Mikoyan: Svetlana *OOY*, pp. 332–42. Sergo B, p. 141. Lenin: Djilas, p. 161. *KR* 2, p. 108. Gramophone, singing and dancing: the Georgians, Charkviani, pp. 44–5. Berman in *Oni*, pp. 235–7. Stalin dances: *KR* 1, p. 309–11. Djilas, p. 161. K Popovic in Dedijer, *Tito Speaks*, p. 283. Sergo B, p. 142. Svetlana: *KR* 1, pp. 309–11. Leaders dance: Bulganin ‘stomped’; Khrushchev does gopak, laugh at locks and drinking, *KR* 1, pp. 309–11, 322–4, 330–3. Bulganin in *Galina*, p. 148. Molotov slow-dance with Berman in *Oni*, pp. 235–7. Stalin and Tito dance: Hugh Thomas, *Armed Truce: The Beginnings of the Cold War 1945–6*, pp. 45–7. Churchill, 5, p. 330. On music: Stalin to Truman in Gromyko, *Memoirs*, p. 113. Zhdanov: Yury Zhdanov. Songs: *MR*, p. 189 Stalin throws tomatoes, threats, prison or home? *KR* 1, pp. 277–9. Mikoyan, p. 573. Svetlana *OOY*, pp. 332–3. Stalin stories against Lenin: Sergo B, p. 135. Prick: W. Taubman, *Khrushchev, Man and Era*, p. 214.

47: MOLOTOV’S CHANCE

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48: ZHDANOV THE HEIR AND ABAKUMOV’S BLOODY CARPET

- 1 On Vasily’s denunciations: RGASPI 45.1.807, N. Sbytov to Stalin 24 Mar. 1948. Svetlana *OOY*, pp. 315–20; *Twenty Letters*, pp. 221–9. *KR* 1, p. 274. Pavlenko, ‘Razmyshleniya’, pp. 30–1. Purge of the victors: Erickson on Novikov in *Stalin’s Generals*, p. 173. Vladimir Karpov, ‘Rasprava Stalin nad Marshalom Zhukovym’, *Vestnik Protivovozdukhnoi Oborony*, 7–8, 1992, pp. 69–72. Kostyrchenko, pp. 67–8. *Lesser Terror*, p. 179. Hahn, p. 35. Rybin, *Next to Stalin*, p. 69. *MR*, p. 209. Beria traitor: Kavtaradze, p. 74. Snake-eyes: Golovanov, *MR*, p. 306. Beria ‘sacked’, resentful: Beria to Mikoyan in 1952: ‘I was sacked years ago’ in Sergo B, p. 242. Stalin on Beria and at dinner with Beria, Mgeladze, pp. 64–7, 100; on Beria, pipes, MVD: p. 168. Knows too much: Mikoyan, pp. 563–6. Martha Peshkova. Vlasik, p. 130. Abakumov: *Lesser Terror*, pp. 115, 175–5. Abakumov showed independence of Beria: on 28 Apr. 1943, Abakumov arrested NKGB head of Secret Police Dept., V. N. Ilyin.

- Sudoplatov, p. 238. Malenkov vs Merkulov: Sukhanov, *Memoirs*. Parrish, 'Serov', p. 120. Parrish, 'Yezhov', pp. 81, 98. Sudoplatov, p. 238. Abakumov vs Beria: Merkulov quoted in *Beria*, p. 140. Abakumov and Stalin gather evidence on Beria's sex-life: *Vlast*, no. 22, 2000, p. 44. Kuznetsov, 'Abakumov', pp. 149–65. *Lesser Terror*, p. 251–2, L. N. Smirov quoted on 'zoological careerist'. Leopold Trepper in Thomas, *Armed Truce*, p. 63. Jazz and Eddie Rosner: BBC2 *Storyville* programme. Abakumov and Svetlana: Voronov, Memoir of N. V. Voronov, *VIZh*, 6, June 1994, pp. 61–2. Sudoplatov, p. 310: Vasily and Abakumov. Shooting Novikov: Sudoplatov, p. 310. Malenkov: Hahn, p. 44. N. S. Patolichev, *Ispytanie na zrelost*, pp. 280–4. Dacha loss: Igor Malenkov and Volya Malenkova. House arrest: Andrei Malenkov, *O moem otse Georgie Malenkove*, p. 53. Beria's bomb in December: Holloway, p. 182. Sergo B, p. 160. Stalin mocks Beria's help for Malenkov: Sergo B, p. 188. Resolution of PB on reorganization of MGB, 4 May 1946, in *PB/Sovmin*, pp. 207–20.
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49: THE ECLIPSE OF ZHUKOV AND THE LOOTERS OF EUROPE

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- 2 Zhukov case: Alanbrooke, pp. 605, 660. Stalin and Zhukov: Nina Budyonny. *Kaganovich*, pp. 150, 101. Beria, p. 129. Mikoyan (on Zhukov/Kulik cases), pp. 184, 557. Parrish, ‘Serov’, p. 119. *VIZh*, 2, 1993, p. 27. Shtemenko, *Generalnyi Shtab*, vol. 2. pp. 18–21. Pavlenko, *Razmyshleniya*, pp. 30–1. G. K. Zhukov, ‘Korotko o Staline’, *Pravda*, 20 Jan. 1989, p. 3. Budyonny, *Notes*, p. 41. RGASPI 82.2.896,126, Malenkov to Molotov on trial of Kuznetsov, Galler, 8 Apr. 1948. RGASPI 82.2.896.129, S. Dukelski to Molotov and Zhdanov, on Stalin’s request, re. work of Enemy agents in General Staff, 22 Mar. 1948. Koniev, *Zapiski*, pp. 594–7. Karpov, ‘Razprava Stalin’, pp. 69–72. Berlin book: Simonov, *Zametki*, pp. 49–50. Spahr, pp. 205–8. Volkogonov, *Rise and Fall*, p. 116. RGASPI 558.11.712.142, Stalin promotes Bulganin to Marshal 3 Nov 1947. Search and look: N. N. Yakovlev, *Zhukov*, pp. 427–8. ‘Like a museum’: *Voennyi Arkhiv Rossii*, no. 1, 1993, p. 189, Abakumov to Stalin 10 Jan. 1948.
- 3 Imperial elite: *VIZh*, 6, 1994. *Lesser Terror*, p. 185. *Voennyi Arkhiv Rossii*, no. 1, 1993, p. 189, Abakumov to Stalin 10 Jan. 1948. C. Stalin cannot endure: Djilas, p. 170. Vasily’s loot: Svetlana *OOI*, pp. 320–1. On officials looting: RGASPI 82.2.907.32, Abakumov to Molotov 2 Mar. 1948. Tribute system of booty: Kopelev, pp. 63–4. A. Vaksberg, ‘Delo marshala Zhukova: nerazorvavshayasya bomba’, *Literaturnaya gazeta*, no. 32, 5 Aug. 1992, p. 12. On corruption, Golovanov and Serov, see Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Stalin* ‘Stalin’s Personal Archive’ chapter. Stalin tells stories on luxury of generals: Kavtaradze, p. 35. Vlasik Case confessions: GARF 7523.107.127.1–6, Vlasik request for pardon 18 May 1953. See also *VIZh*, 12, 1989, pp. 85–92. Vlasik, p. 130: Beria’s guards. Abakumov denounced for corruption: Serov to Stalin 4 May 1948, *Svobodnaia musl*, no. 11, Nov. 1997, p. 115. Also: *Voennyi Arkhiv Rossii*, 1993, and *VIZh*, 6, 1994. Parrish, ‘Serov’, p. 121. Kuznetsov, ‘Abakumov’, pp. 149–65. *Lesser Terror*, pp. 251–2. *VIZh*, 12, 1989. Sarkisov betrays Beria to Abakumov: *Vlast*, no. 22, 2000, p. 44. Grandees: luxury, Svetlana *OOI*, pp. 45–62. Nina Budyonny. Martha Peshkova. Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, p. 186. Vasily and Ekaterina Timoshenko’s booty: Svetlana *OOI*, p. 320; speeches p. 326. A. Brot, chauffeur, quoted in Radzinsky, p. 526. Svetlana *OOI*, p. 346, and Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 197. Zoos: S. Khrushchev, *Superpower*, pp. 8–40. Stalin’s dachas, Sosnovka, Crimea: RGASPI 74.1.429.65, Ekaterina Voroshilova 21 June 1954. Stalin orders Livadia and Alupka for magnates: GARF 9401.2.93.319, Stalin and Chadaev to Beria 27 Feb. 1945. S. Khrushchev, *Superpower*, pp. 38–40. Oil paintings as marks of rank: Sakharov, p. 93. Special flights, Bolshoi *loge*: Sergo Mikoyan. Stepan Mikoyan. Stepan M, pp. 134–5. On bodyguards: Joseph Minervin; Julia Khrushcheva. Svetlana *OOI*, pp. 357, 346. Igor Malenkov.

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- 5 Kalinin. Tito dinner: Djilas, p. 102. Mgeladze: Stalin calls about Kalinin, p. 42. Stalin's tenderness, funeral: Rybin, *Kto Otravil Stalina?*, pp. 37–9. RGASPI 558.11.753.19–20, Kalinin to Stalin 8 June 1944. GARF 7523.64.683.1–6, Stalin, Malenkov, Zhdanov, Shkiryatov, Supreme Soviet Presidium 11 June 1945. Merkulov to Shvernik 24 May 1945. Kalinina to Shvernik 12 May 1945. Merkulov to Poskrebyshhev and Stalin to Gorkin, Secretary of Presidium of Supreme Soviet, n.d. Kalinina to Stalin 9 May 1945. RGASPI 558.11.753.22–9, M. Kalinin to Stalin 24 June 1946. Stalin honoured these requests, also giving his daughter-in-law 25,000 roubles, GARF 7523.65.164.
- 6 Stalin vs Molotov, Mikoyan, famine: *MR*, pp. 191–2. Mikoyan, p. 497. Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, pp. 18–23; p. 259, for Lozovsky's testimony of Molotov and Crimean project. Kostyrchenko, pp. 35–7. *Lesser Terror*, p. 202. Diplomacy: Molotov, Stalin, Polina: RGASPI 82.2.1592, 19–20, Molotov to Polina 8 July 1946, Paris. RGASPI 82.2.1592.30–1, Molotov to Polina 28 Aug. 1946. Stalin holiday 1946: RGASPI 558.11.1481.49: 8 Sept. to 21 Dec. Beria's dinner sing-song: Mgeladze, pp. 63–5. See also: Pechatnov, pp. 17–24. Zubok, pp. 91–103. Mikoyan/famine: RGASPI 558.11.731.120, Mikoyan to Stalin and Stalin to Zhdanov, Mikoyan, Kosygin and Beria 15 Sept. 1946. Famine: *KR* 1, p. 249; 2, p. 112. RGASPI 558.11.732.42–54, Serov to Beria, Beria to Stalin, Stalin to Voznesensky, Zhdanov and Patolichev, 15 Oct. 1946. RGASPI 558.11.765.113, Mikoyan to Stalin. RGASPI 558.11.156.47, Stalin to Beria 12 Sept. 1946. RGASPI 558.11.765.116–8, Dvinsky to Stalin, 22 Sept. 1946. Stalin ordered Minister of State Control Mekhlis to check Mikoyan. Khrushchev and famine, statistics: Shapoval in Taubman, pp. 33–4. Kaganovich to Ukraine: Resolution of PB on changes in Ukrainian leadership, 27 Feb. 1947, in *PB/Sovmin*, p. 46. Taubman, *Khrushchev, Man and Era*, pp. 203–5. Svetlana *OOY*, p. 353.

50: 'THE ZIONISTS HAVE PULLED ONE OVER YOU!'

- 1 Marshall Plan/Jewish Crime: Zubok, pp. 105–7: Lend-Lease without strings, p. 104. Raanan p. 81: Zhdanov pro-Arab. Khrushchev on Crimea/Jews: Stepan Staszewski in *Oni*, pp. 170–2. RGASPI 82.2.1012.21–52, Mikhoels and Epshteyn Fefer; Suslov's report (24–38); Suslov and F. Alexandrov to Molotov and A. A. Kuznetsov 20 Nov. 1946 (46–51); Mikhoels and Fefer to Molotov (p. 52), 16 Apr. 1947; Abakumov to Molotov cc Stalin, Molotov, Zhdanov and Kuznetsov 26 Mar. 1948. Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, pp. 19–40. Kostyrchenko, pp. 51–60. Vladimir Redens. Mikhoels prize 'Shirma' decoy: Ehrenburg, *Postwar Years*, pp. 124–5. 'Tell me why are there so many Jews in your organization?' Leopold Trepper quoted in *Lesser Terror*, p. 175. Sudoplatov, p. 291. *Lesser Terror*, p. 210, Abakumov arrested Maj.-Gen. I. F. Dashichev for anti-Semitism in July 1942.
- 2 Svetlana *OOI*, pp. 139–41, 319. Morozov puts on airs, Jews into family: Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens). 'Worming their way into the family': Svetlana quoted in Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, p. 35. Interview Volya Malenkova. Example of Svetlana being asked favours: Yuri Soloviev asked her to inquire why he had been expelled from the élite Institute of Foreign Relations and she arranged a meeting with Deputy Minister Dekanozov. Svetlana RR: 'Being who I am, no one left me ...' Vasily helped chums: Svetlana *OOI*, p. 320. Kostyrchenko, pp. 79–85. Svetlana RR. Morozov's father was soon arrested. 'Stalin never asked me to divorce': Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 196. Sergo Beria confirms Svetlana wanted to divorce – Sergo B, p. 152. If she doesn't divorce, American spy, Mikoyan, p. 362. Vaksberg, *Stalin Against the Jews*, pp. 155–7. 'French wrestling': GARF 8131.32.3289.117, Ivanov on methods of Vlodzimirski, Rodos, Komarov and Shvartsman. GARF 8131.32.3289.181, Komarov to Prof. Yudin quoted in Rudenko at Beria's trial. He later boasted of his bestial cruelty and hatred of his Jewish victims. Komarov's letter to Stalin: Kostyrchenko, pp. 123–4. Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, p. 281: Komarov to Lozovsky, p. 288. Vladimir Alliluyev: 'Did Zhenya murder ...' Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, p. 40. investigator G. Sorokin: testimony on *Instantsiya in Stalin Against Jews*, p. 156. 'Lie low', says Vlasik, Svetlana to jail too, Olga knows: Kira Alliluyeva. 'Nothing happened without him knowing.' Leonid Redens: Svetlana and Vasily cut them dead. Yury Zhdanov. Mikoyan, pp. 362–3: Stalin on Svetlana's marriages. Stepan M., p. 145. Interpreter: Oleg Troyanovsky. 'Are you crazy?': Yuri Soloviev. RGASPI 558.11.1481.51, Stalin's 1947 holiday 16 July–21 Nov.

51: A LONELY OLD MAN ON HOLIDAY

- 1 Houses: based on author's visits to Kholodnaya Rechka, Lake Ritsa, New Athos, Likani Palace, Livadia Palace, Sukhumi dacha etc., 2002. Lenin icon: Orlov in Rybin, *Ryadom*, p. 91. 1947 road trip: Vlasik, pp. 35–40. Upset on dugouts at Kharkov and Valechka: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 197. Chats to children at seaside: Mgeladze, p. 87; missing Georgia, p. 82; J. B. Priestley and old peasant aged 150, p. 68: reading timetable, p. 113; gardening, roses, mimosa, pp. 53, 96, 142; singing 'Suliko' with Vlasik and Poskrebyshev, p. 128. Books: RGASPI 558.11.786.131, Stalin to Poskrebyshev. Yury Zhdanov. Martha Peshkova. Livadia Palace 1948: Vlasik, p. 44. On Miron Merzhanov: Martha Peshkova. Also: Vasiliyeva, *Deti Kremlya*, p. 287. Dinners: *KR* 1, pp. 325–8. Films: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 198. Georgian government on permanent call: Charkviani, pp. 1, 34, 45, 53; Mgeladze, pp. 53, 95–7, 128, 142, etc. Interviews with: Alyosha Mirtskhulava. Eka Rapava; Nadya Dekanozov; Nina Rukhadze. Underwear and sofa sleeping: Charkviani, pp. 34–7.

- Yury Zhdanov. Martha Peshkova. Poskrebyshv as C-in-C: Mgeladze, pp. 72–5, 82; map: pp. 78–9; meeting schoolchildren, p. 87; racing to dacha, p. 146; toasts 80–1. Songs: Charkviani, pp. 54, 64–66; Mgeladze, pp. 129–30. Kindness to Artyom Mikoyan: Mikoyan, p. 564. Stalin's tempers: Charkviani, pp. 38–45. Making peace between Khrushchev and Kaganovich: interview Oleg Troyanovsky. Also Troyanovsky, pp. 148, 156–64.
- 2 Svetlana leaves: Charkviani, p. 58. This account of the founding of the Cominform is based on Zubok, pp. 132–4, 110, 130–4, 136, as well as the Zhdanov/Stalin correspondence in RGASPI, e.g. 558.11.731.19, Zhdanov to Stalin and Stalin to Zhdanov; RGASPI 77.3. Also: Molotov vs Zhdanov: Nikolai Kremontsov, *Stalinist Science*, pp. 155–7. Holloway, p. 254. Jakob Berman in *Oni*, pp. 281–2. Raanan, p. 101. Dedijer, *Tito Speaks*, pp. 303–6. RGASPI 558.11.762.14, Beria and Malenkov to Stalin 6 Nov. 1947. Yury Zhdanov. On Rada staying with the Malenkovs: Igor Malenkov. Volya Malenkova. Julia Khrushcheva: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 198. Malenkov, Beria's 'spineless ... billygoat': *KR* 1, pp. 336. Zhdanov's illness and Prof. Yegorov asked Stalin to extend his holiday until 2 Dec. 1947: *PB/Sovmin*, p. 269 n.1.
- 3 Sergo B, p. 158. Golovanov in *MR*, p. 303. Yury Zhdanov. Oleg Troyanovsky. Also Troyanovsky, pp. 148, 156–64.

52: TWO STRANGE DEATHS

- 1 On verbal orders to the actual killers from the *Instantiya*: Victor Levashov, *Mikhoels: Ubiystvo Mikhoelsa*, pp. 464–74. Kostyrchenko, pp. 90–1. Svetlana *OOY*, pp. 140–1. Broken face: Perets Markish poem in Kostyrchenko, p. 95. Greasepaint: Ehrenburg, *Postwar*, pp. 124–5. Molotova: Kostyrchenko, p. 97. Kaganovich in Vaksberg, *Stalin Against Jews*, pp. 171, 168–179. Alliluyevs' sentences: Kostyrchenko, p. 98. You too anti-Semite: Djilas, pp. 154, 170. The body: Zbarsky and Hutchinson, pp. 158–9. Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, pp. 40–6, 397, Benjamin Zuskin's testimony. Abakumov's Deputy Minister Ogoltsov and the Belorussian Minister of State Security, Lavrenti Tsanava, were in charge of the operation on orders from the *Instantiya*. Abakumov's testimony: *Argumenty i Fakty*, no. 19, 1992. Abakumov's testimony quoted in letter of L. P. Beria to G. M. Malenkov 2 Apr. 1953. Tsanava's testimony and biography: GARF 7523.85.236.4–5 and 17–23, L. F. Tsanava's appeal to President Voroshilov 5 July 1953 and interrogations. 'A beast' – Kiril Mazurov, *PB* member under Brezhnev, Elena Durden-Smith. Parrish, 'Serov', p. 124. The needle: Sudoplatov, p. 297. The bullet: Zbarsky and Hutchinson, p. 158. The axe wrapped in a towel: Brackman, p. 373, based on interview with Vasily Rudich who related testimony of Olga Shatunovskaya quoting Malenkov.
- 2 RGASPI 558.11.732.130, Poskrebyshv sends report of French Politburo brought by Djilas to Moscow to Stalin and Stalin's note, 27 Feb. 1948. Zhdanov's health: Djilas, p. 149. Soup: Bedell Smith, pp. 65 and 218. Zubok, pp. 134–5, 194–7. Kostyrchenko, p. 265. Raanan, pp. 135–7, 143. Holloway, pp. 259–60. Dedijer, *Tito Speaks*, pp. 319–70. Little finger: Khrushchev, *Secret Speech*, *KR* 1, p. 624. *MR*, p. 233.
- 3 Zhdanov drinks/Stalin's temper: Svetlana *OOY*, pp. 332, 359–62, 380. *KR* 1, p. 305. Interview Yury Zhdanov. Yury A. Zhdanov, 'Vo Mgle Protivorechiy', in *Voprosy Filosofii*, no. 7, 1993, pp. 65–92. Shepilov, 'Vospominaniya', *Voprosy Istorii*, no. 3, 4, 5, 6 (1998); vol. 6, pp. 9–11. Soyfer, *Lysenko*, pp. 165–172, and Shepilov interview pp. 178–9. Alexei Kojevnikov, *Games of Stalinist Democracy, Ideological Discussions in Soviet Sciences 1947–1952*, in Sheila Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Stalinism: New Directions*, pp. 145–50, 154–160. Hahn, pp. 98–104. Zhores Medvedev, *The Rise and Fall of Lysenko*, pp. 112–28. Svetlana RR. Medvedev, p. 115. 'My Yurochka is the best': Gulia Djugashvili, *Ded, Otets, Mat i Drugie*, p. 60. Stalin's comments on Zhdanov's lecture: RGASPI

- 17.125.620.2–45, A. A. Zhdanov's notes RGASPI 77.1.180. *Pravda*, 7 Aug. 1948. Holloway, pp. 259–60. Kremontsov, *Stalinist Science*, pp. 153–67. Berlin Crisis: Zubok, pp. 51–3. Victor Gobarev, 'Soviet Military Plans and Actions During the First Berlin Crisis', *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3, Sept. 1997, pp. 1–23.
- 4 Raanan, pp. 135–7, 143. Zubok, pp. 134–7, 194–7. Holloway, pp. 259–60. Dedijer, *Tito Speaks*, pp. 319–70. Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, pp. 102–3. Djilas, pp. 151–3, 181. Sergo B, pp. 144–5 – the evolution from mad worship to realization.
- 5 Yury Zhdanov. Voznesenky and Kuznetsov named successors/Zhdanov's illness leads to Malenkov's return, Mikoyan, p. 565. On appointment of Secretaries, Malenkov and Ponomarenko 1 July 1948 in *PB/Sovmin*, p. 58. Also: Stalin tells Malenkov that 'Zhdanov very sick and Stalin proposed to appoint a young man from the regions', Ponomarenko to Kumanev quoted in *PB/Sovmin*, pp. 58–9. Top Secret report on health of C. Zhdanov, CC Secretary, Prof. Yegorov to Stalin 5 July 1948, in *PB/Sovmin*, p. 268. Andreyev's and later Mekhlis's illnesses led to their retirement without falling from favour. Kostyrchenko, pp. 265–7. Natural death: Deriabin, p. 106: Zhdanov's bodyguard, General Boris Sakharov, insisted death was natural. Lydia Timashuk: 'Tsel byla spasti zhizhn bolnovo, Pisma Lidii Timashuk', *Istochnik*, no. 1, 1997, pp. 3–17. 'Don't think I'll be long': Shepilov, 'Vospominaniia', pp. 9–11. Ehrenburg, *Postwar Years*, p. 44. Bring back the body: Poskrebyshv orders Voznesensky and A. A. Kuznetsov, Vaksberg, *Stalin Against the Jews*, pp. 262–3. Funeral supper and Molotov orders guards to stop Stalin gardening: Rybin, *Ryadom*, p. 51. Timashuk's first letter and Stalin's reaction: Sudoplatov, p. 298. See also BBC2 *Timewatch* on Leningrad Affair which quotes American Professor of Cardiology William McKinnon saying the mistreatment was 'deliberate'. Latest argument for deliberate mistreatment; Abakumov to Stalin 30 August 1948; thoughts on Dmitrov, J. Brent and V. P. Naumov, *Stalin's Last Crime*, pp. 13, 18–21, 26–7, 48–9, 107–9, 164, 168.
- 6 RGASPI 558.11.1481.51, Stalin's holiday 1948: 8 Sept.–2 Dec. Poskrebyshv accuses Mikoyan, p. 535; successors: pp. 656–6: Kuznetsov (ill service), Molotov (obvious person).

53: MRS MOLOTOV'S ARREST

- 1 Stalin vs Molotovs: Golda Meir, *My Life*, quoted in Vaksberg, *Stalin Against Jews*, pp. 188–191. On Carp/Karp: Davies, *Mission to Moscow*, 5 June 1938, p. 224. Voroshilova: Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, p. 236. Kostyrchenko, pp. 104, 112, 116, 117, 121–2. Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, pp. 46–7: contaminated, Svetlana, p. 42. Stalin's dinner in south: Charkviani, pp. 45, 55; on Egnatashvili, pp. 5–7. GARF 8131.32.3289.144, Rudenko on Abakumov/Beria/Polina Case. Vaksberg, p. 189. *MR*, railway carriage p. 325. *Kaganovich*: opera, pp. 150–1. Polina sacked: Kostyrchenko, p. 120. How to save the family: interview Vyacheslav Nikonov. Svetlana RR. Polina 'bad influence on Nadya', Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 202. Lozovsky's arrest, Kostyrchenko, pp. 36–9. Volya Malenkova's marriage: interview Volya Malenkova. Interview with Shamberg, Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, 44–5. (Malenkova's divorce was in Jan. 1949, according to Naumov; 1947 according to Volya Malenkova.) Mikhail Shamberg appointed deputy head Kostrama Regional Council – Kostyrchenko, p. 118. Julia Khrushcheva. Igor Malenkov also claimed: 'There was no political reason for the divorce. It was impossible to influence Volya. She was unhappy – her love was over.' 110 arrests: Kostyrchenko, pp. 116–18. Komarov's torture in Kostyrchenko, pp. 124–5. Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, pp. 45–6, 325; Jewish wives, Komarov to Lozovsky, pp. 282–3. GARF 8131.32.3289.144–7, Rudenko on Abakumov/Beria/Polina Case. *KR* 1, pp. 280, 313; Stalin ordered Malenkov to

- divorce Shamberg. Fadayev's wife, Valeria Gerasimova, quoted in *Stalin Against Jews*, p. 189. Polina's fur coat: Larisa Alexevna in Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, p. 147. Sister and brother die: Vyacheslav Nikonov. Svetlana Molotova best dressed, Svetlana *OOY*, p. 351. Sergo B, pp. 169–70; no one who contradicted him kept his wife, p. 148; Malenkov denies anti-Semitism, p.161. PB Resolution on excluding Zhemchuzhina from Party, 29 Dec. 1948, and Molotov's letter admitting mistaken voting on P. S. Zhemchuzhina in *PB/Sovmin*, pp. 312–13.
- 2 Molotov Case: Komarov in Kostyrchenko, pp. 124–5. You old whore: Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, p. 52. *MR*, pp. 322–6. Not at synagogue; no intimate relationship, phone my husband, four eternities: Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, pp. 141–3, 149. Many thought she had been shot: *KR* 1, p. 280. Kulaks: Vyacheslav Nikonov. Molotov: RGASPI 558.11.762.15, Stalin to Voznesensky, Beria, Malenkov 9 Apr. 1948. RGASPI 82.2.906.22–3, 24–7, MGB Deputy Minister Ogoltsov to Molotov about Vano Ivanovich Mikoyan and 'sons of A. I. Mikoyan'. Voroshilov: *MR*, p. 225. Voroshilov; Stalin and weather: GARF P5446.54.31.148, Voroshilov to Stalin 23 Aug. 1946. Mao, Mikoyan: Sergei N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao and the Korean War*, pp. 38–40. Mikoyan, pp. 528–9. Stepan M., pp. 136–40. Interview with Stepan M. Zubok, pp. 57–9.

54: MURDER AND MARRIAGE

- 1 Leningrad Affair: Resolution of PB on removal of A. A. Kuznetsov, M. I. Rodionov and P. S. Popkov 15 Feb. 1949, *PB/Sovmin* pp. 66–7; Resolution of PB on removal of Voznesensky from PB, 7 Mar. 1949, p. 69. Voznesensky arrogance of Mikoyan, pp. 559–60, 564–8, Ukrainians not people, p. 559. Affable at home: Sergo Mikoyan. Directness: Simonov quotes Stalin to Kovalev, 'Glazami', p. 58. Cleverest person after Stalin: Chadaev in Kumanev (ed.), p. 426. Stalin's approval of Voznesensky's food question and answers: RGASPI 558.11.731.126–34, Stalin to Zhdanov, Patolichev, Beria and Kosygin Sept. 1946. Beria vs Voznesensky, *MR*, pp. 292–4. Sergo B, pp. 217–18. Kuznetsov and Zhdanov arrange Malenkov's exile *IA*, 1 (1994), p. 34. Sergo Mikoyan: Kuznetsov's son to Sergo Mikoyan on Kirov files. *MR*, AAK 'a good lad', p. 292; 'handsome young Kuznetzov', and Stalin refuses to shake his hand, Svetlana *OOY*. Mikoyan, 'AAK nice, sincere, cheerful' and treasures from Stalin, pp. 559–65. Sudoplatov: Kuznetsov friends with Abakumov, pp. 325–7. Sexual antics of officials: *Lesser Terror*, pp. 214–21. Pride in letter: 'Motherland won't forget you' from Stalin: Valery A. Kuznetsov on BBC2, *Timewatch*, Leningrad Affair: Hahn, p. 123. See I. I. Kuznetsov, 'Stalin's Minister VI Abakumov', *Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, March 1999. Deriabin: trains to Leningrad, p. 39. Volkogonov, pp. 520–1. Voznesensky on ice at dinner, *KR* 1, p. 272. 'Stalin says kill one, he kills 1,000': Beria on Malenkov, Sergo B, p. 162. Sergo and Alla: Mikoyan, pp. 565–7. Sergo Mikoyan: the wedding, 'I feel unwell', said Kuznetzov. Malenkov to Rada: 'I won't give you the car', Julia Khrushcheva. Svetlana and Yury Zhdanov. Proposal to Stalin: no lecture, Yury Zhdanov. 'I don't know her character, you did not want me', Sergo B, p. 152. 'My Yurochka' in Gulia Djugashvili, p. 60. Wedding of Yury Zhdanov and Svetlana Stalin: Stepan Mikoyan and Natasha Andreyeva. Marriage, my father wanted it, never make a deal, sex not a success: Svetlana RR. Stalin comes to Zubalovo: *Twenty Letters*, pp. 200–1. 'Our characters didn't match', Mikoyan p. 362. Stalin no more attention than before: Svetlana *OOY*, p. 319. Birth of Katya, Stalin's note, Zinaida Zhdanova: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 207–9. 'Means he's guilty': Mikoyan, p. 567. Might spread to others: *KR* 1, pp. 272–5. RGASPI 558.11.713.110–4, meetings 13 June and 19 July on Encyclopaedia, S. Vavilov's report of meetings with Stalin. Bus-stop ride: Tukov in Rybin, *Ryadom*, p. 87.

- 2 Mikoyan, pp. 567–8. Sergo Mikoyan. Igor Malenkov. Julia Khrushcheva. Natalya Poskrebysheva. Bulganin's role: *Vlast*, no. 7, 2000, p. 53; Smirtukov on Bulganin. GARF 8131.sj.32.3289.1–11, Rudenko to Khrushchev, testimonies of I. M. Turko, ex-Secretary of Yaroslavsky Obkom., of Zakrizhevskaya, of investigator Putitsev; Abakumov to Stalin: 'I propose to C. Stalin to arrest Kapustin ... English spy'; list of sentences; Komarov orders accused to implicate Zhdanov and Kosygin but at last moment, Komarov orders them not to do so. Rudenko reports 29 Jan. 1954 and blames Abakumov 12 Feb. 1954. Khrushchev inseparable from Malenkov and Beria: *Kaganovich*, p. 64; Mikoyan, p. 587. Bulganin's role: Budyonny, *Notes*, p. 49. Interrogations: *Lesser Terror*, pp. 214–21. See Parrish, 'Serov'; Kuznetsov, 'Abakumov'. On Leningradskoe delo: *Komsomolskaya Pravda* 2/1990. I. S. Aksenov in *Voprosy Istorii, KPSS*, Nov. 1990, pp. 102–3. *Vozvrashchennaya Imeria*, vol. 1, p. 317. *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, 2, 1989. *Sovietskaya Militaria*, 4, 1991. Volkogonov, pp. 520–1. Hahn, p. 123. Sergo B, p. 217. *IA*. Sudoplatov, p. 325. Trial: *Argumenty i fakty*, no. 17, 1998, p. 7. *KR* 1, pp. 251, 279. Molotov linked to Voznesensky: *Vlast*, no. 38, 2000, p. 53. Kuznetsov's goodbye: Valery Kuznetsov in *BBC2, Timewatch*, Leningrad Affair. Khrushchev accuses Malenkov of 'whispering to Stalin' at June 1957 Plenum, *IA*. Molotov and Beria 'feared Voznesensky', *MR*, p. 292. Zhukov on Gosplan Affair and Beria's envy of Gosplan, *IA*, vol. 3, 1993, pp. 22–7, and vol. 4, p. 74; on Kuznetsov vs Malenkov: *IA*, vol. 1, 1994, p. 34. *Rodina*, vol. 5, 1994, p. 82. On Voznesensky's mistakes, Kruglov to Stalin 3 Mar. 1949; on leave of Voznesensky, 7 March 1949; Andreyev's report, 22 Aug. 1949; and notes of Voznesensky to Stalin on loss of secret documents, 1 Sept. 1949, in *PB/Sovmin*, pp. 278, 285, 293–5, 297. RGASPI 83.1.5.96, Voznesensky to Stalin 17 Aug. 1949.
- 3 Beria and Bomb: This account is completely based on Holloway, pp. 213–19 including 'before the people' – Pervukhin; Beria's July 1953 letter to Malenkov on his 'comradely attitude' on departure for Semipalatinsk and 'colossal achievement', p. 143. 'Grind you to pulp', *Beria*, p. 139. Beria in favour, Vlasik, p. 130. Deriabin, pp. 62–3. Lilya Drozhdova, 'beauty', 'don't let him', 'great love': Martha Peshkova. Khrushchev's recall: *KR* 1, pp. 249, 268–75; return, Moscow Case, favourite, balance with Malenkov/Beria, *KR* 2, p. 95. On Moscow Case: Stalin to Malenkov: 'I know the facts about Moscow. Maybe I'm guilty of not paying due attention to complaints because I trusted C. Popov. We must check it out ...' RGASPI 558.11.762.30–1, Stalin to Malenkov on G. M. Popov and Moscow Case, 29 Oct. 1949. Naumov in Taubman, pp. 93–6; Barsukov in Taubman, pp. 44–8; Khrushchev's brutalities, almost a million: Shapoval in Taubman, pp. 33–41. Khrushchev to Stalin on the need to expel 'harmful elements from villages', Feb. 1948, and Resolution of PB on Commission for resettled individuals, the organization of special prisons and camps, and expulsion from Ukraine of harmful elements, 10 Feb. 1948, *PB/Sovmin*, pp. 250, 254: 'Agrotowns'. Malenkov and Molotov vs Khrushchev who is saved by Beria: author's interview with A. Mirskhulava. Negus of Ethiopia: Igor Malenkov. Simonov in *Beria*, p. 209: Beria underestimates Khrushchev: 'fool' and 'deep naturalness, pure masculinity etc'. Execution of Uniate Archbishop and Ukrainian nationalists: Sudoplatov, p. 249. 'Jolly pigheaded', Svetlana *OOI*, p. 163. 'I his son' Stefan Staszewski in *Oni*, p. 171. Hahn, pp. 137–41. RGASPI 82.2.897.101, Khrushchev to Stalin and Molotov, Mar. 1945. To limit Beria/short leash: Sergo B, p. 218. Malenkov and Khrushchev, S. Khrushchev, *Superpower*, p. 29. Granovsky life/walks: Julia Khrushcheva, Igor Malenkova, Volya Malenkov, Nina Budyonny. Inseparables: *Kaganovich*, p. 85. Mikoyan, pp. 581–3. RGASPI 73.2.23.143, Andreyev's recanting on errors of his position on matter of organizing labour on collective farms, Feb. 1950. Khrushchev's recanting to Stalin, 6 Mar. 1951, in *PB/Sovmin*, p. 334. Hollow head: Taubman, *Khrushchev, Man and Era*, p. 230. Inner leadership. Yoram

Gorlizki, 'Stalin's Cabinet: the Politburo and Decision-making in the Postwar Years', pp. 194–6, in Christopher Read: *The Stalin Years: a Reader*. RGASPI 558.11.1481.51, Stalin's holiday: 5 Sept. to 7 Dec. 1949. The Bomb and singing: Mgeladze, pp. 127–9; nannies: pp. 117–8, 120.

55: MAO, STALIN'S BIRTHDAY AND THE KOREAN WAR

- 1 The following account of Mao's visit and the Korean War is based on Sergei N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao and the Korean War*, pp. 84–93, 111–29, and Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War*, pp. 36, 54–6, 62–72. Lipki: Rybin, *Stalin i Zhukov*, quoting V. Tukov, p. 39. Fedorenko, Stalin-Mao summit in Moscow, *Far Eastern Affairs, Moscow*, 2: 1989. Gromyko, *Memoirs*, p. 249. Deriabin: bugging, battle of China, p. 109. Real Marxist, rice, Stalin jealous: Sergo B, p. 221. Mao at Kuntsevo, Chinese Pugachev: *MR*, p. 81. Metropol reception: Ehrenburg, *Postwar Years*, p. 302. Scatology: *Lesser Terror*, p. 190.
- 2 Birthday committee and medals: GARF 7523.65.218a.1–28. Medals: GARF 7523.65.218. Guest list: GARF 7523.65.181a.1–7. Gift packs: GARF 7523c.65.739.1–14, Shvernik to Zverev. All dated 17 Dec. 1949. Brooks, *Thank You C. Stalin*, pp. 219–20. Volkogonov, pp. 525–8. *Maya*, p. 114. Sergo B, p. 219. Stepan M., p. 190. Natalya Poskrebysheva.
- 3 Metropol reception: Ehrenburg, *Postwar Years*, p. 302. Scatology: *Lesser Terror*, p. 190, Mgeladze, pp. 137–8.
- 4 Korea: RGASPI 558.11.1481.51. Holiday 1950: 5 Aug.–22 Dec. Zubok, pp., 64–6. This account is also based on Holloway, pp. 277–83, and Goncharov, Lewis and Litai, pp. 135, 189–99. Outstanding Mao, trust: Mgeladze, p. 137. Gromyko, *Memoirs*, p. 102. Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, pp. 146–7. 'Nothing except for their men', Zubok, pp. 71 and 299. Some accounts claim Chou En-lai met Stalin at the Sochi house but he spent most of this period at New Athos. 'I think I can rely on him' – Mgeladze, p. 138. 'What is he doing?' – Beria, Charkviani notes. Gela Charkviani.
- 5 GARF 8131.sj.32.3289.1–11, Rudenko to Khrushchev. Volkogonov, pp. 520–1. Hahn, p. 123. *MR*, p. 292. Sergo B, p. 217. *IA*. Sudoplatov, p. 325. Trial: *Argumenty i Fakty*, no. 17, 1998, p. 7. *KR* 1, p. 279. On Stalin's signs next to names of accused: Lev Voznesensky on BBC2 *Timewatch*, Leningrad Affair. On Voznesensky's death: Andrei Malenkov, p. 54. Kuznetsov's death: Julia Khrushcheva.
- 6 Jews: Kostyrchenko, pp. 224–7, Zaltsman and ZiS Case. Kostyrchenko, on Yury Zhdanov, p. 244. Stefan Staszewski in *Oni*, pp. 170–2. Khrushchev on Jews: crows, Sudoplatov, p. 294. Abramoviches in *Istochnik*, 3, 1994, p. 96. Jews at car factory, *KR* 1, pp. 280–9; tumour in Stalin's mind and briefing of Ukrainian leaders Melnikov and Korotchenko, pp. 280–9. Kostyrchenko on ZiS Case: pp. 227–33. Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, p. 51. On Mingrelian Affair: *Beria*, p. 158; Sudoplatov, pp. 321–5; Abakumov collects Beria's perversions, p. 315. Stalin may have used the phrase 'Big Mingrelian' to Ignatiev: *Lesser Terror*, pp. 236–7. Sarkisov betrays Beria to Abakumov/Stalin: *Vlast*, no. 22, 2000. Mgeladze is understandably reluctant to retell his own part in this affair but happily recounts his undermining of Beria: Mgeladze, pp. 99–100, 167–70. Charkviani notes, Gela Charkviani, Eka Rapava. Nina Rukhadze. Alyosha Mirtskhulava.

56: THE MIDGET AND THE KILLER DOCTORS

- 1 Riumin: *Lesser Terror*, pp. 174, 230–5, 272. Kostyrchenko, pp. 125–6, 262. Gulags: A. Applebaum, *GULAG*, p. 522. Riumin vs Abakumov: J. Brent and V. Naumov, *Stalin's Last Secret*, pp. 107–25. Sudoplatov: role of Sukhanov/Malenkov, pp. 328–9;

- Doctors' Plot as internal power struggle – Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchev vs Beria and old guard, pp. 298–300. Ignatiev was already the CC Secretary responsible for the MGB before becoming Minister: Sudoplatov, pp. 300–6. Sukhanov, *Memoirs*. Sergo B, p. 217; Sergo Beria claimed that Malenkov 'dictated' Riumin's letter, which is possible but neatly removes Beria from the equation. *Beria*, pp. 157–9. The Midget: see Kostyrchenko, pp. 125–6. Little Mishka Riumin: Deriabin, pp. 47–57, 89. Poskrebyshev: articles in *Pravda*, 13 Oct. 1952 and 30 Dec. 1952. GARF 7523.55.65.1, Ignatiev appointed MGB 5 July and officially 9 Aug.; Abakumov sacked 11 Aug. 1951; Riumin officially Deputy Minister 19 Oct. 1951, *PB/Sovmin*, pp. 343–8. GARF 8131.sj.32.3289.26, Abakumov to Beria 15 Aug. 1952. Abakumov's career and his part in destruction of Ordzhonikidze family inc. Konstantin Ordzhonikidze, GARF 8131.sj.32.3289.38, Rudenko to Khrushchev Jan. 1954. Abakumov's luxuries: GARF 8131.32.3289.199–200, Rudenko on Beria. Naumov, pp. 53–5. Broken Abakumov: *Golgofa*, pp. 10–15, 21–8, 30–40. Ignatiev: Hahn, p. 142; 'mild and considerate', *KR* 1, pp. 303–7. Beria's disappointment with Merkulov: *Beria*, pp. 157–9. On *curators*: Nikita Petrov. Abakumov corruption and baby carriage: Deriabin, pp. 47–57; Shvartsman, Sudoplatov, pp. 300–6. Merkulov had also denounced Abakumov, hoping to regain the MGB. He was rewarded with the Ministry of State Control. Holiday, RGASPI 558.11.1481.52; RGASPI 83.1.9.57, Stalin to Malenkov 13 Dec. 1950.
- 2 Stalin's holiday, 10 Aug. 22 Dec. 1951. Health: Tukov and Orlov quoted Rybin, *Ryadom*, pp. 91–4. Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Stalin*, pp. 19–20. Visits Stalin twice a week: Mikoyan, p. 529. Lake Ritsa: author's visit. 'I'm finished': *KR* 1, p. 272. Ignores Voroshilov, *MR*, p. 225, and reads no papers, pp. 179–80. Bored with economic questions: Medvedev, p. 490. Delayed budget until last minute: Smirtukov in *Vlast*, no. 25, 2000, p. 46. Bulganin's speech corrected: RGASPI 558.11.712.145, Nov. 1950. New cadres: Mgeladze, p. 125; movements: Mgeladze, p. 141. Malenkov's studies: Shepilov, 'Vospominaniya', p. 3. Bananas: Mikoyan, pp. 529–33; Charkviani, pp. 40–1. Charkviani says this was at Coldstream, Mikoyan at New Athos; also inner leadership: Gorlizki, p. 197; Minister Menshikov sacked 4 Nov. 1951. Successors: Khrushchev, *Glasnost*, p. 39.
- 3 Last holiday: *KR* 1, pp. 325–8. Vlasik, p. 41. Mgeladze: movements between houses, pp. 141–7. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 200–1, 207–9, Nadya mentioned. Svetlana *OOI*, p. 319, and leaves Kremlin, p. 140. Svetlana RR. Nadya's photos: Volkogonov, pp. 154–5. Invited old friends who grumbled: *MR*, p. 212. Svetlana marriage: Yury Zhdanov. Svetlana in charge and whatever next?: Mgeladze, pp. 117–20. Svetlana asked father for divorce: Charkviani, pp. 59–60. Yury as 'iceberg' etc. quoted in Miklos Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait*, p. 372. Zhdanov's renaissance: Raanan, p. 168. Mikoyan, p. 362. Stepan M, p. 145. Beria's secretary Ludvigov in Sudoplatov, p. 321. Grandchildren: Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 75–8. Gulia Djugashvili, p. 28. False teeth: doctors' reports in *Vasily*, p. 181. Mingrelian Case: Starts with anti-bribery case against C. Baramia on 9 Nov. 1951, then PB resolution on Georgian Communist Party, 27 Mar. 1952, in *PB/Sovmin* p. 349. *Lesser Terror*, pp. 236–7. Sergo B, pp. 241–3; tiger, pp. 120–1; wisecracks, p. 168; Stalin sleeping like a gundog, fond of Nina, fear, Svetlana's visits, pp. 241–2; 'coming for warmth', p. 148; Beria unhappy, p. 296; Soviet State too small: p. 235; p. 247: Malenkov's role; solidarity, p. 239. C. H. Fairbanks, 'Clientism and Higher Politics in Georgia 1949–53', *Transcaucasia*. Charkviani, pp. 40–58. The phone call: Gela Charkviani. Mgeladze ran holiday homes, Sudoplatov, p. 359. Mgeladze and Mingrelian Affair: bordello, pp. 142–3, 162–3; race to the house, pp. 146, 180–4, 192–200; Stalin hated Beria, pp. 178–9; last dinners at New Athos with Khrushchev and his toasts, pp. 148–9; resistance of PB to young leaders, p. 191. Nina Rukhadze. *KR* 1, pp. 271, 309–11. Lilya Drozhdova – Martha Peshkova. Tamara Rapava's visit – Eka Rapava; similarly when Candide

- Charkviani, who had been made a CC Inspector in Moscow, asked to be received by Beria, he was unable to see him – Gela Charkviani. Beria and foreign policy, reunifying Germany in 1952: Zubok in Taubman, pp. 275–7. Mutual support: Mikoyan, pp. 536, 581–3; Vlasik: Nadezhda Vlasika. GARF 7523.107.127.1–6, Vlasik’s appeal for pardon. Guards: Deriabin, pp. 74, 83–5. Stalin complains that Beria is supported by Molotov and Kaganovich, Mgeladze, p. 178.
- 4 Doctors: Kostyrchenko, pp. 262–70. Vaksberg, *Stalin Against Jews*, p. 242. Vinogradov’s examination: Rapoport, pp. 216–18. Post mortem by Dr Myasnikov confirmed serious hardening of cerebral arteries, arteriosclerosis – see *Beria*, pp. 172, 270. Stalin on doctors: chattering: RGASPI 74.2.38.89, Stalin to Voroshilov n.d. ‘Drinking’: Stalin to Edward Kardelj in Dedijer, *Tito Speaks*, p. 294. ‘In my grave’ – Harriman-Abel, pp. 349–53. Poskrebyshchev’s pills etc: Natasha Poskrebysheva. Volkogonov, p. 526. Destruction of medical records: Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Stalin*, pp. 18–20. Symptoms described by bodyguards: Rybin, Ryadom, pp. 91–4. Talks to bodyguard V. Tukov on doctors: Rybin, *Kto Otravil Stalina*, p. 10, and to Valechka in Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 215. Vasily flypast: Stepan M, p. 171.
- 5 Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, pp. 55–61: Lozovsky’s deconstruction, p. 256; Kostyrchenko, pp. 126–35. Description of Lozovky by Margaret Bourke-White in Rubenstein and Naumov, *Pogrom*, p. 219. Longevity: Prof. A. Bogolomov’s work: Medvedev, *Neizvestyi Stalin*, p. 17. Litvinov’s death: Carswell, p. 162.
- 6 RGASPI 83.1.35.35, Andreyev to Malenkov 7 Jan. 1949. Kostyrchenko, pp. 273–8, Andreyev’s cocaine, p. 284. Leg irons, Vaksberg, *Stalin Against Jews*, p. 242. Stalin to V. Tukov, bodyguard, in Rybin, *Kto Otravil Stalina*, p. 10. On war: Lozgachev quoted by Radzinsky, p. 551. We must prevent war: Sergo B, p. 357. Stalin trembled with fear about war: *KR* 2, p. 11. Also: apologies to his guards and kindness to staff in Rybin, *Ryadom*, pp. 90–1. Rybin, *Stalin i Zhukov*, ‘Boss’, pp. 42–3. The latest research on the Doctors’ Plot: J. Brent and V. Naumov, *Stalin’s Last Crime*, p. 130–5, 184.
- 7 Sergo B, pp. 148, 236–7; ‘Islamic fanaticism’, p. 133. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 222. *KR* 1, pp. 290–5. *Thank You C. Stalin*, p. 326. Stalin Prize meeting and anti-Semitism: Simonov, ‘Glazami’, pp. 83–5. Mikoyan, pp. 569–71. Holloway, p. 289. *Mekhlis*, pp. 291–4: Mekhlis died on 13 Feb. 1953, three weeks before Stalin who allowed him a magnificent funeral. Chikobava/linguistics: Arnold Chikobava, ‘Kogda i kak eto bylo’, *Ezhгодnik iberijsko-kavkazskogo yazykoznaniiya*, vol. 12, 1985, pp. 9–14. Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Stalin*: ‘Stalin and Linguistics: An Episode in the History of Soviet Science’. Alexei Kojevnikov, ‘Games of Stalinist Democracy, Ideological discussions in Soviet sciences 1947–1952’ in Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Stalinism: New Directions*, pp. 162–9. Prestige of Molotov, Mikoyan: Gorlizki, p. 207.

57: BLIND KITTENS AND HIPPOPOTAMUSES

- 1 L. N. Efremov, ‘Memoir of Plenum’ in *Dosye Glasnosti, Spetsvyypusk*, 2001, p. 11. Simonov, ‘Glazami’, *Znamya*, pp. 97–9. Mikoyan, pp. 573–7. *MR*, p. 319. *KR* 1, pp. 299–302, doctor, pp. 303–7. Sergo B, p. 342; Beria on Suslov, p. 161; none would succeed Stalin, p. 161. *Beria*, pp. 165–8. Resolution of Plenum of CC on composition of Presidium, Buro of Presidium and Secretariat, 16 Oct. 1952, in *PB/Sovmin*, p. 89. On Lenin: Service, *Lenin*, pp. 449–50. On final ideology: Zubok, p. 76. ‘Of Lenin! Of Lenin!’ – ‘Neizvestnaya Rossiya’, *20th Century*, vol. 1, 1992, p. 275, quoted in Zubok, pp. 73 and 295. Stepan M, pp. 186–7. Deriabin, p. 95. Hahn, pp. 148–9. Rosenfeldt, pp. 191–2. Return of Ribbentrop protocols: Sudoplatov, p. 327. Suslov as successor: Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Stalin* (Stalin’s Secret Heir). Suslov’s meetings with Stalin 1948: *IA*.
- 2 Sergo B on Dr Vinogradov, p. 243. Stalin to Ignatiev – ‘Beat, beat’: *KR* 1, pp. 303–7. Ignatiev: *Lesser Terror*, pp. 234–5. Stalin’s alliance with Riumin and Goglidze, *Golgofa*,

- p. 28. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 75–7, and Johnreed Svanidze, p. 87; Gulia Djagashvili, p. 28. Never still, and Svetlana’s affair with Johnreed Svanidze: G. Djagashvili in Biagi, pp. 60–3. Kostyrchenko, pp. 280–1, 262. Sergo B on Vinogradov: pp. 243–4. Put them in handcuffs and beat: Ludvigov to Sudoplatov, p. 306. Downfall of Rukhadze: RGASPI 558.11.135.88, Stalin to Goglidze, Mgeladze 25 June 1952. 6th and 7th November parades: Hahn, pp. 148–9. GARF 7523.107.127.1–6, Vlasik’s appeal for pardon. Kostyrchenko, pp. 285–7. Vaksberg, *Stalin Against Jews*, p. 246. Vlasik’s staff shot: Parrish, ‘Serov’, p. 125. Vlasik and caviar/Poskrebyshv appeals to Beria, Sergo B, pp. 363, 242. ‘You parasites!’ Stalin to Vlasik, Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, p. 217. On Poskrebyshv: articles in *Pravda*, 13 Oct. and 30 Dec. 1952. *IA*, 1997: 1, p. 34. Volkogonov, pp. 528, 569, and Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Stalin*, ‘Riddles of Stalin’s Death’. V. P. Malin was apparently designated his successor though it seems his deputy S. Chernukha continued to run the office. Natasha Poskrebysheva. Nadya Vlasika. Poskrebyshv often visited Beria: Martha Peshkova. Molotov on Poskrebyshv, Vlasik and women: *MR*, pp. 223, 235. On Poskrebyshv and missing papers: *KR* 1, pp. 290–5.
- 3 1 Dec. PB meeting: Malyshev in *Istochnik*, 5, 1997, pp. 140–1. Kostyrchenko, pp. 285–7. European terror: Berman in *Oni*, pp. 318–22. Slansky case: Kostyrchenko, p. 279. Hippopotamuses/1937/white gloves – Ignatiev testimony: J. Brent and V. Naumov, *Stalin’s Last Crime*, pp. 212, 218–19, 252, 269, 272.
- 4 Molotov and Mikoyan: trust: ‘He never gave me away’; chats in flats, Beria’s provocations, Beria wants to protect Molotov: Mikoyan, pp. 536, 581–3. Tiger: Sergo B, pp. 120–1, 237–9. Molotov: Stalin held me in great distrust, *MR*, p. 325. Vyacheslav Nikonov: no fear after prison. *KR* 1, pp. 303–7 (Koniev), 330–2, Beria attacks Stalin, p. 337; protecting Beria p. 332. Malenkov reassures Beria re: Bomb; Beria to Malenkov July 1953. Kaganovich warns Mikoyan on Leningrad Case. Beria comforts Khrushchev, Poskrebyshv, Mikoyan. Malenkov comforts Khrushchev on recall to Moscow. Stalin notices Beria’s support from Molotov, Kaganovich, etc. Molotov’s anger at Stalin over seventy: Oleg Troyanovsky. On Khrushchev and Malenkov: Julia Khrushcheva, Volya Malenkova. Beria and Khrushchev against the latest changest; Stalin senses disapproval and support for Beria: Mgeladze, p. 191. Stalin powerless against the Four: B. Ponomarenko, *Sovershenno Sekretno*, 3, 1990, p. 13. Birthday and after: Mikoyan, pp. 577–80. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 214–18. Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Stalin*, pp. 19–20. Health: Rybin, *Ryadom*, pp. 91–4. Murdering Stalin: *Hoxha: Artful Albanian*, p. 144. Solidarity in the group: Sergo B, pp. 237–9.
- 5 Stalin reads Timashuk letter, *KR* 1, pp. 303–7, 337. Timashuk: *Pravda*, 21 Jan. 1953. Kostyrchenko, pp. 285–300. Aimed at Beria: *MR*, p. 236. Beria’s men arrested, Deriabin, pp. 103–21. 14,000 arrested in Georgia: *Lesser Terror*, p. 239; Beria’s allies arrested, secret Jew, pp. 236–7. A. Malenkov in *Zhurnalists*, 2, 1991, p. 64. Beria to Kaganovich at July 1953 Plenum: ‘Plenum TZK KPSS 2–7 July 1953’, *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, nos. 1 and 2, 1991. ‘Beria, we should protect Molotov’ – Mikoyan, p. 584. Jewish Case: K. M. Simonov, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 13 Jan. 1953. *Pravda* 13 Jan. 1953. Anti-semitic panic: Ehrenburg, *Postwar Years*, p. 298. Sergo B, pp. 237–9. Mozart Piano Concerto 23: I. B Borev in *Staliniade*, quoted in *Lesser Terror*, p. 235. Fear of war with America: Stepan M: after Stalin’s death, Mikoyan said, ‘If we didn’t have war while Stalin was alive.’ Beria’s fear of war: Candide Charkviani, Gela Charkviani. On war: Lozgachev quoted by Radzinsky, p. 551. ‘We must prevent war’ – Sergo B, p. 357. Stalin trembled with fear about war – *KR* 2, p. 11 Greatly changed: Sudoplatov, p. 333.
- 6 RGASPI 558.11.157.9–14, Shepilov to Stalin and Stalin’s handwritten annotations, 10 Jan. 1953. Doctors’ Plot, *Pravda*, 16 Jan. 1953: ‘Protiv subyektivistshikh izvrashcheniy yestestvoznanii’. The Jewish letter: Mikoyan, p. 536. *Kaganovich*, p. 174. *Lesser Terror*,

- pp. 247–9. *Nauka i Zhizn*, no. 1, 1990. *KR* 2, p. 78. Ehrenburg also refused to sign, with a clever letter to Stalin. *Stalin Against Jews*, pp. 257–70: according to Vaksberg, the idea for the deportation was first floated by Dmitri Chesnokov, editor-in-chief of *Voprosy Filosofii*, in 1952; he was named to the Presidium by Stalin in the October Plenum; Ehrenburg letter, pp. 263–4. Camps: J. Brent and V. Naumov, *Stalin's Last Crime*, p. 295.
- 7 Adalberto Zelmar Barbosa, *El Federalismo Bloquista: Bravo o el pragmatismo político*, pp. 22–31. Also interview in Buenos Aires with Leopoldo Bravo and family; Stalin's liking for Peron: Mikoyan, p. 549.

58: 'I DID HIM IN!'

- 1 Final meetings: Mgeladze, p. 232. Menon in Georges Bortoli, *Death of Stalin*, p. 122. *IA*. Tito: Sudoplatov, p. 333. Rybin, *Ryadom*, pp. 83–99 incl. Vasily. *KR* 1, pp. 338–41. Lozgagev in Radzinsky, pp. 550–8. Svetlana, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 13–21, and steam-bath, p. 215; encouraged by Beria, Volkogonov, *Rise and Fall*, p. 176. Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Stalin*, pp. 21–44 on role of Ignatiev and Khrushchev in delay of doctors. Malenkov: Stalin squeezes hand – Smirtukov quoted in *Vlast*, vol. 5, 2000, p. 53. *MR*, pp. 236–7: Beria kissing, I did him in; Malenkov knew more. Kaganovich, *Zapiski*, p. 499: 'he opened his eyes, looked at us'. Khrushchev's comings and goings from home: S. Khrushchev, *Superpower*, pp. 31–2. Mikoyan, p. 580: I was lucky. Beria at home; Nina's grief; Beria's plans, succession agreed: Sergo B, pp. 248–9. Pointing at lamb and girl/Stalin's wit/Molotov: Gromyko, *Memoirs*, p. 103. Government created before Stalin's death: *Istochnik*, 1, pp. 106–11. *Izvestiya TsK KPSS*, no. 1, 1991, pp. 149–50. Medical records: Dr A. L. Myasnikov, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 1 Mar. 1989, p. 13. Polina's interrogations stopped – Kostyrchenko, p. 300. Cheyne Stokes questions to doctors in prison: Rapoport, pp. 151–3; Vaksberg, *Stalin Against Jews*, p. 271. Beria's hand-kissing: *MR*, p. 237; *KR* 1, pp. 338–41. 'Off to take power', Mikoyan, p. 587. Last night: Khrushchev quoted by Volkogonov, pp. 570–1. E. D. Voroshilova: RGASPI 74.1.429.47, diary, 2 March 1953. Death-mask and hands: RGASPI 45.1.1683.1–10, in profile, face on and hands. Doctors' report: APRF 45.1.1486.1–156, quoted in Volkogonov, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 173–8. Meeting of Government 5 Mar. APRF 45.2.196.1–7. *IA*. Meetings 2–5 Mar. in Stalin's office. Relief: Simonov, 'Glazami', p. 228. N. Barsukov, 'Mart 1953. Stranitsy istorii KPSS', *Pravda*, 27 Oct. 1989. Warfarin theory and stomach haemorrhage: J. Brent and V. Naumov, *Stalin's Last Crime*, pp. 321–2. Statistics on deaths, exiles, Gulags: A. Applebaum, *GULAG*, pp. 521–8. Beria on Stalin in days after his death: to M. Chiaureli: 'Scoundrel and filth!' quoted in Krotkov Y in Nekrasov, p. 257. 'Avoided the war': Beria to Sharia at Sharia's trial in *Istoricheskii Zhurnal*, 10, 1991, p. 57. To Candide Charkviani: 'Cult of personality' and 'We won the war.' 'Man of the future', Beria, *MR*, p. 232. Last letters: Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Stalin*, Stalin's Personal Archives: Hidden or Destroyed? Facts and Theories.

POSTSCRIPT

- 1 This is mainly based on interviews with: Vyacheslav Nikonov, Natalya Andreyeva, Joseph Minervin, Stas Naman, Martha Peshkova, Julia Khrushcheva, Sergo and Stepan Mikoyan, Nina Budyonny, Igor and Volya Malenkova, Yury Zhdanov, Leonid Redens, Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens), Kira Alliluyeva. Beria's fall: Mikoyan's *Tak bylo*, pp. 584–8 (fleas in my trousers), and the familiar account in *Khrushchev Remembers*. Also Amy Knight's *Beria*; for Beria's death, towel in mouth, see Michael

Parrish, *The Lesser Terror*, and for acid bath, see *Vlast*, vol. 22, 2000, pp. 46–7. Beria's death and 1957 Plenum 'Nuremberg': W. Taubman, *Khrushchev, Man and Era*, pp. 256, 321–4. See also Svetlana Alliluyev's *Only One Year* and *Twenty Letters*; Medvedev's *All Stalin's Men*; Khrushchev, quoted as 'up to elbows in blood' by Shapoval, Taubman's *Khrushchev*, p. 41. Dream: quoted in *Molotov Letters*, p. 1.