

## SOURCE NOTES

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### A NOTE ON SOURCES

This book is based overwhelmingly on archival research, mainly in the Stalin archives of the Communist Party's Marxism-Leninism Institute, the archives of RGASPI in Moscow, Russia, and of GF IML in Tbilisi, the Republic of Georgia, as well as the GARF State Archive in Moscow, the archive of the Stalin Museum in Gori, the archives in Batumi, the State Archive in Baku of the Republic of Azerbaijan, and the Nikolaevsky archives and those of the Paris Office of the Okhrana, both at Stanford University, California.

I have been hugely fortunate in finding new sources, often unpublished or partly unpublished and barely used previously by historians. Archival sources are more reliable than oral history, but of course they too have their dangers and must be analysed carefully. But the anti-Stalinist histories often turn out to be just as unreliable.

Many of the archives used in this book, for example, were recorded by official Party historians during the period of Stalin's rise to power, cult of personality and Terror, from the 1920s to the 1950s. Those recorded in the 1930s were presumably collected in Georgia by apparatchiks working under Stalin's terrifying Transcaucasian First Secretary Lavrenti Beria. Therefore one must be constantly aware that they are recorded under massive pressure to present Stalin in a good light. At all times, one has to be aware of the circumstances and try to penetrate the Bolshevik language to see what the witnesses are really trying to tell us.

Yet those recorded before the Terror in 1937 are often astonishingly frank, tactless or derogatory about Stalin: a derogatory story about Stalin in an official memoir is almost certainly true. Many of the witnesses were so naïve or honest that their memoirs were unusable at the time, or only usable in small sections. Such memoirs were not destroyed but were simply preserved in the archives. Many were edited, then copied and sent to Stalin's Moscow archive, so there are differences between versions. But the originals usually survived in the local archive.

Many witnesses were interviewed several times, so that we have sometimes three versions by the same witness with important differences. Almost always, the first version is the most revealing. Certain witnesses were tactful yet pointed in their criticisms: the Svanidze memoirs, which as far as I know remain mainly unpublished (except for the diaries of Maria Svanidze, Alyosha's wife, but they cover the 1930s) are amazingly critical of Stalin even though he was already dictator and they themselves were in his inner circle.

A word on the killings of traitors and the bank-robberies: Stalin was keen to suppress these details. He sued Yuli Martov in 1918 to stop their publication and continued to suppress them once he was in power. Yet throughout the memoirs, despite official discouragement, we find details of Stalin's role that confirm the importance of this 'black work' in his early life. When he finds a traitor, the memoirs usually state that the traitor was killed without specifying that anyone ordered the killing. But it is clear that the order involved

Stalin. The same is true of cases of arson.

Many ordinary folk were unconsciously revealing, particularly Stalin's girlfriends, who could not be open about their personal connections with the Leader even when they had borne his children.

Many of these tales of childhood, exile, revolutionary battle and bank-robberies are, I hope, useful finds for historians. Keke's memoir is especially telling. One senses that Stalin would have hated the memoir, which, again as far as I know, was not copied to Moscow and has not been published in Russian or English. I guess that Stalin was never informed that it had been set down. But there is also a wealth of other materials that tell us much about young Stalin.

In Georgia, I managed to unearth various unpublished memoirs from private family archives. Again all the usual rules must apply, particularly guarding against the vainglory of those who claim intimacy with the great and famous. But some were written secretly without direct intimidation. In the case of the Minadora Ordzhonikidze Toroshelidze memoirs, she and her husband were arrested in 1937, he was shot, she released, whereupon she cut sixteen pages out of the manuscript.

In Georgia and to a lesser extent Russia, one can still interview rare witnesses: in a Tbilisi old people's home, I interviewed Mariam Svanidze, a relation of Stalin's wife Kato, aged 109; I also spoke to other relations such as Ketevan Gelovani who provided useful memories. Similarly, Stalin's granddaughter, Galina 'Gulia' Djugashvili, supplied helpful pieces of the jigsaw puzzle, as did the daughters of Ordzhonikidze and Litvinov among others. The most valuable was Guram Ratishvili, the delightful grandson of General Sasha Egnatashvili, who was able at last to fill in the gaps that have appeared in their family story in every Stalin history book (including my own) up to now.

There are also many published memoirs particularly from the 1920s which Stalin could not yet control. Thus the memoirs of Kote Tsintsadze for example were highly embarrassing. Though they are restrained and circumspect, they did reveal that Stalin ordered killings and bank-robberies at a time when he was desperately trying to prove his heroic legitimacy, political and ideological, to succeed Lenin. When he assumed absolute power after 1929, Stalin, together with Beria, managed to pulp many copies of Tsintsadze's memoirs. Another example is the memoirs of Stalin's 1917 assistant Pestkovsky: the first rather irreverent version was published in 1922, but when they were republished in 1930 they had been cleansed. The same applies to Yenukidze, Makharadze, Shotman and many others.

But even the official cult literature has its uses. Lakoba's Smirba book, the collections on the Batumi demonstration and Stalin's schooldays, and Beria's 'history' book are all works of propaganda, full of lies and exaggerations, but the quotations from the memoirs are accurate though selectively edited. I have tried to cross-check between books and originals.

One has to be just as careful with the anti-Stalin literature of exiles such as Iremashvili, Nikolaevsky, Vulikh, Uratadze, Vereshchak, Arsenidze and many others. Trotsky and Sukhanov are the two that have dominated Western histories of Stalin. They were anti-Stalin, so they were presumed to be right. Now, on closer analysis, one finds often that they contain errors that we can expose and prejudiced guesses that we can discount – but still they remain very useful.

I have been very fortunate to find less well-known exiled sources too, such as Josef Davrichewy, Khariton Chavichvili and David Sagirashvili, all of whom knew Stalin quite well, each leaving prejudiced, sometimes unreliable, but invaluable sources. One senses that these three, though anti-Stalin, tried to be evenhanded. The Okhrana/Gendarme files, some published by the Bolsheviks, some unpublished in archives, and those of the Paris office resting at Stanford, are very valuable but, based as they are on their own dubious surveillance and intelligence, they are often completely wrong.

Some memoirs and biographies have more value than one might expect. John Reed's

*Ten Days that Shook the World* is very sympathetic to the Bolshevik legend and knows little of what was happening within the Party, yet it is a superb piece of reportage. So are David Sagirashvili's diaries. The earliest Stalin biographies are often surprisingly well informed: Boris Souvarine knew many of the players and had access to those witnesses in exile. More surprising is *Stalin: Career of a Fanatic* by Essad Bey, the first real Stalin biography, used with obvious reservations.

The memoirs of Khrushchev, Molotov, Mikoyan, Yuri Zhdanov (just published) and others are useful – but with reservations.

I have unapologetically used many published works widely and in detail and have tried to be punctilious in attributing the source. But some books are so outstanding that I would like to list them as my basic sources used throughout the book: Alexander Ostrovsky's *Kto stoyal za spinoi Stalina?* is the best scholarly work on Stalin's connections with the Okhrana and big business: it is unlikely to be bettered; Stephen Jones's *Socialism in Georgian Colors* is superb, essential reading; Professor Ronald Suny's masterly essays *Journeyman for the Revolution* and *Beyond Psychohistory*; Miklos Kun's *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait* overlaps with both my books on Stalin and is an amazing feat of research and understanding; Robert Conquest's *Great Terror* and his *Stalin: Breaker of Nations* are seminal works that still define Stalin today; Boris Ilizarov's *Tainaya zhizn Stalina* is full of the author's remarkable archival discoveries; on Stalin's poetry, I depend totally on Donald Rayfield's authoritative criticism and translation; on the secret police, I have used the excellent Jonathan W. Daly's *Autocracy under Siege: Security Police and Opposition in Russia 1866–1905* and *The Watchful State: Security Police and Opposition in Russia 1906–17*; Anna Geifman's brilliant introduction, *Russia under the Last Tsar: Opposition and Subversion 1894–1917*, explains the different psychologies of the revolutionary; while her outstanding *Thou Shalt Kill: Revolutionary Terrorism in Russia 1894–1917* was my basic source on terrorism; Robert Service's recent biographies on Lenin and Stalin are magisterial yet readable; on Baku, Jorg Baberowski's groundbreaking, important *Der Feind ist überall: Stalinismus im Kaukasus* is the only work that explains the culture of Caucasian violence. On the Revolutions, I used: Abraham Ascher's admirable 1905; Orlando Figes's magnificent *A People's Tragedy*; Richard Pipes's many outstanding works including *The Russian Revolution*, *The Degaev Affair* and *The Unknown Lenin*; and Alexander Rabinowitch's excellent *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*.

#### INTRODUCTION [pp. xix–xxii]

1. Historians will find out: A. Mgeladze, *Stalin kakim ya ego znal* (henceforth Mgeladze), pp. 240–1. RGASPI 558.11.787.2 Stalin to Zhdanov and Pospelov 24 Sept. 1940 – ban this book. All children alike: E. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, p. 11. All childhoods are the same, burn this: D. Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 241. Boris Ilizarov, *Tainaya zhizn Stalina* (henceforth Ilizarov), p. 99.

#### PROLOGUE: THE BANK ROBBERY [pp. 1–12]

1. This account of the Tiflis expropriation in the Prologue is based on the many sources listed in this note. On her role and that of others: GF IML 8.2.2.64 Alexandra Darakhvelidze-Margvelashvili recorded 21 Feb. 1959. On his role, on cowardly comrades, who did what: GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili. Kote Tsintsadze, *Rogor vibrdzolit proletariatis diktaturistvis: chemi mogonebani* (henceforth Tsintsadze), pp. 40–9. GF IML 8.5.384.3–10 Autobiographical notes by Kamo; GF IML 8.5.380.5–6 Personal File and Questionnaire filled in by Kamo on day of his death. GF IML 8.2.1.50.239–55 D. A. Khutulashvili (sister of Kamo). The gang; Eliso hides; Stalin head of that organization: Archives of the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford (henceforth Stanford), Boris Nikolaevsky Collection (henceforth Nikolaevsky) box 207, folder 207–10 letter from Tatiana Vulikh; folder

207–11. Tiflis Committee approves robbery: Razhden Arsenidze, interviews nos 1–3, 103–4, Nikolaevsky box 667, series 279, folder 4-5 Inter-University Project on History of Menshevik Movement.

On Okhrana investigation/suspicions of coming robbery in Caucasus; 14 and 18 Jan. 1908: Stanford, Paris Okhrana archives, box 209, folder XXB.2 letter on suspects 13 Feb. 1907. Arrest of Kamo and full biography 31 Oct./13 Nov. and 27/14 Nov. 1908; and 14 Nov./21 Oct. 1907: Suspect in Tiflis expro – Josef/Soso Davrichewy: Stanford, Okhrana box 209, folder XXB.1.

Letter R. Arsenidze to Boris Nikolaevsky 8 Jan. 1957 on investigation by Silvester Jibladze and fights with Menshevik about Kvirili expro money: Nikolaevsky box 472, folder 2.

Grigory Uratadze, *Vospominaniya* (henceforth Uratadze), pp. 163–6 – Stalin the main financier of the Bolshevik centre, did not participate personally; pp. 71–2 on giving expro money to Shaumian.

On Kamo's role: I. M. Dubinsky-Mukhadze, *Kamo*, pp. 71–84; David Shub, 'Kamo'. Obeying Stalin from Gendarme report, R. Imnaishvili, *Kamo*, section 1, pp. 52–5; the expro, p. 59; betrayal of Kamo by Arsen Karsidze, p. 34. Account of expropriation as told by Kamo to his wife: S. F. Medvedeva-Ter-Petrossian, 'Tovarish Kamo'. Jacques Baynac, *Kamo*, pp. 90–100. Anna Geifman, *Thou Shalt Kill*, pp. 112–16, 212 and 299 including Kamo killing for Stalin. On psychology of Kamo and terrorists: 'Introduction' in Anna Geifman (ed.), *Russia under the Last Tsar*, pp. 1–14. Jonathan Daly, *The Watchful State*, p. 67. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, p. 61. Robert C. Williams, *The Other Bolsheviks* (henceforth Williams), pp. 113–15.

Pretty girls, Stalin's iron discipline: Khariton Chavichvili, *Patrie, prison, exile*, p. 145. Lenin under attack from Mensheviks: Khariton Chavichvili, *Révolutionnaires russes à Genève en 1908*, pp. 80–3. Stalin and Shaumian in London, permission for expro, morning meeting, division of spoils: G. S. Akopian, *Stepan Shaumian*, pp. 44, 64. Vahtang Guruli, *Svodnaya Gruzia* no. 152 (225) 24 Sept. 1994, p. 4: SR theory and also Kamo accompanied by daughter of Deputy Police Chief of Shorapani. On Okhrana informer reports that SRs conducted Tiflis expro and money stolen by Kamo, Tiflis Okhrana agents 'N' and 'Bolshaya' on 2 Jul. and 15 Jul. 1907: Vahtang Guruli, *Josef Stalin Materials for the Biography*, pp. 9–11, in Central Georgian State Historical Archive 95.1.82.15, 21, 23.

Lenin and Krasin create the 'Technical Group', bombs and money: L. B. Krasin, 'Bolshevistskaya partiianaya tekhnika', pp. 8–13.

Lenin and Krasin fight for the money under Menshevik attack: Boris Nikolaevsky, 'Bolshevistskiy Tsentre', *Rodina* no. 2 1992, pp. 33–5, and no. 5, pp. 25–31. Kamo on train with girl, policeman's daughter: Baron Bibineishvili, *Za chetvet veka* (henceforth Bibineishvili), pp. 92–4.

Memoir of boys working for Stalin and other comrades by D. Chachanidze: GF IML 8.1.2.4. Joint operations and assassinations with Anarchists and no mention of arrest at time of expro: Tsintsadze, p. 111. Kamo confides in Davrichewy that Stalin in charge, Viceroy furious, Stalin's operations; Stalin opens era of the hold-up, Gori connection, Kamo kills for Stalin: Josef Davrichewy, *Ah! Ce qu'on rigolait bien avec mon copain Staline* (henceforth Davrichewy), pp. 237–9, 174–7, 188–9. Stalin in Tiflis engaged in preparations, in Baku by 17 June, quote from L. D. Trotsky, Stalin on roof by G. Besedovsky, expulsion from Caucasus Regional Committee but supported by Lenin and CC: Alexander Ostrovsky, *Kto stoyal za spinoi Stalina?* (henceforth Ostrovsky), pp. 259–62. The other insider in bank/mail, G. Kasradze introduced to Kamo and Kasradze later interrogated by N. Jordania and admitted role in expro thanks to Stalin: GF IML 8.2.1.22.

That day on Yerevan Square: Roy Stanley De Lon, *Stalin and Social Democracy, 1905–1922: the Political Diaries of David A. Sagirashvili* (henceforth Sagirashvili), pp.

183–6. Candide Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’, p. 15, on Kamo and Kote. Robert Service, *Stalin*, p. 163. Okhrana on Kamo spending all July with Lenin at dacha: Edward Ellis Smith, *The Young Stalin* (henceforth Smith), pp. 200–6. Boris Souvarine, *Staline*, pp. 93–110. Essad Bey, *Stalin* (henceforth Essad Bey), p. 82. L. D. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 96–100. Miklos Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait* (henceforth Kun), pp. 73–5.

- On Tiflis: Stephen F. Jones, *Socialism in Georgian Colors* (henceforth Jones), pp. 160–7. Razhden Arsenidze, ‘Iz vospominaniya o Staline’ (henceforth Arsenidze). Boris Bazhanov, *Stalin*, p. 107. A. V. Baikalo, *I Knew Stalin*, p. 20. Arrest of Djughashvili known as teacher of workers and said to be always holding himself apart: GMKA 116 Report of Chief of Kutaisi Province Gendarmerie to the Police Department 9 Apr. 1902. *Armenian Review* no. 2 (3), 7 Sept. 1949, p. 114. Martov libel case: RGASPI 558.2.42. Kun, pp. 81–84; *Pravda*, 1 April 1918; *Vpered*, 31 March 1918. Stalin’s role: Interviews with Voznesensky 20 Sept. 1907 and 10 Jun. 1908 and with Comrade Koba (J. Stalin) 19 Mar. 1908: RGASPI 332.1.53: 15 (2) O2. 23 (10) 1905–1910 TSL Organized Committee to Investigate Tiflis Expropriation. Stalin on the bank-robbery: GDMS 87.1955-368.11–13, Alexandra ‘Sashiko’ Svanidze-Monoselidze: Kamo’s sword. The other inside man: GF IML 8.2.1.54.214–15 Kote Charkviani, in which the memoirist, recording his memoirs in 1936, specifies how Stalin and Kamo groomed Gigo Kasradze, who was the brother-in-law of priest’s son Kote Charkviani. International newspapers: *Moskovskie Vedomosti* 14, 15, 16, 17, 21 Jun. 1907. *Isari*, 14 Jul. 1907. *Le Temps* 27 Jun. 1907. *Daily Mirror* 27 Jun. 1907. *The Times* 27 and 29 Jun. 1907.
2. Berlin: Ostrovsky, pp. 256–9. I. V. Stalin, *Sochineniya*, 13: 122 Stalin to Ludwig; also Smith, pp. 198–9. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 96–107.
  3. Arsenidze, p. 220 – young men followed Stalin. GF IML 8.5.384.3–10 Autobiographical notes by Kamo. Stalin’s magnetism by Kamo’s sister Dzhavaira Khutulashvili: Kun, p. 75. Kamo’s face: Sergei Alliluyev and Anna Alliluyeva, *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 220–1. Role of girls etc: GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili.
  4. GDMS 87.1955-368.11–13: Alexandra ‘Sashiko’ Svanidze-Monoselidze.
  5. Davrichewy, pp. 174–7, 188–9, 237–9. Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’, p. 15 – Kamo truly amazing.
  6. On the balcony as the bombs explode: GDMS 87.1955-368.11–13, Alexandra ‘Sashiko’ Svanidze-Monoselidze.
  7. Kun, p. 69, quoting Shaumian’s son Levan – interview with Kun. Dirty business: Stalin to Yuri Zhdanov see S. Montefiore, *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar* (henceforth Montefiore), p. 507.
  8. Stalin’s knowledge of the bank-robbery before and after: GDMS 87.1955-368.11–13: Alexandra ‘Sashiko’ Svanidze-Monoselidze. Souvarine, *Staline*, p. 100, quoting Tsintsadze. Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’ – the fanatic Marxist. Minadora Ordzhonikidze-Toroshelidze, ‘Memoirs’ – ‘man in grey’ possibly reference to Leonid Andreyev play *Life of Man*.
  9. Davrichewy, pp. 237–9, 174–7, 188–9.
  10. RGASPI 558.4.647 – Stalin carries Mauser: see Kun, p. 117. Arsenidze interviews, Nikolaevsky box 667, series 279, folder 4-5. See Ch. 18 Note 1.
  11. RGASPI 332.1.53: 15 (2) O2. 23 (10) 1905–1910 TSK Organized Committee to Investigate Tiflis Expropriation. GDMS 87.1955-368.11–13: Alexandra ‘Sashiko’ Svanidze-Monoselidze. GF IML 8.2.1.54.214–15 Kote Charkviani. GF IML 8.2.1.22 memoirs of G. Kasradze quoted by Ostrovsky, pp. 259–67. Razhden Arsenidze, interviews nos 1–3, 103–4, Nikolaevsky box 667, series 279, folder 4-5. GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili.
  12. GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili. Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 104, quoting Bessedovsky on Sumbatov. Baikalo, *I Knew Stalin*, p. 20. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, p. 61,

- quotes P. A. Pavlenko. Arsenidze, interviews nos 1–3, 103–4, Nikolaevsky box 667, series 279, folder 4–5.
13. Report of Chief of Kutaisi Gendarmerie Maj.-Gen. Shopchansky: *Batumskaya Demonstratsia 1902 goda* (henceforth *Batumskaya*), pp. 235–6.
  14. Handwritten account by Raphael Bagratuni of the memoirs of his relation the Okhrana officer Alexander Bagratuni/Bagratov sent to Isaac Don Levine: thanks to Roman Brackman private collection. This source is highly dubious yet its claims are well informed on details that have only recently surfaced in the Okhrana files in Tiflis and Stanford, such as the fact that Okhrana expected the expropriation earlier in the year and involvement of the SRs of Tiflis. His reference to a mansion perhaps has the same source as the Trotsky–Bessedovsky tale of Prince Sumbatov’s house. Tbilisi folklore: Dr Peter Mamradze interview on stories of Kamo’s drunken claims in early 1920s.
  15. Arsenidze, interviews nos 1–3, 103–4, Nikolaevsky box 667, series 279, folder 4–5.
  16. GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili. Dubinsky-Mukhadze, *Kamo*, pp. 71–84. GF IML 8.2.1.5. RGASPI 558.6.658; Ostrovsky, p. 454; Niall Ferguson, *The World’s Banker: History of the House of Rothschild*, pp. 1034–6, Appendix One, ‘Prices and Purchasing Power’. A Scholar of Imperial Russia, Greg King, simply converts Romanov-era roubles into today’s US\$ by multiplying by ten, which turns 341,000 roubles into US\$3.4 million (one halves that dollar figure to convert into today’s pounds Sterling). None of these figures, however, gives the real value of the rouble in 1907 see Note on ‘Money’. Contemporaries reckoned that the Emperor of Russia’s private fortune of land, art, palaces, jewels and mineral wealth was about 14 million roubles. In today’s money, that is only about £70 million (\$140 million). One simply has to conclude that the bank-robbery scored a very substantial amount of money. Greg King’s *The Court of the Last Tsar*, pp. 231–9. GDMS 87.1955-368.11–13: Alexandra ‘Sashiko’ Svanidze-Monoselidze. Capt. Zubov bribed: Ostrovsky, pp. 545–7.
  17. Nadezhda Krupskaya, *Memoirs of Lenin* (henceforth *Krupskaya*), pp. 40 and 151–2. Radzinsky, *Alexander II*, p. 227, on Bakunin. Frank Owen, *Three Dictators*, pp. 114–15.
  18. Uratadze, p. 234. Kun, p. 127. Davrichewy, pp. 237–9, 174–7, 188–9. GDMS 87.1955-368.11–13: Alexandra ‘Sashiko’ Svanidze Monoselidze. Owen, *Three Dictators*, pp. 114–15. GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26. Dubinsky-Mukhadze, *Kamo*, pp. 71–84. Akopian, *Shaumian*, p. 64. GF IML 8.2.1.5. RGASPI 558.6.658. Ostrovsky, p. 454.

#### I: KEKE’S MIRACLE, SOSO [pp. 15–22]

1. Beso–Keke marriage. The main source of this chapter, unless otherwise stated, is Keke herself in her memoirs, GF IML 8.2.15.2–15 E. G. Djughashvili, recorded on 23, 25, 27 Aug. 1935 by L. Kasradze (henceforth Keke). Marriage records: GF IML 8.5.213 and RGASPI 558.4.1.1 *Zaria Vostoka* 8 Jun. 1937 and RGASPI 558.4.665 M. K. Abramidze-Tsikhatatrishvili. Keke chestnut hair, slender, large eyes: GF IML 8.2.1.1.143–6 M. K. Abramidze-Tsikhatatrishvili. Keke pretty, Beso runt: Davrichewy, p. 26. Beso’s originality: GF IML 8.2.1.48 N. Tlashadze. Gori weddings: D. Suliashvili, *Uchenichesky gody* (henceforth Suliashvili), p. 24. Sources quoted from: V. Kaminsky and I. Vereshchagin, ‘Detstvo i yunost vozhdya’ (henceforth Kaminsky–Vereshchagin). The home: V. Vishnevsky, ‘Domik v Gori’, *Zaria Vostoka* 27 Dec. 1937, pp. 27–8.  
Georgian behaviour ritualized: D. Rayfield, *Stalin and the Hangmen*, p. 15. Singing on way to market: Kun, p. 227.
2. Ossetia: Kun, p. 19. *Genealogicheskyy Zhurnal* no. 1 2001, pp. 39–40. Stalin, *Works*, 2: 363.
3. Beso’s own account of his origins: Keke, pp. 2–15. Davrichewy, p. 26. The best review of the evidence is by Ostrovsky, pp. 76–82. Zaza: M. Lobanov, *Stalin: v vospominaniyakh*



- sovremennikov i dokumentov epokhi* (henceforth Lobanov), p. 13. Beso death, registered as 'Ossetian': GF IML 8.14.160.1–8.
4. Geladze family: Ostrovsky, pp. 82–4. Keke, pp. 2–15. Kaminsky–Vereshchagin, pp. 22–101, especially G. I. Elisabedashvili (p. 25) and Maria Abramidze–Tsikhatatrishvili.
  5. Davrichewy, p. 26. GF IML 8.2.1.48 N. Tlashadze. GF IML 8.2.1.49.185.210 Kote Khakhanashvili. GF IML 8.2.1.9 Ivan Geldiashvili.
  6. Births: GF IML 8.5.213.41–53. RGASPI 71.10.275.24/558.4.2.1. RGASPI 558.4.2.2. New dates: Kun, p. 8; Ostrovsky, p. 83. 'Kogda rodilsa I. V. Stalin', *Izvestiya TSK KPSS* no. 1 1990, p. 132. Stalin looked more and more like Beso; GF IML 8.2.1.53 Alexander M. Tsikhatatrishvili.
  7. GF IML 8.2.1.53 Alexander M. Tsikhatatrishvili. Author's interview with Gulia (Galina) Djughashvili, daughter of Yakov Djughashvili.
  8. Nikita Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers*, 1: 301–2 (henceforth Khrushchev). Stalin speech to generals of VVS RKKA and government on 22 March 1938, quoted in Ostrovsky, p. 55. Dato: GF IML 8.2.1.8 Dato Gasitashvili. Kamo: GF IML 8.2.1.50.239–55 Dzhavaira Khutulashvili *née* Ter-Petrossian, Kamo's sister.
  9. Suliashvili, p. 8. Charkviani, 'Memoirs', pp. 1–2. Keke GF IML 8.2.1.53 Alexander M. Tsikhatatrishvili. Author's interview with Gulia (Galina) Djughashvili. Baedeker, p. 446.
  10. Davrichewy, pp. 26–8. Keke.
  11. Paternal candidates: author's interviews with Koba Egnatashvili's grandson Guram Ratishvili, son of Sasha Egnatashvili, about the family house, Koba's wrestling and businesses, attitude to Stalin, substitute father, great affection and later destiny of Egnatashvili boys Vaso and Sasha. There are huge inaccuracies in most accounts of the Egnatashvili connection, but Stalin was very close to Sasha Egnatashvili. Within NKVD attitudes to Stalin's relationship with Egnatashvili. GARF 7523.107.127.1–6 General N. Vlasik and others interrogations. Guram Ratishvili is by far the most revealing and intelligent of the family witnesses. On genetic connection: author's interview with Tina Egnatashvili, great-niece. Davrichewy, pp. 26–8, and see also Davrichewy, 'Je suis le demi-frère de Staline', where Gori Mayor Jourouli is quoted as saying, 'As far as I know, Soso was the natural son of *pristav* Damian Petrovich Davrichewy, my friend ... Everyone knew about the liaison with the pretty mother of Soso, Kato [Keke]. Besides, the armed attack on *pristav* Davrichewy is the proof.' Stalin's fondness for Father Charkviani, and closeness to Egnatashvili family: Charkviani, 'Memoirs'. Stalin's comment about priest as father – 'Comrade Liapidevsky, your father was a priest – mine was a priest too' – quoted in Robert Tucker, *Stalin in Power*, New York 1990, p. 627. Mgeladze, p. 242. V. Sukhodeev, *Stalin v zhiznii i legandaakh*, pp. 19–20 on rumours that Stalin said Egnatashvili father and Egnatashvili married Beso to Keke to hide his sin. Prince Amilakhvari: Davrichewy, p. 69. Stalin and Beso: GF IML 8.2.1.1.143–6 M. K. Abramidze–Tsikhatatrishvili. GF IML 8.2.1.53 Alexander M. Tsikhatatrishvili.
  12. Sergo Beria, *Beria my father* (henceforth Beria), p. 21. Keke.
  13. Mgeladze, p. 242 – 'I got the impression Stalin was illicit son of Egnatashvili'. Author's interviews: Guram Ratishvili; and Galina 'Gulia' Djughashvili adds another variant that Stalin and the Egnatashvili children were both suckled by the same wet-nurse: they were 'milk brothers'. Davrichewy, pp. 26–8; Mayor Jourouli in Davrichewy, 'Je suis le demi-frère de Staline'. Tucker, *Stalin in Power*, p. 627. Within NKVD, on Egnatashvili relationship to Stalin: GARF 7523.107.126.1–6 General N. Vlasik interrogation.
  14. Pride in father: RGASPI 558.4.663 Fyodor Alliluyev. Khrushchev, 1: 301–2. Dreams clipped: 'Anarchism or Socialism' in Stalin, *Works*, 1: 296–372. Three cobblers – Stalin, Kaganovich and Mgeladze: Mgeladze, p. 237. RGASPI 558.11.1549.45 valiant son: Stalin to Keke 24 Mar. 1934. Beso tells stories of bandit-heroes: RGASPI 558.4.665 G. Elisabedashvili.

15. Mgeladze, p. 242. The three sons of Egnatashvili who died of smallpox were born around the same time as Stalin; the two surviving sons Vano and Sasha were born later. Tucker, *Stalin in Power*, p. 627. Keke.
16. GF IML 8.2.1.53 Alexander M. Tsikhataatrishvili. Lobanov, pp. 13–14: memoir of David Papiashvili.

## 2: CRAZY BESO [pp. 23–9]

1. Khrushchey, 1: 301–2. Keke. Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’.
2. Keke. Moving house nine times: Ostrovsky, pp. 88–9. Violence: Kun, p. 12. Misery: Merzliakov in *Molodaya Gvardiya* no. 12 1939, p. 37. Cossack’s whips: Stalin, *Works*, 1: 25–7. Josef Iremashvili, *Stalin und die Tragödie Georgiens* (henceforth Iremashvili), pp. 5–6, 9–12. Beso’s violence: N. Kipshidze. Keke’s violence: Hana Moshiasvili – quoted in Radzinsky, *Stalin*, p. 24. Svetlana on knife-throwing, beatings by Keke quoted in Service, *Stalin*, p. 20. Beating: GK Zhukov, *Vospominaniya i razmysleniyya* (henceforth Zhukov), 3: 215. Chase with whip, strangling Keke, Stalin cut, treat like a dog, help, he is killing my mother: Davrichewy, pp. 30–5.
3. Keke. R. G. Suny, ‘Beyond Psychohistory: The Young Stalin in Georgia’. Stalin teaches Charkviani children to read: Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’. Davrichewy, pp. 30–1. GF IML 8.2.1.10.23–47 Simon Gogchilidze. Lessons in secret, Beso drags by ears, my sister: GF IML 8.2.1.54.202–15 Kote Charkviani. Stalin speech VVS RKKA and government on 22 March 1938: Ostrovsky, p. 55. Barber–quack; too much reading; coat to hide Soso to school: GF IML 8.2.1.9 Anna Nikitin-Geladze.
4. Keke. Davrichewy, pp. 26–31. Davrichewy, ‘Je suis le demi-frère de Staline’, including Gori Mayor Jourouli quotation.
5. Zhukov, 3: 215. Svetlana Alliluyeva tapes: Stalin on mother, ‘He loved her’ etc – see Rosamund Richardson, *The Long Shadow*, p. 93. Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters to a Friend*, pp. 153–4, 204. Iremashvili, pp. 5–7. Beria, pp. 20–1. RGASPI 558.4.664 P. Kapanadze. Haughty, proud, Keke works for her family and Kulijanav sisters, Koba accuses Chernomazov; 1906 recruits Nato to newspaper: GF IML 8.2.1.15.266–72 Natalia Dondarov (Azarian). Keke.
6. First day of school: GF IML 8.2.1.24 V. Ketskhoveli; GF IML 8.2.1.41 I. Razmadze; RGASPI 558.4.665 S. P. Gogchilidze. Chintz bag: *Molodaya Gvardiya* no. 12 1939, pp. 35–7. Iremashvili, pp. 4–7. Keke.
7. Keke. Versions of carriage accident: Ostrovsky, p. 89. Game of carriage chicken: Suliashvili, p. 9. Quack: *Alliluyev Memoirs*, p. 189. Stalin jumping: RGASPI 558.4.665 Peter Kapanadze. GF IML 8.2.1.10.23–47 Simon Gogchilidze. GF IML 8.2.1.9 Anna Nikitin-Geladze. Blue coat, red scarf, freckles: GF IML 8.2.1.9 Grisha Glurjidze.
8. GF IML 8.2.1.54 Kote Charkviani. Keke.

## 3: BRAWLERS, WRESTLERS AND CHOIRBOYS [pp. 30–7]

1. Stalin’s home: Iremashvili, pp. 8–10. Plank-bed: GF IML 8.2.1.10.23–47 Simon Gogchilidze. GF IML 8.2.1.15.266–72 Natalia Dondarov (Azarian). Keke.
2. Picturesque and savage: Imam Raguza, *Stalin*, p. 23. Ostrovsky, p. 90. Davrichewy, pp. 78–9.
3. Street culture: Raguza, *Stalin*, p. 23. Suliashvili, pp. 42–6. Z. Gulisov, *Materialy dela opisany mestnostey i plemen kavkazy*, Tiflis 1886. Stalin’s participation, B. Ivanter and A. Khakhonov, quoted in Kaminsky–Vereshchagin, pp. 29–32, 48–50. Keenoba: GF IML 8.2.1.49.185–210 Kote Khakhanashvili.
4. How aristocrats lived: Simon Sidamon-Eristoff, *For my Grandchildren*, pp. 21–3. Prince Amilakhvari teaches Stalin swimming: Davrichewy, p. 70. Damage to aristocracy in Caucasus; 6 per cent of population in Georgia as opposed to 1.4 per cent in



- European Russia: Jones, pp. 1–29. Wrestling bouts, Stalin, Egnatashvili: Charkviani, 'Memoirs', p. 3.
5. Street fighter: GDMS 2.1955-148.1–11 Comrade Stalin in Gori Church School by Sandro Elisabedashvili (cousin of G. Elisabedashvili).
  6. Stalin gang and schoolboys. Catapulting the cows, naughty, running: RGASPI 558.4.665.14 G. Elisabedashvili, and fuller versions GDMS 1955-146.1–11 'My Memories of Comrade Stalin' by G. Elisabedashvili. Gangfights, Gori, singing Suliko, calm and brutal, push to extremes: Davrichewy, pp. 82–4, 72–6, 45–9, 60–1. Amilakhvari's gardens: Raguza, *Stalin*, pp. 34–5. Gori days, Eristavi's gardens and swimming: David Papitashvili and commander and stone slinging, sultan and ministers and Georgian stories of Saakadze and others, A. M. Tsikhatatrashvili, all in Kaminsky–Vereshchagin, pp. 3–32. Wrestling schoolboys at castle: Suliashvili, p. 12. Kamo: Kamo's sister Dzhavaira Khutulashvili, quoted in Kun, p. 75. Tough school of swimming: GDMS 2.1955-148.1–11 Sandro Elisabedashvili (cousin of G. Elisabedashvili). Like a fish: GF IML 8.2.1.49.185–210 Kote Khakhanashvili. Wounded arm, beaten up, when Soso grows up to be a priest: GF IML 8.2.1.10.23–47 Simon Gogchilidze. Stalin beats up sneak, devoted friend: GF IML 8.2.1.54.202–15 Kote Charkviani. Explosions and catapults: GF IML 8.2.1.226–39 Petre Adamashvili. Wrestling with Tito: Montefiore, p. 470.
  7. School: Stalin gains a year: RGASPI 558.4.669 P. Kapanadze. Keke. Strong will, always with a book, painting, Greek, improve yourself: GF IML 8.2.1.226–39 Petre Adamashvili. A. Gogebashvili, in charge of Psalms and Gendarme, quoted in Ostrovsky, pp. 91–9. Stalin best pupil: Suliashvili, p. 13; and Lavrov in uniform, Russian language, pp. 16–23. Kaminsky–Vereshchagin, pp. 35, 42, 51–8. Poems at Gori: GDMS 3(1).1955-146.1–20 'My Memories of Comrade Stalin' by G. Elisabedashvili. Stalin threatens Lavrov with death: GDMS 2.1955-148.9–11 'Comrade Stalin at Gori Church School' by Sandro Elisabedashvili. Beautiful alto and Shakespearean comedy: GF IML 8.2.1.49.185–210 Kote Khakhanashvili. Psalm prize, people attend weddings just to hear Stalin, grand manner, protest: GF IML 8.2.1.10.23–47 Simon Gogchilidze. GF IML 8.2.1.54.202–15 Kote Charkviani. Books in belt: GF IML 8.2.1.9 Ivan Geldiashvili. Be prepared: RGASPI 558.11.778.45 Stalin to Ordzhonikidze.

#### 4: A HANGING IN GORI [pp. 38–44]

1. Keke. RGASPI 558.4.662. Kun, p. 11. Don't worry, Mummy: Kaminsky–Vereshchagin, p. 37. Accident: GF IML 8.2.1.10 S. P. Gogchilidze. 'Detskie i scholy gody Iosefa Vissarionovicha Dzhugashvili': GF IML 8.2.6.306. 'Sore legs' – J. Djugashvili to Rector of Seminary 15 Nov. 1897: RGASPI 558.4.32. Geza: RGASPI 558.4.665 G. Elisabedashvili; also GDMS.
2. Adelkhanov incident in Tiflis: Keke, and also interview with *Pravda* 27 Oct. 1935. RGASPI 558.4.655 S. P. Gogchilidze. See also *Molodaya Gvardiya* no. 12 1939, pp. 43–5: Beso's words recalled by S. P. Gogchilidze and Masho Abramidze – how Egnatashvili tried to persuade Beso. The factory Adelkhanov: Service, *Stalin*, p. 24. Stink: M. Isaev in Kaminsky–Vereshchagin, p. 45. The seminal moment, 'If Beso had prevailed, no Stalin': the phrase is that of Service, *Stalin*, p. 25. Letters mention me: GF IML 8.2.1.10.23–47 Simon Gogchilidze. Year off: GF IML 8.6.306.
3. House on Sobornaya Street; Stalin's rebellion: Iremashvili, pp. 7–10. Work for Beliaev: RGASPI 71.10.273. Joins Kulijanav sisters: Keke. Expulsion from school, scholarship, high marks: RGASPI 71.10.275. See also RGASPI 558.4.655 G. Elisabedashvili and RGASPI 558.4.243 S. P. Gogchilidze. Scholarship: Ostrovsky, pp. 96–7. Pneumonia and scholarship doubled: GDMS 89 A. Gogebashvili. Reading, books, writing; Suliashvili, p. 15. Memoirs of Mikha Davitashvili, G. Parkadze and

- Grisha Glurjidge: RGASPI 558.4.651 and GF IML 8.2.1.9. Influence of Z. Davitashvili: letter E. Djughashvili to Z. Davitashvili 15 Sept. 1927, quoted in Ostrovsky, p. 93. Social improvement ambitions and influence of father's stories of bandits like Arsene Odzelashvili: RGASPI 558.4.655 G. Elisabedashvili. Reading all night and influence of Lado Ketskhoveli, book subscription, Darwin, doubts about God: memoirs of G. Glurjidge, P. Kapanadze, G. Elisabedashvili and Demna Shengelaya, quoted in Kaminsky–Vereshchagin, pp. 50–4.
4. Charkviani girl in love: GDMS 3(1).1955-146.1-20 'My Memories of Comrade Stalin' by G. Elisabedashvili. Stalin on the sister – she was thirteen and he may have been much younger than her: Charkviani, 'Memoirs'.
  5. Hanging: Grigory Razmadze, Suliashvili, p. 20. G. Glebov, 'Ocherk A. M. Gorkogo o Gori', *Zaria Vostoka* no. 223 quoting Peter Kapanadze on 28 Sept. 1939 and article from *Novoe Obzrenie* 15 Feb. 1892; Kaminsky–Vereshchagin, pp. 48–50. A. M. Gorky, *Nejgorodsky Listok* 26 Nov. 1896.
  6. This account of Stalin's enrolment at the Seminary is based on Keke, GF IML 8.2.15.2-15. Exam results at Church School: RGASPI 71.10.275. Keke's efforts, exams, offers, fees: GF IML 8.2.1.10 and RGASPI 558.4.665 S. P. Gogchelidze. RGASPI 558.4.61. On fees of 140 roubles per annum: Ostrovsky, pp. 108–10. On entrance enrolment: RGASPI 558.4.10. Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary* (henceforth Tucker), pp. 80–2. Encouraged to denounce other students: see Smith, p. 37. Help from Egnatashvili: author's interview with Guram Ratishvili, grandson, Tbilisi. Help with 'famous Princess Baratov' and fees from Davrichewy: Davrichewy, p. 31.

#### 5: THE POET AND THE PRIESTHOOD [pp. 45–8]

1. Keke. Routine: Domentii Gogokhia, *Molodya Gvardiya* no. 12 1939, p. 65. RGASPI 558.4.665 G. Parkadze. Jones, pp. 51–2. Kun, pp. 21–31. Philip Makharadze, *Ocherki revoliutsionnogo dvizheniya v Zakavkazi*, pp. 57–8. Tucker, pp. 82–3. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 33–7. Marks: RGASPI 558.4.17, 558.4.48, 558.4.665, 558.1.4326, 558.3.25. Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 10. Stalin changed, pensive: V. Ketskhoveli in *Literaturnii Kritik* no. 12 1939, pp. 103–5. Calm: GF IML 8.2.1.12 Said Devdariani.
2. Father: Charkviani, 'Memoirs'. Choir: RGASPI 71.10.404. Father sees Rector and Stalin's attitude: GDMS 3(1).1955-146.1-20 'My Memories of Comrade Stalin' by G. Elisabedashvili. Keke at Seminary: GF IML 8.6.306.
3. Humiliating, ransacking of boxes: Stalin to Ludwig in Stalin, *Sochineniya*, 3: 113–14. Good marks: RGASPI 558.4.30 and 37. Atheist in first year, Simon Natroshvili story, 5 roubles for singing in choir: Charkviani, 'Memoirs'. Poet burning eyes: Lev Kotyukov, 'The Forgotten Poet Josef Djughashvili', *Zavtra* no. 41 (46) 1994.

#### 6: THE 'YOUNG MAN WITH THE BURNING EYES' [pp. 49–56]

1. Analysis and quotations of Stalin's poetry are based on Donald Rayfield's translations and criticism in *PN Review* vol. 44 1984, pp. 45–7. I must also thank Professor Rayfield for his personal guidance. Giving up poetry: Stalin to Levon Shaumian: Kun, p. 4. Stalin welcomed by cultural elite: Service, *Stalin*, p. 40. Kotyukov, 'The Forgotten Poet Josef Djughashvili'. Mandelstam, Pasternak: Montefiore, pp. 117–18.
2. Tiflis, porridge of peoples: Jones, pp. 159–63. Lima and Bombay: Jones's description, p. 81. Tiflis: *Baedeker*, pp. 465–71. Founding of Mesame Dasi, *Kvaki*: Jones, pp. 49–50, 66–70. GF IML 8.2.1.9 Anna Nikitin-Geladze.
3. Books: GF IML 8.2.1.9 G. Glurjidge. From Stalin, Tolstoy etc G. Glurjidge, G. Parkadze, G. Glenov, quoted in Kaminsky–Vereshchagin, pp. 66–71. Stole from bookshop: M. Chareli in *Vstrechi s tov. Stalinym*, pp. 156–7. Hugo's 1893 hero and

- Vanity Fair* see Tucker, pp. 85–7, 132. Nekrasov and Chernyshevsky: Radzinsky, *Alexander II*, pp. 91 and 157–60. Dostoevsky: Rayfield, *Stalin and the Hangmen*, p. 22. Gogol, Saltykov, Shakespeare, Maupassant etc: A. A. Gromyko, *Memoirs*, p. 101. Beria, p. 143. Stalin, Gogol: Stalin, *Works*, 1: 151. By heart: K. Voroshilov, *Rasskazy o zhizni*, p. 247. Seminary reading, woodpile, inquisitor Abashidze, reading at night in church: Iremashvili, pp. 19–21. Punishments: RGASPI 558.4.48, 665 and 53. GF IML 8.2.1.12.176–83 Said Devdariani.
4. Iremashvili, pp. 17–19.
  5. *Das Kapital*: Service, *Stalin*, p. 41.
  6. *Sochineniya*, 13: 113–14. RGASPI 558.4.30 and 37. Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’. Practical Marxism vs academic: GF IML 8.2.1.12.176–83 Said Devdariani. Laughing at peasants and urinating on icons: GDMS 3(1).1955-146.11–19 ‘My Memories of Comrade Stalin’ by G. Elisabedashvili, and RGASPI 558.4.665.29. Marx books: GF IML 8.2.1.49.185–210 Kote Khakhanashvili. English books: GF IML 8.2.1.12.176–83 Said Devdariani.
  7. G. Ninua, *Zaria Vostoka* 17 Jul. 1939. A. Okuashvili, *Zaria Vostoka* 18 Sept. 1935. Stalin’s account: Stalin, *Sochineniya*, 8 (1948): 174. More practical Marxism: GF IML 8.2.1.12.176–83 Said Devdariani. Visit to Jordania: N. Vakar, ‘Stalin po vospominaniyom N. N. Jordania’, *Posledniya Novosti* 16 Dec. 1936, p. 2. Jordania: Uratadze, p. 11. Room on Mt David, journal: D. Gogokhiya in Kaminsky–Vereshchagin, p. 72. Views evolving: Suny, ‘Beyond Psychohistory’, p. 55. Lado, Jordania and Jibladze return and *Kvali*: Ostrovsky, pp. 121–3. Avoiding mother: Keke. Iremashvili, pp. 20–3. *Kvali* letter refused: GDMS 1955-146.17 G. Elisabedashvili. Home bedbugs: GF IML 8.2.1.12.176–83 Said Devdariani.
  8. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, p. 44.
  9. Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’. Davrichewy, p. 174. Marxism: Stalin, *Works*, 1: 296–372 ‘Anarchism or Socialism?’ and 1: 4 *Brzola* issue 1. L. Trotsky, *My Life*, pp. 129–30. Tucker, pp. 88–93. Stalin version of Marxism, see Service, *Stalin*, pp. 48–53. *Credo*: Ilizarov, p. 227. Sergy Kavtaradze ‘Memoirs’.

## 7: BATTLE OF THE DORMITORIES: SOSO VS FATHER BLACK

SPOT [pp. 57–63]

1. Inquisitor Abashidze: Iremashvili, pp. 19–21. Punishments: RGASPI 558.4.48, 665 and 53.
2. GDMS 3(1).1955-146.11–19 G. Elisabedashvili, also RGASPI 558.4.665.29. GF IML 8.2.1.49.185–210 Kote Khakhanashvili. GF IML 8.2.1.12.176–83 Said Devdariani.
3. Abashidze stories: D. Gogokhiya, Simon Natroshvili, P. Talakvadze and Black Spot G. Elisabedashvili, Kaminsky–Vereshchagin, pp. 66–7, 84–7. Renan’s *Life of Jesus Christ*: RGASPI 558.4.676. *Molodaya Gvardiya* no. 12 1939; P. Talakvadze, pp. 84–5. Marks, letter to Serafim, reprimands: RGASPI 558.4.48, 558.4.665, 558.1.4326, 71.1275. Refusal to cut hair: Kun, pp. 27–8. Punishments: RGASPI 558.4.53, 558.4.665, 558.4.53, 558.4.663, 558.4.60. Keke visits: Keke. Beso last meetings: GF IML 8.2.1.54.202–15 Kote Charkviani. GF IML 8.2.1.9 Anna Nikitin-Geladze. No more embracing: GF IML 8.2.1.9 Grisha Glurjidze. Teacher in Metekhi: RGASPI 558.11.76.113 Stalin to Beria 19 Sept. 1931.
4. Debauches: Kun quoting A. Avtorkhanov, p. 30. Lessons in secret, Beso drags by ear; my sister: GF IML 8.2.1.54.202–15 Kote Charkviani. Lisa Akopova: RGASPI 558.1.721. RGASPI 558.11.775.10–13 letter about Praskovia Pasha Mikhailovskaya, fathered by Stalin in 1899. Ilizarov, pp. 284–6. Rayfield, *Stalin and the Hangmen*, pp. 13–14. Stalin reading Napoleon: memoir of Nikolai Popkhadze, seminarist and cousin of Svanidzes, told to Peter Mamradze. Kote Charkviani’s sister: see G. Elisabedashvili, RGASPI 558.4.665 and GDMS 3(1).1955-146.1–20 Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’.

5. Expulsion?: RGASPI 558.1.635 Stalin interrogation, Baku 26 Mar. 1910: unexpectedly charged 25 roubles. Failure to pay fees: RGASPI 71.10.275 Yelena Tskhakaya. Old friends: RGASPI 558.1.5378 P. Kapanadze. Kun, pp. 7–34. Smith, pp. 52–3. Illness: Keke Djughashvili to H. Knickerbocker: *New York Post* 1 Dec. 1930. Money to Kapanadze: RGASPI 558.1.5978 and 5080. Betrayed forty students: Simon Vereshchak, ‘Stalin v tyurme’, *Dni* 22 Jan. 1928. ‘I was expelled for Marxist propaganda’: E. Yaroslavsky, *Landmarks in the Life of Stalin*, 1939, p. 14; also RGASPI 558.4.4349. Lack of funds: RGASPI 558.4.214. Church offer to be teacher: RGASPI 558.4.65. Expulsions: Kaminsky–Vereshchagin, p. 88. Yenukidze, quoted by Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 21. Davrichewy, p. 67. Ostrovsky, pp. 153–5. On God: Molotov, *Molotov Remembers* (henceforth *Molotov Remembers*), p. 212. Priests teach how to understand people, and remark to Churchill – past belongs to God: Stalin to Marshal Vasilevsky in Volkogonov, *Stalin*, pp. 470 and 228. To Harriman – only God can forgive and may God help this enterprise: see A. Harriman and Elie Abel, *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin* (New York 1975), p. 154. Meeting with Patriarch Sergei and Metropolitans Nikon and Alexei 4 Sept. 1943: Dmitri Pospelovsky, *The Russian Church under the Soviet Regime*, 1: 200. For a fuller account: V. Alexeev, ‘Neofitsialny dialog (o vstreche Stalina s rukovodstvom pravoslavnoi zerkvi)’, *Agitator* no. 6 1989. See also Michael Burleigh, *Sacred Causes*, p. 236. GIAG 440.2.12, 440.2.64, and RGASPI 558.4.53. Lack of funds: RGASPI 558.4.214. School results on the Svidetelstvo Certificate: GF IML 8.1.414. Executor of God’s will: letter from Stalin to Kosygin 22 Oct. 1946: displayed at TsMSIR. Stalin did return to the Seminary to raise funds for the Party during 1904–5, terrorizing the teachers.
6. Leaving the Seminary: Keke. Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, p. 142. Christian gent: Conrad Black, *FDR: Champion of Freedom*, p. 1080. Stalin and Tulin (Lenin): RGASPI 558.4.669 Peter Kapanadze. If no Lenin: Mgeladze, p. 82. Hiding out: Maria Makhstoblidze in Ostrovsky, p. 144. Criticism of Jordania: RGASPI 558.4.665 D. Kalandarashvili. James Moore, *Gurdjieff*, pp. 368–9.

## 8: THE WEATHERMAN: PARTIES AND PRINCES [pp. 64–70]

1. Weatherman: GF IML 8.2.1.5 V. F. Berdzenoshvili. Pay: RGASPI 558.4.66. Observatory: *Istoricheskie mesta Tbilisi*. pp. 30–4.
2. Keke. RGASPI 558.4.665 G. Elisabedashvili. GF IML 8.14.160 Vano Ketskhoveli.
3. Jones, chs 3 and 4. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 52–3. Kun, pp. 53–4. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 23–5.
4. GDMS 1955-146.16–31 G. Elisabedashvili. Look: Iremashvili and Trotsky, quoted in Radzinsky, *Stalin*, p. 47.
5. Workers’ circles: M. A. Moskalev, *Bolshevistsky organizatsii Zakavkazya periode pervoi russkoi revolyutsii*, p. 17. *Molodaya Gvardiya* vol. 12 1939, p. 101: 10 Jun. 1926.
6. Early Christians: Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 137. Committees: Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 53–4. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 23–34.
7. Gendarme reports Capt. V. B. Lavrov to Col. E. P. Debil: GIAG 153.2.302, GARF 124.11.1902.127, GARF 102.7.1902.175. GF IML 8.14.160.3 Matiorz Grikurov: Stalin and Beso at Adelnhanov shoe factory. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 23–34.
8. Stalin worships Lado Kestkhoveli and Sasha Tsulukidze: A. Yenukidze, *Nashi podpolnye tipografii na Kavkaze*, p. 24. Tsulukidze in Tskhakaya’s words: *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* no. 5 1965. I. Dubinsky-Mukhadze, ‘Mikhail G. Tskhakaya’, pp. 111–12. ‘Friend of Illich – Mikho’, *Literaturanaya Gruzia* no. 1 1965, pp. 15–20. Anna Alliluyeva in *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 24–7, 36–40, 47–8. Kun, pp. 192–8. Richardson, *Long Shadow*, p. 117. Beria, p. 150. L. Vasileva, *Kremlin Wives*, pp. 55 and 70. Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Dalyokaya muzika*, pp. 251–2, and *Dvadtsaty pisem k drugu*, pp. 39–47. See L. P. Beria, *Lado Ketskhoveli*, pp. 5–65. Also: Beria p. 308.
9. Svanidzes: GF IML 8.2.1.34.343–51 Mikheil Monaselidze. Kamo: no decent people,

- enthralled – see Dzhavaira Khutulashvili in Kun, p. 75. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, p. 60. Stalin reading Napoleon: memoir of Nikolai Popkhadze, seminarist and cousin of Svanidzes told to Peter Mamradze. GDMS 1955-146.16–31 G. Elisabedashvili. ‘Soso’s gramophone’ and teaching mentally limited Kamo, giving nickname: GF IML 8.2.1.7.64–84 G. F. Vardoyan. GF IML 8.5.384.3–10 Autobiographical notes by Kamo, GF IML 8.5.380.5–6 Personal File and Questionnaire filled in by Kamo on day of his death.
10. GDMS 1955-146.16–31 G. Elisabedashvili. Memoir Nikolai Popkhadze to Peter Mamradze. Sagirashvili, pp. 168–77.
  11. SD split: Jones, chs 3 and 4. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 52–3. Kun, pp. 53–4. Arsenidze, quoted in Kun p. 54. Muddled young: S. T. Arkomed (Grigol Karadzhan), *Rabochee dvizhenie*, pp. 55–6. Iremashvili, pp. 21–2. RGASPI 558.4.665 G. Elisabedashvili. Davrichewy, pp. 124–5. N. Vakar, ‘Stalin po vospominaniia N. N. Zhordania’, *Poslednye Novosti* 16 Dec. 1936.
  12. Gendarme reports, Capt. V. B. Lavrov to Col. E. P. Debil: GIAG 153.2.302, GARF 124.11.1902.127, GARF 102.7.1902.175. GF IML 8.14.160.3 Matorz Grikurov. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 24–7, 47–8.
  13. Teacher: Raguza, *Stalin*, p. 65. Mochalov in Service, *Stalin*, p. 51. April 1901 riot: *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 49–51. *Istoricheskie mesta Tbilisi*, pp. 68–73. Conscription: Davrichewy, p. 31. Police interrogation including ‘exempted from conscription 1901 due to family matters’: RGASPI 558.4.214.
  14. Shaumian, Vedenev murder, Lelashvili: Ostrovsky, pp. 585–9. Memoir of Nikolai Popkhadze, seminarist and cousin of Svanidzes, told to Peter Mamradze. Shaumian: Anastas Mikoyan, *Memoirs*, 1: 72.

## 9: STALIN GOES UNDERGROUND: *KONSPIRATSIA* [pp. 71–4]

1. *Konspiratsia* and the secret world is based closely on the following sources: Richard Pipes, *The Degaev Affair*, pp. 26, 87, master of the revolution. Jonathan Daly, *Autocracy under Siege*, pp. 6, 9, 21–37, 38–44, 87–96; who learned from whom?, pp. 95–131. Radzinsky, *Alexander II*, pp. 91, 153–62, 217–22, 340. Perilustration, creation of Okhrana, codenames, danger of flying suicide-bombers: Charles A. Ruud and Sergei A. Stepanov, *Fontanka 16: The Tsar’s Secret Police*, pp. 54–6 and 69–79. On flying suicide-bombers: Iain Lauchlan, *Russian Hide-and-Seek*, p. 361. Poles and Jews more hanged: Rayfield, *Stalin and the Hangmen*, p. 31. Yard-keepers and Georgian cult of loyalty and violence: Jones, p. 99. Yenukidze on vengeance: Nikolaevsky box 207, folder 207-15 BN letter to T. Vulikh 8 Aug. 1949. Stalin and spook: GF IML 8.2.1.54.202–15 Kote Charkviani. Davrichewy, p. 31. RGASPI 558.4.214.
2. Avoiding spies and laughing at them: GDMS 1955-146.16–31 G. Elisabedashvili.
3. ‘Neopublikovannye materialy iz biografii t. Stalina’, *Antireligioznik* vol. 12 1939, pp. 17–21: memoir of bookshop owner Ambako Chelaidze.
4. GDMS 1955-146.16–31 G. Elisabedashvili. Ostrovsky, pp. 166–7.
5. Iremashvili, pp. 21–2. RGASPI 558.4.665 G. Elisabedashvili. Davrichewy, pp. 124–5. Vakar, ‘Stalin po vospominaniia N. N. Zhordania’. Jones, pp. 72–4.
6. November meetings, Gendarme reports: GIAG 153.2.302/102.00.1898.5-52/153.1.3431/2. GARF 102.00.1898.5.52.B. List of twenty-four delegates to the Conference: GDMS 93.3 M. Gureshidze. Ostrovsky’s version is the most convincing: Ostrovsky, pp. 167–70. Slanderer sent to Batumi: Uratadze, pp. 66–7. Muddled youngster: Arkomed, *Rabochee dvizhenie*, pp. 55–6. Iremashvili, pp. 21–2. RGASPI 558.4.665. G. Elisabedashvili. Davrichewy, pp. 124–5. Vakar, ‘Stalin po vospominaniia N. N. Zhordania’. S. Talakvadze, *K istorii Kommunisticheskoi partii Gruzii*, 1: 59–63. Jones, pp. 106–7.



10: 'I'M WORKING FOR THE ROTHSCHILDS!' – FIRE,  
MASSACRE AND ARREST IN BATUMI [pp. 75–83]

1. GF IML 8.2.1.20.155–222 Kotsia Kandelaki. RGASPI 558.4.537 D. A. Vadachkoria. Porfiro Kuridze in *Batumskaya*, pp. 63–70. *Chernomorskii Vestnik* 5 Jan. 1902.
2. GF IML 8.2.1.20.155–222 Kotsia Kandelaki. Throughout this chapter I have drawn on *Batumskaya*: Kote Kalandarov, pp. 36–40; Porfiro Lomdzharia, pp. 41–9; Gerasim Kaladze, pp. 49–55; Illarion Darakhvelidze, pp. 55–63; Porfiro Kuridze, pp. 63–70; Khachik Kazarian, pp. 75–8; G. Chkaidze, p. 124; Hashimi Smirba pp. 150–71. GF IML 8.2.1.20 K. Kandelaki. RGASPI 558.4.537 D. A. Vadachkoria (official version *Batumskaya*, pp. 106–12). Porfiro Kuridze, *Bakinsky Rabochyi* 12 Jan. 1937. *Chernomorskii Vestnik* 5 Jan. 1902.
3. New Year's Eve: GF IML 8.2.1.20.155–222 Kotsia Kandelaki. Lomdzharia bandit, visits to Tiflis: GDMS 1955-146.29-44 G. Elisabedashvili. GMIKA 18.50 Kote Kalandarov. GMIKA 26.104.33-42 Porfiro Kuridze. Batumi: *Annals of the Working Collective Batumi*, p. 315. Jones, pp. 28 (Mandelstam quote) and 87–8. Ostrovsky, pp. 170–1. Robert W. Tolf, *The Russian Rockefellers: The Saga of the Nobel Family and the Russian Oil Industry*, pp. 87–90.
4. When Porfiro Lomdzharia came out of prison, Jeune gave him 400 roubles for his brother Silvester's funeral and the substantial sum of 3,000 roubles. Since the Lomdzharia brothers were Stalin's enforcers with whom he often stayed, it is likely that he was involved. Later, Stalin raised money using protection-rackets, by threatening the families of businessmen or by demanding money in return for not striking. Perhaps the 3,000 roubles was to prevent any more fires at the refinery. RGASPI 161.1.11. GF IML 8.2.1.20.155–222 Kotsia Kandelaki, including Armenian help with printing from Spandarian. Spandarian lover: Nikolaevsky Vulikh in box 207–9. Spandarian womanizer and fate of wife of Bolshevik: Olga Spandarian letter to Shaumian in *Vestnik Archivov Armenii* no. 1 1996 'Suren Spandarian in Siberian exile'. RGASPI 558.4.537 D. A. Vadachkoria and official version *Batumskaya*, pp. 106–12. *Bakinsky Rabochyi* 12 Jan. 1937. Porfiro Kuridze. François Jeune: Otar Gogolishvili in interview with Ostrovsky, pp. 586–7. Payments to and from Lomdzharia: GARF 102.1900.4871. I. S. Chulek, *Ocherki istorii Batumskoi kommunisteskoï organizatsii*, Batumi 1970, pp. 90–1.
5. Kirtava: GF IML 8.2.1.26.22–6 (1934) and 8.2.1.26.36–9 (1937) Natalia Kirtava-Sikharulidze memoirs. GMIKA 19.51: Natalia Kirtava-Sikharulidze memoirs. GF IML 8.2.1.43. GARF 3.1905.272.
6. GF IML 8.2.1.20.155–222 Kotsia Kandelaki. GMIKA 18.50 Kote Kalandarov. GMIKA 26.104 Porfiro Kuridze memoirs, pp. 33–42. *Batumskaya*, pp. 36–78, 124. Stalin's despotism: Lavrov in GARF 102.00.1898.5-52-V. Hiding in skirts: Interview with Suren Levonian on mother Terun Levonian story.
7. 9 March: GF IML 8.2.1.20.155–222 Kotsia Kandelaki. GMIKA 26.104 Porfiro Kuridze memoirs, pp. 33–42. *Batumskaya*, pp. 36–78, 124, 203–27. GMIKA 105, 106, 154 Despina Shapatava. Rothschilds manager, Wanstein hit: GF IML 8.2.1.9 Theophile Gogiberidze. Changing clothes and wearing hoods: GM IML 8.2.1.15.174–81 I. Doborjinidze. Hooded Koba: see K. Kalandarov in *Batumskaya*, p. 70; you'll never be revolutionary, Vadachkoria, p. 86; conspiracy and mystery, P. Kuridze, p. 96; no moustaches or beard, p. 99; hooded and riot and Stalin puts on plays, Vera Lomdzharia, p. 102; demonstration, I. Darakhvelidze, pp. 116–17; Stalin calm, K. Kandelaki, pp. 118–26; Stalin helps wounded, p. 157. GF IML 8.2.1.20.155–222 Kotsia Kandelaki.
8. Hashimi Smirba: GF IML 8.2.1.20.155–222 Kotsia Kandelaki. GMIKA 21.57 Hamdi Smirba memoirs, p. 16, and 22.58 Hashimi Smirba, pp. 1–9. GMIKA 26.104.33–42 Porfiro Kuridze. *Batumskaya*, pp. 150–71. Stalin in women's dresses: Suren Levonian



interview on mother Terun Levonian in Batumi. On truth of Smirba story: Stalin in Charkviani, 'Memoirs'. On Nestor Lakoba, see Montefiore, pp. 179–80. Jordania's reaction: Zhordania, 'Stalin', p. 2. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 31–2. Stalin, *Works*, 1: 25. Stalin on his Gurian bodyguards and on losing people but winning: Mgeladze, p. 77. Stalin amends Beria's book: Beria, p. 18.

9. Funerals, arrest: police officer report 6 Apr. 1902, *Batumskaya*, p.177 and report of Jakeli, p. 178. GMIKA 115 Capt. Jakeli report on arrest of Stalin, involvement on 9 March. Letters to mother and Iremashvili; report of chief of Kutaisi Province Gendarmerie to the Police Department 9 Apr. 1902, arrest of Djugashvili known as teacher of workers and said to be always holding himself apart, keeping himself secret: GMIKA 116 Illarion. On Stalin and Bulgakov: M. Bulgakov, *Batum*, Radzinsky, *Stalin*, pp. 9–11 quotes Elena Bulgakova; and Elena Bulgakova's diaries 1939; also account of V. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko, Arts Theatre Director. See: *itlibatum.ru*. GF IML 8.2.1.20.155–222 Kotsia Kandelaki.

## II: THE PRISONER [pp. 87–93]

1. Uratadze, pp. 66–9, 208–10. GF IML 8.2.1.20.155–222 Kotsia Kandelaki.
2. Gendarme inquiries and Stalin's notes: RGASPI 558.4.80, 81 and 83. *Batumskaya* pp. 233–5. Reports of Capt. Jakeli 9 Apr. 1902, Maj.-Gen. Shopchansky 9 Apr. 1902, Report of Gendarme Department Tiflis (Stalin member of Tiflis Committee) 1 May 1902, arrest report of Policeman Chkhikvadze 6 Apr. 1902, report of Policeman Gogoria in Gori (Iremashvili interrogated, two men come to meet Keke and take her to Batumi) 16 Jun. 1902; Jakeli 16 Oct. 1905 on great success in 1901; Col. Lavrov on great discord between juniors and old Socialists 9 Feb. 1903; GMIKA 153, 116, 118 Stalin 1 May 1902, 119, 120 Eremov, 121, 125 Chopura and Mohevi. GF IML 8.2.1.20.155–222 Kotsia Kandelaki.
3. GDMS 1955-146.33–40 G. Elisabedashvili.
4. Keke: Mgeladze pp. 154–5. Police reports and Keke's requests: RGASPI 71.10.401 and 404. RGASPI 558.4.405. Trip to Batumi: Keke. Visit again to Batumi spring 1903; see Keke's obituary *Zaria Vostoka*, 1937. Kun, p. 42. On Keke's interview 1935, R. W. Davies, O. V. Khlevnuik, E. A. Rees (eds), *Stalin-Kaganovich Correspondence*, p. 295.
5. Prison culture: GMIKA 19(51) N. Kirtadze-(Kirtava)-Sikharulidze, pp. 39(1)–42(4); Stalin gives message, p. 32(128); Gerasim Kaladze, pp. 42(1)–50(9); V. Chaidze, p. 96; V. Kalandze, p. 136. Stalin and the sympathetic guard: Chaureli in *Vstrechi s vozhdem narodov/Vstrechi s tov. Stalinym*, p. 154. How to communicate: Bibineishvili, pp. 59–63. Leniency: Rayfield, *Stalin and the Hangmen*, p. 31. Stalin prefers convicts: Khrushchev, 1: 301. Stalin lonely: Oleg Troyanovsky, *Cherez gody*, p. 162. Studying and prisons barbarous/paternalist: Trotsky, *My Life*, pp. 35, 147 and 180. Second school: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 28–32. Ordzhonikidze's reading, Stalin's memo on prison 1937: Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 9. Prison culture, news of Soso's arrest, arguments in jail: *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 43–5, 55–64; prison visits, pp. 33–5. Stalin's prison routine: Kalandadze, quoted in Trotsky, *Stalin*, p.35.
6. Lenin and *What is to be Done?*: Tucker, pp. 23–31. Stalin, *Works*, 1: 63–74.
7. GMIKA 19(51) N. Kirtadze-(Kirtava)-Sikharulidze, pp. 39(1)–42(4).
8. Story of Christofore Imnaichvili told to author by Tamaz Naskidashvili, letter 20 Oct. 2005.
9. Innocent in Batumi, guilty in Tiflis and lost in prison system: RGASPI 558.4.79, 558.4.90; GARF 102.00.1898.5-52-V, 102.00.1902.825-16, 102.00.1898.5-59-A. GF IML 8.1.772, 5.268. Ostrovsky, pp. 185–96. *Batumskaya*, pp. 171–4.
10. Hospital: GF IML 8.2.1.20.
11. RGASPI 558.4.619 Stalin to Prince G. S. Golitsyn.

12. Exarch: Ostrovsky, p. 195. Transfer to Kutaisi: GMIKA 19(51) N. Kirtadze-(Kirtava)-Sikharulidze, pp. 39(1)-42(4).
13. At Kutaisi prison: GMIKA 19(51) N. Kirtadze-(Kirtava)-Sikharulidze, pp. 39(1)-42(4). Group photograph and 28 Jul. protest: *Batumskaya*, pp. 95-9, 137-8; Dzuku Lolua and Varden Chaidze. Uratadze, pp. 66-9, 208-10.
14. RGASPI 558.4.79, 558.4.90; GARF 102.00.1898.5-52-V, 102.00.1902.825-16, 102.00.1898.5-59-A. GF IML 8.1.772, 5.268. Ostrovsky, pp. 185-96. *Batumskaya*, pp. 171-4.
15. Sentencing: RGASPI 558.4.619, GARF 102.7d.1902.175; RGIA 1405.521.482. Finding Stalin: GIAG 13.27.5451 and 5461; 84.2.1960 and 1272; GIAG 17.2.1272; GF IML 8.5.204. *Batumskaya*, pp. 257-65. Ostrovsky, pp. 197-200. GMIKA 19(51).39(1)-42(4) N. Kirtadze-(Kirtava)-Sikharulidze. Money: GF IML 8.2.1.13 memoirs L. Janelidze. 28 million: A. Applebaum, *GULAG*, p. 518.

## 12: THE FROZEN GEORGIAN: SIBERIAN EXILE [pp. 94-102]

1. *Etap*: tooth arsenic and amputation: Charkviani, 'Memoirs'. Beaten up, and shackles: Kun, pp. 60-1. Racing the train: Smith, p. 112. Criminals: *Molotov Remembers*, pp. 145-6.
2. RGASPI 558.11.1494 Abram Gusinsky. Peasants: Charkviani, 'Memoirs'.
3. *Vstrechi s vozhdem*, p. 28 - memoirs of grandson of Martha Litvintseva and Mikhail Gulkin. B. Ivanov, 'V Novoi Ude', *Pravda* 25 Dec. 1939.
4. Exile: allowance - see *Molotov Remembers*, p. 133. Charkviani, 'Memoirs'. Trotsky on Olympus in Volkogonov, *Trotsky*, p. 11. Krupskaya, p. 33. Lenin in exile: Service, *Lenin*, p. 110. Joy of letters Yenukidze to Voroshilov: RGASPI 71.2.41. Women, and duel: *Molotov Remembers*, p. 128. Lezhnev: Kun, p. 112. Voroshilov, Yenukidze, women: Vasileva, *Kremlin Wives*, p. 80. Love under boulders: Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 85. Sverdlov in Tucker, p. 158. Exile, Jews: Davrichewy, p. 129.
5. Khrushchev, 1: 301. Khrushchev mentions 'first exile' and 'Vologda' which was Stalin's second exile, but it seems to belong to this first exile.
6. Lenin, letter to Stalin and Second Congress: Stalin, *Works*, 6: 52-4. Tucker, p. 122. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 50-5. Iremashvili, pp. 212-13. Uratadze, p. 67. Bibeneishvili, pp. 80-3.
7. Two escapes: RGASPI 558.4.659 (also Sergei Alliluyev, *Proidemyi put*, p. 109). RGASPI 558.1.14. RGASPI 558.11.1494 A. Gusinsky. RGASPI 558.4.655 M. I. Kungarov letter. K. Chernenko, *I. V. Stalin v sibirskoi ssilke*, pp. 22-5, 32-7. Drink for driver: GF IML 8.5.205. Stalin boasts of tricking peasant driver of sledge and showing sword, as told by Stalin in 1910 to Ivan Kukulava: GF IML 8.2.1.27.202-10. Police spy ID: GF IML 8.2.1.7 D. Vadachkoria. I. Petrov, 'Pervye shagi revolyutsionoi deatelnosti tov Stalina', *Molodoi Bolshhevik* vol. 21 1939, p. 25. Sieve: Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 37. Trotsky in Volkogonov, *Trotsky*, pp. 44-5. Boots and Sergei Alliluyev's many escapes: Radzinsky, *Stalin*, p. 76. Police card: Kun, pp. 62-4. Police: GARF 102.00.1904.6.313, RGASPI 558.4.92. GF IML 8.2.1.9 Anna Nikitin-Geladze. Tsarist agent and escapes: I am indebted in this section, unless specifically attributed, to the researches of Ostrovsky, especially on timing of escape, p. 212; also pp. 431-62 and his analyses of Okhrana and Gendarme archives 1900-10; on escapes from exile, pp. 431-6; Ostrovsky quote, pp. 436-8; quotation by police official L. A. Rataev, p. 437; money for agents, pp. 438-9; corruption of police Dvali, p. 515, Zubov and Zaitsev, pp. 545-7; Fikus report on intelligence gathering by Stalin, p. 578; on 800-rouble bribe, Y. Sverdlov, *Izbrannye proizvedeniya*, p. 595. Stalin five escapes: Charkviani, 'Memoirs'. RGASPI 671.1.287 Turukhansk money receipts 1913-15 collected by NKVD boss N. I. Yezhov and found in his safe. Ordzhonikidze and Zaitsev: RGASPI 558.4.258. P. A. Japaridze, *Vospominaniya o P. A. Japaridze*, pp. 61-2. GARF 110.19.119. Stalin meets police official

- on street and Gendarme tip-offs: GDMS 167 G. Varshamian. GARF 102.00.5-61-A. Tucker, pp. 109–10, quoting Roy Medvedev on story of E. P. Frolov. Roy Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, pp. 314–24. Service, *Stalin*, p. 74. For discussion of Eremin letter: Eric Lee, ‘Eremin Letter: Documentary Proof that Stalin was Okhrana Spy?’ Eremin text in Smith, p. 306. General Ivan Serov memo to First Secretary N. S. Khrushchev and Politburo: RGASPI 558.11.1288, 4 Jun. 1956. Stalin and Spandarian vs Shaumian by Ekaterina Shaumian: Mikoyan, *Memoirs*, p. 72. Shaumian tensions, Tartars in meetings, Stalin’s protection-rackets, killing informers, Spandarian debauchery, Stalin true boss, gangsterism: Tatiana Vulikh to Boris Nikolaevsky, Nikolaevsky box 207, folder ID 207–9. Uratadze, p. 67. Arsenidze, pp. 72 and 224. Jordania, ‘Stalin’, in which Jordania quotes Shaumian. Olga Shatunovskaya: RGASPI 558.4.671. Shaumian’s jobs; buy-out from arrest to Capt. Zaitsev: Akopian, *Shaumian*, pp. 64–76. Prison director Vachiev, 150 roubles each to free prisoners: *Iz proshlogo nashei partii: Stati i vospominaniya iz istorii Bakinskoi organizatsii*, pp. 146–7. B. Kaptelev and Z. Peregudova, ‘Byl li Stalin agentom Okhranki?’, *Rodina* no. 5 1989, pp. 67–9. B. Slavina, ‘Stalin i Okhranka’, *Alternativy* no. 1 1998, pp. 78–81. Okhrana surveillance 1908–13: *Krasny Arkhiv* no. 2 (105) 1941, pp. 4–31. Stalin on betrayal, death: GF IML 8.6.312 D. Chekheidze (Turdospireli). Stalin edits his own *Short Course* biography including number of arrests: ‘I. V. Stalin sam o sebe: redaktsionnaya pravka sobstvennoy biografii’, *Izvestiya TsK KPSS* no. 9 1990.
8. You comrades and French Revolution book: GF IML 8.2.1.11.125–7 Dmitri Gurgeniidze. Stalin’s nationalist views, Batumi, Gori and the *Credo*: RGASPI 157.1.54 M. Tskhakaya. Service, *Stalin*, p. 55. S. Kavtaradze unpublished mss – thanks to his daughter Maya Kavtaradze and Zakro Megrilishvili. GF IML 8.2.1.19 S. Kavtaradze. Beaten up and apartments: Ostrovsky, pp. 214–17. Bibineishvili, pp. 79–83. Georgian political nation and Tskhakaya stories by Stalin: Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’. Marx son of an ass: Sagirashvili, p. 181. For Toroshelidze: Minadora Toroshelidze mss – thanks to Susanna Toroshelidze and Nestan Charkviani. For Shevardian story, see handwritten memoir by Sergei Danielovich Shevardian (Chaverdian): thanks to Claire Mouradian for recording and sharing this source with me.
9. GF IML 8.2.1.34 Mikheil Monoselidze. Davrichewy, pp. 118.19, 124–5. Catherine Merridale, ‘The Making of a Moderate Bolshevik’. GF IML 8.5.384.3–10 Autobiographical notes by Kamo. GF IML 8.5.380.5–6 Personal File and Questionnaire filled in by Kamo on day of his death. GF IML 8.2.1.34.332–4.

### 13: BOLSHEVIK TEMPTRESS [pp. 103–8]

1. Yenukidze, *Nashi podpolnye tipografii na Kavkaze*, p. 24. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 24–7, 36–40, 47–8, 65. Kun, pp. 192–8. Richardson, *Long Shadow*, p. 117. Beria, p. 150. Pavel Alliluyev on Stalin and Kurnatovsky; and Nadya on mother: Vasileva, *Kremlin Wives*, pp. 55 and 74. Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Dalyokaya muzika*, pp. 251–2, and *Dvadtsaty pisem*, pp. 39–47. Thanks to Gia Tarkhan-Mouravi for this family story in the footnote.
2. GF IML 8.5.384.3–10 Autobiographical notes by Kamo. GF IML 8.5.380.5–6 Personal File and Questionnaire filled in by Kamo on day of his death. GF IML 8.2.1.50.239–55 Dzhavaira Khutulashvili née Ter-Petrosian, Kamo’s sister. I. M. Dubinsky-Mukhadze, *Ordzhonikidze*, pp. 19–21, and *Kamo*, p. 19. Theatrical stunt: Susanna Toroshelidze’s interview on her mother Minadora Ordzhonikidze-Toroshelidze. Newspaper with Makharadze: Jones, p. 109. Marie Arensberg: Essad Bey, p. 94.
3. GF IML 8.2.1.26.22–6 (1934) and 8.2.1.26.36–9 (1937) Natalia Kirtava-Sikharulidze memoirs. GF IML 8.2.1.43 N. Kirtava-Sikharulidze. GF IML 8.2.1.31 V. Lomdzharია-Javakidze: soldier’s uniform. GF IML 8.2.1.34 I. Mshvidabadze: railway uniform – also RGASPI 558.4.655. GF IML 2913.2.4 F. Makharadze – suspicions of Stalin as police agent.

4. Stalin's nationalist views, Batumi, Gori, the *Credo*: RGASPI 157.1.54 M. Tskhakaya. Service, *Stalin*, p. 55. S. Kavtaradze unpublished mss. GF IML 8.2.1.19 S. Kavtaradze. Ostrovsky, pp. 214–17. Bibineishvili, pp. 79–83. Kirtava turns down Stalin: GF IML 8.2.1.26.22–6 (1934) and 8.2.1.26.36–9 (1937) Natalia Kirtava-Sikharulidze. GF IML 8.2.1.43 N. Kirtava-Sikharulidze. Beaten up: Ostrovsky, pp. 214–17. Kun, p.66.
5. GF IML 8.2.1.25 V. Ketskhoveli. Davrichewy, p. 35 – papers in name of Petrov/Pavlov. Ostrovsky, pp. 216–17.
6. Imeret–Mingrel Committee: RGASPI 157.1.54 M. Tskhakaya. GF IML 8.2.1.19 S. Kavtaradze. Bibineishvili, pp. 80–2. Arrests, escapes and house moves: GF IML 8.2.1.5 G. F. Berdzenovshvili. Union Committee: RGASPI 558.4.658 Ts. Zelikson. Fishing: GF IML 8.2.1.34 I. Mshvidabadze: railway uniform – also RGASPI 558.4.655. Makharadze, *Ocherki*, p. 76. Tucker, p. 98. Baku: RGASPI 558.4.93. Kun, p. 92. Leader: GF IML 8.5.320. Kutaisi description and quote by P. Makharadze: Jones, pp. 88–9; Guria and Kutaisi landscape: 'mountains swampy valleys' – this is a direct quote from Jones, p. 133. Ten trips etc: Ostrovsky, pp. 576–7. Escapes, Budu and Stalin stories: interview with Izolda Mdivani (widow of Budu's son Vahtang) and Mdivani family in Tbilisi, Georgia, 2006.
7. Stalin's behaviour in Kutaisi. 'Poliziya i soratniki ob I. V. Staline – A tsel ta chtoby pokazatsya narodu velikim chelovekom', *Otechestvennyye Arkhiv* no. 4 1995, pp. 77–80. The archivist whom Beria asked to find the letter was X. Serova, sister of one of his secret policemen, I. A. Serov. Stalin to Davitshvili in Leipzig and Lenin's reaction: Stalin, *Works*, 1: 55–8. Influence of Jordania: Jones, p. 127. New Year's Eve 1904, disturbing banquet: GF IML 8.2.1.11 Alexei Zakhomildin.
8. Baku Jan. 1905: RGASPI 71.10.189. The Revolution, bloody Sunday: Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy* (henceforth Figes), pp. 173–86. Stalin, *Works* 1: 75. Makharadze and Stalin editors: Jones, p. 109.
9. Stalin, *Works*, 1: 75.

#### 14: 1905: KING OF THE MOUNTAIN [pp. 109–117]

1. Baku: RGASPI 558.4.583 Mamed Mamediarov, Muktar Gadzhiev. Essad Bey, p. 69. Baku: Tolf, *The Russian Rockefeller*, pp. 151–8. Jorg Baberowski, *Der Feind ist überall*, pp. 77–9.
2. Stalin, *Works*, 1: 82–4 and 85–9. Thousands of dead: Armen Ohanian quoted in Tom Reiss, *The Orientalist*, p. 14.
3. S. Talakvadze, *K istorii Kommunisticheskoi partii Gruzii*, 1: 118.
4. Chavichvili, *Patrie, prisons, exile*, p. 70. Stalin, *Works*, 1: 422–3. Guria: Jones, p. 149 – Victor Taratuta quote on separate republic. Committee as Tsar: Bibineishvili, p. 119. Debate with Isidore Ramishvili, Comrade Koba in Tskhratskaro, escape, clean-shaven, meeting in Gotsadze's father's house: GF IML 8.2.1.11.30–3 Davit Gotsadze. It is possible that this was one occasion when he was hidden in the nearby mansion of Chiatura Manganese tycoon Prince Jibo Abashidze, ancestor of President Mikhail Saakashvili: see Sandra Roelofs Saakashvili, *Story of an Idealist*, pp. 37–8.
5. Circumcised Yids: Arsenidze, p. 221.
6. Chiatura: Jones, p. 91. Chavichvili, *Patrie, prisons, exile*, pp. 70, 72–87, 112–17. Also *Cahiers d'Histoire Sociale* no. 26 Automne/hiver 2005, pp. 133–44. Guria: Jones, p. 149. Bibineishvili, p. 119.
7. Printing-press: RGASPI 558.4.651 M. Beliashvili. Chavichvili, *Patrie, prisons, exile*, pp. 70–87, 112–17.
8. Menshevik armed detachments: Noe Ramishvili in Jones, p. 180. Stalin, *Works*, 1: 133–9 'Armed Insurrection and our Tactics', *Proletariat Struggle* 15 Jul. 1905. Chiatura armed: GF IML 8.2.1.25.261–87 Vano Kiasashvili. Kote Tsintsadze, 'Chemi

- Mogonebani', *Revolutsiis Matiane* no. 2, pp. 117–22; no. 3, pp. 68–79. G. Parkadze, *Boezye Bolshevistskie druzhiny v Chiaturakh v 1905*, in *Rasskazy o Velikom, Staline* (Tbilisi 1941), pp. 46–50; RGASPI 558.4.665. Sergo Kavtaradze, *Kak tov Stalin gromil Menshikov*, pp. 56–9 in *Rasskazy o Velikom Staline* (Tbilisi 1941). Bibineishvili, pp. 88–90, 119. Stalin in the West, as speaker, tactician, style: Chavichvili, *Patrie, prisons, exile*, pp. 70–87, 112–17.
9. Chiatura tycoons: RGASPI 558.4.665 B. Kekelidze. GF IML 8.2.1.93–4 V. Bakradze. Saakashvili, *Story of an Idealist*, pp. 37–45. Bibineishvili, pp. 88–90, 119. Chavichvili, *Patrie, prisons, exile*, pp. 70–87, 112–17. Status symbol: Krasin in Williams, p. 59. Protection-rackets and Stalin defends tycoons: GF IML 8.2.1.7 G and GF IML 8.2.1.4.1.
  10. *Perepiska V. I. Lenina i rukovodimyykh im uchrezhdenii RSDRP s mestnymi partiinymi organizatsiyami 1905–7*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 294.
  11. Arsenidze in Smith, pp. 139–41. Comrade Koba in Tskhratskaro, debate, escape, clean-shaven, meeting in Gotsadze's father's house: GF IML 8.2.1.11.30–3 Davit Gotsadze. Roelofs Saakashvili, *Story of an Idealist*, pp. 37–8. Simon Vereshchak, *Dni* 24 Jan. 1928.
  12. Viceroy: the description of Viceroy's character and arrival are direct quotes from Jones, pp. 172–5; and prostitutes and palm readings, p. 186.
  13. Speech at Khoni: Nutsbidze: Montefiore, p. 286. Stalin, *Works*, 1: 90–132 'Briefly about Disagreements in the Party.' Murders in Georgia: Jones, pp. 184–7. Stalin opens the era of bank-robberies: Davrichewy, p. 175, and competitiveness, p. 181. Bibineishvili, p. 85. Bomb-making Bolsheviks: Vano Jejilava, 'My Memoirs', *Revolutsiis Matiane* (henceforth *RM*) no. 3 1923, p. 135. Stalin orders bomb attacks on Cossacks: Davrichewy, p. 219. Terror: Daly, *Watchful State*, pp. 16–20. 3,600 wounded: Geifman, *Thou Shalt Kill*, p. 21. Svanidze cousin Dvali blows himself up: GF IML 8.2.1.34.327–37 Mikheil Misha Monoselidze. GDMS 87.1955-368.1–16 Alexandra 'Sashiko' Svanidze-Monoselidze.
  14. Unpublished memoirs of Kasiane Gachechiladze: thanks to his grandson Shalva Gachechiladze.
  15. Jones, pp. 188–9. Stalin's Cossack attacks: Davrichewy, p. 200. Stalin, *Works*, 1: 133–9 'Armed Insurrection and our Tactics'. Baberowski, *Der Feind*, p. 79.

#### 15: 1905: FIGHTERS, URCHINS AND DRESSMAKERS [pp. 118–22]

1. Kamo kills, Stalin offers: Davrichewy, pp. 188–90.
2. Svanidze: GF IML 8.2.1.34.327–37 Mikheil Misha Monoselidze. GDMS 87.1955-368.1–16 Alexandra 'Sashiko' Svanidze-Monoselidze. Ravishing girl: Davrichewy, p. 228; pistol, p. 160. Koba at hospital: GDMS 3(1).1955-146.45–6 G. Elisabedashvili. Author's interview with Kato's cousin Katevan Gelovani, Tbilisi, 2005; Stalin hidden in Kutaisi by Svanidze parents and police chief Dvali. Author interview with Mariam Svanidze (aged 109) in Tbilisi, 2005.
3. Iremashvili, pp. 32–5. Skirtless woman: Jones, p. 189. Stalin, *Works*, 1: 178–86. Jones, pp. 188–9. Stalin's Cossack attacks: Davrichewy, p. 200. Stalin, *Works*, 1: 133–9. Baberowski, *Der Feind*, p. 79. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 67 and 79.
4. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 101–2.
5. Stalin, *Works*, 1: 191 'To All Workers' 19 Oct. 1905.
6. Talakvadze, *K istorii Kommunisticheskoi partii Gruzii*, 1: 143.
7. Service, *Stalin*, p. 59. Kavtaradze Memoirs. Story of lamp-throwing: memoirs of Maya Kavtaradze.
8. Minadora Ordzhonikidze-Toroshelidze unpublished memoirs. Davrichewy, pp. 174–6 and 181.
9. Massacres in Tiflis and armed SDs: Jones, pp. 189–94. Davrichewy, pp. 194–5. Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 67.
10. Jones, pp. 189–95. Davrichewy, pp. 194–6. Seething cauldron: Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 79.



## 16: 1905: THE MOUNTAIN EAGLE – STALIN MEETS LENIN [pp. 123–8]

1. Tammerfors: best account of the Finnish angle is Antii Kujala et al., *Lenin Ja Suomi*. Portrait of Lenin is based on: Figes, pp. 141–51, 385–98. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 255–73. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 129 and 179. Tucker, p. 103. Stalin on Lenin: Stalin, *Works*, 6: 53–5. Davrichewy on Lenin and on Stalin as only fighter, shooting, pp. 160, 212–13. Krupskaya, pp. 128–9. Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 69. Timing of Stalin's travels: Ostrovsky, pp. 242–3. Smith, p. 150. E. Yaroslavsky, 'Tri vstrechi', *Pravda* 23 Dec. 1939.
2. Jones, pp. 194–6. *Alliluyeva Memoirs*, pp. 101–7. Blocking the tunnel, crushing of Guria, terrorists to Tiflis, assassination of traitors etc: Kote Tsintsadze, *RM* no. 2 1923, pp. 79–85. Stalin regathers squad in Tiflis and conquest of west: GDMS 3(2).1955-146.68–72 G. Elisabedashvili. Stalin negotiates with peasants: Chaureli, 'Vstrechi s vozhdem narodov', in *Vstrechi s tov. Stalinym*, p. 156. Formation of the Outfit on Stalin's orders: GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili.
3. Griiazonov: Tsintsadze, pp. 40–1. Davrichewy, pp. 216–17. Stalin in charge according to Armenian terrorist: Kun, p. 79. Essad Bey, p. 72. Jones, p. 197. Geifman, *Thou Shalt Kill*, pp. 99–100. Boris Souvarine, *Staline*, pp. 98–100. Smith, p. 156. GF IML 8.2.1.34.327–37 Mikheil Misha Monoselidze. GDMS 87.1955-368.1–16 Alexandra 'Sashiko' Svanidze-Monoselidze. GF IML 8.2.1.5 G. F. Berdzenoshvili. GF IML 8.2.1.3 N. Akhmeteli. RGASPI 558.4.658 B. Loshadze-Bochoridze. GOAG 153.1.764. Hiding wounded Stalin: Ostrovsky, p. 247. *RM* no.4 1923, memoirs of A. Magriabiants. Uratadze, pp. 130–2. GF IML – Bolshevik killers of Griiazonov: Chumburidze; other assassin was Alexander Vashakidze. Hiding wounded Stalin, dreaming of seizing Tiflis on map: GF IML 8.2.1.3.291–310 Niko Akhmeteli.

## 17: THE MAIN IN GREY: MARRIAGE, MAYHEM (AND SWEDEN) [pp. 129–37]

1. The gangsters, hold-ups, girls, pawnshop, Chiatura gold-train: GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili. Davrichewy, pp. 178–84, 226, 174–6. The gang: Nikolaevsky box 207, folder ID 207–10 and 207–11 Tatiana Vulikh to Boris Nikolaevsky. Uratadze, pp. 163–6. Dubinsky-Mukhadze, *Kamo*, pp. 45–58. Kutaisi and girls: Alexandra Darakhelidze-Margvelashvili. Urchins: GF IML 8.1.2.4. GARF 102.1906.206. Stalin on death: GF IML 8.2.1.34.317–54 Mikheil Misha Monoselidze. Griiazonov, expropriation, Druzhina, pawnshop, competition and co-op with Mensheviks, robberies recounted including Chiatura train, Kutaisi treasury and Tiflis: Tsintsadze, pp. 40–9. Stalin's Technical Assistant (Niko's brother Mate): GF IML 8.2.1.3.291–310 Niko Akhmeteli. Money raising by rackets in Tiflis: Essad Bey, pp. 90–5. Stalin on Tsintsadze and Kamo: see Charkviani, 'Memoirs'. Stalin's austerity: Jordania, 'Stalin'.
2. Hiding wounded Stalin, dreaming of seizing Tiflis on map: GF IML 8.2.1.3.291–310 Niko Akhmeteli. GDMS 278 A. N. Mikaberidze. GDMS 118 Ruben Dashtoiian.
3. GF IML 8.2.1.34.317–54 Mikheil Misha Monoselidze. GDMS 87.1955-368.1–16 Alexandra 'Sashiko' Svanidze-Monoselidze. Escape out of the window: Service, *Stalin*, pp. 65–6. Man in grey: Minadora Ordzhonikidze-Toroshelidze unpublished mss. 1906 recruits Nato to newspaper: GF IML 8.2.1.15.266–72 Natalia Dondarov (Azarian).
4. Avlabar arrest: Arsenidze, pp. 218–36. Stalin in scarf: GF IML 8.2.1.37 Raisa Okinshevich. Ostrovsky, pp. 248–52. For conspiracy theory see Isaac Don Levine, *Stalin's Great Secret*, p. 90.
5. Stockholm: Voroshilov, *Rasskazy o zhizni*, 1: 247. Shipwreck: see Kujala et al., *Lenin Ja Suomi*. Hans Bjorkegren, *Ryska Posten*, pp. 43–56. Thanks to the investigations of Martin Stugard of *Dagens Nyheter* and also to the help of the grandson of Inspector



- Mogren, Per Mogren. Williams, p. 75, Michael Futrell, *Northern Underground*, p. 47. Service, *Lenin*, p. 179. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 62–4. Tucker, pp. 41, 127 and 146. Smith, p. 175: shipwreck, quoting S. G. Strumenko. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 72–3. Dzerzhinsky: Rayfield, *Stalin and the Hangmen*, pp. 56–7. GF IML 8.2.1.12.176–83 Said Devdariani. Report on Stockholm by Comrade K: Stalin, *Works*, 1: 261–77. On agrarian question Stalin, *Works*, 1: 238–40 and 217–39. Shaumian also challenged by Mensheviks: Akopian, *Shaumian*, p. 44. Berlin: RGASPI 558.1.5095 Stalin to Monoselidze.
6. RGASPI 558.1.5095.
  7. Minadora Ordzhonikidze-Toroshelidze unpublished mss. GF IML 8.2.1.34.317–54 Mikheil Misha Monoselidze. GDMS 87.1955-368.1–16 Alexandra ‘Sashiko’ Svanidze-Monoselidze. Kato Rachvelian: Mgeladze, p. 199. Letter about Alyosha and Kato: RGASPI 558.1.5095 quoted in Kun, pp. 341–2. Loved her so much: RGASPI 558.4.647 Pelageya Onufrieva. Soso as demigod: Iremashvili, pp. 30, 39–40. Very beautiful, melted my heart: Svetlana Alliluyeva tapes – thanks to Rosamund Richardson. Ravishing: Davrichewy, p. 228. Katovan Gelovani interview with author: Stalin hid with teacher father of Svanidzes in Kutaisi, Kato and Alyosha enchanted, fascinated by Stalin. Mariam Svanidze, interview with author, Tbilisi 2005. Stalin laughing and scruffy: GDMS 1955-146.51–6 G. Elisabedashvili. Marriage, little woman, what kind of family life: GF IML 8.2.1.9 Anna Nikitin-Geladze.
  8. Shooting policeman: GF IML 8.2.1.34.317–54 Mikheil Misha Monoselidze.

## 18: PIRATE AND FATHER [pp. 138–44]

1. *Tsarevich Giorgi*: S. Lakoba et al. (eds), *Istoria Abkhazia*, p. 219. S. Lakoba, *Boeviki Abkhazii v revolyutsii 1905–7*, pp. 65–8. S. Lakoba, ‘Legendarnoe nacholo veka’. Thanks to S. Z. Lakoba for access to his interviews with T. Kapba-Arshba and Kamshisi Gvaramia. For legend of Stalin leading horses with money from the ship: Fasil Iskander, *Sandro of Chegem*, pp. 202–4. Davrichewy’s piracy, p. 236. *Tiflissky Listok* 22 and 24 Sept. 1906; *Kavkaz* 24 Sept. 1906; *Kavkazskaya Zhizn* 29 Sept. and 6 Oct. 1906; *Chernomorsky Vestnik* 22 and 23 Sept. 1906. For the mules of Chiatura, see memoirs of Father Gachechiladze; for Stalin’s horseriding, see his attempt to ride in the 1945 Victory Parade, in Montefiore; for shooting, see earlier memoirs of M. Monoselidze and J. Davrichewy; for robbery of ship *Nikolai I*, see later chapters on Baku. Koba prank: Arsenidze, p. 220. Stalin greater involvement in robbery: Razhden Arsenidze, interviews nos 1–3, 103–4, Nikolaevsky box 667, series 279, folder 4-5. Baku Tiflis Conference: GF IML 8.2.1.12.176–83 Said Devdariani. Uratadze, pp. 66–9.
2. Kamo’s adventures: Imnaishvili, *Kamo*, pp. 47–51. *Russian Review* vol. 19 no. 3, Jul. 1960, pp. 227–47. Williams, pp. 75, 185. Kun, p. 75. Geifman, *Thou Shalt Kill*, pp. 85–95 and 167. Krasin, ‘Bolshevistskaya partiinaya tekhnika’, p. 813. B. Nikolaevsky, ‘Bolshevitsky zentr’, *Rodina* nos 2 and 5 1992: no. 2, pp. 13–36. Krasin and Bogdanov: Stanford, Paris Okhrana, box 200, folder ID XVII n4a and folder XVII m 1. Tsintsadze on Chiatura railway heist – 21,000 roubles in Souvarine, *Staline*, p. 100. Arsenidze, p. 232. Bombs and Krasin: Williams, pp. 61–3, 112. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, p. 59. Baikaloff, *I Knew Stalin*, pp. 20–1. Litvinov’s arms-buying: see *Istorichesky Arkhiv* no. 4 1960, pp. 95–110. Hugh D. Phillips, *Between the Revolution and the West: A Political Biography of Maxim M. Litvinov*, pp. 9–11. ‘From Bolshevik to British Subject – The Early Years of M. Litvinov’, *Slavic Review* 48 no. 3, Fall 1989, pp. 388–98. Kamo’s visit to Lenin: Krupskaya quoted in Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 105. Bibineishvili, pp. 116–30. S. F. Medvedeva-Ter-Petrossian, ‘Tovarish Kamo’. RGASPI 332.1.53: 15 (2) O2. 23 (10) 1905–1910 TSK Organized Committee to Investigate Tiflis Expropriation: abroad led by Y. Tychko and A. Ornatsky (Chicherin); in Tiflis led by Tigranov, Angreevsky,

- Nadejdin; it conducted interviews with Voznesensky 20 Sept. 1907 and 10 Jun. 1908 and in Baku with Comrade Koba (J. Stalin) 19 Mar. 1908. GDMS 87.1955-368.11-13 Alexandra 'Sashiko' Svanidze-Monoselidze. The other inside man: GF IML 8.2.1.54.214-15 Kote Charkviani. GF IML 8.2.1.22 G. Kasradze quoted by Ostrovsky, pp. 259-67. Tiflis Committee including Stalin and Philip Makharadze approve robbery: Arsenidze, interviews nos 1-3, 103-4, Nikolaevsky box 667, series 279, folder 4-5. On Gigo Kasradze: GF IML 8.2.1.624.1-26 Bachua Kupriashvili.
3. Arrest of Kato: GF IML 8.2.1.34.317-54 Mikheil Misha Monoselidze. GDMS 87.1955-368.1-16 Alexandra 'Sashiko' Svanidze-Monoselidze. Note from Moscow police: GIAG 153.1.3440. *Bakinsky Rabochyü* 25 Apr. 1931 and 21 Apr. 1936. November 1906 heist: Kote Tsintsadze in Souvarine, *Staline*, pp. 99-100. Baikaloff, *I Knew Stalin*, pp. 20-1. Arsenidze, p. 232. Kutaisi: Tsintsadze, pp. 41-9. Dubinsky-Mukhadze, *Kamo*, pp. 61-80. Kutaisi Kamo, and girls: GF IML 8.2.2.64 Alexandra Darakhvelidze-Margvelashvili. Geifman, *Thou Shalt Kill*, p. 115.
  4. Berlin: Smith, pp. 194-6, Krupskaya on Berlin. V. I. Lenin, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineniya* (henceforth Lenin *PSS*), 15: 571. Stalin on Berlin: Milovan Djilas, *Conversations with Stalin*, p. 79. W. S. Churchill, *Second World War* (London 1951), 6: 601. Stalin, *Works*, 2: 408-9. RGASPI 71.0.406 and 558.4.583. Kun, pp. 85-7. Ostrovsky, pp. 256-9. H. Barbusse, *Stalin: A New World through One Man*, p. 53. Stalin, *Sochineniya*, 13: 122 Stalin to Ludwig. Voroshilov, *Rasskazy o zhizni*, 1: 336. V. I. Lenin, *Biograficheskaya khronika*, 2: 223.

#### 19: STALIN IN LONDON [pp. 149-152]

1. Ultra tense, like animals: RGASPI 337.1.44 description of anonymous delegate. Tskhakaya nursed: RGASPI 157.1.18. GF IML 8.2.1.12.176-83 Said Devdariani. Stanford, Paris Okhrana, box 195.16c, folder 1, on paying agent 1,500 roubles and Zhitomirsky etc. Andrew Rothstein, *Lenin in Britain*, pp. 21-9. I. Muravyova and I. Sivolap-Kaftanova, *Lenin in London*, pp. 165-8. Ivan Maisky, *Journey into the Past* (henceforth Maisky), pp. 54, pp. 137-44. Volkogonov, *Trotsky*, p. 47. Williams, pp. 82-3. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 67 and 78-9. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 170 and 181-2. For Congress, Jews, Trotsky pretty but useless and numbers of delegates, see 'On Notes of a Delegate': Stalin, *Works*, 2: 47-80. Sympathetic to Jews: Stalin, *Works*, 1: 20. *I. V. Stalin o Lenine* quoted in Smith, p. 188. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, pp. 54-5. Smith, pp. 183-4. Trotsky, *My Life*, pp. 88-91. Akopian, *Shaumian*, p. 44. Maxim Gorky, *Days with Lenin*, London n.d., pp. 5-7. Stalin and Churchill 15/16 Aug. 1942: RGASPI 45.1.282. Gromyko, *Memoirs*, p. 31. W. J. Fishman, *Streets of East End*, pp. 76-114. Alan Palmer, *The East End*, p. 111. George Lansbury, *My Life*, p. 246. J. Carswell, *The Exile: The Life of Ivy Litvinov*, pp. 63-70. Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, p. 309. W. J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals*, p. 264. See also: *London Landmarks: A Guide with Maps and Places Where Marx, Engels and Lenin Lived and Worked. Piaty (Londonsky) svezd Protokoly*, pp. 121, 241, 349, 350. Voroshilov, *Rasskazy o zhizni*, 1: 336. Tskhakaya ill and Ivanovich signs loan agreement: Dubinsky-Mukhadze, 'Mikhail G. Tskhakaya', pp. 111-12. 'Friend of Illich - Mikho', *Literaturnaya Gruzia* no. 1 1965, pp. 15-20. Tower House: *Observer* 24 Oct. 2004; Mussolini: *Evening Standard* 14 Oct. 2004. Bacon: *Daily Express* 5 Jan. 1950. Congress: *Daily Mail* 10, 11, 13, 20, 21 May 1907; *The Times* 13, 17 May 1907; *Daily Mirror* 22 May 1907 and 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22 May 1907; *Daily Express* 10 May 1907. Who is that, Stalin asked Shumian: Yves Delbars, *The Real Stalin*, pp. 53-5. I am especially grateful to Dr John Callow, Director and Researcher of the Marx Memorial Library, London who is the expert on this subject and gave me generous guidance as well as his own memories of the 'Stalin in Wales/Liverpool' urban myths, heard at the *Morning Star* bazaar and Profile Books in Liverpool during the 1980s, respectively.

2. Paris: GF IML 8.2.1.56 G. I. Chochia. For travel timing and dates: Ostrovsky, pp. 255–9.

## 20: KAMO GOES INSANE: THE GAME OF BANDITS AND COSSACKS [pp. 153–9]

1. Tiflis expro: see the notes to the Prologue. GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili. GF IML 8.2.1.50.239–55 Dzhavaira Khutulashvili. Chavchavadze killing: Ordzhonikidze; see V. M. Gurgenidze quoted in Geifman, *Thou Shalt Kill*, pp. 92–6. Stolypin: Williams, p. 85. Service, *Stalin*, p. 69. Arsenidze, interviews nos 1–3, 103–4, Nikolaevsky box 667, series 279, folder 4–5. Tsintsadze, pp. 40–9. Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’. Thirteen Hours Tiflis–Baku: *Baedeker*, p. 471. Krupskaya, pp. 40 and 151–2. Radzinsky, *Alexander II*, p. 227 on Bakunin. Capt. Zubov bribed: Ostrovsky pp. 545–7. Fanny: Futrell, p. 60.
2. GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili. Kamo: Bibineishvili, pp. 94–110. Imnaishvili, *Kamo*, pp. 47–51. Dubinsky-Mukhadze, *Kamo*, pp. 12–86. *Russian Review* vol. 19 no. 3, July 1960, pp. 227–47. Williams, pp. 74, 104, 114–23, 185. Kun, p. 75. Geifman, *Thou Shalt Kill*, pp. 38, 85–92, 116–18, 167, 190, 201. Krasin, ‘Bolshevistskaya partiinaya tekhnika’, p. 813. Nikolaevsky, ‘Bolshevitsky zentr’. Stanford, Paris Okhrana, box 200, folder ID XVII n4a and folder XVII m 1. Tsintsadze on Chiatura railway heist – 21,000 roubles in Souvarine, *Staline*, p. 100. Arsenidze, p. 232. Bombs and Krasin: Williams, pp. 61–3, 112. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, p. 59. Baikaloff, pp. 20–1. Litvinov’s arms-buying: see *Istorichesky Arkhiv* no. 4 1960, pp. 95–110. Phillips, *Between the Revolution and the West*, pp. 9–11. ‘From Bolshevik to British Subject’, *Slavic Review* 48 no. 3, Fall 1989, pp. 388–98. Krupskaya quoted in Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 105. Bibineishvili, pp. 116–30. Medvedeva-Ter-Petrossian, ‘Tovarish Kamo’. RGASPI 332.1.53: TSK organized committee to investigate Tiflis expropriation. Stanford, Paris Okhrana, 209 folder XXb folder 2; 209 XXb folder 1; folder XVII L folder 2, XX.328, XXb, XXVII C, XXVc folder 1, XXVIIc folder I, XXVIIc on Wallach and Kamo from the Chief of the Intelligence Service Paris (including claim that sixty-three people took part in heist). On Okhrana informer reports that SRs conducted Tiflis expro and money stolen by Kamo: Vahtang Guruli, *Materials for Stalin’s Biography*, pp. 9–11, and Tiflis Okhrana agents ‘N’ and ‘Bolshaya’ on 15 Jul. and 2 Jul. 1907. GIAG 95.1.82.15, 21, 23. Carswell, *The Exile*, p. 55. Credit Lyonnais: see Ostrovsky, pp. 499–500. Lenin vs Bogdanov: Service, *Lenin*, p. 98.
3. Chavichvili, *Révolutionnaires russes à Genève*, pp. 74–91. RGASPI 332.1.53: TSK organized committee to investigate Tiflis expropriation. Expelled: Arsenidze, p. 232. Y. Martov on Stalin’s expulsion: *Vpered* 31 Mar. 1918. Y. Martov, *Spasiteli il uprazdniteli? Kto i kak razrushal RSDRP?*, Paris 1911, p. 23. Martov case: Service, *Stalin*, p. 164. Revolutionary Tribunal: 5 Apr. 1918 – RGASPI 558.2.42 quoted in Kun, pp. 79–84; exactly the sort of person Lenin needs, expulsions not serious, p. 127. *Pravda*, 1 April 1918. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 101–9. GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili.

## 21: THE TRAGEDY OF KATO: STALIN’S STONY HEART [pp. 160–4]

1. Stalin’s house: *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 52–4, 137; Nadya falls into sea, p. 110, though Anna says their brother rescued Nadya. Home: GDMS 1955-146.51–6 G. Elisabedashvili. RGASPI 558.4.663 Sergei Alliluyev. Tidiness – Sergei Alliluyev quoted in Lily Marcou, *Staline: Vie privée* (henceforth Marcou), p. 53. Kun, p. 38. Tiflis a marsh: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 188, and 8: 174–5. Service, *Stalin*, p. 70. Suny, ‘A Journeyman for the Revolution’, pp. 373–94. Spandarian’s women: Vulikh in Kun, pp. 129–30. Tucker, p. 105. Starts in Russian: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 42–6. Rothschilds:

- Smith, p. 399. Police laxer: RGASPI 124.1.2035 M. Frumkin. Fighting squads and arsenal, ship heists, Vyshinsky: GDMS 49 I. Bokov. RGASPI 558.4.583 I. Bokov. GF IML 8.2.1.19 S. Kavtaradze. GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili. Ostrovsky, pp. 259–67. Pushing for strikes: see Sergo Ordzhonikidze and others in A. Rokhlin, *Dvadsat piat let Bakinskoi organizatsii bolshevistikov*. GF IML 8.2.1.35 I. P. Nadiradze. Anastas Mikoyan, *Tak bylo*, pp. 347–8. Shaumian and filth of Baku: Mikoyan, *Memoirs*, pp. 72–4. Shaumian tensions, Tartars in meetings, Stalin's protection-rackets, killing informers, Spandarian debauchery, Stalin true boss, gangsterism: Tatiana Vulikh to Boris Nikolaevsky, in Nikolaevsky box 207, folder ID 207-9. Persia: RGASPI 558.4.583 Mir Bashir Kasumov. Stalin's relations with Muslims in Baku: 'History of the working Turkic proletariat' by Effendiev, 'Istoriya rabochego', p. 53.
2. Baku too Persian, Nobel story, Rothschilds, wages, stories of tycoons Mantashev etc: Tolf, *Russian Rockefeller*, pp. 87–100, 139–41, 151–8, 182. Anna Alliluyeva in *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 52–5, 84–6. Giving to Bolsheviks: Krasin in Williams, p. 59. Tiflis a marsh, Baku a centre: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 188; second baptism of fire: Stalin, *Works*, 8: 174–5. Suny, 'A Journeyman for the Revolution', pp. 373–94. Assassinations etc: Geifman, *Thou Shalt Kill*, p. 414. Smoky and gloomy: Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 4. Essad Bey, pp. 123–37. Mikoyan, *Tak bylo*, pp. 347–8. Shaumian and filth of Baku, Mikoyan, *Memoirs*, pp. 72–4. Kaleidoscope: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 378. Baku irrepressible: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 141. Oil kingdom: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 141. On Baku, hitmen and strikes: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 81–3. Revolutionary centre: Stalin, *Works*, 1: 189. Reiss, *The Orientalist*, pp. 9–15, including p. 12 'Dodge City' quotation; and Stalin connection with mother and Krasin, pp. 20–1; Essad Bey quotes 'my mother financed Stalin's press with her diamonds', p. 21; our city like Wild West, p. 32. Most dangerous place, rootless, physical violence, rapes, prehistoric, Gorky, life expectancy, disembowelled dogs: Baberowski, *Der Feind*, pp. 62–7. Nikita Dastakian, *Il venait de la Ville Noire*: Mauserists. Stalin expert on oil industry: Mgeladze, p. 28. For tales of Baku oil barons, Nobels, the palaces: Faud Akhundov's series 'Legacy of the Oil barons', parts 1–4, in *Azerbaijan International Magazine* 1994. Farid Alakbarov, 'Baku's Old City: Memories of How It Used to Be', *Azerbaijan International Magazine* Autumn 2002. Also see Manaf Suleymanov's classic *Eskidiklarim, Okhuduglarim, Gorduklarim* (What I Saw, What I Read, What I Heard).
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  4. Spandarian womanizer and fate of wife of Bolshevik: see Olga Spandarian letter to Shaumian in 'Suren Spandarian in Siberian Exile', *Vestnik Arhivov Armenii* no. 1 1966. Haemorrhagic colitis: GF IML 8.2.1.34.317–54 Mikheil Misha Monoselidze. GDMS 87.1955-368.1–16 Alexandra 'Sashiko' Svanidze-Monoselidze. Typhus rash: author's interview with Svanidze cousin Mariam Svanidze, aged 109 Tbilisi, 2005. GDMS 1955-146.51–6 G. Elisabedashvili. Nursing her: author's interview with Svanidze cousin Katevan Gelovani Tbilisi, 2005. Volkogonov, *Trotsky*, p. 11. TB and pneumonia, closed eyes: Levon Shaumian in Kun, p. 342. Sacraments: Delbars, *The Real Stalin*, pp. 52–3.

## 22: BOSS OF THE BLACK CITY: PLUTOCRATS, PROTECTION-RACKETS AND PIRACY [pp. 165–71]

1. GDMS 1955-146.51–6 G. Elisabedashvili. GF IML 8.2.1.34.317–54 Mikheil Misha Monoselidze. GDMS 87.1955-368.1–16 Alexandra 'Sashiko' Svanidze-Monoselidze. Gori: Davrichewy, p. 35. Iremashvili, pp. 30–40. Stalin in grave: author interview with Svanidze cousin Katevan Gelovani. Announcement: RGASPI 558.4.97. How he loved, overcome with grief, gun, failed to appreciate: RGASPI 558.4.647 Pelageya Onufrieva. Kun, pp. 117 and 341; farce at the funeral, p. 342.

2. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 52–4, 137, 110. Home: GDMS 1955-146.51–6 G. Elisabedashvili. RGASPI 558.4.663 Sergei Alliluyev. Marcou, p. 53. Kun, p. 38. Stalin, *Works*, 2: 42–6 and 188; 8: 174–5. Service, *Stalin*, p. 70. Suny, ‘A Journeyman for the Revolution’, pp. 373–94. Vulikh in Kun, pp. 129–30. Tucker, p. 105. Smith, pp. 214 and 399. RGASPI 124.1.2035 M. Frumkin. Vyshinsky: GDMS 49 I. Bokov. Ostrovsky, pp. 259–67. RGASPI 558.4.583 I. Bokov. GF IML 8.2.1.19 S. Kavtaradze. GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili. Sergo Ordzhonikidze in Rokhlin, *Dvadtsat piat let Bakinskoi organizatsii bolshevistikov*. GF IML 8.2.1.35 I. P. Nadiradze. Shaumian: Mikoyan, *Tak bylo*, pp. 347–8. Shaumian and filth of Baku: Mikoyan, *Memoirs*, pp. 72–4. Tatiana Vulikh to Boris Nikolaevsky, Nikolaevsky box 207 folder ID 207-9. Olga Spandarian letter in ‘Suren Spandarian in Siberian Exile’. Persia: RGASPI 558.4.583 Mir Bashir Kasumov. Abel Yenukidze, ‘Iz proshlogo nashei partei’, p. 18; Effendiev, ‘Istoriya rabochego’, pp. 14–53. Muslim connections with Nariman Narimanov and Mammad Amin Rasulzade, see Rais Rasulzade, ‘Rasulzade: Founding Father of the First Republic’, *Azerbaijan International Magazine* 1999. Rasulzade enjoyed a fascinating career, founding the Azeri SDs (hiding Stalin on the run), then the Musavat Party, then helped create the independent Azerbaijan of 1918–21 before being rescued and taken to Moscow by Stalin, who let him go into exile (where Hitler tried to recruit him as a leader of a German-sponsored Caucasus).
3. Stalin in Switzerland: Ostrovsky, p. 265. Plekhanov and daughter in Switzerland: GF IML 8.2.1.3.291–310 Niko Akhmeteli.

### 23: LOUSE-RACING, MURDER AND MADNESS – PRISON GAMES [pp. 172–6]

1. Raids in Baku and arrest: fighting squads and arsenal, ship heists, Vyshinsky, electric, almost too conspiratorial, killing opponents, plan to spring Stalin from jail: GF IML 8.2.1.6.183–203 Ivan Bokov. GDMS 49. I. Bokov quoted in Ostrovsky, pp. 259–67. RGASPI 558.4.583 I. Bokov. Vyshinsky on *Nicholas I* ship heist: Victor Serge, *Portrait de Staline*, p. 29. Vyshinsky, family in Odessa and Baku, in 1905–7, Bailovka, and in 1917–18: A. Vaksberg, *Stalin's Prosecutor*, pp. 13–27. GF IML 8.2.1.19 S. Kavtaradze. GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili. RGASPI 558.4.523 and 627. RGASPI 4.84. RGASPI 4.107. S. Vereshchak, ‘Stalin vy tyurme’, *Dni* 24 Jan. 1928. Sagirashvili, pp. 182–3. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 78–9. Marcou, pp. 55–7. For K. Kato pseudonym: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 125–31. Baku girlfriend: GMIKA 24(80).114 Alvasi Talakvadze. Yenukidze, ‘Iz proshlogo nashei partei’, p. 18. Voroshilov: RGASPI 74.2.130 and 240. Ludmilla Stal, Tatiana Slavatinskaya: F. Chuev, *Kaganovich*, pp. 160–2. A. Daushvili, *Story of Soso Djugashvili*, pp. 239 and 252. Stal and Krupskaya in Paris 1911: Krupskaya, p. 196. Maisky, p. 45. Marcou, p. 66; Ludmilla Stal biography: ‘Istoki podviga’, *Ural* no. 3 1979. Stalin–Spandarian parties/deviations: GF IML 8.2.1.42 A. D. Sakvarelidze. Sentiment, skinning alive: GF IML 8.2.1.27.202–10 Ivliane Kukulava. Money from Mancho, Rothschilds, Landau, oil companies: RGASPI 124.1.325; RGASPI 71.15.213; RGASPI 558.4.659 Sergei Alliluyev. A. Rokhlin, *25 let Bakinskoi organizatsii bolshevistikov*, pp. 81–3. Ostrovsky is the best historian of the relationship between Stalin and big business, pp. 473–5, 587–9, 593–4. Reiss, *The Orientalist*, pp. 9–21 and 32. Thanks to Prince Karol Schwarzenberg for Dr Felix Somary story: it was told to him by Somary himself as an old man. Chechen guards beat up Stalin: I am grateful to Professor Jorg Baberowski for this story. Musa Nageyev kidnapping: Farid Alakbarov, ‘Baku’s Old City: Memories of How It Used to Be’. Mukhtarov and Stalin, tales of Baku oil barons, Nobels, the palaces etc: see Akhundov, ‘Legacy of the Oil Barons’, parts 1–4. Memoirs of Manaf Suleymanov, *Eskitdiklarim*; see [azeribook.com/history/manaf\\_suleymanov](http://azeribook.com/history/manaf_suleymanov). For Nageyev, also see Jilar Khanum, granddaughter, and Stalin’s ten-minute chats quoted on [echo-az.com/archive/2004\\_09/911/kultura02.shtml](http://echo-az.com/archive/2004_09/911/kultura02.shtml).



2. Bailov: GF IML 8.2.1.35.35–49 Ilya P. Nadiradze – swap, visit of Keke, hacksaw plan. Vereshchak, ‘Stalin v tyurme’. Essad Bey, pp. 141–2. Smith, pp. 214–20. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 79–81. Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 120. Sentencing: Ostrovsky, p. 281; Vyshinsky letter, p. 285. Vyshinsky, family in Odessa and Baku, in 1905–7, Bailovka, and in 1917–18: Vaksberg, *Stalin’s Prosecutor*, pp. 13–27. Trip, Butyrki Prison, Viatka hospital etc: RGASPI 558.4.629 and 71.10.276. Louse-racing, madness, wrestling, backgammon, Sergo fight vs SRs: GF IML 8.2.1.42 A. D. Sakvarelidze. Plan to spring Stalin from jail: GF IML 8.2.1.6.183–203 Ivan Bokov. Sergo and SRs, Stalin to Voroshilov: RGASPI 73.2.38. Giddy-up, escapes, Budu and Stalin stories: author’s interview with Izolda Mdivani (widow of Budu’s son Vahtang) and Mdivani family, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2006. Dirty politics: author’s interview with Yuri Zhdanov. Dirty for the revolution: Beria, p. 18.

#### 24: RIVER COCK AND THE NOBLEWOMAN [pp. 177–82]

1. Solvychevodsk: GAVO 108.1.5058.1–29. RGASPI 157.916 Stepan Shaumian to M. Tskhakaya. RGASPI 558.4.647 – various memoirs in this font include Tatiana Sukhova; F. I. Blinov and Vologda transit jail; Stepan Belyakov, post-office/jailer; Alexandra Dobronravova (dancing), A. Dubrovin (Mustafa drowned); M. Krapina on singing and River Cock and escape; priest library. On Sukhova and Petrovskaya: GAVO 108.2.3992 and GAVO 108.1.2372. Stalin to Sukhova: RGASPI 558.1.4372. Details of Petrovskaya: office of Baku Governor, J. Djughashvili file including Baku interrogation of S. Petrovskaya and Stalin RGASPI 558.1.635.1–95. Information from local Vologda archives, train times etc – Ostrovsky, pp. 290–2. Service, *Stalin*, p. 70. Smith, pp. 222–32. Escapes: Daly, *Watchful State*, p. 72. Sergei Alliluyev, *Pravda* 22 Dec. 1939. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 136–7. Trotsky in Kun, pp. 96–7. V. Nikonov, *Molotov Molodost*, pp. 75–90. Georgian stranger helps: Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’. Stalin to Malakia Toroshelidze: Dubinsky-Mukharadze, *Shaumian*, p. 156. Bolshevik collapse: Tucker, pp. 147–50. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 195–8. Lenin on porn quoted in Lauchlan, *Russian Hide-and-Seek*, p. 245. Stalin and the women: *Molotov Remembers*, pp. 164 and 174. Silk handkerchief, flower, T. Sukhova: RGASPI 558.4.647. Problems with dancing arm, can’t take women by the waist: Montefiore, p. 260. Kun, p. 216 – Kira Alliluyeva interview, quoting her mother Zhenya. Author’s interviews with Kira Alliluyeva, Moscow. Foot: Service, p. 571.
2. Sergei Alliluyev, *Pravda* 22 Dec. 1939. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 136–7. E. D. Stasova, *Stranitsy zhizni i borby*, p. 49. RGASPI 558.2.564 and 565 K. Savchenko. RGASPI 161.1.20. Milkman Okhrana reports: GARF 102.00.1909.5-3-A. Milkbar address: RGASPI 558.1.4516 Stalin to Tskhakaya.

#### 25: THE MILKMAN: WAS STALIN A TSARIST AGENT?

[pp. 183–9]

1. Stalin’s activities, Okhrana ‘Fikus’ reports: GARF 102.00.1909.5-5-A. Death of Beso: RGASPI 71.1.275. Beso death and burial: GF IML 8.14.160.1–8. Financial matters: S. M. Levidova and E. G. Salita, *E. D. Stasova: biografichesky ocherk*, p. 173. GF IML 8.2.1.624.1–26 Bachua Kupriashvili on mail-ship piracy. Stalin, *Works*, 2: 150–62. RGASPI 558.1.26. RGASPI 558.1.4516. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 195–8.
2. Williams, pp. 154–5. RGASPI 558.1.4516 Soso Stalin to Tskhakaya. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 195–8. Tucker, pp. 147–9. Suny, ‘A Journeyman for the Revolution’, pp. 373–94. RGASPI 124.1.325; RGASPI 71.15.213; RGASPI 558.4.659 Sergei Alliluyev. Rokhlin, *25 let Bakinskoi organizatsii bolshevistikov*, pp. 81–3. Ostrovsky, pp. 473–5, 587–9, 593–4. Stalin and Mdivani (Bochka) tipped off by Gendarmes: *Krasnyi Arkhiv* no. 2 (105) 1941, p. 7. Traitor witchhunt: *Krasnyi Arkhiv* no. 2 (105) 1941, pp. 7–8. Case of couple A.



- Prussakov and E. Kozlovskaya plus Leontiev: RGASPI 558.4.649 A. Khumarian. Leontiev case: *Zaria Vostoka* 28 Apr. 1928 S. Yakubov. Okhrana agent: GARF 102.00.1909.5-3-A. Near arrest of Stalin, Sergo: Japaridze, *Vospominaniya*, p. 61. Stalin writes to editors of *Bakinsky Proletary* journal on provocations: RGASPI 558.1.26. Visit of Chernomazov and accusation of Koberidze: Ostrovsky, pp. 304–6. Stalin and Kuzma accuse each other: B. Kaptelov and Z. I. Peregudov, ‘Byl li Stalin agentom Okhranki?’, *Rodina* no. 5 1989, p. 68. Russian Bureau appointed: *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* no. 5 1922, pp. 231–2. I. P. Vatsk: RGASPI 71.15.213. Shaumian: Mikoyan, *Tak bylo*, pp. 347–8. Mikoyan, *Memoirs*, pp. 72–4. Uratadze, p. 67. Arsenidze, pp. 72 and 224. Jordania, ‘Stalin’. Olga Shatunovskaya: RGASPI 558.4.671. Tatiana Vulikh to Boris Nikolaevsky, Nikolaevsky box 207, folder ID 207-9. How Okhrana recruited: *Allihyev Memoirs*, pp. 43–5. Agents in Bolsheviks and how Okhrana spread suspicion deliberately: Daly, *Watchful State*, pp. 95, 106 and 117; killing informants the duty of honest person says Lenin, p. 37. Stefania Petrovskaya: K. Stefin in Stalin, *Works*, 2: 179–201. Stalin accuses Chernomazov witnessed by GF IML 8.2.1.15.266–72 Natalia Dondarov (Azarian). Petrovskaya: GF IML 8.5.212 Col. Leontiev of Okhrana report 28 Apr. 1914.
3. Tsarist agent: I am indebted in this section, unless specifically attributed, to Ostrovsky, pp. 431–62; on escapes from exile, pp. 431–9; on police corruption, p. 515 and pp. 545–7; on ‘Fikus’ report on intelligence gathering by Stalin, p. 578; on 800-ruble bribe Sverdlov, p. 595. Stalin five escapes: Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’. RGASPI 671.1.287 Turukhansk money receipts 1913–15. Ordzhonikidze and Zaitsev: RGASPI 558.4.258. Japaridze, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 61–2. GARF 110.19.119. Stalin meets police official on street and gendarme tip-offs: GDMS 167 G. Varshamian; GARF 102.00.5-61-A. Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, pp. 314–24. Service, *Stalin*, p. 74. Eremin letter: Lee, ‘Eremin Letter’. Eremin text in Smith, p. 306. General Ivan Serov memo to First Secretary N. S. Khrushchev and Politburo: RGASPI 558.11.1288 4 Jun. 1956. Vulikh to Nikolaevsky, Nikolaevsky box 207, folder ID 207-9. Uratadze, p. 67. Arsenidze, pp. 72 and 224. Jordania, ‘Stalin’. Olga Shatunovskaya: RGASPI 558.4.671. Shaumian’s jobs, buyout from arrest Capt. Zaitsev: Akopian, *Shaumian*, pp. 64–76. Prison director Vachiev, 150 roubles each to free prisoners: ‘Iz proshlogo nashei partei’, pp. 146–7. B. Kaptelov and Z. Peregudova, ‘Byl li Stalin agentom Okhranki?’, *Rodina* no. 5 1989, pp. 67–9. Artyom Gio, *Zhizn podpolnika*, pp. 67–73. B. Slavin, ‘Stalin i Okhranka’, *Alternativy* no. 1 1998, pp. 78–81, including Martynov report on Prague Conference 1912 and Stalin’s meeting with agent Tailor (Malinovsky), plan to visit Lenin and work on *Pravda*. Details of Okhrana surveillance 1908–13: *Krasny Arkhiv* no. 2 (105) 1941, pp. 4–31. Stalin on betrayal as bite of death: GF IML 8.6.312 D. Chkheidze (Turdospireli). Stalin edits his own *Short Course* biography including number of arrests: ‘I. V. Stalin sam o sebe: redakzionnaya pravka sobstvennoy biografii’, *Izvestiya TsK KPSS* no. 9 1990.

## 26: TWO LOST FIANCEES AND A PREGNANT PEASANT

[pp. 193–9]

1. RGASPI 558.1.628 and 635.1–95 office of Baku Governor – J. Djughashvili file including Baku interrogation of S. Petrovskaya and Stalin. RGASPI 558.11.1290 and RGASPI 558.4.130 and 208. Stalin arrests with Petrovskaya: State Historical Archive of Azerbaijan 46.3.90.430, 46.1.324.165, 46.3.22.52, 46.3.348.10; and on Shaumian, Stalin and Petrovskaya 1.1.479.12, 46.3.348.6, 7, 8, 156.1.51.66; ban from Caucasus 498.1.666.8–10, 46.3.495.103a, 498.1.176.73–4, 498.1.176.73–4, 498.1.175.38, 498.1.176.75–7, 81.1.27, 498.1.550.156. Hospital: GF IML 8.5.208 E. Esaian. Martynov: GARF 102.00.1910.5-6-B. Petrovskaya: GF IML 8.5.212 Col. Leontiev of Okhrana report 28 Apr. 1914. On Stefania later: Ilizarov, p. 288; A. L. Litvin and

- others (ed.), *Genrikh Yagoda Narkom Vnutrennikh*, Kazan 1997, p. 197.
2. RGASPI 558.4.628 various memoirs. Maria Kuzakova memoirs and others including Kryukova: RGASPI 558.4.647. Letters and contacts with abroad 31 Dec. 1910 and Jan. 1911: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 209–18. *Zaria Vostoka* 23 Dec. 1925. Ivanian: RGASPI 558.1.5097. S. V. Malyshev, 'Moia rabota v Pravde', *Bolshevistskaya Pechat* vol. 4 1937, p. 22. To Petersburg?: Kun, p. 109. Serafima Khoroshina, Kuzakova memoirs and local records – GAVO 108.1.4670 and 5058, 108.2.235; GAVO 18.2.4988 and PAVO 108.1.4670 3837.5.27, 3837.5.27 and 3837.5.2, and PAVO 859.10.43. Thanks to the Directors of the two Vologda archives for their help. Ostrovsky, pp. 321–8: my account of the Serafima marriage is based on Ostrovsky's researches in Party Archive of Archangel Region (PAVO 859.10.21.1–2). Y. Sukhotin, 'Bastard krasnogo vozhdza'. GARF 102.00.1910.5. Books, policemen, cheerful, singing, laughing, fiction and history books, jail time: RGASPI 558.4.540 Ivan Golubev. *Vstrechi s vozhdem: Rasskazy krestyan s Kureiki o tov. Stalina*, pp. 32–6. Nikonov, *Molotov Molodost*, pp. 75–90. Sex and boredom: meeting of the British Ambassador Sir David Kelly and Stalin 28 June 1949 cipher report no. 548: thanks to Laurence Kelly and PRO 77618. Aram Ivanian: Kun, pp. 110–19; RGASPI 558.1.5097; Beria, p. 135. Lenin's anger: Dubinsky-Mukharadze, *Ordzhonikidze*, pp. 75–6. Planting pine trees: Mgeladze, pp. 54–5. Guy Chazan, 'East-West Alloy Reviving Stalin's Belch', *Wall Street Journal* 9 Jun. 2004: thanks to Guy Chazan for this story. Lordkipanidze: Charkviani, 'Memoirs'.

## 27: THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND 'GLAMOURPUSS' THE SCHOOLGIRL [pp. 200–6]

1. Vologda: RGASPI 71.10.276. RGASPI 71.10.647. RGASPI 558.1.4333. GARF 111.1.1110a. RGASPI 558.1.30. RGASPI 558.1.5377. RGASPI 558.1.647. P. G. Fomina-Onufrieva. Also: *Izvestiya TsK* no. 10 1989, p. 190. RGASPI 55.4.647 Sophia Kryukova. Life of Onufrieva: Kun, pp. 113–18. GARF 102.00.1911.5–83 and 102.7d.1911.2093. GAVO 108.1.5058. Ostrovsky, p. 331. *Krasnyi Arkhiv* no. 8 1937, pp. 165–97. *Krasnyi Arkhiv* no. 2 (105) 1941, pp. 19–20. Details of Okhrana surveillance 1908–13: *Krasnyi Arkhiv* no. 2 (105) 1941, pp. 4–31. Stalin meets Sergo in Petersburg: RGASPI 161.1.20 V. L. Shveitzer. S. Alliluyev, 'Vstrechi s Stalym', *Pravda* 22 Dec. 1939. RGASPI 558.4.148 and 166. Spandarian to Krupskaya on Sergo giving Koba 50 roubles Sept. 1911 in S. Shaumian, *Izbrannye proizvedeniya*, no. 1, pp. 346–7. A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 38–40, on Todria etc. Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 134. 'Serov' by M. Parrish in *Slavic Military Studies* Sept. 1997, p. 127. General Ivan Serov memo to First Secretary N. S. Khrushchev and Politburo: RGASPI 558.11.1288, 4 Jun. 1956.
2. GARF 7d.1911.2093 and 102.00.1912.5-14-V. RGASPI 558.4.166. On police, Gendarme, Okhrana and movements: Ostrovsky, pp. 336–42. RGASPI 558.2.75 and 76. Five escapes, 5-ruble bribes, reunion with Spandarian, strict conspiracy, letter about Prague, Rostov meeting, jumping out of train: RGASPI 161.1.20 V. L. Shveitzer. RGASPI 558.2.75. RGASPI 17.4.647. *Molotov, Poludzerzhavnyi*, p. 297. *Izvestiya TsK* no. 5 1989, p. 185. *Kommunist* vol. 8–9 1988. B. Slavin, 'Stalin i Okhranka', *Alternativy* no. 1 1998, pp. 78–81. Code: Kun, p. 139. Prague: Ordzhonikidze quoted in Kun, p. 129. Malinovsky: Ralph Carter Ellman, *Roman Malinovsky*, pp. 15–26, 31–3, 40–1 including quote on appearance, Lenin quote, hysterical, resigned, shot, pp. 58–66. Krupskaya, pp. 211 and 225. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, pp. 82–6 including Lenin and Malinovsky quotes. *Krasnyi Arkhiv* no. 8 1937, pp. 165–97. *Krasnyi Arkhiv* no. 2 (105) 1941, pp. 19–20. Details of Okhrana surveillance 1908–13: *Krasnyi Arkhiv* no. 2 (105) 1941, pp. 4–31.

28: 'DON'T FORGET THAT NAME AND BE VERY WARY!'  
[pp. 207–12]

1. S. Kavtaradze, *Iz vospominaniï o tov. Staline*, pp. 3–17. Slavatinskaya: RGASPI 124.1.1782; Stalin letters to Slavatinskaya: RGASPI 558.1.5392. Yury Trifonov, *Otblesk kostra*, pp. 33–40. Relationship known: Ludmilla Stal/Tatiana Slavatinskaya: Chuev, *Kaganovich*, pp. 160–2. Sledging: *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 138–41. RGASPI 161.1.20 V. L. Shveitzer.
2. Tiflis: RGASPI 558.4.534 M. Agayan. GF IML 8.2.1.34.317–54 Mikheil Monoselidze. GDMS 87.1955-368.1–16 Alexandra 'Sashiko' Svanidze-Monoselidze. RGASPI 161.1.20 V. Shveitzer. GARF 102.00.1912.5-7-b. GARF 102.265.540. V. S. Emuksuzian, *Suren Spandarian*, pp. 26–9. *Istorichesky Zhapisky* no. 30, p. 80. Ostrovsky, p. 349. Visits to Tiflis and Baku: RGASPI 558.4.665; GFI ML 8.2.1.42. G. Haupt, *Les Bolsheviks par eux-même (Makers of the Russian Revolution)*, pp. 268–73.
3. Baku: Nikolaevsky box 207, folder 207-15 B. N. letter to T. Vulikh 8 Aug. 1949. Rostov: RGASPI 161.1.20 Vera Shveitzer. *Krasnyi Arkhiv* no. 2 (105) 1941, p. 26. Moscow leap out of train: Ostrovsky, pp. 350–1.
4. *Zvezda* and *Pravda*: Nikonov, *Molotov Molodost*, pp. 50–6; Molotov meetings with Stalin, pp. 113–15. RGASPI 161.1.20. Stalin, *Works*, 2: 225–47, and 5: 130. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 148–9. *Enziklopedichesky slovar Russkogo biographicheskogo instituta granat* vol. 41; 2.62–3. Arrest: RGASPI 4.186. Stasova: RGASPI 71.10.407. May Day: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 219. Daly, *Watchful State*, pp. 130–2. Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 126; quoting Stalin and Lenin, p. 137. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 86–7. Malinovsky: Service, *Lenin*, p. 206. Slapping boy's face: Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, p. 337. RGASPI 161.1.20 V. Shveitzer.

29: THE ESCAPIST: KAMO'S LEAP AND THE LAST  
BANK-ROBBERY [pp. 213–17]

1. Narym: RGASPI 4.186. RGASPI 558.4.647. GARF 102.00.1912.5-57-b. *Krasnyi Arkhiv* no. 2 (105) 1941, pp. 26–7. RGASPI 161.1.20 Vera Shveitzer. Stalin and Sverdlov in Kolpashvevo: Simon Vereshchak, *Dni* 24 Jan. 1928. E. Pesikina, *Pravda* 26 Dec. 1939: 'V. Naryme' – including quote from Y. Alexeyev. RGASPI 4.647 and 558.4.190. Nikolaevsky's teacup: Kun, pp. 132–7. Kettle: Smith, p. 256. Memoirs: Chernenko, *Stalin*, pp. 74–9. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 88–9. A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, p. 115. Sverdlov – hair, eyes, kind, gentle, Stalin and Sverdlov compare notes about exile: *Alliluyev Memoirs*, p. 141. Escape, thunderous voice: *Molotov Remembers*, pp. 141–4. Haupt, *Les Bolsheviks*, pp. 76–82. Escape: *Komsomolsky Pravda* 10 January 2007, Yuri Zhdanov memoirs.
2. Petersburg, *Pravda*, funds, election: Kavtaradze, *Iz vospominaniï o tov. Staline*, pp. 3–17. *Oktyabre* no. 11 1942, pp. 100–3. Collects funds from Stasova: Stasova, *Sranitsy zhizhni i borby*, p. 101. A. E. Badaev, 'O Staline', *Pravda* 19 Dec. 1939. Visits to Tiflis and Baku: RGASPI 558.4.665. GF IML 8.2.1.42. RGASPI 558.4.647 Tatiana Sukhova. Slavatinskaya: RGASPI 124.1.1782. RGASPI 558.1.5392. Trifonov, *Otblesk kostra*, pp. 33–40. A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 113–61. Doctor of escapology: Levon Shaumian quoted in Kun, p. 109. RGASPI 161.1.20 V. L. Shveitzer.
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## 30: TRAVELS WITH THE MYSTERIOUS VALENTINA [pp. 218–21]

1. RGASPI 124.1.1782; RGASPI 558.1.5392. Trifonov, *Otblesk kostra*, pp. 33–40. A. E. Badaev, *Bolsheviki v gosudarstvennoi Dume*, pp. 35–40. ‘Delo Malinovskogo’, *Rech* 17 Jun. 1917. GARF 102.00.1912.5–58b. RGASPI 558.4.157/193. Lenin, *Biograficheskaya khronika* 3: 55. Elections: Service, *Stalin*, p. 90. A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 113–16. Stalin’s election articles including Trotsky as fake champion with fake muscles: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 257–9 and 262–94. RGASPI 161.1.20 V. L. Shveitzer.
2. Route to Cracow, first trip: Alexander Shotman, ‘Kak iz iskry vosgorelos plamyā’, pp. 166–76. Smith, pp. 263–6, 270–6 and 300–3. Valentina Lobova: Kun, pp. 145–50. On meeting with Kalinin, Shotman etc and different theory of the journeys to Cracow: Ostrovsky, pp. 364–6 and 369–70. Slavatsinskaya: RGASPI 124.1.1782; RGASPI 558.1.5392; Trifonov, *Otblesk kostra*, pp. 35–40. *Molotov Remembers*, p. 297. Badaev, *Bolsheviki v gosudarstvennoi Dume*, pp. 35–40. GARF 102.00.1912.5–58b. RGASPI 558.4.157 and 193. A. S. Alliluyeva, ‘Vospominaniya’, *Roman-gazeta* no. 1 (13) 1947, p. 38. Election of SD Duma leadership: G. I. Petrovsky, ‘Vospominaniya o Pravde’, *Pravda* 5 May 1922.
3. With Lenin in Cracow, first trip: RGASPI 558.1.5170. Lenin, *Biograficheskaya khronika* 3: 50–5. GARF 102.265.531. Cracow, Lenin background: Krupskaya, pp. 204–5, including Stalin crossing border on transit pass. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 209–15. Lenin as Stalin’s host, and beer: Charkviani ‘Memoirs’. Food: *Komsomolsky Pravda* 10 January 2007, Yuri Zhdanov memoirs.
4. Back to Petersburg, Lenin summons Stalin back and election: Petrovsky, *Pravda* 5 May 1922. Badaev, *Bolsheviki v gosudarstvennoi Dume*, pp. 35–40. Todria meeting with Jordania: RGASPI 558.4.647. Letters from Cracow: GARF 102.265.532 (including 9/22 Dec. 1912 letter from Krupskaya to K.St.). RGASPI 558.4.560. GARF 102.00.1912.5–58b. Krupskaya letters Nov.–Dec. 1912 and Stalin letters from Cracow to Petersburg Dec. 1912–Jan. 1913: ‘Iz perepiski TSK RSDRP s mestnymi partinymi orgnizatsiyam’, *Istorichesky Arkhiv* no. 2 1960, pp. 17–25. Lenin, *PSS*, 48: 162–9.

## 31: VIENNA 1913: THE WONDERFUL GEORGIAN, THE AUSTRIAN ARTIST AND THE OLD EMPEROR [pp. 222–7]

1. Second trip to Cracow: A. S. Alliluyeva, ‘Vospominaniya’, *Roman-gazeta* no. 1 (13) 1947, p. 38. Shotman, ‘Kak iz iskry vozgorelos plamyā’, pp. 166–76. Smith, pp. 263–6, 270–6 and 300–3. Kun, pp. 145–50. On meeting with Kalinin, Shotman etc and different theory of trips to Cracow, see Ostrovsky, pp. 364–6 and 369–70. Crossing and no food, fool Stalin: A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 19–20. Stanislas Kot quoted in Smith, p. 405. RGASPI 124.1.233 Olga Veiland. Krupskaya letters: ‘Iz perepiski TSK RSDRP s mestnymi partinymi organizatsiyam’, *Istorichesky Arkhiv* no. 2 1960, pp. 17–25. RGASPI 4.3.42. GARF 102.00.1913.5–46b. Kalinin suspected: Ostrovsky, p. 371. Kamenev Eskimo letter: RGASPI 71.10.189. Kun, including interview with Olga Veiland, pp. 150–5. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 91–2. Krupskaya, pp. 204–5. Lenin as Stalin’s host and beer: Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’. Lenin, *PSS*, 48: 162–9. Border crossing/food: *Komsomolsky Pravda* 10 January 2007, Yuri Zhdanov memoirs.
2. Second stay in Cracow Dec. 1912–Jan. 1913: RGASPI 71.10.189 and 558.1.4899. Malinsky report on meetings: Stanford, Paris Okhrana, box 195, folder XVIc folder 1 March 1913. Illich nervous: Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 149. Kun, p. 149. RGASPI 558.1.47 Stalin to Malinsky 2 Feb. 1913. *Molotov Remembers*, p. 101.
3. Vienna: RGASPI 558.4.647.418–20 and 431–4 Stalin in Vienna including Olga Veiland. RGASPI 124.1.233 Olga Veiland. RGASPI 558.1.47 Stalin to Malinsky. RGASPI 558.1.47. RGASPI 30.1.3. Brigitte Hamann and Thomas Thornton, *Hitler’s Vienna: A Dictator’s Apprenticeship*, pp. 92 and 183. J. Sydney James, *Hitler in Vienna*, pp. 7–10, 107–10; Trotsky, *Hitler*, p. 143; Trotsky, p. 165. A. Kubizek, *The Young Hitler I*

*Knew*, p. 83. Bruce Thompson, *Schnitzler's Vienna*, pp. 2, 7, 25. Bruce Thompson, *Hitler's Vienna*, pp. 246–61, on balls, winter, Tito, Trotsky, Hitler. Carl E. Schorske, *Fin de Siècle Vienna*, p. 119. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 92–3. Author's interview with Oleg Troyanovsky in Moscow. Troyanovsky, *Cherez gody*, pp. 24–5 and 161–2. Kun, including background of Troyanovsky, p. 153. Krylenko, Elena Rozmirovich: Vaksberg, *Stalin's Prosecutor*, pp. 33 and 328. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 159–60 and 243. Smith, pp. 276–9. Stalin, *Works*, 2: 257–9 and 262–94. Stalin asks for Bukharin's address from exile: RGASPI 558.1.5169. Wonderful Georgian: Lenin, *PSS*, 48: 162–9. GARF 102.265.882.

### 32: THE SECRET POLICEMAN'S BALL: BETRAYAL IN DRAG [pp. 228–31]

1. Return from Vienna via meeting with Lenin Cracow Feb. 1913 and new name; Lenin approves: Charkviani, 'Memoirs'. Stalin, *Works*, 2: 300–81. *Marxism and the National Question*. Stalin and Lenin's view of nation: Service, *Stalin*, pp. 87 and 99–105. Van Ree, 'Stalin and the National Question'. GARF 102.265.532 (including 9/22 Dec. 1912 letter from Krupskaya to K.St.). Stalin name: Stalin, *Works*, 2: 192, 254, 294 (12 Jan. 1913 first Stalin byline). Duranty quoted in Kun, pp. 158–9. Name: RGASPI 17.4.647 V. Shveitzer. *Molotov Remembers*, p. 164. Ludmilla Stal/Tatiana Slavatinskaya: Chuev, *Kaganovich*, pp. 160–2. Daushvili, *Story of Soso Djugashvili*, pp. 239 and 252. Stal and Krupskaya in Paris 1911: Krupskaya, p. 196. Maisky, p. 45; Marcou, p. 66. Ludmilla Stal biography: 'Istoki podviga', *Ural* no. 3 1979.
2. Arrest: police interrogation: RGASPI 558.4.214. Service, *Lenin*, p. 214. Make-up, drag, big shoes: Nikonov, *Molotov Molodost*, pp. 128–33. Slavatinskaya: RGASPI 124.1.1782; RGASPI 558.1.5392; Trifonov, *Otblesk kostra*, pp. 33–40. *Luch* 26 Feb. 1913. Shotman, 'Kak iz iskry vozgorelos plamya', pp. 175, 166. Badaev, *Bolsheviki*, pp. 155–66. Woman's mantle: Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 157–61. A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 44–5. Stalin letters on Dan/Malinovsky, shortage of people, chocolate for Galochka, Malinovsky planting suspicions about others are recent discoveries by Ostrovsky, and also details of sentencing including informing of Minister of Interior: Ostrovsky, pp. 374–80. Georgian boy: GARF 102.265.882. GARF 102.00.1913.307. Vissarionov: GARF 102.00.1913.5–57V. *Iz arkhiva L. O. Dan*, p. 101. RGASPI 558.4.659 F. N. Samoilov. *Delo provokatora Malinovskogo*, p. 216 – Malinovsky meets S. P. Beletsky. Ellman, *Roman Malinovsky*, pp. 15–26, 31–3, 40–1, 58–66. Krupskaya, pp. 211 and 225. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, pp. 82–6, including Lenin and Malinovsky quotes. RGASPI 558.1.47 Stalin to Malinovsky. RGASPI 558.1.48. Lenin's worries: Smith, pp. 300–3. Urals mission: Kun, p. 163.

### 33: 'DARLING, I'M IN DESPERATE STRAITS' [pp. 235–9]

1. Yenisei: Service, *Stalin*, pp. 107–9. *Istoricheski Arkhiv* no. 5 1956, p. 116. GARF 5449.1.63; B. Ivanov, *Stalin i Sverdlov v Turukhanskoi ssylke*. V. Zavialov, 'Tov. Stalin v Turuskanske', *Krasnoiarsky Rabochiy* 21 Dec. 1939. Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 170. Lenin, *Biograficheskaya khronika*, 3: 125–50. Ostrovsky, pp. 387–8. Dubrovinsky's library: Trifonov, *Otblesk kostra*, pp. 35–7. A. V. Antonov-Ovseenko, *Stalin bez maski*, p. 383. F. Zakharov story quoted in Kun, p. 164.
2. RGASPI 558.4.220. Slavatinskaya: RGASPI 124.1.1782 Lenin, *Biograficheskaya khronika*, 3: 125–50. RGASPI 558.1.52. RGASPI 55.1.49. RGASPI 558.1.89. RGASPI 558.1.659. GARF 102.00.1914.5–25b. RGASPI 558.1.4234. Also: Trifonov, *Otblesk kostra*, pp. 559–65. RGASPI 558.1.5168. Bathhouse with Sverdlov: Kun, pp. 163–5. Escape suspicions: Zavialov, 'Tov. Stalin'. RGASPI 558.1.4235. Money received 135 roubles: Ostrovsky, p. 395. Move to north: RGASPI 558.1.51. RGASPI 558.4.234. K.



T. Sverdlova, *I. M. Sverdlov*, pp. 175–7. Sverdlov and Stalin, week together, escape plans: E. Gorodetsky and Y. Sharapov, *Sverdlov*, pp. 95–100.

### 34: 1914: ARCTIC SEX COMEDY [pp. 240–7]

1. Kureika: Chernenko, *I. V. Stalin v sibirskoi ssylke*, pp. 140–2. I. M. and A. S. Taraseev and other memoirs: RGASPI 4.662 and 581. Money orders: Ostrovsky, p. 397. Malinovsky Case: RGASPI 558.1.52. Yakov Sverdlov, *Izbrannye*, pp. 267–80. Gorodetsky and Sharapov, *Sverdlov*, pp. 99–101. Vera Shveitzer, *Stalin v turukhanskoi ssylke*, including visit to Stalin in Kureika and his room, singing, Kamenev, pp. 30–2 and 47–50.
2. Ostrovsky, p. 397. Malinovsky: RGASPI 558.1.52. Sverdlov, *Izbrannye*, pp. 266–80, letters to Sara Sverdlova, L. I. Besser, D. F. Petrovskaya, wife Klavidia Novogorodzeva (depression June 1914), p. 321, L. Dilevskaya (no trace of comradeship or community). Gorodetsky and Sharapov, *Sverdlov*, pp. 99–103. Shveitzer, *Stalin v turukhanskoi ssylke*, pp. 30–2 and 47–50. Ilizarov, pp. 291–3.
3. Malinovsky Case: Ellman, *Roman Malinovsky*, pp. 31–66. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, quotes Lenin, p. 86. *Molotov Remembers*, p. 101. Smith, p. 249. Daly, *Watchful State*, pp. 150–3. Krylenko, Elena Rozmirovich: Vaksberg, *Stalin's Prosecutor*, pp. 33 and 328.
4. Sverdlov feud: Sverdlov, *Izbrannye*, pp. 266–80, p. 321. Gorodetsky and Sharapov, *Sverdlov*, pp. 99–103. GARF 5449.1.63 and 75 B. I. Ivanov. A. M., A. S. and F. A. Taraseev memoirs: RGASPI 558.4.581, 667 and 662. On movements from house to house in Kureika: Ostrovsky, pp. 397–9. Antonov-Ovseenko, *Stalin bez maski*, pp. 380–90. Ostrovsky believes there may have been an escape attempt: Ostrovsky, pp. 402–3. Kun, pp. 169–75.
5. Lidia and Laletin: RGASPI 558.4.662 L. P. Pereprygina-Davydova and F. A. Taraseev. RGASPI 558.4.667 M. A. Merzliakov. RGASPI 558.1.5169. A. Kolesnik, *Khronika zhizni semia Stalina*, pp. 58–62. Sukhotin, 'Bastardy krasnogo vozhdia'. A. Rokhlin, 'Gde pryatali nezakonnnorojdenного сына Stalina?', *Moskovsky Komsomolets* 22 Jun. 1996. Ivan Serov memo to Politburo: RGASPI 558.11.1288. *Izvestiya* 8 Dec. 2000. Antonov-Ovseenko, *Stalin bez maski*, pp. 380–90. Pereprygin household, first Laletin sabre incident: Chernenko, *I. V. Stalin v sibirskoy ssylke*, pp. 140–9. *Vstrechi s vozhdem: Rasskazy krestyan s Kureiki o tov. Staline*, pp. 21–3 Anfisa Taraseeva – Stalin arrives; daughter Dasha on his back; songs; taught dancing; rubbed ointment vs rheumatism; Tishka dog; pp. 23–5 Ivan Saltykov on children, Dasha riding on his back, songs; reading; writing more; making hut on Polovinsky Island, living there for weeks; hiding the rifles for Stalin; games out hunting; Pereprygins very poor. Elizaveta Taraseeva quoted in Ilizarov, pp. 308–9; Ilizarov quotes Merzliakov, pp. 300–5, and Lidia Pereprygina, pp. 310–11. Lidia in love: [http://memorial.krsk.ru/Work/Konkurs/4/Panteon\\_stalina/oo.htm](http://memorial.krsk.ru/Work/Konkurs/4/Panteon_stalina/oo.htm). Kun, pp. 169–75. Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Only One Year*, pp. 381–2. Woman and child in exile: I. D. Perfilov in Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 8. Siberian girl steals into bed at night: Essad Bey, p. 191. Mark Franchetti, 'Stalin's Secret Son by Girl 14', *Sunday Times*, 2001.
6. Spandarian arrives: Suren Spandarian, *Statii, pisma dokumenty*, pp. 340–1. RGASPI 161.1.10 V. L. Shveitzer. Shveitzer, *Stalin v Turukhanskoi ssylke*, pp. 18–31. Kun, p. 129. Dr Dan Healy advised on the Tsarist age of consent and concept of statutory rape. Stalin on the First World War: Stalin, *Works*, 3: 39–40.

### 35: THE HUNTER [pp. 248–52]

1. Winter 1914–15. Turukhansk money receipts 1913–15 collected by NKVD boss N. I. Yezhov and found in his safe: thanks to Professor J. Arch Getty for sharing this: RGASPI 671.1.287. Postal orders, letters to Alliluyevs etc: RGASPI 558.1.55 and



558.1.53. Visit to Stalin in Kureika and his room, singing, Kamenev: Shveitzer, *Stalin v turukhanskoi ssylke*, pp. 30–2 and 47–50. Memoirs of Stalin in Kureika by Lidia Pereprygina, Daria Ponamareva and others: RGASPI 558.4.662. Stalin on Merzliakov: RGASPI 558.11.773. Extracts from Merzliakov and Lidia Pereprygina: Ilizarov, pp. 300–5 and 310–11. Kun, pp. 169–75. *Vstrechi s vozhdem: Rasskazy krestyan s Kureiki o tov. Staline*, pp. 21–3 Anfisa Taraseeva – daughter Dasha on his back; songs; taught dancing; rubbed ointment vs rheumatism; Tishka dog; pp. 23–5, Ivan Saltykov on children; hiding the rifles for Stalin; games out hunting; Pereprygins very poor. Sverdlov gets 50 roubles per month salary in exile: Sverdlov, *Izbrannyye*. Eating frozen fish flakes: Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’. Lost in the blizzard, fishing, wood goblin and Tishka my companion, unfit for military service: A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 55 and 62–3. Dog and hunting story: *Komsomolsky Pravda* 10 January 2007, Yuri Zhdanov memoirs. Stalin and Spandarian to Lenin quoted in Service, *Lenin*, p. 112. Lenin to Zinoviev, do you remember last name of Koba, to V. A. Karpinsky, Koba sends regards, big request: Lenin, *PSS*, 48: 101, 131, 161. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, p. 84. Pockmarked Joe: *Molotov Remembers*, p. 165. Shooting twelve partridges, skiing 48 versts and First World War: *Khrushchev Remembers* 1: 302 and 385. Ulcers of war: Stalin, *Works*, 3: 61.

### 36: THE ROBINSON CRUSOE OF SIBERIA [pp. 253–8]

1. Summer–Winter 1915. Visits to Monastyrskoe, Party trial, Spandarian. F. Samoilov, ‘Bolshevistskaya fraktsiya IV Gosudarstvennoy Dumy v yeniseiskoi ssylke pered fevral'skoi revolyutsiei’. Spandarian to Lenin 20 Aug.: Josef sends you all his warmest regards; 28 Sept.: Josef 150 versts away but ... we'll see each other: Spandarian, *Statii, pisma, dokumenty*, p. 284. Last meeting: RGASPI 558.4.582 and 558.4.662 V. Shveitzer. Stalin and Spandarian: RGASPI 558.4.662 B. Ivanov. G. Petrovsky – Bolshevik meeting: RGASPI 558.4.662. Also GARF 5449.1.75. Money, I thought forgotten, Kamenev wet hens: RGASPI 558.4.54. Writing big articles – Stalin to Kamenev, send this to Lenin: RGASPI 558.1.56. I've found out nothing: RGASPI 558.4.662. Robbery and trail, Sverdlov accused: GARF 5449.1.75. RGASPI 558.4.662. A. E. Badaev, ‘O Staline’, *Pravda* 19 Dec. 1939. Sverdlov, *Izbrannyye*, pp. 266–80, 321. Gorodetsky and Sharapov, *Sverdlov*, pp. 84–6 and 99–103. Ostrovsky, p. 408. RGASPI 558.11.1288. Spandarian ill: Ostrovsky, p. 409. Stalin inquires after Spandarian: S. Alliluyev, *Pravda* 22 Dec. 1939. Vera Shveitzer: RGASPI 558.4.662. Condemnation of Kamenev: Merridale, ‘The Making of a Moderate Bolshevik’, pp. 31–3, including Trotsky quote. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 109–10. Stalin non-committal at Kamenev trial: Robert M. Slusser, *Stalin in October: The Man Who Missed the Revolution* (henceforth Slusser), pp. 13–14. Merzliakov and Lidia Pereprygina: Ilizarov, pp. 300–5 and 310–11. Revolution inevitable: Stalin, *Works*, 1: 79. Kamenev and Stalin friends: Mikoyan, *Tak bylo*, p. 352. Kamenev gives Stalin Machiavelli: Rayfield, *Stalin and the Hangmen*, p. 22. Sweet revenge: Robert Conquest, *Stalin: Breaker of Nations*, p. 107.
2. A. Lazebnikov, ‘Linii sudby’, *Sovetskaya Kultura* 16 Jul. 1988. Merzliakov/Badaev etc: RGASPI 558.4.662. Moving house again, boat borrowed: RGASPI 86.1.112. RGASPI 558.4.54. Writing big articles – Stalin to Kamenev, send this to Lenin: RGASPI 558.1.56. I've found out nothing: RGASPI 558.4.662. Ostrovsky believes this was a full escape: pp. 409–13. F. Samoilov, *Po sledam minuvshogo*, pp. 523–35. Pregnancy confirmed by General I. Serov: RGASPI 558.11.1288. Stalin drops in on Rukhadze: RGASPI 558.4.662 Kuzma Gavrilenko – Stalin on way from Kostino to Kureika via Miroedikha. Letter to author from Eva Purins 9 Nov. 2000. Note in suit pocket: A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 44–5. Spandarian: ‘Suren Spandarian in Siberian Exile’.

### 37: STALIN'S REINDEER-PROPELLED SLEIGH AND A SIBERIAN SON [pp. 259–62]

1. Conscripted. Stalin volunteered: Ilizarov, pp. 311–12. Sleighs used first dogs, then reindeer, then horses; Stalin on go-slow: Shveitzer, *Stalin v Turukhanskoi ssylke*, pp. 43–51. Reindeer: *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 189–90. RGASPI 558.4.218. Merzliakov, I. M. Taraseev, Arsenii Ivanov – present to mother: RGASPI 558.4.662. Sverdlov, *Izbrannye*, p. 99. Boris Ivanov: RGASPI 558.4.662 and GARF 5449.1.74. Kureika, memoirs of locals and history, conscription and hero's departure: [http://memorial.krsk.ru/Work/Konkurs/4/Panteon\\_stalina/oo.htm](http://memorial.krsk.ru/Work/Konkurs/4/Panteon_stalina/oo.htm). I. D. Perfilev in Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 8. Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Only One Year*, pp. 381–2.  
V. G. Solomin to Stalin and Stalin reply 5 Mar. 1947: RGASPI 559.11.804. The journey: Ilizarov, p. 313. Newspaper *Yeniseisk Krai* quoted by Ostrovsky, p. 416. Unfit for military service and trip to Petersburg with orators etc: A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 55–5, 62–3, 165–9. Piece of Siberia: *Molotov Remembers*, p. 256. Achinsk: V. Shveitzer, 'V Achinskoi ssilke', *Izvestiya* 12 Mar. 1937. Stalin stays in Achinsk: RGASPI 558.4.218, 124.2.1549, 558.4.662, 649 and 667 (V. Shveitzer, V. P. Filipova, A. Pomerantseva) and RGASPI 4.649 (M. Muranov). Baikaloff, *I Knew Stalin*, pp. 27–30. Whispers: *Yeniseisk Krai* in Ostrovsky, p. 420. Trains and Stalin's movements: Ostrovsky pp. 422–3. Petersburg: RGASPI 161.1.16. A. Shlyapnikov, *Semnadtsatyi god*, 2: 443–7. Stalin stays with Baroness Maria Shtakelberg: Ostrovsky, p. 423. Grand Duke Michael telegram: Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 14.

### 38: 1917 SPRING: FLOUNDERING LEADER [pp. 265–9]

1. The account of 1917 from February to October is based on the following: Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy*; Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*; Alexander Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*; Robert Service, *Stalin and Lenin*; Adam Ulam, *Lenin and the Bolsheviks*; W. Bruce Lincoln, *Passage through Armageddon: The Russians in War and Revolution* (henceforth Lincoln), Bernard Pares, *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy*; plus Leon Trotsky, *Stalin and My Life*; Nikolai Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution*; and John Reed, *Ten Days that Shook the World* (henceforth Reed). Unless otherwise stated, Central Committee protocols are quoted from *Protokoly Tsentralnogo Komiteta RSDRP(b)*. On Petersburg Feb.–Mar. 1917: *Molotov Remembers*, p. 133. Service, *Stalin*, p. 122. Lincoln, pp. 346–73. Figes, pp. 307–52.
2. Lenin doubts: *Molotov Remembers*, pp. 89–90 and 125. Service, *Stalin*, p. 122–5. Slusser, pp. 16–29. Sukhanov, *Russian Revolution*, p. 230. Bolshevik membership: Ostrovsky, p. 580.
3. Alliluyevs: Service, *Stalin*, p. 124. Vasileva, *Kremlin Wives*, p. 56 – Yenukidze arrival and Nadya to Anna Radchenko. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 212, 184–91.
4. Coryne Hall, *Imperial Dancer: Mathilde Kschessinskaya and the Romanovs*, pp. 102–3 and 178–9. Stalin in charge and mistakes: 'Protokoly i resolutsii Buro TSK RSDRPb Mart 1917g', *Voprosy istorii KPSS* no. 3 1963, pp. 134, 143–9, no. 5, pp. 111–47, and no. 6, pp. 139–40. The war: Stalin, *Works*, 3: 4–9. Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 20. Slusser, pp. 29–30, 43, 59–64. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 125–7. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, pp. 92–3. Service, *Lenin*, p. 263. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 185–7 and 203. Shit and Krupskaya's view of Lenin's April Theses: Robert H. McNeal, *Bride of the Revolution*, pp. 167 and 171. Tucker, p. 165. Chariot: Stalin, *Works*, 3: 1–3. Sergo: Dubinsky-Mukhadze, *Ordzhonikidze*, p. 131. Figes, pp. 354–84.

## 39: SUMMER 1917: SAILORS ON THE STREETS [pp. 270–8]

1. Service, *Lenin*, p. 255. Slusser, pp. 16–30. Volkogonov, *Stalin*, pp. 15–20. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 125–7. Lincoln, pp. 362–5. Figes, pp. 141–54 and 385–98.
2. Krupskaya, pp. 294–6. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 255–73. Voroshilov: Vasileva, *Kremlin Wives*, p. 81. Williams, p. 176. Service, *Stalin*, p. 129. Volkogonov, *Stalin*, pp. 21–3. Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 195. On Lenin: Lincoln, pp. 362–5; and Figes, pp. 385–98.
3. April, May: 'Protokolyi resolutsii Buro TSK RSDRPb Mart 1917g', *Voprosy istorii KPSS* no. 3 1963, pp. 134, 143–9, no. 5, pp. 111–47, and no. 6, pp. 139–40. At April meeting – you could assign Stalin any task: *Molotov Remembers*, p. 137. April Conference: see *Sedmaya aprel'skaya vserossiiskaya konferentsia RSDRPb, Protokoly*. Stalin, *Works*, 3: 42, 51–60. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 125–8. Tucker, p. 165. Lenin as schoolmaster and Ludmilla Stal: Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 195. On Bureau elected by CC, on April Conference: Slusser, pp. 59–70 and 89–98. Figes, pp. 423–48.
4. Stalin, *Works*, 3: 67–9. Speaker: A. I. Kobzov quoted in Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 21. Trotsky's return: Slusser, pp. 108–14, quoting Vereshchak and Trotsky on Congress of Soviets. Trotsky on stage: Sukhanov, *Zapiski o russkoi revolyutsii*, 7: 44. Dull comments: Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 67 and 206–9 quoting Pestkovsky on speaking. Stalin avoided speaking: Service, *Stalin*, p. 126. Lenin, Shaumian and Yenukidze: Krupskaya, p. 304. Dzerzhinsky: Rayfield, *Stalin and the Hangmen*, pp. 56–7.
5. Move in with Molotov and Marusya; apology and a kind of commune: *Molotov Remembers*, pp. 37, 93, 122–3. Ludmilla Stal/Tatiana Slavatsinskaya: Chuev, *Kaganovich*, pp. 160–2. Daushvili, *Story of Soso Djugashvili*, pp. 239 and 252. Stal and Krupskaya in Paris 1911: Krupskaya, p. 196; Maisky, p. 45; Marcou, p. 66; Ludmilla Stal biography: 'Istoki podviga', *Ural* no. 3 1979. Slavatsinskaya at secretariat with Stasova: Stasova, *Stranitsy zhizni i borby*, p. 84. Molotov: Slusser, p. 101. Alliluyevs visit Stalin: *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 195–6.
6. June: Stalin, *Works*, 3: 67–9; on demo, 3: 92–4 and 105–9. Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 21. S. Pestkovsky, 'Vospominaniya', *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* no. 6 1930, and *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* no. 10 1922, pp. 93–103. Role in Party: Sagirashvili, pp. 197–8. Trotsky's return: Slusser, pp. 108–18 and 125–39. Lincoln, pp. 387–90. Sukhanov, *Zapiski o russkoi revolyutsii*, 7: 44. Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 67. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 194–5. Figes, pp. 423–38.
7. 2–4 July: Stalin, *Works*, 3: 110–33, 138–41 and 166–200. Slusser, pp. 139–50. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 1–16. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 283–5. Lenin, *PSS*, 21: 9–10. I. G. Tsereteli, *Vospominaniya o fevral'skoi revoliutsii*, p. 344. Krupskaya, p. 311. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 206–11 quoting Ordzhonikidze. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, pp. 102–4. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 140–3. Dreyfus: Stalin, *Works*, 3: 266. Bedny story: Slusser, pp. 155–60. Figes, pp. 427–38.

## 40: 1917 AUTUMN: SOSO AND NADYA [pp. 279–97]

1. Backlash and Lenin in hiding at Alliluyevs: A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 181–90. Volkogonov, *Stalin*, pp. 24–6, quoting S. Alliluyev and V. N. Polovtiev on officer sent to kill Lenin. Dubinsky-Mukhadze, *Ordzhonikidze*, p. 178. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 17–38. Slusser, pp. 162–78 and 139–50. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 283–91. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 206–11. Lincoln, pp. 392–6. Figes, pp. 427–38. Vyshinsky: Vaksberg, *Stalin's Prosecutor*, pp. 13–27.
2. Move into Alliluyevs, Olga makes coat etc: A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 183–91. Service, *Stalin*, p. 141. Author's visit to the Alliluyev House Museum.
3. Sixth Congress and contact with Lenin: *Shestoi sezd RSDRPb, Avgust 1917 goda*. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 288–92. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, p. 108. Tucker, pp. 172–4. Service, *Stalin*, p. 143. Slusser, pp. 200–14. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 213–21. *Molotov Remembers*, p. 165. Smith, p.

337. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 51–70 and 83–93. Figes, pp. 427–38. Stalin, *Works*, 3: 110–33, 138–41 and 166–200.
4. Nadya Alliluyeva: letters to Anna Radchenko see Vasileva, *Kremlin Wives*, pp. 56–8, and quote from Svetlana, *Only One Year*. Author's interviews with Kira Alliluyeva, Moscow 2001–2002. A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 183–91. On Nadya and Anna: Kun, pp. 211–15 quoting Vladimir Antonov-Saratovsky and interview with Kira Alliluyeva. Author's visit to the Alliluyev Museum.
5. Kornilov: Stalin, *Works*, 3: 214 and 296–300. Sagirashvili, pp. 237–8. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 94–128. Lincoln, pp. 412–25. Figes, pp. 438–53.
6. Kamenev accused, Stalin uses repression against *Soldat*: Slusser, pp. 210–14. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 71–6. Figes, pp. 453–74.
7. September: Stalin, *Works*, 3: 214, 271–6, 277–82, 296–300. *Alliluyev Memoirs*, p. 223. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 129–90. Lincoln, pp. 426–53. Figes, pp. 453–74. Sagirashvili, pp. 193–4.

#### 41: OCTOBER: THE COUNTDOWN [pp. 288–92]

1. October. 10 Oct. CC: *CC Protocols*, pp. 83–100. Slusser, pp. 226–36. Tucker, pp. 44–6. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 148–50. Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 27.
2. 16–20 Oct.: *Protokoly Tsentralnogo Komiteta RSDRP(b). Avgust 1917–Fevral 1918* (henceforth *Protokoly TSK*), pp. 32–55. Stalin at CC: Stalin, *Works*, 3: 407–8. Strong Bulls of Basham Have Beset Me Round: Stalin, *Works*, 3: 409–13. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 228–34. Slusser, pp. 226–36. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 306–7. Stalin in contact with Lenin: Radzinsky, *Stalin*, pp. 110–14. Figes, pp. 475–81. Tucker, pp. 179–80. Lincoln, pp. 426–38. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 218–25, 231–42. Trotsky Mephisto: Reed, p. 85.
3. 20–24 October. 'What Do We Need?': Stalin, *Works*, 3: 414–17. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 228–34. Slusser, pp. 234–45. Service, *Stalin*, pp. 151–3. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 306–22. *Molotov Remembers*, p. 162. *Protokoly TSK*, pp. 32–55 and 99–117. Volkogonov, *Trotsky*, p. 82. RGASPI 558.4.668 and 663 Fyodor Alliluyev. A. S. Alliluyeva, *Vospominaniya*, p. 61. Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 30. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, pp. 110–14, including Fofanova and Trotsky quotes on liaison with Lenin. Sagirashvili, pp. 198–200. Y. Lutsky, *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* no. 11 1986, pp. 81–90. Stalin's talk with Trotsky and Congress delegates: 'Pismo M. Zhakov k Vasilchenskoe', *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* no. 10 1922, pp. 88–93, including clue on his work earlier at *Rabochyi Put*. *CC Protocols*, pp. 119–20. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 242–61. Lincoln, pp. 438–46.

#### 42: GLORIOUS OCTOBER 1917: THE BUNGLED UPRISING [pp. 293–8]

1. Lenin and Stalin to Smolny 24–25 Oct.: Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 228–34. Service, *Lenin*, pp. 310–22. Recognized by rotters: Trotsky in Radzinsky, *Stalin*, p. 115. Sagirashvili, pp. 198–200, including Stalin attempts to refuse Narkom, heard from Yenukidze and Karakhan. CC sittings: Y. Lutsky, *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* no. 11 1986, pp. 81–90. Rakhia and Ravich quoted in Radzinsky, *Stalin*, pp. 115–16. Molotov's role, government formed: *Molotov Remembers*, pp. 94–6. Figes, pp. 473–6, 483–5. Slusser, pp. 244–7. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 265–8, 271–2, 306. Lincoln, pp. 445–7. Smolny: Reed, pp. 87, 96; glimpse of MRC at work, p. 104.

#### 43: POWER: STALIN OUT OF THE SHADOWS [pp. 299–305]

1. Fall of the Winter Palace: Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 228–34. Radzinsky, *Stalin*, pp. 115–19, rapes and Lenin takes off make-up. CC sittings: Y. Lutsky, *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* no. 11 1986, pp. 81–90. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 269–70, 276–92,

- including red lantern, faulty cannons, drinking, delays and bungles. Lincoln, pp. 446–57, including drinking at Palace. Figes, pp. 485–95. Theatres etc: Reed, p. 95; Congress of Soviets, pp. 98–9; Trotsky, p. 104; spank you, pp. 106–7; looting, servants, pp. 108–10. Sagirashvili, pp. 193–200, 203–4, 238, 248–52.
2. Sleep 25–26 Oct.: Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 228–34. CC sittings: Y. Lutsky, *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* no. 11 1986, pp. 81–90. Lincoln, pp. 452–5. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 303–4. Reed, pp. 112–13; dawn, pp. 116–17, 125; Lenin speaks, pp. 128–9; Kamenev, p. 138. Ulam, *Lenin and the Bolsheviks*, pp. 482–96.
  3. 25 Oct. 1917 and after. 29 Nov. 1917 Chetverka Bureau: see Slusser, pp. 94–7. *Protokoly TSK*, p. 134 co-signed order of 3 Nov. 1917 – thanks to Service, *Stalin*, p. 622. RGASPI 558.4.668 and 663 Fyodor Alliluyev. S. Pestkovsky, ‘Vospominaniya’, *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* no. 6 1930, and *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* no. 10 1922, pp. 93–103. Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 228–47. Figes, pp. 496–512. Early days, revolution without shooting, Molotov quote, instructions on Lenin’s office access 22 Jan. 1918: Radzinsky, *Stalin*, pp. 118–23 and 137. Tucker, p. 182. Trotsky and Stalin most talented, tea-drinkers: *Molotov Remembers*, pp. 96, 141 and 148. Israel Getzler, *Sukhanov: Chronicler of the Russian Revolution*, p. 85. Sagirashvili, pp. 193–200, 203–4, 238. Lenin walks in: Tsintsadze, ‘Chemi Mogonebani’, pp. 220–5. Stalin major role in defending Petrograd vs Krasnov revolt Nov. 1917 with Dzerzhinsky, Sverdlov, Ordzhonikidze, and orders to CinC 9 Nov. with Stalin and Lenin: Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 43. ‘The Four’, 9 Nov. 1917: Trotsky, *Stalin*, pp. 240–3; encounter at first cabinet meeting. Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 43. First days in power and founding of Cheka: Service, *Lenin*, pp. 309–11. Concentration camp: Service, *Stalin*, p. 158. Lincoln, pp. 457–68. Ulam, *Lenin and the Bolsheviks*, pp. 482–96, including Shlyapnikov and prostitutes. Lenin adds Stalin and Trotsky as the only two leaders permitted access to his office without invitation (copy on display at Smolny Institute museum): RGASPI 5.1.1802.47. For Lenin’s notes, see Pipes, *Unknown Lenin*, and quotes from Lenin and Trotsky in N. Ferguson, *War of the World*, pp. 148–51.

#### EPILOGUE: AN OLD TYRANT – IN REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS PAST [pp. 307–22]

1. Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’. *Molotov Remembers*, p. 212. Rayfield, *Stalin and the Hangmen*, pp. 8–10. *Khrushchev Remembers*, 1: 305. Keke, Soso and Sasha Egnatashvili: RGASPI 558.11.1549.1–69. Svetlana quoted in Zhores Medvedev and Roy Medvedev, *Unknown Stalin*, p. 297. Historians will find out: Mgeladze, pp. 240–1.
2. Alliluyevs: Richardson, *Long Shadow*, pp. 73–5. Author’s interviews with Vladimir Alliluyev (Redens), Leonid Redens, Kira Alliluyeva, Moscow 2001–2003. Kamo and Fyodor: Mikoyan, *Memoirs*, pp. 431–3. See Montefiore for full family story.
3. Svanidzes: Kun, p. 6. See Montefiore for full story. RGASPI 558.1.5099 Stalin to M. Monoselidze. GF IML 8.2.1.50.239–55 Dzhavaira Khutulashvili. Author’s interviews with K. Gelovani and M. Svanidze, Tbilisi 2005.
4. Women; Slavatsinskaya: RGASPI 124.1.1782; Trifonov, *Otblesk kostra*, pp. 33–40. Kun, pp. 41 and 46. Marcou, p. 76. Petrovskaya: Ilizarov, p. 288; and possible case against a Sofia Petrovskaya in A. L. Litvin, *Genrikh Yagoda Narkom*, Kazan 1997, p. 197 – it is not clear if this is the same Petrovskaya and in any case her destiny is unknown. Onufrieva: Kun, p. 116. On Stal and Slavatsinskaya: Chuev, *Kaganovich*, p. 219. RGASPI 558.4.647 P. Onufrieva Fomina. RGASPI 558.4.647 Tatiana Sukhova.
5. RGASPI 558.4.662 L. P. Pereprygina-Davydova and F. A. Taraseev. RGASPI 558.4.667 M. A. Merzlikov. RGASPI 558.1.5169. Kolesnik, *Khronika zhizni semia Stalina*, pp. 58–62. Sukhotin, ‘Bastard krasnogo vozhdia’. Rokhlin, ‘Gde pryatali nesakonnorojdennoy syna Stalina?’ Ivan Serov memo to Politburo: RGASPI 558.11.1288. *Izvestiya* 8 Dec. 2000. Antonov-Ovseenko, *Stalin bez maski*, pp. 380–90.



- Pereprygin household, first Laletin sabre incident: Chernenko, *I. V. Stalin v sibirskoy sylke*, pp. 140–9. *Vstrechi s vozhdem*, pp. 21–5. Ilizarov, pp. 288–92, 300–15. Lidia in love: [http://memorial.krsk.ru/Work/Konkurs/4/Panteon\\_stalina/oo.htm](http://memorial.krsk.ru/Work/Konkurs/4/Panteon_stalina/oo.htm). Kun, pp. 169–75. Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Only One Year*, pp. 381–2. Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 8. Essad Bey, p. 191. Mark Franchetti, ‘Stalin’s Secret Son by Girl 14’, *Sunday Times* March 2001.
6. Keke, Soso and Sasha Egnatashvili: RGASPI 558.11.1549.1–69. (45.1.1549). Medvedev and Medvedev, *Unknown Stalin*, p. 297. Beria, pp. 20–1.
  7. Money to Kapanadze: RGASPI 558.1.5978 and 5080. Iremashvili, pp. 36, 59–61 and 77. Davrichewy, pp. 36, 244 and 160. Letter to author from Iralki de Davrichewy 23 Aug. 2006. For Mata Hari and Marthe Richard stories, see Francis Lacassin, ‘Mata Hari ou la romance interrompue’, *Magazine Littéraire* no. 43 Aug. 1970. Davrichewy, ‘Je suis le demi-frère de Staline’, pp. 25–30.
  8. Kamo: *Russian Review* vol. 19 no. 3, July 1960, pp. 227–47. Kamo and Lenin: Ulam, *Lenin and the Bolsheviks*, p. 723.
  9. Author’s interview with Alexander Egnatashvili’s grandson Guram Ratishvili, Tbilisi 2005. Kun, pp. 6–7. Loginov, p. 14. GARF 7523.107.127.1–6 General N. Vlasik interrogation. Roman Brackman, *Israel at Noon* (New York 2006), p. 5.
  10. Old Bolsheviks, Ordzhonikidze, Molotov etc: see Montefiore. Sergo vs Molotov fight: *Molotov Remembers*, p. 113. Terror Deaths: 1937–8, see Service, *History of Twentieth-Century Russia*, p. 222. Georgian terror statistics: Amy Knight, *Beria*, pp. 79–84. Author’s interview with Izolda Mdivani (widow of Budu’s son Vahtang) and Mdivani family in Tbilisi, Georgia, 2006. Vyshinsky: Vaksberg, *Stalin’s Prosecutor*, pp. 13–37.
  11. Stalin stops publication: RGASPI 45.1.803.1, 558.11.730, 558.11.787, 558.11.1496, 558.11.730, 558.11.787.2,
  12. Dinners in old age: Charkviani, ‘Memoirs’. Megalomaniacs: ‘Provisional Revolutionary Government and Social Democracy’, *Proletariats Brdzola* 15 Aug. 1905: Stalin, *Works*, 1: 140–61. 20–25 million deaths: A. N. Yakovlev, *A Century of Violence in Soviet Russia* (New Haven, 2000), p. 234.

## ARCHIVES/MUSEUMS

RGASPI Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Sotsialno Politicheskoi Istorii, Moscow, Russia

GARF Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii, Moscow, Russia

GF IML Georgian State Filial of Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Tbilisi, Georgia

ABM Achinsky Oblastnoi Muzei, Achinsk, Russia

MSIR Muzei Sovremennoi Istorii Rossii, Moscow, Russia

VOANPI Vologdsky Oblastnoi Arkhiv Noveishei Politicheskoi Istorii, Vologda, Russia

GAVO Gosudarstvenny Arkhiv Vologodskoi Oblasti, Vologda, Russia

GIAG Georgian State Historical Archive, Tbilisi, Georgia (Sakartvelos Sakhelmtsipo Saistorio Arkivi)

Archives of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California

GDMS Gosudarstvennyi Dom-Muzei I. V. Stalina, Gori, Georgia

Gosudarstvennyi Istoriko-Memorialny St-Peterburgsky Muzei ‘Smolny’, St Petersburg, Russia

Muzei Alliluyeva, St Petersburg, Russia

GTsMSIR Gosudarstvennyi Tsentralnyi Muzei Sovremennoi Istorii Rossii, Kseshinskaya Mansion, St Petersburg, Russia

GMIKA Khariton Akhvlediani State Museum, Batumi, Georgia

TsGAA Central State Archive of Adjara, Batumi, Georgia

DMS Stalin House-Museum (former house of Watchmaker Simhovich), Batumi, Georgia

GK Guram Kahidze’s private museum, Batumi, Georgia



368

YOUNG STALIN

KTA private archive of Konstantin Ter-Akopova, Batumi, Georgia  
GIAA Gosudardvennyi Istoricheskiy Arkhiv Azerbajjana, Baku, Azerbaijan  
Stockholm City Archives, Sweden  
Office of the Governor of Stockholm, Sweden  
PRO Public Records Office, London UK  
Lenin Museum, Tampere, Finland

VIDEO

*Baku, City of Dreams*, produced, written and directed by Fuad Akhundov

