SOURCE NOTES

A NOTE ON SOURCES AND SPELLING

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 I was fortunate to be able to use the mainly unpublished memoirs of Charkviani, Kavtaradze, Budyonny and the son of Dekanozov, but the same rules apply to them.

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

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

On spelling, I have used the most accessible and recognizable versions, e.g. ‘Joseph’ instead of ‘Iosif’, even when this leads to inconsistencies: for example, I use ‘Koniev’ yet
‘Alliluyev.’ For similar reasons, I have sometimes used Party names if they are more widely used than surnames: e.g. Ordzhonikidze was almost universally known as ‘Comrade Sergo’ and I have usually used that moniker. However, in the case of Polina Zhemchuzhina, I call her Polina Molotova. For the same reasons, I have persisted in using the traditional Chinese spellings of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai.

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

**Journals Cited**

- American History Review
- Argumenty i Fakty
- Bolshevik
- Cold War History
- Europe/Asia Studies
- Ezhegodnik Iberiisko-Kavkazskogo Yazykозnaniya
- Far Eastern Affairs, Moscow
- Glasnost
- International Affairs
- Isotchnik
- Istoriicheskii Arkhiv (IA)
- Istoriicheskii Zhurnal
- Istoriya SSSR
- Ilogi
- Iunost
- Izvestiya
- Izvestiya TsK KPSS
- Kommunist
- Komsomolskaya Pravda
- Krasnaya Zvezda
- Leningradskaya Pravda
- Literaturnaya Gazeta
- Literaturnyi Arkhiv
- Literaturnaia Rossiya
- Mir Istori
- Molodaya Gvardiya
- Moskovskie Novosti
- Nezavisimaya Gazeta
- Nezavisimoe Voennoe Obozrenie

**Abbreviations of Names of Archives Cited:**

- RGASPI Russian State Archive of Social and Political History
- GARF State Archive of Russian Federation
- RGVA Russian State War Archive
- TSAMO Central Archives of Ministry of Defence of Russian Federation
- FSB RF Central Archives of Security Service of Russian Federation
- RGAE Russian State Economical Archives
RGALI Russian State Archives of History and Literature
APRF Archive of Administration of the President of the Russian Federation
Izvestiya TsK KPSS Izvestiya of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
APRF Archive of Administration of the President of the Russian Federation
Izvestiya TsK KPSS Izvestiya of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
PROLOGUE: THE HOLIDAY DINNER


4 RGASPI 538.11.1550.34–5, Stalin to Nadya 21 June 1930. Nadya the snitch: RGASPI 85,28.63.13, Nadya Alliluyeva to Ordzhonikidze complaining of neglect of Stalin’s call for correct training of technicians at Prodakademiya, 2 April 1931. Thanks to Robert Service for this information.

5 RGASPI 538.11.1550, Nadya to Stalin 28 Aug. 1929.

7 RGASPI 538.11.1550.27, Nadya to Stalin 27 Sept. 1929.
8 RGASPI 538.11.1550.8, Stalin to Nadya 29 Aug. 1929. On Vasily’s studies and
teacher: RGASPI 538.11.1550.31–2, Stalin to Nadya 2 July 1930. 558.11.1550.61–93,
Svetlana to Stalin 21 Sept. 1931.
9 RGASPI 538.11.1550.7, Nadya to Stalin 28 Aug. 1929. RGASPI 538.11.1550.8, Stalin
to Nadya 29 Aug. 1929. Stalin on Nadya’s doctors: RGASPI 538.11.1550.30, Stalin to
Nadya 21 June 1930. Stalin’s teeth: RGASPI 558.11.1550.43–5, Stalin to Nadya 24
Sept. 1930 and RGASPI 558.11.1550.34–5, Nadya to Stalin 5 Sept. 1930.
10 RGASPI 538.11.1550.29, Nadya to Stalin 1 Oct. 1929
11 RGASPI 538.11.1550.36–7, Stalin to Nadya 8 Sept. 1930.
12 RGASPI 538.11.1550.7, Nadya to Stalin 28 Aug. 1929.
13 Nadya to Stalin on politics: for example, RGASPI 538.11.1550.10–12, Nadya to Stalin
2 Sept. 1929. She reports how Ordzhonikidze and Rudzutak had met with
Voroshilov; and Ordzhonikidze’s view on the economy of Little Kabardia.
14 Nadya, Stalin and books. On White literature on Stalin: RGASPI 538.11.1550.65–6,
Nadya to Stalin 26 Sept. 1931. RGASPI 558.11.1550.35–6, Stalin to Nadya and Nadya
to Stalin 5 and 8 Sept. 1930. RGASPI 558.11.786.123–4, Nadya to A. N. Poskrebyshev
10 July 1932.
15 Photographs: RGASPI 558.11.1550.43–5, Stalin to Nadya 24 Sept. 1930. How funny
16 RGASPI 533.1.33.10, N. Alliluyeva, IKKI, 12 May 1927. On babas: RGASPI
44.1.1.477, Nadya Alliluyeva to Maria Svanidze 11 Jan. 1926. On chickens: RGASPI
76.1.46.
17 RGASPI 538.11.1550.9, Stalin to Nadya 1 Sept. 1929.
18 Guli Djugashvili, Ded, Oiets, Mat i Drugie, pp. 18–19. Kirov brought Yakov to Moscow
in 1921 and looked after him in Petersburg. RGASPI 538.11.1550.10–12, Nadya to
Stalin 2 Sept. 1929. On Yasha and Nadya’s suicide: RGASPI 538.11.1.213–93, Maria
Svanidze diary, 9 May 1935. On Stalin’s joke about Yasha’s suicide: Svetlana
Alliluyeva RR.
19 Life in Kremlin, memories of Voroshilov and apartment: Artyom Sergeev. Natalya
20 Nadezhda’s looks: Svetlana, Twenty Letters, pp. 90–111. Bazhanov, p 110. Testimony of
Mentally unbalanced: Z. A. Zhdanova quoted in Svetlana, Twenty Letters, p. 112.
130–1. Nadya’s medical records: RGASPI 558.11.1551.
21 On presence at the dinner: Andreyevs: Natalya Andreyeva. Mikoyans: Stepan
to Bukharin in Anna Larina, This I Cannot Forget, The Memoirs of Nikolai Bukharin’s
Budyonny. White teeth: Isaac Babel, 1920 Diary, p. 89. Story of Nadya dancing with
someone else: ‘Somebody was paying too much attention to her at the party …’
Nadezhda Stalin (granddaughter who heard the story from Anna Alliluyeva) quoted
in Radzinsky, p. 278. Dancing with Yenukidze: interview Natalya Rykov.
On Stalin and women: Stalin ‘quite handsome’ etc.: MR, p. 174. ‘Pretty’ Yegorova:
A. T. Rybin, Stalin v Oktyabre 1941, p. 20. On Yegorova ‘dancing and fun’: interrogation
record quoted in full by Larissa Vasilieva, Kremlin Wives, pp. 103–11.
‘Yegorov’s beautiful wife who used to be a cinema star’: Joseph E. Davies, Mission to
Moscow, p. 95; Svetlana Alliluyeva, Only One Year (henceforth Svetlana OOI), pp. 131,
317; interview Nadezhda Vlasik. Fanmail: RGASPI 538.11.726.61, Rachel Dizik to
Stalin and Stalin’s reply 3 April 1931. On Mikulina: Lü; E. N. Mikulina’s visit to Stalin:
Zhores Medvedev, Politichesky Dnevnik, 1975, pp. 364, 428–34. Stalin’s Sochineniya,


7. The staff gossip and the official version: GARF 3316.2.2016.1–8. Appeal of A. G. Korchagina to Kalinin for pardon. She had been arrested in 1933 for membership of terrorist group. ‘Oh Nadya, Nadya’: Mgeladze, pp. 17–18. ‘Overturned my life’: Nadya Vlasik. ‘She’s crippled me’: Svanidze diary: Kaganovich, pp. 73, 154. Svetlana, Twenty Letters, pp. 116–20, ‘I can’t go on living like this.’ Shambles: Svetlana, Richardson, Long
I: THE GEORGIAN AND THE SCHOOLGIRL


2 Teeth, exile, 1902–3 spent in Batumi and Kutaisi jails; he sees an amputation: 'I can still hear the scream', Stalin in Charkviani, pp. 20–5. Tucker, *Revolutionary* p. 134, 156–7; number of seven excises, six escapes, pp. 94–5, based on Stalin's official biography, though he may have exaggerated the numbers. Roman Brackman, *The Secret File of Joseph Stalin*, is useful for the atmosphere of the underground.


### 3: THE CHARMER


2 RGASPI 73.2.44.14. Molotov to Andreyev 18 June 1929.


RGASPI 558.11.712.18, Stalin to A. M. Bolshakov 17 Oct. 1925. The Shakhty Case of 1928 had been put together by GPU official Yevdokimov, who holidayed and drank with Stalin at the time: Orlov, p. 28. RGASPI 558.11.773.1.2.3, D. P. Malinutin to Stalin 8 Aug. 1932.


RGASPI 558.11.768.131; Molotov to Stalin 21 Dec. 1929.

Pravda, 22 December 1929.


RGASPI 82.2.1420.118, Stalin to Bukharin and Molotov 27 June 1926.

Mikoyan, p. 275. RGASPI 82.2.1420.150-1 and RGASPI 558.11.69.84, Stalin to Molotov 4 Sept. 1926 and 24 Aug. 1926.


No detail too small: Natalya Andreyeva.


19 In 1931 this was altered to meetings on 1st, 8th, 16th and 23rd of each month at 4 p.m. Two of these were ‘closed’ meetings. Khlevniuk, Circle, p. 77.

20 Mikoyan, pp. 367, 335.

22 RGASPI 558.11.27.9–10, Voroshilov, Stalin, Kalinin, n.d.
23 RGASPI 74.2.38.39, Stalin to Voroshilov, 14 March 1929.
24 RGASPI 74.2.39.44, Voroshilov to Stalin and reply, n.d.
26 RGASPI 79.1.760, Voroshilov to Kuibyshev. RGASPI 74.2.39.15, Stalin, Voroshilov, Molotov, Ordzhonikidze 30 April 1933.
28 RGASPI 85.1.110.1–20, Voroshilov to Ordzhonikidze 8 June 1929. Khlevniuk, Circle, p. 32. Stalin outvoted: RGASPI 74.2.38.74, Stalin to Voroshilov, 26 June 1932.
29 RGASPI 558.11.27, Stalin and Kalinin, 7 May 1929.
31 RGASPI 558.11.1550.43–5, Stalin to Nadya, 24 Sept. 1930.
32 RGASPI 558.11.1550, 10–24, Nadya to Stalin, 26 Sept. 1929 and RGASPI 558.11.1550.27, Nadya to Stalin, 27 Sept. 1929.
4: FAMINE AND THE COUNTRY SET

1. Nadya’s medical reports: RGASPI 558.11.1551. Also: June/July 1930, Stalin to Nadya in Radzinsky p. 274.
2. Khlevniuk, Circle, pp. 46–8. Sergo backs Stalin: ‘We must finish with the Right as we did with Trotsky … They’re debauchees,’ RGASPI 558.11.778.40, Sergo to Stalin 26 Sept. 1930.
3. RGASPI 74.2.37.60 and 74.2.38.56, Voroshilov correspondence; Stalin’s view of Tukhachevskys’ plans: RGASPI 74.2.38.50, Stalin to Voroshilov.
5. RGASPI 558.11.778.38, Menzhinsky to Stalin 10 Sept. 1930.
6. RGASPI 74.2.38.56, Stalin to Tukhachevsky 7 May 1932.
8. RGASPI 558.11.1550.43–3, Stalin to Nadya 24 Sept. 1930.


19 RGASPI 558.11.27.56.72, Stalin notes, 3 May 1933.

20 RGASPI 558.11.27.6–7, n.d., probably 1928: Stalin, bread. 558.11.27.37: Stalin’s lists.


5: HOLIDAYS AND HELL

1 RGASPI 558.11.1481.27, Tovstukha to Yagoda 9 June 1926. RGASPI 558.11.1481.28–41, Decrees by PB on holidays of Stalin from 1922–1934.

2 RGASPI 558.11.168.49 n.d.

3 RGASPI 558.11.71.26–8, S. Parchine to Sergeyev 27 June 1927; also Chinksy, pp. 28–9.

4 RGASPI 558.11.71.26–8, S. Parchine to Sergeyev, 27 June 1927. Also Chinksy, p. 28. Artyom Sergeev.
For tonsillitis and sore throats: Valedinsky, '1932

and

Also Chinsky, p. 28.

to Kuibyshev, n.d.

Chinsky, p. 37.

Stalin to Andreyev. nd.

23. Aug. 1930, and then

RGASPI 558.11.778.26, Stalin to Ordzhonikidze 23 Aug. 1930, and then

RGASPI 558.11.778.26, Stalin to Ordzhonikidze 23 Aug. 1930, and then

RGASPI 558.11.778.24, Ordzhonikidze to Stalin 17 July 1930.

RGASPI 558.11.778.24, Ordzhonikidze to Stalin 17 July 1930.

RGASPI 558.11.769.109–16, Molotov to Stalin.

RGASPI 558.11.769.109–16, Molotov to Stalin.

RGASPI 558.11.769.109–16, Molotov to Stalin.

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RGASPI 558.11.769.109–16, Molotov to Stalin.

RGASPI 558.11.769.109–16, Molotov to Stalin.


6 RGASPI 558.11.754.121, Stalin to Kosior 26 Apr. 1932.

7 MR, pp. 42–3.


10 Lakoba, p. 115.

11 RGASPI 74.2.37.54–9, Voroshilov to Stalin 26 July 1932. Also RGASPI
7: STALIN THE INTELLECTUAL.

1. The CC sent Stalin lists of reliable writers arranged into different sections of loyalty and political usefulness. There were old writers like Gorky and a special section for tame outsiders like Alexei Tolstoy and Ehrenburg. RGASPI 558.11.815. Y. Yakovlev to Stalin 3 July 1935.

2. RAPP as ‘literary wing’: Orlando Figes’ phrase, Natasha’s Dance, pp. 262–4, 471. Also KGB Lit.Archive.


Gogol, Chekhov, Hugo, Thackeray, Balzac. Stalin wrote his comments on the books as he read them: he really went to town on Anatole France’s Sub Rosa. When France says he wants to write about love and death, Stalin joked: ‘Pity he didn’t manage it.’ When France discusses how the Jewish God was cruel and petty, Stalin noted, ‘Anatole is quite a big anti-Semite. He was a pedant.’ France suggested people followed their own dreams, to which Stalin commented: ‘Revealed truth’, adding, ‘Those who trust in God don’t understand him.’ On God, he mused, ‘So didn’t know, did not see God did not exist for me. And where can I go? (Greeting to God) Ha-ha!’ France claimed that Napoleon would have chosen the Sun as his God. ‘Good,’ wrote Stalin. On God, he mused, ‘So didn’t know, did not see God don’t understand him.’

Stalin’s meetings of Alliluyeva to Stalin and reply 1932. Resignation: Svetlana, Twenty Letters, p. 120.

8: THE FUNERAL

1 Papers showing Yenikidze’s role: GARF 7523c-149a-2.1–6 including report of Professor Kushner document 7. The staff gossip and the official version: GARF 3316.2.2016.1–8. Appeal of A. G. Korchagina to Kalinin for pardon. She was arrested 1933 for membership of ‘terroristic group.’ ‘Oh Nadya, Nadya’: Mgeladze, pp. 117–18. ‘Overturned my life’: Nadya Vlasik.

2 GARF 7523c-149a-2.10–11. Stalin’s questions: Svetlana, Twenty Letters, p. 120.

3 Kaganovich, p. 73.


9: THE OMNIPOTENT WIDOWER AND HIS LOVING FAMILY


3 Mikoyan, p. 337. Svanidze: see Maria's diary on family, 5 Mar. 1937; Maria's poem to Stalin, RGASPI 44.1.1.301–6. 'Better looking than 70% of wives/anyone who meets me remembers me for ever': RGASPI 44.1.1.340–4, Maria Svanidze to Alyosha Svanidze. RGASPI 44.1.1.403, Alyosha to Maria on Mikoyan, Sergio and Yenukidze 9 Nov. 1930. RGASPI 44.1.1.417, Nadya Alliluyeva to Maria Svanidze on 'babas', 11 Jan. 1926. Svanidze: Svetlana, Twenty Letters, pp. 81–7.

4 RGASPI 558.3.4, Stalin to Yakov. Resembled father: Vlasik, p. 27.


7 Mgeladze, p. 117.

IO: SPOILED VICTORY

9 RGASPI 85.1.144.
10 Kirov, pp. 167–8.
11 Kuybyshev’s womanizing and drinking: Oleg Troyanovsky. See also Stalin to Molotov: Molotov Letters, p. 233. Stalin to Molotov 1 Sept. 1933 and 12 Sept. 1933.
12 RGASPI 74.2.38.89, Stalin to Voroshilov, n.d.
16 Molotov Letters, p. 233. Stalin to Molotov, 1 and 12 Sept. 1933. Also, see RGASPI 79.1.798, Molotov to Kuybyshev 12 Sept. 1933.

II: ASSASSINATION OF THE FAVOURITE

2 Gagra house: RGASPI 558.11.728.40–2, Stalin to Yenikidze 13 Sept. 1933. Author’s visit to Kholodnaya Rechka, Gagra, 2002. Stalin in Gagra: Kaganovich Perepiska, p. 378. See also, later, Averell Harriman and other visitors.
3 RGASPI 558.11.728.40–2, Stalin to Yenikidze 13 Sept. 1933.
5 RGASPI 558.11.746, Kirov to Stalin, 15 July 1933.
6 Rosliakov in Kirov, p. 160.

2 RGASPI 558.1.5374, Stalin to K. Stanislavsky 9 Nov. 1931.


5 RGASPI 558.11.734.26, Kirshon to Kaganovich and Kaganovich to Kirshon 13 Aug. 1933. Kirshon and Bulgakov in Curtis, pp. 69–71: Kirshon and Leopold Averbakh, ex-head of RAPP and closely connected to Yagoda, attacked Bulgakov’s play Flight and had its run cancelled in early 1929. It was then that Bulgakov unable to work, appealed to Stalin.


7 ‘Yeah! Yeah!’: RGASPI 74.2.37, Stalin to Voroshilov; 15 March 1931. ‘Green steam’: Upton Sinclair to Stalin and Stalin to Sinclair, also commenting on Eisenstein: RGASPI 558.11.804.12, 26 Oct. 1931.

8 RGASPI 558.1.5374, Stalin to K. Stanislavsky 9 Nov. 1931.


12 Kirov, pp. 179–81: Rosliakov, Kirov to Maria Lvovna.


15 RGASPI 558.11.76.113, Stalin to Beria 19 Sept. 1931. Chinsky, p. 47.


RGASPI 558.11.730.2–9, Zhdanov to Stalin, n.d. 1934. RGASPI 558.11.83.143. Kaganovich and Zhdanov to Stalin 23 Aug. 1934. RGASPI 558.11.86.2–16, Zhdanov to Stalin 3 Sept. 1934. RGASPI 558.11.730.18, Zhdanov to Stalin 6 Sept. 1934. Zhdanov to Stalin: ‘Before the Congress, Gorky once again tried to criticize the lists even though they’d been agreed with them before … he complained Kamenev was not elected to the Secretariat. He did not want to go to the Congress or chair the Plenum. Pity … he’s very tired.’ RGASPI 558.11.730.1, Stalin to Kaganovich, Zhdanov, Stetsky and Mekhlis 24 Aug. 1934. Kaganovich reported on Gorky’s demands and how the entire leadership of himself, Molotov, Voroshilov and Zhdanov had coped. RGASPI 558.11.742.21, Kaganovich to Stalin 12 Aug. 1934 and RGASPI 558.11.742.28, Kaganovich to Stalin 12 Aug. 1934.


RGASPI 558.11.730.37–40, Zhdanov to Stalin 1 Sept. 1935.

RGASPI 558.11.730.21, Stalin to Zhdanov and Kuibyshev 11 Sept. 1934.

RGASPI 558.11.730.22, Stalin to Zhdanov, Yagoda and Akulov 9 Oct. 1934.

Destinations of the leaders are found in Kaganovich’s letter to Stalin of 1 Sept.: RGASPI 558.11.50.64 Kaganovich Perepiska, p. 470. Kaganovich writes from Kiev. Kirov headed out to Kazakhstan, Mikoyan to Kursk, Chubar to the Middle Volga, Kaganovich to Ukraine, Zhdanov to Stalingrad, Voroshilov to Belorussia and Molotov to Siberia. M. D. Borisov was the bodyguard. RGASPI 79.1.170.1, 3, Kirov to Kuibyshev 18 Sept. 1934, and 23 Sept. 1934. Kirov, p. 185. RGASPI 558.11.730.23–36, Zhdanov to Stalin 8 Oct. 1934: Zhdanov reported to Stalin that there were bread-collecting problems in the Stalingrad region: ‘Some workers must be sent to trial there;’ he wrote on 8 Oct. The Party leaders down there were ‘weak’. Kirov to Moscow: Kirov, pp. 183–4. Call and arrival, Stalin in bad mood: Svanidze diary, 14 and 26 Nov. 1934.


Kirov, p. 187.


RGASPI 558.11.27.24, Stalin notes, 7 May 1929.

Rybin, Ryadom, pp. 14–16.

This account is based on Amy Knight’s excellent reconstruction in her Who Killed Kirov?, pp. 88–99; Tucker, Power, pp. 288–96; Conquest, Great Terror pp. 43–61, as well as Kaganovich, MR, Svanidze’s diary, Mikoyan’s memoirs Tak bylo.

12: ‘I’m ORPHANED’


5 On Voikov’s assassination and Stalin’s reaction, see Chinsky, p. 83. On Instantisiya, thanks to Prof. Derek Beales. For verbal orders, see murder of Mikhoels.

6 Stalin loved Kirov: Rybin, Ryadom, p. 87; Kaganovich, p. 72. Advice on Beria: Stalin
This account of
Yury Zhdanov: 'everything changed'. Also Artyom Sergeev: 'Nothing was the same
This account of 21 Dec. 1934 is based on the memories of memories of two of the
guests: Maria Svanidze's diary, 23 Dec. 1934; interview Artyom Sergeev. We also have Maria's poem from the archives and the photographs in two versions. I am grateful to Stepan Mikoyan, Natalya Andreyeva and Kira Alliluyeva, all of whose parents were there, for identifying the characters. Poem: RGASPI 44.1.1.361–6. Photograph: RGASPI 558.11.1653-22.
13: A SECRET FRIENDSHIP
2 Khlevniuk, Circle, pp. 149–50.
3 Kirov, p. 222.
6 RGASPI 558.11.727.33, A. Dovzhenko's conversation with Stalin, with Postyshev, Kosior and Kalinin in attendance, 27 May 1935. Also: Kenez, p. 133.
9 RGASPI 45.1.1803.1, Stalin to F. Samoilova 6 Dec. 1938.
10 RGASPI 558.11.730.189, Stalin to Zhdanov and Pospelov 24 Sept. 1940. On K. Gamsakhurdia's The Leader's Childhood he wrote: 'I ask you to prohibit publication in Russian.' RGASPI 558.11.787.2, Stalin to Zhdanov and Pospelov 24 Sept. 1940.
14: THE DWARF RISES

4 Yezhov’s rise: M. Jansen and N. Petrov, Stalin’s Loyal Executioner: People’s Commissar Nikolai Ezhov 1895–1940, pp. 25–6. RGASPI 17.3.961.61. Yezhov was appointed to check the NKVD staff and Komsomol. He had been effective NKVD supervisor for Stalin since December 1934 and soon succeeded Kaganovich as Chair of the Party Control Commission.
8 RGASPI 558.11.730.188, Stalin to Zhdanov 14 Sept. 1940. When Old Bolsheviks wanted to publish their memories of his early days, Stalin ordered: ‘Don’t publish!’ RGASPI 558.11.1456.17, Stalin to Mekhlis 21 July 1937. RGASPI 558.11.775.84, Stalin to Mekhlis 1939.
9 RGASPI 558.11.717. Stalin to P. M. Vsilev 3 Dec. 1930 or 1932.
10 RGASPI 558.11.786.106, Stalin to Poskrebshev July 1929.
11 RGASPI 558.11.711.182, Stalin to Blokhin 29 July 1925.
19 RGASPI 558.11.704.20, Beria, pp. 58–62.


21 Svanidze diary, 9 May and 28 June 1935.

15: THE TSAR RIDES THE METRO

1 Svanidze diary, 29 Apr. 1935.


3 Svanidze diary, 29 Apr. 1935.


5 Eisenstein: Kenez, p. 179.


8 RGASPI 558.11.734.101, Stalin and Poskrebyshev to Mirzoian 3 and 21 Apr. 1935, and his reply, 23 Apr.


10 RGASPI 81.3.100.91, Stalin to Kaganovich 8 Sept. 1935, and RGASPI 558.11.743.17. Kaganovich to Stalin 13 Sept. 1935. RGASPI 558.11.89.71–6 and 89, Stalin and Salinin to Kaganovich, Yezhov, Molotov 7 Sept. 1935, and Kaganovich to Stalin to 9 Sept. 1935. RGASPI 558.11.90.55, Kaganovich to Stalin 23 Sept. 1935. Old farts: RGASPI 81.3.100.91–94 Stalin was also furious that Orakhelashvili was socializing with Yenukidze. Agranov was sending Stalin information on Yenukidze which he distributed to the PB. See also Kaganovich Perepiska, pp. 554–8. Chinsky, pp. 39–47.


Interview Tina Egnatashvili.


**16: TAKE YOUR PARTNERS; MOUNT YOUR PRISONERS**

1 Svanidze diary, 7 Dec. 1936.

2 *From Factionalism to Open Counterrevolution* by Nikolai Yezhov, APRF 57.1.273. Yezhov to Stalin 17 May 1935, Jansen-Petrov, p. 29. Yezhov’s role in the trial: Yezhov’s papers contain ten files on the trial – Jansen-Petrov, p. 46.


4 Orlov, p. 130.


6 Martha Peshkova. How do you feel? RGASPI 558.11.720.107, Stalin to Gorky 21 May 1936. Svetlana and Stalin visit Gorky, OOT, p. 327. ‘On all questions touched in your letter including organization, we need to consult Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin is very interested in cultural problems and is personally managing the CC department that deals with this.’ RGASPI 73.2.44.21–2, Gorky to Andreyev, Andreyev to Stalin, Stalin to Andreyev 30 Dec. 1935. Stalin corrected Gorky’s articles with Kaganovich. RGASPI 558.11.720.69, Stalin to Gorky, n.d.. We visited you at two: RGASPI 558.11.720.120, Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov to Gorky, June 1936. *KGB LitArchive*, pp. 251–7, 267–74, 272–5; Yagoda: Averbakh and Kryuchkov testimony, pp. 260–1.


16 Chinsky, p. 334.

17: THE EXECUTIONER


5 Jansen-Petrov, pp. 49–50. Days later, Yezhov was informing Stalin that Yagoda had known of a Trotskyite Centre in 1933 and done nothing about it (p. 53). Yagoda later admitted in his own interrogations that he had bugged Stalin’s calls with Yezhov (p. 226) using the Frinovsky interrogations (Frinovsky N-15301). Spain: this account is completely based on the new archival research in R. Radosh, M. R. Habeck and G. Sevostianov (eds.), Spain Betrayed: the Soviet Union in the Spanish Civil War: Stalin barrow boy, NKVD takeover of Republic and aim not to win but to keep Hitler bogged down: see Introduction, pp. xv–xxv and quotations from Paul Preston, Walter
Krivitsky and Gerald Howson. For reports on Soviet personnel sent to Voroshilov, see pp. 58–70. Kaganovich and Sergo were involved in economic planning there, see pp. 89–91. For security matters, see Yezhov to Voroshilov, pp. 100–1. Voroshilov sends reports to Stalin: ‘Read it, it’s worth it’, pp. 145–7. Denunciations to Stalin and Voroshilov by journalist M. Kolsoy, pp. 267, 521. Stalin seeks discounts on warships: RGASPI 74.2.38.5, Stalin to Voroshilov 10 Jan. 1932, Jansen-Petrov, p. 54, and FSB, Pauker testimony. Kaganovich Perepsika, p. 678.

6 Khlevniuk, Ordzhonikidze, pp. 104–5.
7 Khlevniuk, Stalin'soe Politburo, pp. 148, 152, Jansen-Petrov, pp. 53–5.
9 Mikoyan, p. 328.
13 'Crank': RGASPI 558.11.710.48–76, Bukharin to Stalin and Stalin's note 2 July 1935. ‘Big child’: RGASPI 558.11.710.91, Bukharin to Stalin and reply. When Bukharin complained of dismissals among his staff at Izvestiya, Stalin sent the appeal to Yezhov who scrawled in favourite red pencil back to Stalin: 'All is done – Bukharin doesn't complain any more.' RGASPI 558.11.710.78, Bukharin to Stalin to Yezhov to Stalin 13 Jan. 1936 (cc Yezhov section). Radek: RGASPI 558.11.710.163 Bukharin to Stalin 17 Sept. 1936. Bukharin in dreams: RGASPI 558.11.710.104–6, Bukharin to Stalin 24 Sept. 1936. RGASPI 558.11.710.172–8, Bukharin to Stalin and poem.

18: SERGO: DEATH OF A ‘PERFECT BOLSHEVIK’

2 This account of Sergo’s last days is based on Khlevniuk, Ordzhonikidze, pp. 119,
I9: THE MASSACRE OF THE GENERALS, FALL OF YAGODA AND DEATH OF A MOTHER

1 Jansen-Petrov, pp. 71–2.

2 'Yagoda', p. 20 and p. 89 for the search, 28 Mar.–4 Apr. 1937.


11 RGVA 4.18.61.7–66, Voroshilov at KNO 9–10 June 1937.
20: Blood Bath by Numbers


21: ‘THE BLACKBERRY’ AT WORK AND PLAY

1 RGASPI 558.11.27.129.

RGASPI 558.11.769.173, Stalin to Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Mikoyan 31

Maya Kvatradze. Medvedev, p. 325.


22: BLOODY SHIRTSLEEVES


4 Gramophone scandal: RGASPI 558.11.1082.1–18.

5 RGASPI 558.11.756.109–16, Krilov to Stalin 26 May 1937. Another the same month denounces spies and enemies in the Foreign Commissariat. RGASPI 558.11.727.86, Dmitrov to Stalin 15 May 1937.

6 RGASPI 558.11.818.35–43. P. V. Tiulenev to Stalin 30 March 1938.


9 Zhdanov on Enemies: A. S. Yakovlev, Tsel zhizni, p. 17. On Komsomol Case: Mgeladze,

Andreyev’s epic slaughter: RGASPI 73.2.45, 138, notes Oct. 1937. 73.2.19, Andreyev to Zhdanov 6 Jan. 1937. 73.2.19.2, Andreyev to Stalin 12 Apr. 1937, Voronezh. 73.2.19, Andreyev to Stalin 20 July 1937, Saratov. 73.2.19.3, Andreyev to Stalin 4 June 1937, Cheliabinsk. 73.2.19.12, Andreyev to Stalin 21 July 1937, Saratov. 73.2.19.16, Andreyev to Stalin and Stalin orders shooting of MTS workers, 28 July 1937. 73.2.19.19, Andreyev to Stalin 1 Aug. 1937. 73.2.19.22, Andreyev to Stalin 1 Aug 1937, Saratov. 73.2.19.27, Andreyev to Stalin 18 Aug. 1937, Kuibyshev. 73.2.19.34–36, Andreyev to Stalin 17–18 Sept. 1937, Tashkent. 73.2.19.44, Molotov to Andreyev 20 Sept. 1937: ‘You can arrest him.’ 73.2.45.54, Andreyev to Stalin: ‘Ikravov arrested.’ 21–22 Sept. 1937, Tashkent. 73.2.45.58, Stalin and Molotov to Andreyev 22 Sept. 1937, 73.2.45.72 and 73, Stalin to Andreyev: ‘Act according to your consideration and situation’, 26 Sept. 1937 and (74) Andreyev’s reply to Stalin 27 Sept. 1937; Bokhara (79–84). 73.2.45.86, Stalin to Andreyev in Stalinabad, 29 Sept. 1937. 73.2.45.101, Stalin to Andreyev on NKVD officer, 4 Oct. 1937. 73.3.45.87–101, Andreyev to Stalin and Stalin orders: ‘Remove Ashurov’, 2–4 Oct. 1937, Stalinabad. 73.2.45.105, Andreyev to Stalin 5 Nov. 1937, Archangel and Voronezh: ‘Going to Rostov.’ 73.2.45.113, Andreyev to Stalin 15 Nov. 1937, Rostov. 73.2.45.119–26, Andreyev to Stalin and Malenkov 18 Nov. 1937, Krasnodar, Kuban. ‘I’m heading to Ordzhonikidze Region.’

23: SOCIAL LIFE IN THE TERROR

1. Martha Pleshkova. 'Svetlana khozyaika but I calmed her': Stalin in Charkviani, pp. 55–7.


24: STALIN’S JEWESSES AND THE FAMILY IN DANGER

1. Bronka: based on the author’s interviews with Natalya Poskrebysheva and stories told to her by her aunt Faina, her half-sister Galina and her nanny, Kira Alliluyeva. Also Brackman’s interviews with Bronislava’s first husband, I. P. Itskov, Secret File, p. 329. Itskov claims Bronka only married Poskrebyshev to save her brother from arrest but this seems premature. Also Volkogonov, p. 153.


25: BERIA AND THE WEARINESS OF HANGMEN


2 Stalin to aircraft designer Yakovlev, quoted in MR, p. 262.


10 Candid Charkviani at Beria’s when Stalin arrived: interview Gela Charkviani. Sergio B, p. 34. Mikoyan, p. 33.


14 S. Fedoseev, ‘Favorit Yezhova’, Sovremennoe Sekretno, 9, 1996. Jansen-Petrov, pp. 150–6, quoting FSB 808.6.3.367/Frinovsky Case N-15301.2.32; Frinovsky N-15301.7.195; Dagin in FSB 3.6.3.323, 259; Evdokimov in FSB 3.6.4.493 and FSB 3.6.3.261.

26: THE TRAGEDY AND DEPRAVITY OF THE YEZHOVES


27: DEATH OF THE STALIN FAMILY


10 Stalin stops the Terror: Volkogonov, pp. 337, 344. Beria moved into Chubar's dacha: Beria, p. 98. Svetlana OOI, p. 355. RGASPI 558.11.773.101, Mekhli to Stalin and reply 6 Nov. 1939. Vyshinsky, for example, wrote to complain that the NKVD had arrested officials without the Procurator's warrant. It would be naïve to say that legality was reasserting itself; it was merely that the illusion was replacing a frenzied witch hunt. RGASPI 82.2.897,28, Vyshinsky to Stalin/Molotov 31 Mar. 1939. We can follow the complex wranglings between Vyshinsky and the NKVD with Malenkov trying to restore some order between them: RGASPI 588.2.155,39,60. Stalin, Khrulev and Mekhli, Kumanev (ed.), p. 343. Children's case of Novosibirsk: RGASPI 588.2.155,65, Vyshinsky to Stalin and reply 2 Jan. 1939. We can see the working of the leadership and the practice of absolute dictatorship in this example of relaxation. When Molotov suggested, after some prompting from Vyshinsky, that non-political female prisoners, who had committed the grievous crime in this slave-labour state of leaving work during the day, should be freed, Molotov agreed but Stalin personally specified: 'I'm opposed. I think it would be right if such women paid a fine instead of prison of one month's salary and it must be done thus; 25% of their salary must be deducted for four months. Stalin.' This became law three days later: RGASPI 588.2.1531.27–33. Vyshinsky to Molotov to Stalin 23–26 Aug. 1940. Nikolaenko: RGASPI 558.11.132,141–5, P. T. Nikolaenko to Stalin and Khrushchev 20 Feb. 1939 and Stalin to Khrushchev. Trotsky: Sudoplatov, p. 66.

28: THE CARVE-UP OF EUROPE


29: THE MURDER OF THE WIVES


30: Molotov Cocktails


7 Katyn Forest: RFE/RL Research Report, vol. 2, no. 4, 22 Jan. 1993, p. 22. Beria was at first one of the ‘troika’ in charge of the liquidation but Stalin crossed out his name and put in Kobulov, probably because Beria was busy enough. It is certainly not evidence that Beria was opposed to the massacre since ‘the Theoretician’ and ‘the Samovar’ were his closest associates. Overy, p. 53. Stepan M., p. 197. Lesser Terror, p. 57; Parrish, ‘Yezhov’, pp. 83–5; ‘Serov’, Slavic Military Studies, vol. 10, Sept. 1997, p. 110. Sergio B, pp. 55, 320.

8 KR 1, p. 157.


31: MOLOTOV MEETS HITLER

1 RGASPI 82/2.1592, Molotov to Polina 13 Aug. 1940. This account of Molotov’s trip to Berlin is based on Berezhkov, pp. 24–42, inc. Hitler’s hint about meeting Stalin; MR, pp. 15–20, 145; Hilger-Mayer, pp. 321–7; Yakovlev in Bialer (ed.), pp. 117–22; Gorodetsky for Stalin-Molotov instructions and cables, pp. 58, 74, 76, 81, 83; Volkogonov, pp. 372–2; Beria, pp. 102–3; Zubok, p. 92; Read-Fisher, pp. 510–33.

2 Meetings up to the war: ‘More afraid if I’d known’: Nikolai Baibakov. ‘Never call him by his name’: Emelianov, in Bialer (ed.), p. 113; Kuznetsova, pp. 95–7, 173; Yakovlev, p. 100. Dmitrov Diary 7 Nov 1940.


32: THE COUNTDOWN


33: OPTIMISM AND BREAKDOWN

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


6 Spahr, p. 251.


On Mikoyan’s hiding, Stalin expected the worst; tension left Stalin’s face: Sergo B, p. 71. Chadaev in Radzinsky, p. 455, is based on the account of Bulganin who was probably not present. He was not a candidate Politburo member until


34: ‘FEROCIOUS AS A DOG’


2 RGASPI 558.11.492.6, Stalin, Molotov and Mikoyan to Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Popov, etc. 23 Aug. 1941.

3 *900 Days*, pp. 268–9, 304, 402.


8 RGASPI 558.11.492.35–8, Stalin to Kuznetsov, Molotov, Malenkov 29 Aug. 1941.


13 TSAMO RF 217.1258.11.18, Khozin, Zhdanov, Kuznetsov to Military Councils of 8th and 55th Armies, 13 Nov. 1941.

14 RGASPI 558.11.191–3, Zhdanov to Stalin, 5 Dec. 1941.


RGASPI 558.11.492.59, Stalin to Zhukov 5 Oct. 1941.


35: `CAN YOU HOLD MOSCOW?’


7 Mikoyan, pp. 417–22. MR, p. 42. Rybin, *Stalin v Oktyabre 1941*, pp. 8–14. Rybin, who uses the testimony of bodyguards though he himself was no longer one of Stalin’s personal security guard, being responsible for security of the Bolshoi Theatre, claims that the events described during the night of 15th and morning of 16th preceded the meeting described by A. Shakhurin, the People’s Commissar for Aircraft Production.
Naturally the bodyguards did not know which meeting was which. V. P. Pronin, Izvestiya Tsk KPSS 4 (1991), p. 218; VI Zn 10 (1991), p. 39.


18 Zhukov 2, pp. 235–44.


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


37: Churchill visits Stalin


Stalin and the Caucasus


3. The main sources for this account of Stalingrad are A. Beevor, Stalingrad, Overy, Russia's War, and Erickson, The Road to Stalingrad and The Road to Berlin, D. Volkogonov, Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy, and the memoirs of Zhukov and Vasilevsky. TSAMO 3.11536.9, Stalin to Vasilevsky, Yeremenko and Malenkov 23 Aug 1942.


39: THE SUPREMO OF STALINGRAD


4 RGASPI 558.11.490.7–49: the Stalingrad press releases are nos. 34–49. Tobacco: Мgeladze, p. 40. When his former secretary wrote to him asking if he could come to Moscow, it was Stalin himself who replied: ‘You can come to Moscow. Stalin.’ RGASPI 558.11.726.4–6. Девинский to Stalin 25 July 1942.


7 Zhukov, pp. 307–42. Volkogonov, p. 469. S. S. Smirnov, Marshal Zhukov: kakim my
40: SONS AND DAUGHTERS


41: Stalin's Song Contest


2. RGASPI 558.1.3499.1–27 and RGASPI 558.1.3399. ‘My Byom ikh’ – ‘we are beating them’ sounds like ‘ebiom ikh’ – ‘we are fucking them’ – when sung fast. RGASPI 558.1.3399, Stalin's corrections. The dates on El Registan's hastily written notes are problematic because he sometimes writes the 23rd when he means the 28th and November when he means October. I have tried to form some order from chaos.

RGASPI 558.1.3499 1–27. ‘Why drain your glasses?’ Gromov, Stalin Vlast I Iskusstvo, p. 343. Diplomatic dinner: Berezhkov, pp. 206–23. Harriman-Abel, p. 239. Erickson, Berlin, p. 191. Bohlen, pp. 190–1. RGASPI 558.1.3399; Registan's notes say the final approval meeting on 4 November took place at 9 a.m. but it seems much more likely to be 9 p.m. given Stalin's customs and Registan's occasional confusion with dates and times. On Mikhalkov's poem: RGASPI 558.1.3399; 515.11.775.112, S. Mikhalkov to Stalin and Stalin to Molotov 7 Feb. 1944. On their presence in Stalin's office on 28 Oct. and 4 Nov. 1943: Li.


42: Teheran


43: THE SWAGGERING CONQUEROR


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


5 Martha’s prettiness: Sergei B, p. 191. Martha: scented cloud, difficult to have as a friend – Gulia Djughashvili, Ded, Otets, Mati i Drugie, p. 55. Stalin favours Yuri Zhdanov; encourages friendship with Martha: Svetlana OOI, p. 319. Details of life at Beria’s:
Martha Peshkova.


46: A NIGHT IN THE NOCTURNAL LIFE OF JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH


47: MOLOTOV’S CHANCE


48: ZHDANOV THE HEIR AND ABAKUMOV’S BLOODY CARPET

49: THE ECLIPSE OF ZHIUKOV AND THE LOOTERS OF EUROPE

Grandees: luxury, Svetlana Birozhidan: Rubenstein and Naumov, to Molotov on trial of Kuznetsov, Galler, Vasilieva,


50: ‘THE ZIONISTS HAVE PULLED ONE OVER YOU!’


51: A LONELY OLD MAN ON HOLIDAY

1 Houses: based on author’s visits to Kholodnaya Rechka, Lake Ritsa, New Athos,
Likani Palace, Livadia Palace, Sukhumi dacha etc., 2002. Lenin icon: Orlov in
Rybin, Rybdom, p. 91. 1947 road trip: Vlasik, pp. 35–40. Upset on dugouts at Kharkov
and Valechkha: Svetlana, Twenty Letters, p. 197. Chats to children at seaside: Mgeladze,
p. 87; missing Georgia, p. 82; J. B. Priestley and old peasant aged 150, p. 68; reading
textile, p. 113; gardening, roses, mimosa, pp. 53, 96, 142; singing ‘Suliko’ with
Vlasik and Poskrebyshev; p. 128. Books: RGASPI 558.11.1786.131, Stalin to
Poskrebyshev; Yuri Zhdanov; Martha Peshkova. Livadia Palace 1948: Vlasik, p. 44.
On Miron Merzhanoan: Martha Peshkova. Also: Vasilieva, Deti Kuniylya, p. 287.
government on permanent call: Charkviani, pp. i, 34, 45, 53; Mgeladze, pp. 53, 95–7,
128, 142, etc. Interviews with: Alyosha Mirlskhulava. Eka Rapava; Nadya
52: TWO STRANGE DEATHS


53: MRS MOLOTOV’S ARREST


54: MURDER AND MARRIAGE

Khrushchev insepable from Malenkov and Beria: Kaganovich, p. 64; Mikoyan, p. 587. Bulganin’s role: Budyonny, Notes, p. 49.


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


56: THE MIDGET AND THE KILLER DOCTORS


Charkviani, who had been made a CC Inspector in Moscow, asked to be received by Beria, he was unable to see him – Gela Charkviani. Beria and foreign policy, reunifying Germany in 1952: Zubok in Taubman, pp. 275–7. Mutual support: Mikoyan, pp. 536, 581–3; Vlasik: Nadezhda Vlasika. GARF 7523.107.127.1–6. Vlasik’s appeal for pardon. Guards: Deriabin, pp. 74, 83–5. Stalin complains that Beria is supported by Molotov and Kaganovich, Mgeladze, p. 178.


57: BLIND KITTENS AND HIPPOPOTAMUSES


Molotov and Mikoyan: trust: ‘He never gave me away’; chats in flats, Beria’s Dec. PB meeting: Malyshev in against the Four: B. Ponomarenko, Sovershenno Sekretno p. 337.

Stalin anger at Stalin over seventy: Oleg Troyanovsky. On Khrushchev and Malenkov: Julia Moscow. Stalin notices Beria’s support from Molotov, Kaganovich, etc. Molotov’s Khrushchev, Poskrebyshev, Mikoyan. Malenkov comforts Khrushchev on recall to Malenkov July after: Mikoyan, pp.

Nikonov: no fear after prison.


58: ‘I DID HIM IN!’


POSTSCRIPT

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