

Notes

Preface

1. N. S. Khrushchev, *Vremia. Liudi. Vlast'* (Moscow, 1999), 1: 173.
2. *Vostochnaia Evropa v dokumentakh rossiiskikh arkhivov 1944–1953*, vol. 2 (Moscow-Novosibirsk, 1998), p. 194.
3. A. Iakovlev, *Tsel' zhizni*, 2d. ed. (Moscow, 1970), p. 509.
4. *Istoriia Vsesoiuznoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (bol'shevikov): Kratkii kurs* (Moscow, 1938), pp. 234, 313.
5. See V. Rogovin, *Partiia rasstreliaemykh* (Moscow, 1997), pp. 274, 465.
6. *Revelations from the Russian Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1997), p. 176.
7. See variously, R. Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (London, 1990), p. 14; O. F. Suvenirov, *Tragediia RKKa 1937–1938* (Moscow, 1998), p. 23; S. Konstantinov, “Malen’kii chelovek,” *Nezavisimaa gazeta*, 13 April 2000; also D. Volkogonov, *Triumf i tragediia* (Moscow, 1990), 1: 484, and D. Shepilov, “Vospominaniia,” *Voprosy istorii* 1998, no. 4: 3–25, esp. p. 5.

Chapter 1

1. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 2, ll. 109–58; TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732 (Ezhov's *lichnoe delo*), l. 9; B. Piliatskin, “‘Vrag naroda’ Ezhov ostaetsia vragom naroda,” *Izvestiia*, 4 and 5 June 1998.

2. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 2, ll. 109–58; TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, ll. 7, 9; Piliatskin, “‘Vrag naroda.’”

3. Execution lists, Memorial archives, No. 23D-848.

4. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 2, ll. 109–59.

5. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 16–26-ob. The passage on the younger Ezhov in E. Skriabina's autobiography probably refers not to Nikolai but to Ivan: see A. Polianskii, *Ezhov: Istoriia “zheleznogo” stalinskogo narkoma* (Moscow, 2001), p. 42.

6. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, ll. 7, 7-ob.

7. *Ibid.*, l. 20; B. Sultanbekov, *Stalin i “Tatarskii sled”* (Kazan', 1995), p. 188. In his later writings Ezhov sometimes used the pseudonym “N. Knizhnik”: see B. B. Briukhanov and E. N. Shoshkov, *Opravdaniu ne podlezhit: Ezhov i ezhovshchina 1936–1938 gg.* (St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 21.

8. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 266, l. 80.

9. *Ibid.*, l. 30.

10. Testimony of I. Dement'ev of 22 April 1939, *ibid.*, f. 3, op. 24, d. 375, l. 118.

11. See “Marshal sovetsoi razvedki,” *Sovetskaia Belorussia*, 14 June 1938; *Kratkii kurs istorii VKP(b)* (Moscow, 1938), p. 197.

12. V. Ivanov, *Zvezda* 1992, no. 1, cited in Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 6.

13. A. Fadeev, “Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov: Syn nuzhdy i bor'by,” RTsKhIDNI, f. 671, op. 1, d. 270, ll. 69–86. Hereafter, no specific citation.

14. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 270, ll. 1–11.

15. A. Drizul, “Boevye stranitsy proshlogo,” *ibid.*, ll. 51–65.

16. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 9.

17. R. W. Thurston, *Life and Terror in Stalin's Russia* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), p. 27. See also, V. Kovalev, *Dva stalinskikh narkoma* (Moscow, 1995), p. 177.

18. O. V. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro: Mekhanizmy politicheskoi vlasti v 1930-e gody* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 200–201.

19. S. Konstantinov, “Malen’kii chelovek,” *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 13 April 2000.

20. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 266, l. 78.

21. *Ibid.*, d. 270, ll. 12, 33; L. H. Haimson, ed., *The Mensheviks: From the Revolution of 1917 to the Second World War* (Chicago, 1974), p. 11.

22. It was later rumored in the Gulag that in 1917–18 Ezhov engaged in banditry and robbery in the woods of Belorussia: A. Avtorkhanov, *Memuary* (Frankfurt am Main, 1983), p. 553.

23. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 266, l. 80; TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, ll. 7-7-ob. In another source, the Cossacks are specified as the Khoper Cossack Division: N. V. Petrov and K. V. Skorkin, *Kto rukovodil NKVD, 1934–1941: Spravochnik* (Moscow, 1999), p. 185.

24. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, *Opravdaniiu*, p. 9.

25. See Kovalev, *Dva stalinskikh narkoma*, p. 177.

26. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 246.

27. Fadeev, “Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov.”

28. Sultanbekov, *Stalin i “Tatarskii sled,”* p. 181; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 14. See also, G. Tsitriniak, “Rasstrel’noe delo Ezhova: Shtrikhi k portretu palacha,” *Literaturnaia gazeta* 1992, no. 7.

29. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 10, l. 127.

30. TsKhSD, registration form on Ezhov of 1936; “Poslednee slovo Nikolaia Ezhova,” *Moskovskie novosti* 1994, no. 5; see also Ezhov’s testimony of April 1939, TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, ll. 317–20.

31. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 266, ll. 88–89; TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, ll. 7, 7-ob., 12-ob., 60.

32. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, ll. 54, 55, 67; also ll. 59, 62, 63.

33. Sultanbekov, p. 183. In 1917 Kaganovich had worked for the Party in Gomel’ and Mogilev provinces of Belorussia, and Khataevich had been a Party functionary in Gomel’. Ezhov seems to have met Kaganovich in November 1917, when the latter addressed a meeting of soldiers and railway workers in Vitebsk: Polianskii, *Ezhov*, p. 71.

34. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 22.

35. *Ibid.*, ll. 1–2; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, pp. 21–23.

36. V. Iantemir, “Preliudiia k ‘ezhovshchine,’” *Ioshkar-Ola*, 28 November 1996; TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, ll. 65, 68.

37. RTsKhIDNI, f. 671, op. 1, d. 267, ll. 7-ob., 8–11.
38. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 24, mention the photograph, but unfortunately the authors have been unable to find it. *Lenin, Sobranie fotografi i kinokadrov* (Moscow, 1970), 1: 417–18, shows a photograph of Lenin during the CEC session, but the surrounding group has apparently been cut off.
39. RTsKhIDNI, f. 671, op. 1, d. 267, ll. 12–14 and 6-6-ob.
40. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 30.
41. *Ibid.*, l. 23; Sultanbekov, p. 184.
42. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, ll. 32, 33, 36.
43. RTsKhIDNI, f. 671, op. 1, d. 267, ll. 18–19.
44. *Ibid.*, l. 20.
45. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 17.
46. *Ibid.*, l. 64.
47. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 26.
48. Fadeev, “Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov.”
49. *Trinadtsatyi s’ezd RKP(b): Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow, 1963), p. 722.
50. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, ll. 1–2, 41, 42.
51. E. Gnedin, *Vykhod iz labirinta* (Moscow, 1994), p. 59.
52. Fadeev, “Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov.”
53. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 8.
54. *Ibid.*, ll. 44, 53.
55. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 81; Iu. Rubtsov, *Alter ego Stalina: Stranitsy politicheskoi biografii L. Z. Mekhlisa* (Moscow, 1999), p. 53.
56. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 160.
57. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, ll. 49–50. During the cure he became acquainted with Galina Egorova, wife of the later marshal A. I. Egorov: TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, l. 321.
58. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 52.
59. *Ibid.*, l. 24.
60. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 30; *Sovetskoe rukovodstvo. Perepiska. 1928–1941 gg.* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 31, 477.
61. L. Razgon, *Plen v svoem otechestve* (Moscow, 1994), p. 50.
62. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 69.
63. *Piatnadsatyi s’ezd VKP(b): Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow, 1962), 2: 1522; *Shestnadsataia konferentsiia VKP(b): Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow, 1962), p. 697.

64. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 32.
65. N. Ezhov, L. Mekhlis, and P. Pospelov, “Pravyi uklon v prakticheskoj rabote i partiinoe boloto,” *Bol’shevik* 1929, no. 16: 39–62.
66. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 25.
67. XVI s’ezd Vsesoiuznoi Kommunisticheskoj Partii (b): *Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow, 1930), p. 771.
68. N. Ezhov, “Gorod—na pomoshch’ derevne,” *Sputnik agitatora (dlia derevni)*, no. 8 (March 1930): 4–9.
69. N. I. Ezhov, “Kondrat’evshchina v bor’be za kadry,” *Sotsialisticheskaia rekonstruktsiia sel’skogo khoziastva* 1930, no. 9–10: 1–12.
70. N. Ezhov, “Nekotorye voprosy podgotovki i rasstanovki kadrov,” *Pravda*, 17 and 20 March 1932.
71. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 69.
72. *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1994, no. 6: 25. The visit lasted half an hour. On 29 November he was received again, this time for an hour and a half: *ibid.*
73. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732; *Stalinskoe Politbiuro v 30-e gody* (Moscow, 1995), pp. 20, 178; Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, p. 200. Ezhov’s first attendance at a Politburo session was registered only in February 1934: *Stalinskoe Politbiuro*, p. 232.
74. *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1994, no. 6: 39–40.
75. *Vozvrashchenie pamiati: Istoriko-arkhivnyi al’manakh*, no. 3 (Novosibirsk, 1997): 164–75.
76. RTsKhIDNI, f. 671, op. 1, d. 267, ll. 22–25.
77. *Ibid.*, f. 17, op. 120, d. 45, l. 19.
78. *Ibid.*, l. 55.
79. See TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 9; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, pp. 16–18, 26, 32–35. From 1927 on the Ezhovs lived at no. 10/16 Molochnyi Lane, Apt. 20 (near Ostozhenka).
80. See V. Chentalinski, *La parole ressuscitée: Dans les archives littéraires du K.G.B.* (Paris, 1993), pp. 62–65; S. Povartsov, *Prichina smerti—rasstrel: Khronika poslednikh dnei Isaaka Babelia* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 39, 149–51; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, pp. 33–34, 47, 160; A. Vaksberg, *The Prosecutor and the Prey: Vyshtinsky and the 1930s’ Moscow Trials* (London, 1990), p. 199; G. Zhavoronkov, “I snitsia noch’iu den’,” *Sintaksis*, no. 32 (1992): 46–65, esp. pp. 47, 51–52; interview with A. N. Pirozhkova, *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 16 January 1998. In the late 1920s and early 1930s Ezhov lived at no. 1 Ostozhenka

Street, Apt. 21, without Titova: GARF, f. 1235, op. 14, d. 46, l. 65; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 32, 34. Later he seems to have lived at no. 1 Neopalimovskii Lane, Apt. 3, and then on Mamonovskii Lane: APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 375, l. 63; d. 376, ll. 82–83.

81. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 420–23. In a later chapter the statement will be continued and commented on.

82. V. Shentalinskii, “Okhota v revzapovednike,” *Novyi mir* 1998, no. 12: 170–96, esp. p. 179.

83. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, l. 323.

84. *Izvestiia*, 5 March 1933; *Rasstrel’nye spiski*, no. 2 (Moscow, 1995).

85. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 12, ll. 83–84.

86. “Poslednee slovo.”

87. See R. Medvedev, *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1989), pp. 358–59; *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 22 August 1990; A. Larina (Bukharina), *Nezabyvaemoe* (Moscow, 1989), pp. 269–70; N. Mandelstam, *Hope Against Hope: A Memoir* (New York, 1970), pp. 113, 322–25; Thurston, *Life and Terror in Stalin’s Russia*, p. 28; Sultanbekov, *Stalin i “Tatarskii sled,”* p. 216.

88. Razgon, *Plen v svoem otechestve*, pp. 50–51. Ezhov ceased to visit Moskvina’s apartment after he took over Moskvina’s Central Committee seat in early 1934; their relation was disturbed.

89. D. Shepilov, “Vospominaniia,” *Voprosy istorii* 1998, no. 4: 3–25, esp. p. 6; F. Chuev, *Sto sorok besed s Molotovym* (Moscow, 1991), p. 400.

90. Shepilov, p. 6.

91. Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, pp. 358–59.

Chapter 2

1. In the 1921 purge, 156,900 out of 585,000 Party members were expelled: R. G. Suny, *The Soviet Experiment* (New York, 1998), p. 254. According to Ezhov et al., from 1921 until June 1928, as a result of the 1921 purge and subsequent verifications, as well as the work of control commissions, 435,075 people were expelled from the Party or left its ranks: N. Ezhov, L. Mekhlis, and P. Pospelov, “Pravyi uklon v prakticheskoi rabote i partiinoe boloto,” *Bol’shevik* 1929, no. 16: 39–62,

esp. p. 56. The 1929 purge resulted in some 170,000 expulsions, about 11 percent of the current membership; but subsequent rehabilitations reduced this figure to 133,000: T. H. Rigby, *Communist Party Membership in the U.S.S.R. 1917–1967* (Princeton, N.J., 1968), pp. 178–79.

2. According to T. H. Rigby (*Communist Party Membership*, p. 204), during the 1933–34 purge 22 percent of Party members were expelled; actually, membership fell by 33 percent, or 1.2 million. J. A. Getty and O. V. Naumov give a figure of 18 percent of the Party membership (2 million members and 1.2 million candidates) for the purge: see Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932–1939* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), pp. 126, 128.

3. J. A. Getty, *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933–1938* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985), pp. 50–51; R. C. Tucker, *Stalin in Power: The Revolution from Above, 1928–1941* (New York, 1990), p. 221. For two examples of Ezhov's activity (the 1933 expulsion of Tseitlin and Shliapnikov), see *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1989, no. 10: 69–70; 1990, no. 1: 50.

4. XVII s'ezd Vsesoiuznoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (b): *Stenograficheskie otchet* (Moscow, 1934), pp. 7, 302–4.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 652–53; *Revelations from the Russian Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 65–66.

6. A. G. Solov'ev, "Tetradi krasnogo professora (1912–1941 gg.)," *Neizvestnaia Rossiia, xx vek*, no. 4 (Moscow, 1993): 140–228, esp. p. 174.

7. O. V. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro: Mekhanizmy politicheskoi vlasti v 1930-e gody* (Moscow, 1996), p. 201.

8. B. B. Briukhanov and E. N. Shoshkov, *Opravdaniiu ne podlezhit: Ezhov i ezhovshchina 1936–1938 gg.* (St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 160.

9. *Stalinskoe Politbiuro v 30-e gody* (Moscow, 1995), p. 232.

10. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 4, l. 2; Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, p. 121.

11. Getty and Naumov, p. 159.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 123; F. Benvenuti, "The 'Reform' of the NKVD, 1934," *Europe-Asia Studies* 1997, no. 6: 1037–56, esp. pp. 1041, 1043; *Svobodnaia mysl'* 1998, no. 8: 109.

13. *Izvestiia*, 11 July 1934; "Ob obrazovanii obshchesoiuznogo Narodnogo Komissariata vnutrennikh del: Postanovlenie TsIK SSSR 10

iiulia 1934 g. (Izvlechenie),” *Sbornik zakonodatel’nykh i normativnykh aktov o repressiakh i rehabilitatsii zhertv politicheskoi repressii* (Moscow, 1993), pp. 61–62; “Ob Osobom soveshchanii pri Narodnom Komissare vnutrennikh del Soiuza SSR: Postanovlenie TsIK i SNK SSSR 5 noiabria 1934 g.,” *ibid.*, pp. 62–63; Getty and Naumov, p. 123.

14. “O vnesudebnykh organakh,” *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1989, no. 10: 80–82.

15. Getty and Naumov, p. 158.

16. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 280–81.

17. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 51, l. 13; d. 729, l. 19.

18. See R. Medvedev, *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1989), p. 339; B. Briukhanov and E. Shoshkov, “‘Ezhovye rukavitsy’ tridtsatykh godov,” *Molodaia gardiia* 1997, no. 12: 106–33, esp. p. 111.

19. *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1995, no. 3: 144.

20. *Vestnik Verkhovnogo Suda SSSR* 1991, no. 6: 21.

21. Getty and Naumov, pp. 140–41.

22. Testimony of S. F. Redens of 26 May 1939, TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 4, l. 342.

23. *Genrikh Iagoda: Narkom vnutrennikh del SSSR, General’nyi komissar gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti: Sbornik dokumentov* (Kazan’, 1997), pp. 159–60.

24. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 4, d. 6, l. 22.

25. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, pp. 201–2; *Rehabilitatsiia: Politicheskie protsessy 30–50-kh godov* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 153–54, 184; “Materialy fevral’sko-martovskogo plenuma TsK VKP(b) 1937 goda,” *Voprosy istorii* 1995, no. 2: 16–17; D. Likhanov and V. Nikonov, “Ia pochistol OGPU,” *Sovershenno sekretno* 1992, no. 4; “Poslednee slovo Nikolaia Ezhova,” *Moskovskie novosti* 1994, no. 5.

26. Getty and Naumov, p. 147; see also, APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 158.

27. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 128 and d. 139.

28. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 118, ll. 1–2, 25–39, 44–46.

29. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 5.

30. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, p. 161.

31. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 57; see also, *Istochnik* 1995, no. 5: 160.

32. D. Shepilov, “Vospominaniia,” *Voprosy istorii* 1998, no. 4: 3–25, esp. p. 7.

33. Getty and Naumov, pp. 159–60.

34. Khlevniuk, p. 160.
35. M. Ebon, *Malenkov* (London, 1953), pp. 37–38.
36. Khlevniuk, p. 160; TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732.
37. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 961, ll. 61, 64–65.
38. Khlevniuk, p. 161.
39. Solov'ev, "Tetradi krasnogo professora," p. 178.
40. See A. Uralov, *The Reign of Stalin* (Westport, Conn., 1975; repr. of the original 1953 ed.), pp. 32, 42; R. Conquest, *Inside Stalin's Secret Police: NKVD Politics, 1936–39* (London, 1985), p. 22; Tucker, *Stalin in Power*, pp. 310–11, 647; A. Vaksberg, *The Prosecutor and the Prey: Vyshinsky and the 1930s' Moscow Trials* (London, 1990), p. 70; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, *Opravdaniiu*, pp. 46–47, 55 (these authors refer to a commission with Malenkov and Shkiriatov). According to Avtor-khanov in an account published in 1953, within less than two years the commission presented the following plan. The population was to be subjected to a secret political investigation by the NKVD and for this purpose was to be divided into categories—intellectuals, industrial workers, peasants. In each category, a predetermined percentage of persons was to be liquidated; "indices of guilt" were to be defined in advance. Exact dates were to be set for the purging of each category, by social groups and regions. During 1935–36, all questionable persons were secretly examined by the NKVD, under the direction of the commission; millions of people were involved. Therefore, it was resolved to set up a Special Board within the NKVD and regional troikas in order to judge the suspects *in absentia*. Agents of the commission were sent to the regions, provided with special orders vesting them with extraordinary powers; the regional NKVD bodies were to furnish them with lists based on the indices of guilt for all categories of persons aimed at. This account has no verifiable documentary base: Uralov, pp. 30, 31, 33.
41. A. Kolpakidi, "Val'ter Krivitskii: Vokrug pravdy i vymysla," in V. Krivitskii, *Ia byl agentom Stalina* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 343–73, esp. pp. 348–49.
42. N. V. Petrov, "'Pervyi predsedatel' KGB general Ivan Serov," *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 1997, no. 5: 23–43, esp. p. 24.
43. Khlevniuk, pp. 143–44.
44. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 963, l. 3.
45. *Ibid.*, ll. 38–43.
46. Ezhov at the December 1935 Central Committee Plenum, *ibid.*, op. 2, d. 561, ll. 127–33.

47. *Ibid.*, f. 71, op. 10, d. 130, ll. 29–30.
48. *VKP(b) v rezoliutsiakh i resheniakh s'ezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK*, izd. 6-e (Moscow, 1941), 2: 635.
49. Khlevniuk, pp. 161–62.
50. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 273, l. 1.
51. *Ibid.*, ll. 80, 798-b.
52. *Ibid.*, ll. 2–82.
53. *Ibid.*, ll. 798–902.
54. Iu. N. Zhukov, “Tainy ‘Kremlevskogo dela’ 1935 goda i sud’ba Avelia Enukidze,” *Voprosy istorii* 2000, no. 9: 83–113, esp. p. 91.
55. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 547, l. 66.
56. *Ibid.*, op. 3, d. 960, l. 25.
57. Zhukov, pp. 94–95.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 98; RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 547, l. 66; op. 3, d. 963, l. 37.
60. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 729, l. 20.
61. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 547, ll. 49–56.
62. *Ibid.*, l. 68.
63. *Ibid.*, ll. 68–70.
64. *Ibid.*, l. 73. It is interesting to note that the June 1936 Plenum decided that Enukidze had the right to be readmitted to the Party: Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, p. 178; Zhukov, p. 105. In February 1937 he was arrested, in August of the same year tried and executed: Zhukov, p. 106.
65. *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1989, no. 7: 86–93.
66. Zhukov, p. 104.
67. RTsKhIDNI, f. 671, op. 1, d. 28, ll. 184–85.
68. *Ibid.*, f. 17, op. 3, d. 966, ll. 22–26; d. 970, ll. 152–57.
69. *Ibid.*, f. 57, op. 1, d. 28, ll. 174–83.
70. *Partiinoe stroitel'stvo* 1935, no. 17: 79–80.
71. Getty and Naumov, pp. 190–92.
72. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, p. 203.
73. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 971, l. 49.
74. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 729, ll. 71–72.
75. A. Polianskii, *Ezhov: Istoriia “zheleznogo” stalinskogo narkoma* (Moscow, 2001), pp. 250–55.
76. *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1995, no. 3: 177.

77. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 561, ll. 127–33. Another source (Getty and Naumov, p. 275) states that during the 1935 verification operation 263,885 people were expelled, that is, 11.1 percent of the Party membership.

78. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 561, l. 164.

79. *KPSS v rezoliutsiakh i resheniakh s'ezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK*, vol. 5 (Moscow, 1971), pp. 243–52; English transl.: *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, vol. 3 (Toronto, 1974), pp. 160–67.

80. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 120, d. 240, ll. 21–22.

81. “Poslednee slovo.”

82. Solov'ev, “Tetradi krasnogo professora,” p. 178.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 181–82.

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 185–86. Two years later, in March 1938, in a letter to Stalin, Varga dared to protest against the mass arrests of political émigrés: RTsKhIDNI, f. 495, op. 73, d. 48, ll. 96–99. Nevertheless, he survived the terror of the 1930s and only during the 1940s was criticized for his economic opinions and forced to self-criticism.

85. F. I. Firsov, “Stalin i Komintern,” *Voprosy istorii* 1989, no. 9: 3–19, esp. p. 14.

86. A. Paczkowski, “Pologne, la ‘nation-ennemi,’” in S. Courtois et al., *Le livre noir du communisme: Crimes, terreur et répression* (Paris, 1997), pp. 397–428, esp. pp. 398–400.

87. RTsKhIDNI, f. 671, op. 1, d. 70, ll. 2–8. Unfortunately, the authors were not allowed to see the document.

88. Getty and Naumov, pp. 200–201.

89. *KPSS v rezoliutsiakh i resheniakh s'ezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK*, vol. 6 (Moscow, 1985), p. 297.

90. A. Vatlin, “Kaderpolitik und Säuberungen in der Komintern,” in H. Weber and U. Mähler, eds., *Terror: Stalinistische Parteisäuberungen 1936–1953* (Paderborn, 1998), pp. 33–119, esp. pp. 65, 99–101 (in the document 3 January is indicated as date). See also, V. N. Khautov, “Iz predistorii massovykh repressii poliakov, seredina 1930-kh gg.,” in *Repressii protiv poliakov i pol'skikh grazhdan* (Moscow, 1997), pp. 10–21, esp. p. 13.

91. F. I. Firsov, “Dimitroff, Komintern und Stalinsche Repressalien,” paper for workshop “Stalinistischer Terror, Massenrepressalien, GULag,” February 1998, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, p. 8.

92. Khaustov, p. 13.
93. *Ibid.*; Firsov, “Dimitroff,” p. 8.
94. Khaustov, pp. 13–14.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
96. *Revelations from the Russian Archives*, p. 90.
97. Khaustov, p. 15; V. Khaustov, “Repressii protiv sovetskikh nemtsev do nachala massovoi operatsii 1937 g.,” in *Repressii protiv rossiiskikh nemtsev: Nakazannyi narod* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 75–83, esp. p. 83.
98. Vatlin, “Kaderpolitik,” p. 75.
99. APREF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 70, ll. 62–77.
100. Vatlin, p. 66; S. Courtois and J.-L. Panné, “Le Komintern à l’action,” in Courtois et al., *Le livre noir*, pp. 299–364, esp. p. 321.
101. Firsov, “Dimitroff,” p. 8.
102. *Ibid.*
103. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 572, ll. 67–73.
104. Getty and Naumov, p. 231.
105. Benvenuti, “The ‘Reform’ of the NKVD, 1934,” p. 1051.
106. *Resolutions and Decisions*, 3: 189.
107. I. V. Stalin, *Sochineniia*, vol. 1 (XIV) (Stanford, Calif., 1967), p. 373.
108. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 976.
109. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 4, ll. 1–29. Malenkov’s son relates in a memoir of his father that in 1936 Ezhov was sent to Germany “for treatment for pederasty”: A. Malenkov, *O moem ottse Georgii Malenkove* (Moscow, 1992), p. 35. This is complete nonsense. Ezhov’s problem began to be discussed only following his testimony after arrest. Before, it was a problem neither for Ezhov nor for the Party. The later accusation that during his trip to Germany he had studied or copied Gestapo methods is also nonsense; when important leaders traveled abroad for medical treatment, this was more or less their private business; such trips never had an official character, nor could there have been any “exchange of experience” under the conditions of the relations between the USSR and Germany at that time.
110. *Genrikh Iagoda*, p. 163.
111. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, p. 203.
112. *Reabilitatsiia*, p. 216; “Materialy,” *Voprosy istorii* 1994, no. 12: 16–17; APREF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 28, l. 177; Getty and Naumov, pp. 200–201.

113. In 1932 Trotskii's son Sedov, with Trotskii's approval, had indeed formed what they called a "bloc" with oppositionists inside the USSR. It did not mean much, nor did it have any violent intentions, as far as can be judged; moreover, the bloc probably never really functioned. In June–July 1936, via a Soviet agent abroad, information about the bloc reached Stalin. Among other things, the correspondence showed that Ivan Smirnov had proposed to Trotskii's son to form inside the Soviet Union a united opposition of Trotskiists, Zinov'evists, and so on. See P. Broué, "Trotsky et le bloc des oppositions de 1932," *Les Cahiers Léon Trotsky* 1980 (January–March): 5–37; R. W. Thurston, *Life and Terror in Stalin's Russia* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), pp. 25–26; Getty and Naumov, p. 257.

114. "Materialy," *Voprosy istorii* 1994, no. 10: 22–23, 26; *Reabilitatsiia*, pp. 179–80.

115. *Reabilitatsiia*, p. 176; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, *Opravdaniiu*, p. 51.

116. *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1989, no. 8: 83–84.

117. *Reabilitatsiia*, p. 218.

118. *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 186.

119. Getty and Naumov, pp. 250–55.

120. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 189.

121. *Ibid.*, d. 172, ll. 1–540.

122. *Reabilitatsiia*, pp. 182–83.

123. *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1989, no. 9: 36–37; Getty and Naumov, pp. 282–83.

124. "Materialy," *Voprosy istorii* 1994, no. 12: 18.

125. *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1989, no. 5: 70.

126. *Rodina* 1996, no. 2: 91.

127. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 729, ll. 83–84; B. A. Starkov, quoting the part of the letter dealing with the Rightists, incorrectly supposes that it was written ten days after Ezhov took up the post of NKVD chief, that is, in early October: B. A. Starkov, "Narkom Ezhov," in J. A. Getty and R. T. Manning, eds., *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (Cambridge, Eng., 1993), pp. 21–39, esp. pp. 28–29.

128. Quoted in Khlevniuk, p. 205.

129. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 729, l. 85.

130. Quoted in Khlevniuk, pp. 205–6.

131. *Ibid.*, pp. 205–6.

132. *Izvestiia*, 10 September 1936.

Chapter 3

1. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 27, ll. 1–14.
2. Ibid., ll. 15–22; *ibid.*, f. 45, op. 1, d. 729, ll. 86–89.
3. Ibid., f. 57, op. 1, d. 27, ll. 23–26.
4. Ibid., f. 45, op. 1, d. 94, l. 123. See also, *Reabilitatsiia: Politicheskie protsessy 30–50-kh godov* (Moscow, 1991), p. 221; D. Volkogonov, *Triumf i tragediia* (Moscow, 1990), 1: 468.
5. See “Materialy fevral’sko-martovskogo plenuma TsK VKP(b) 1937 goda,” *Voprosy istorii* 1994, no. 10: 22–23; *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1989, no. 8: 83–84.
6. *Stalinskoe Politbiuro v 30-e gody* (Moscow, 1995), p. 150. Decision of VTsIK Presidium of 26 September to appoint Ezhov People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs: *Izvestiia*, 27 September 1936.
7. V. Rogovin, *Partiia rasstrel’nykh* (Moscow, 1997), p. 179.
8. TsA FSB, examination record of Pauker.
9. Ibid., Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 13, ll. 1–27. After arrest, during interrogation, Iagoda stated that in September 1936 on his instructions an assistant had tapped phone calls of Stalin with Ezhov, and the assistant had reported to Iagoda that “Stalin summons Ezhov to his presence in Sochi”: *Genrikh Iagoda: Narkom vnutrennikh del SSSR, General’nyi komissar gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti: Sbornik dokumentov* (Kazan’, 1997), p. 147.
10. B. A. Starkov, “Narkom Ezhov,” in J. A. Getty and R. T. Manning, eds., *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (Cambridge, Eng., 1993), pp. 21–39, esp. p. 28.
11. *Stalinskoe Politbiuro*, pp. 148, 152.
12. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 81–82.
13. Ibid., Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, ll. 179–81; t. 13, ll. 1–27. On Litvin, see B. B. Briukhanov and E.N. Shoshkov, *Opravdaniiu ne podlezhit: Ezhov i ezhovshchina 1936–1938* (St. Petersburg, 1998), pp. 35–36, 61.
14. A. Larina (Bukharina), *Nezabyvaemoe* (Moscow, 1989), pp. 269–70.
15. M. Shreider, *NKVD iznutri: Zapiski chekista* (Moscow, 1995), p. 35.
16. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, l. 193.

17. APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 241, l. 213; *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1989, no. 9: 39.
18. J. A. Getty and O. V. Naumov, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932–1939* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), p. 273.
19. APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 242, ll. 173–74.
20. *Reabilitatsiia*, p. 248.
21. *Ibid.*
22. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 176; RTsKhIDNI, f. 671, op. 1, d. 176, ll. 66–74.
23. Stenographic report of the December 1936 Central Committee Plenum, RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 575, ll. 6–68; “Fragmentsy stenogrammy dekabr’skogo plenuma TsK VKP(b) 1936 goda,” *Voprosy istorii* 1995, no. 1: 3–22, esp. pp. 3–7, 18–19.
24. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 573, l. 2.
25. *Reabilitatsiia*, p. 225.
26. *Rodina* 1995, no. 10: 63–64; *Istochnik* 2001, no. 1: 63–77.
27. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 983, l. 50.
28. I. V. Stalin, *Sochineniia*, vol. 1 (XIV) (Stanford, Calif., 1967), pp. 189–91.
29. “Materialy,” *Voprosy istorii* 1992, no. 4–5: 3–16; 1993, no. 2: 24–33; no. 7: 23–24; *Reabilitatsiia*, pp. 252, 255–57; “Konets kar’ery,” *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1992, no. 1: 121–31, esp. p. 124; Larina, *Nezabyvaemoe*, p. 360; R. Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (London, 1990), p. 174.
30. “Materialy,” *Voprosy istorii* 1994, no. 2: 19–29; no. 10: 13–27.
31. Getty and Naumov, pp. 421, 432.
32. *Voprosy istorii* 1995, no. 2: 25.
33. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 147, l. 34.
34. *Rossiiskaia gazeta*, 6 November 1993.
35. B. A. Starkov, in *Oni ne molchali* (Moscow, 1991), p. 217. See also, G. M. Ivanova, *GULAG v sisteme totalitarnogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1997), p. 152.
36. TsKhSD, f. 89, list 48, doc. 2.
37. Redens’s statement to Beria, 21 December 1938, TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 5, d. 84, l. 147; Frinovskii’s statement to the same, 11 April 1939, *ibid.*, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 2, l. 44.
38. See interrogation of L. G. Mironov, 20 June 1937, *ibid.*, op. 4, d. 71, l. 59.

39. See the report of Ezhov to the June 1937 Central Committee Plenum, *ibid.*, d. 20, ll. 309–15.

40. *Genrikh Iagoda*, pp. 134–35, 163–65. For anyone with some knowledge of chemistry, Bulanov’s confessions, confirmed at the 1938 trial, sound like complete nonsense. Mercury does not dissolve in sulfuric acid, as Bulanov testified—only in nitric acid—and even assuming that it was nitric acid, the resulting solution does not evaporate and would have been dangerous only when absorbed by the organism—that is, a victim would have had to lick the impregnated carpets and door curtains.

41. R. C. Tucker and S. F. Cohen, eds., *The Great Purge Trial* (New York, 1965), pp. 480, 482, 512, 578.

42. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 2, l. 40; *ibid.*, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 374; G. Tsitriniak, “Rasstrel’noe delo Ezhova: Shtrikhi k portretu palacha,” *Literaturnaia gazeta* 1992, no. 7.

43. “Poslednee slovo Nikolaia Ezhova,” *Moskovskie novosti* 1994, no. 5; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 151.

44. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 2, l. 163.

45. See V. Topolianskii, *Vozhdi v zakone* (Moscow, 1996), p. 314; I. B. Zbarskii, “‘Zhizn’ ’mumii i sud’ba cheloveka: Iz vospominanii khranitelia tela Lenina,” *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 1993, no. 5: 158–64, esp. p. 163.

46. *Reabilitatsiia*, pp. 238–39.

47. APRE, f. 3, op. 24, d. 409, l. 197; *Butovskii poligon, 1937–1938 gg.: Kniga pamiati zbertv politicheskikh repressii*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1998), pp. 39–40; A. Kokurin and N. Petrov, “GULAG: Struktura i kadry. Stat’ia piataia (Dmitlag),” *Svobodnaia mysl’* 2000, no. 1: 108–23, esp. p. 114.

48. See Ezhov’s order of 7 June 1937, TsA FSB, f. 66, op. 1, d. 395, l. 101.

49. Report of the NKVD personnel department, *ibid.*, f. 3, op. 5, d. 996, ll. 188–89. Figures vary: this is the most accurate one available; it relates to state security officers properly, excluding the frontier and internal troops, militia, and Gulag people. Other figures available relate to different categories and/or periods. In 1963 a CPSU Central Committee Commission reported that from October 1936 to July 1938, “according to incomplete data,” 7,298 NKVD employees had been re-

pressed (“‘Massovye repressii opravdany byt’ ne mogu,” *Istochnik* 1995, no. 1: 117–32, esp. p. 121). If the militia and NKVD troops are taken into account, this figure approximates the truth. From 1 October 1936 to 15 August 1938, 2,273 state security employees, 4,490 militia employees, and 813 frontier and internal troops employees were repressed (TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 5, d. 996, ll. 188–92); together that makes 7,576 people, approximating the 1963 CC Commission figure.

Yet another figure originates from Ezhov himself, who in his later trial claimed to have purged no less than 14,000 Chekists (D. Likhanov and V. Nikonov, “‘Ia pochistil OGPU,’” *Sovershenno sekretno* 1992, no. 4). This figure refers to the personnel of all NKVD subdivisions, including other categories of repressed NKVD employees: militia and registry office, frontier and internal troops, Gulag, fire service, weights and measures, and reserves inspection. Ezhov may also have included in his estimate people who had only been dismissed.

Still higher figures of 20,000 or more repressed NKVD people were launched by the KGB during perestroika in order to stress how much the Chekists themselves had suffered during the Stalinist terror. These figures relate to broader categories, however, and to a longer period, that is, 1933–39. According to this information, during these years 22,618 OGPU-NKVD employees were arrested, 9,462 of them during 1937–38 (TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 33, l. 4). The figures include the militia, NKVD troops, Gulag, registry office, etc., the majority of whom were condemned for malfeasances in office (embezzlement, theft, forgery, and other nonpolitical crimes).

50. Starkov, “Narkom,” pp. 30–32; B. A. Starkov, “The Trial That Was Not Held,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 1994, no. 8: 1297–1315, esp. p. 1305; Conquest, *The Great Terror*, pp. 179–80; Likhanov and Nikonov; O. V. Khlevniuk, *1937-i: Stalin, NKVD i sovetskoe obshchestvo* (Moscow, 1992), p. 165 (for inducements).

51. Testimony of A. P. Radzivilovskii, *Pravda*, 29 April 1988; see also, Starkov, “Narkom,” p. 33.

52. O. F. Suvenirov, *Tragediia RKKA 1937–1938* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 147–48.

53. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 4, d. 6, ll. 53–54.

54. *Ibid.*, f. 3, op. 4, d. 21, l. 8.

55. E. Gorbunov, “Voennaia razvedka v 1934–1939 godakh,” *Svobodnaia mysl’* 1998, no. 3: 54–61, esp. pp. 55–57; *Oktiabr’* 1997, no. 2: 151.

56. *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1995, no. 4: 53.
57. Gorbunov, p. 57. See also, TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 15, l. 325.
58. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 162, d. 21.
59. *Svobodnaia mysl'* 1998, no. 8: 93; see also, Gorbunov, p. 55, and *Voенно-istoricheskii zhurnal* 1993, no. 2: 79.
60. Gorbunov, p. 58.
61. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 162, d. 21, l. 133.
62. *Svobodnaia mysl'* 1998, no. 8: 91; Gorbunov, p. 58.
63. Gorbunov, p. 59.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 60; see also, TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 5, d. 77, *iskhodiashchii nomer* 107506.
65. Gorbunov, p. 60.
66. V. Kochik, "Sovetskaia voennaia razvedka: struktura i kadry," *Svobodnaia mysl'* 1998, no. 9–12: 98–117, esp. p. 98.
67. The Soviet intelligence officer Ignatii Reiss (Poretskii), who fled in 1937, was murdered on 4 September of the same year near Lausanne by NKVD agents, supervised by GUGB Foreign Department Deputy Chief Sergei Shpigel'glaz. Supposedly, Stalin wanted Reiss's deliberately demonstrative execution to serve as a warning to others. See N. Petrov, "Ubiistvo Ignatiia Reissa," *Moskovskie novosti* 1995, no. 63. That same month, on 22 September, the leading military émigré, General Evgenii Miller, was kidnapped in Paris by NKVD agents, also under Shpigel'glaz's supervision. He was transferred to the Soviet Union and tried there. See N. Petrov and N. Gevorkian, "Konets agenta '13,'" *ibid.* 1995, no. 86.
68. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 3, ll. 117–22.
69. *Ibid.*, ll. 122–23; see also, Petrov, "Ubiistvo."
70. A. Khinshtein and M. Gridneva, "Konets khoziaina Lubianki," *MK v voskresen'e*, 7 June 1998.
71. *Ocherki istorii Rossiiskoi vneshnei razvedki*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1997), p. 17.
72. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 4, d. 6, l. 29.
73. "M. N. Tukhachevskii i 'voенно-fashistskii zagovor.'" *Voенно-istoricheskii arkhiv*, no. 1 (Moscow, 1997): 149–255, esp. p. 179; *Pravda*, 29 April 1988.
74. S. Iu. Ushakov and A. A. Stukalov, *Front voennykh prokurorov* (Moscow, 2000), p. 71.

75. *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1989, no. 4: 50.

76. Report of the Party Commission headed by N. Shvernik, June 1964, *Voennye arkhivy Rossii*, no. 1 (Moscow, 1993): 29–113; “O masshtabakh repressii v Krasnoi Armii v predvoennye gody,” *Voенно-istoricheskii zhurnal* 1993, no. 2: 71–80, esp. p. 72; *Reabilitatsiia*, pp. 282, 284, 289, 291, 295, 299, 308, 310; *Istochnik* 1994, no. 3: 80; N. Werth, “Un état contre son peuple,” in S. Courtois et al., *Le livre noir du communisme* (Paris, 1997), pp. 43–295, esp. p. 220; “M. N. Tukhachevskii,” p. 201; “M. N. Tukhachevskii,” *Voенно-istoricheskii arkhiv*, no. 2 (Moscow, 1998): 3–81, esp. p. 43.

77. *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia* 1988, no. 6: 4.

78. “O masshtabakh,” *Voенно-istoricheskii zhurnal* 1993, no. 1: 55–63, esp. pp. 56–57; no. 5: 59–65, esp. p. 63. See also: R. R. Reese, *Stalin’s Reluctant Soldiers: A Social History of the Red Army* (Lawrence, Kan., 1996), pp. 132–34; “Massovye repressii,” p. 126; *Voprosy istorii* 1997, no. 1: 164.

79. “Statistika antiarmeiskogo terrora,” *Voенно-istoricheskii arkhiv*, no. 2: 105–17. Another figure in the same source (p. 114): 38,352 dismissed, 9,900 of them arrested. According to O. Suvenirov (*Tragediia, RKKA*, pp. 137, 301), during 1937–39 more than 11,000 Red Army officers and political commissars were arrested on charges of conspiracy, terrorism, counterrevolution, espionage, sabotage, etc. (excluding those arrested by the NKVD after dismissal).

80. A. G. Solov’ev, “Tetradi krasnogo professora (1912–1941 gg.),” *Neizvestnaia Rossiia, xx vek*, no. 4 (Moscow, 1993): 140–228, esp. p. 194.

81. Khlevniuk’s opinion that the commission under Ezhov’s leadership played a prominent role in preparing the repression is incorrect: O. V. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro: Mekhanizmy politicheskoi vlasti v 1930-e gody* (Moscow, 1996), p. 191; see also, *Stalinskoe Politbiuro*, p. 58.

82. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, pp. 237–39. According to Khlevniuk, the commission of five was designed primarily to examine questions relating to the NKVD’s activity: O. Khlevnyuk, “The Objectives of the Great Terror, 1937–1938,” in J. Cooper et al., eds., *Soviet History, 1917–53: Essays in Honour of R. W. Davies* (London, 1995), pp. 158–76, esp. p. 166.

83. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, p. 251.

84. See Getty and Naumov, pp. 358–60, 463; S. Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism* (New York, 2000), p. 200.

85. O. Chlewnjuk, “Partei und NKWD: Die Machtverhältnisse in den Jahren des ‘grossen Terrors,’ ” paper for workshop “Stalinistischer Terror, Massenrepressalien, GULag,” February 1998, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, p. 9.

86. F. I. Firsov, “Stalin i Komintern,” *Voprosy istorii* 1989, no. 9: 3–19, esp. p. 15.

87. A. Vatlin, “Kaderpolitik und Säuberungen in der Komintern,” in H. Weber and U. Mähler, eds., *Terror: Stalinistische Parteisäuberungen 1936–1953* (Paderborn, 1998), pp. 33–119, esp. p. 82. Another source mentions Wilhelm Florin instead of Manuil’skii: S. Courtois and J.-L. Panné, “Le Komintern à l’action,” in Courtois et al., pp. 299–364, esp. p. 327.

88. Vatlin, pp. 110–11.

89. F. I. Firsov, “Dimitroff, Komintern und Stalinsche Repressalien,” paper for workshop “Stalinistischer Terror, Massenrepressalien, GULag,” February 1998, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, p. 12.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 13; V. V. Mar’ina, “Dnevnik G. Dimitrova,” *Voprosy istorii* 2000, no. 7: 32–55, esp. p. 36.

91. See note 90 above.

92. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 4, d. 6, l. 21.

93. GUGB NKVD Directives, 14 February and 2 April 1937: N. Okhotin and A. Roginskii, “Iz istorii ‘nemetskoj operatsii’ NKVD 1937–1938 gg.,” *Repressii protiv rossiiskikh nemtsev: Nakazannyi narod* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 35–75, esp. pp. 40–41.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

95. W. N. Chaustow, “Repressalien gegen Deutsche in den 30er Jahren,” paper for workshop “Stalinistischer Terror, Massenrepressalien, GULag,” February 1998, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, p. 2.

96. S. V. Bezberezh’ev, “Mariia Aleksandrovna Spiridonova,” *Voprosy istorii* 1990, no. 9: 65–81, esp. p. 81.

97. *Bol’ liudskaia: Kniga pamiati tomichei, repressirovannykh v 30–40-e i nachale 50-kh godov* (Tomsk, 1991), p. 148.

98. D. B. Pavlov, *Bol’shevistskaia diktatura protiv sotsialistov i anarkhistov, 1917-seredina 1950-kh godov* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 96–98.

99. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 729, ll. 93–95.

100. A. F. Stepanov, *Rasstrel po limitu: Iz istorii politicheskikh repressii v TASSR v gody “ezhovshchiny”* (Kazan’, 1999), p. 154.

101. “O masshtabakh,” *Voенно-istoricheskii zhurnal* 1993, no. 5: 59–65, esp. p. 61.

102. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 92, ll. 320–25.

103. Stepanov, p. 154.

104. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 20, ll. 117–22. I. P. Rumiantsev had been arrested on 17 June 1937 by Kaganovich, who had been especially delegated to Smolensk by the Politburo (in October he was tried and shot); the arrest initiated a great purge in the Smolensk provincial Party organization. See R. Manning, “Massovaia operatsiia protiv kulakov i prestupnykh elementov: apogei Velikoi Chistki na Smolenshchine,” in *Stalinizm v Rossiiskoi provintsii* (Smolensk, 1999), pp. 230–54, esp. pp. 232–33, 235–36, 247.

105. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 20, l. 297.

106. TsKhSD, f. 89, op. 48, d. 12. On 2 October 1937 Stalin and Molotov issued a similar order concerning sabotage in the livestock sector (*ibid.*, d. 20). As a consequence, on 15 August 1937 the Western Siberian Party leadership ordered the regional Procuracy and NKVD within five days to prepare the organization of show trials in the districts against “enemies of the people—saboteurs of agriculture,” to be attended by kolkhozniki and given broad press publicity. One such trial took place in the Northern district on 18–20 September. On 2 October the first secretary of the Western Siberian Provincial Party Committee, R. I. Eikhe, reported to Stalin on the results of these trials. All in all, during August–October 1937, as a result of Stalin’s instruction of 3 August, more than thirty trials were organized in the rural districts; the sentences in these trials were predetermined by Stalin: I. V. Pavlova, “Sovremennye zapadnye istoriki o stalinskoii Rossii 30-kh godov (Kritika ‘revizionistskogo’ podkhoda),” *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 1998, no. 5: 107–21, esp. p. 117; S. A. Papkov, *Stalinskii terror v Sibiri 1928–1941* (Novosibirsk, 1997), pp. 214–15. For the execution of Stalin’s orders in Kiev province: *Arkhivy Kremliia i Staroi Ploshchadi: Dokumenty po “delu KPSS”* (Novosibirsk, 1995), p. 20; for Smolensk: Manning, p. 242. See also, S. Fitzpatrick, “How the Mice Buried the Cat: Scenes from the Great Purges of 1937 in the Russian Provinces,” *Russian Review* 1993, no. 3: 299–320; M. Ellman, “The Soviet 1937 Provincial Show Trials: Carnival or Terror?” *Europe-Asia Studies* 2001, no. 8: 122–33.

107. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 20, l. 344.

108. *Ibid.*, ll. 341, 343, 347.

109. Minutes of the June 1937 Plenum, RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 614, ll. 1–4; d. 621, l. 14; V. Rogovin, *1937* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 440,

446–47; for biographies of expelled CC members, *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1989, no. 12.

110. According to Piatnitskii's relatives, at the Plenum a number of Central Committee members had intended to "publicly come out against the terror and, by consequence, against Stalin." Allegedly, during the Plenum Kaminskii and Piatnitskii had indeed protested against prolonging NKVD's full powers, as proposed by Ezhov and Stalin. This version is not supported by any documentary evidence, however. See V. Piatnitskii, *Zagovor protiv Stalina* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 45, 55, 61–67, 83, 100–101, 362–63, 365–66. Moreover, at the Plenum there could be no question of prolonging any extraordinary powers, since these had never been given to the NKVD.

111. Chlewnjuk, "Partei und NKWD," pp. 5–6.

112. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 9, ll. 190–91. According to one source, Nosov had already been pressured by the NKVD in April 1937 to sanction the arrest of some former Trotskiists working in Ivanovo; when he refused, he was accused of protectionism: Solov'ev, p. 192. See also, for attacks on Nosov, *Pravda*, 13 May and 4 July 1937.

Chapter 4

1. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 212, l. 31.

2. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 97, ll. 222–23, 258–59.

3. O. Khlevnyuk, "The Objectives of the Great Terror, 1937–1938," in J. Cooper et al., eds., *Soviet History, 1917–53* (London, 1995), pp. 158–76, esp. p. 160.

4. *Spetspereselentsy v Zapadnoi Sibiri, 1933–1938 gg.* (Novosibirsk, 1994), pp. 70–72.

5. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 166, ll. 151–54. See also, V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliucheniye v 1930-e gody: sotsial'no-demograficheskie problemy," *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 1997, no. 4: 54–79, esp. pp. 66–67; P. Hagenloh, "'Socially Harmful Elements' and the Great Terror," in S. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Stalinism: New Directions* (London, 2000), pp. 286–308, esp. p. 300; G. Rittersporn, "'Vrednye elementy,' 'opasnye men'shinstva' i bol'shevistskie trevogi: massovyie operatsii 1937–38 gg. i etnicheskii vopros v SSSR," in T. Vikhavinainen and I. Takala, eds., *V sem'e edinoi: Natsional'naiia politika partii bol'shevikov i ee osushchestvlenie na*

Severo-Zapade Rossii v 1920–1950-e gody (Petrozavodsk, 1998), pp. 99–122, esp. p. 103.

6. N. Werth, “Un état contre son peuple: Violence, répressions, terreurs en Union soviétique,” in S. Courtois et al., *Le livre noir du communisme: Crimes, terreur et répression* (Paris, 1997), pp. 43–295, esp. pp. 208–9.

7. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 162, d. 21, l. 89. See also, *Trud*, 4 June 1992, 2 August and 17 October 1997. For Ezhov’s confirmation to the regional NKVD organs, 4 July, see M. M. Shytiuk, “Masovi represii na terytorii Mykolaivshchyny (30-ti rr. XX st.),” *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 1998, no. 1: 94–98, esp. pp. 94–95.

8. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 162, d. 21, ll. 94–118.

9. *Trud*, 2 August 1997; the slight miscalculation seems to be Mironov’s.

10. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 212, l. 38.

11. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 147, ll. 348–49.

12. *Ibid.*, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, ll. 33–34.

13. M. Shreider, *NKVD iznutri: Zapiski chekista* (Moscow, 1995), pp. 41–42. During the briefing Radzivilovskii was not yet the Ivanovo NKVD chief: his predecessor, V. A. Styrne, had been invited there, and Radzivilovskii was only appointed on 20 July; he probably attended in his former capacity as Moscow NKVD deputy chief.

14. N. V. Petrov and K. V. Skorkin, *Kto rukovodil NKVD, 1934–1941: Spravochnik* (Moscow, 1999). For Agranov, see also, *Sovetskoe rukovodstvo. Perepiska. 1928–1941 gg.* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 364–65.

15. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 409–10.

16. See the testimony of the former Armenian NKVD deputy chief, N. V. Kondakov, May 1939: *ibid.*, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 4, l. 207; and *ibid.*, Archival investigation case of S. F. Redens. According to R. Medvedev, probably citing oral sources, Ezhov explained that the Soviet Union was going through a dangerous period in which war with fascism was imminent and the NKVD must therefore destroy all nests of fascists in the country: “Of course there will be some innocent victims in this fight against fascist agents. We are launching a major attack on the enemy; let there be no resentment if we bump someone with an elbow. Better that ten innocent people should suffer than one spy get away. When you cut down the forest, woodchips fly.” R. Medvedev, *Let History Judge*:

The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1989), p. 603.

17. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, ll. 34–36.

18. *Ibid.*, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 409–10.

19. *Bol' liudskaia: Kniga pamiati repressirovannykh tomichei* (Tom piaty; Tomsk, 1999), pp. 102–3, 110–11. See also: S. A. Papkov, *Stalinskii terror v Sibiri 1928–1941* (Novosibirsk, 1997), p. 211; A. G. Teplakov, “Personal i povsednevnost' Novosibirskogo UNKVD v 1936–1946,” *Minuvshee*, no. 21 (Moscow–St. Petersburg, 1997): 240–93, esp. p. 254.

20. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 147, ll. 377, 385.

21. *Ibid.*, d. 2308, incoming telegram No. 22641/1303.

22. Order No. 00447, published in full in *Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii* (Ul'ianovsk, 1996), pp. 766–80, in shortened form in *Trud*, 4 June 1992. See also, *Moskovskie novosti* 1992, no. 25.

23. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 162, d. 21, ll. 116–17; J. A. Getty and O. V. Naumov, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932–1939* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), pp. 478–80; A. F. Stepanov, *Rasstrel po limitu: Iz istorii politicheskikh repressii v TASSR v gody “ezhovshchiny”* (Kazan', 1999), pp. 49–50.

24. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 2241, l. 650.

25. *Bol' liudskaia*, pp. 102–3.

26. *Istochnik* 1999, no. 5: 85.

27. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 148.

28. *Ibid.*, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 5, ll. 110–11 (Ezhov and Frinovskii received Nasedkin together).

29. Teplakov, “Personal i povsednevnost',” p. 254.

30. R. Gol'dberg, “Slovo i delo po-sovetski: Poslednii iz NKVD,” *Rodina* 1998, no. 9: 85–87, esp. p. 87.

31. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 162, d. 22, ll. 113, 127; N. Geworkjan, *Der KGB lebt* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 224–36; *Moskovskie novosti* 1992, no. 25; *Trud*, 4 June 1992; *Svobodnaia mysl'* 1994, no. 7–8: 126–27; *Izvestiia*, 3 April 1996; O. V. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro: Mekhanizmy politicheskoi vlasti v 1930-e gody* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 189–91.

32. These and the following figures have been calculated for a forthcoming publication by Arsenii Roginskii and Oleg Gorlanov (Memorial Society, Moscow).

33. See O. Hlevniuk, “Les mécanismes de la ‘Grande Terreur’ des années 1937–1938 au Turkménistan,” *Cahiers du Monde russe* 1998, no. 1–2: 197–207, esp. pp. 201–2, 204; I. Chukhin, *Kareliia-37: Ideologiia i praktika terrora* (Petrozavodsk, 1999), pp. 13, 77.

34. See Hlevniuk, p. 200.

35. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 57, ll. 107–8.

36. A. G. Tepliakov, “Portrety sibirskikh chekistov (1920–1953 gg.),” *Vozvrashchenie pamiati* no. 3 (Novosibirsk, 1997): 68–113, esp. p. 96; Papkov, *Stalinskii terror v Sibiri*, p. 213; *Moskovskie novosti* 1992, no. 25.

37. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 4, d. 6, l. 61.

38. Ibid., Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, ll. 36–37.

39. *Sovetskoe rukovodstvo*, p. 388.

40. Tepliakov, “Personal,” p. 254.

41. Testimony of a former Karelian NKVD deputy chief during interrogation, cited in Chukhin, *Kareliia-37*, p. 76.

42. NKVD instruction “On foreigners” of 22 August 1937, N. Okhotin and A. Roginskii, “Iz istorii ‘nemetskoii operatsii’ NKVD 1937–1938 gg.,” *Repressii protiv rossiiskikh nemtsev: Nakazannyi narod* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 35–75, esp. p. 46.

43. Order of 28 October 1937, *ibid.*, p. 47.

44. Okhotin and Roginskii, p. 35; F. I. Firsov, “Dimitroff, Komin-tern und Stalinsche Repressalien,” paper for workshop “Stalinistischer Terror, Massenrepressalien, GULag,” February 1998, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, p. 9.

45. Operational order of the People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, No. 00439, 25 July 1937: *Butovskii poligon, 1937–1938 gg.: Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii* (Moscow, 1997), p. 348.

46. Okhotin and Roginskii, pp. 54–57, 62–63, 67, 71. All in all, in the mass operations some 70,000 Germans were condemned (p. 71).

47. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 254.

48. TsA FSB, Inventory of declassified orders, Order of the NKVD of the USSR, No. 00485; also published in *Butovskii poligon*, pp. 353–54.

49. *Ibid.*

50. TsKhSD, f. 6, op. 13, t. 6, ll. 8–51. The text of the letter has

been published (with a few minor distortions) in A. Sudoplatov, *Tainaia zhizn' generala Sudoplatova: Pravda i vymysly o moem ottse* (Moscow, 1998), 1: 363–93. On 5 September the Politburo permitted the Special Board to hand down prison sentences of ten years: APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 254, ll. 156–57.

51. V. Piatnitskii, *Zagovor protiv Stalina* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 72–73.

52. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 104, ll. 262–74.

53. TsKhSD, Materials of the “Shvernik Commission,” d. 3, l. 79.

54. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 254, l. 173.

55. N. V. Petrov and A. B. Roginskii, “‘Pol’skaia operatsiia’ NKVD 1937–1938 gg.,” *Repressii protiv poliakov i pol’skikh grazhdan* (Moscow, 1997), pp. 22–43, esp. p. 26.

56. Operational order of the People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, No. 00593, 20 September 1937: *Memorial-Aspekt* 1993, no. 1; *Butovskii poligon*, pp. 355–56.

57. Petrov and Roginskii, p. 26.

58. For the Latvian operation, see N. Okhotin and A. Roginskii, “‘Latyshskaia operatsiia’ 1937–1938 godov: arkhivnyi kommentarii,” *30 oktiabria*, no. 4 (2000): 5; Shytiuk, “Masovi represii,” p. 96. For the Finnish operation: Chukhin, *Kareliia-37*, pp. 60–61; an operation for the deportation of Iranians: N. F. Bugai and A. M. Gonov, *Kavkaz: narody v eshelonakh (20–60-e gody)* (Moscow, 1998), p. 105.

59. See Ezhov, January 1938, TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 40, ll. 3–5.

60. *Ibid.*, op. 6, d. 93, ll. 6–7.

61. *Ibid.*, NKVD cipher communication No. 49721, 3 November 1937.

62. *Ibid.*, NKVD postal telegram, No. 50194, 11 December 1937; NKVD cipher communication to regional organs, No. 233, 1 February 1938. See also, Firsov, “Dimitroff, Komintern und Stalinsche Repressalien,” p. 8.

63. Firsov, p. 9.

64. TsA FSB, NKVD cipher communication, No. 1160, 28 May 1938.

65. Petrov and Roginskii, “‘Pol’skaia operatsiia,’” pp. 30–31; *Moskovskie novosti* 1992, no. 25.

66. Petrov and Roginskii, p. 33.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 40.

68. Archive of Moscow Province FSB Directorate, Archival investigation case No. 52668; A. Paczkowski, “Pologne, la ‘nation-ennemi,’ ” in Courtois et al., *Le livre noir du communisme*, pp. 397–428, esp. pp. 399–400.

69. M. M. Panteleev, “Repressii v Kominterne (1937–1938 gg.),” *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 1996, no. 6: 161–68, esp. p. 163.

70. Petrov and Roginskii, p. 33.

71. N. F. Bugai, *L. Beriia-I. Stalinu: “Soglasno Vashemu ukazaniuu”* (Moscow, 1995), pp. 9, 11; same author in *Istoriia SSSR* 1989, no. 6: 136; N. Bugaj, “Die Deportationen der Völker aus der Ukraine, Weissrussland und Moldavien,” in D. Dahlmann and G. Hirschfeld, eds., *Lager, Zwangsarbeit, Vertreibung und Deportation* (Essen, 1999), pp. 567–81, esp. p. 569.

72. T. Martin, “The Origins of Soviet Ethnic Cleansing,” *Journal of Modern History* 1998, no. 4: 813–61, esp. pp. 852–53.

73. “O vyselenii koreitsev iz Dal’nevostochnogo kraia,” *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 1992, no. 6: 140–68; N. Bugai, in *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 20 September 1997.

74. *Politicheskie represii na Dal’nem Vostoke SSSR v 1920–1950-e gody* (Vladivostok, 1997), p. 256.

75. Martin, “Origins,” p. 851.

76. *Trud*, 17 October 1997.

77. *Memorial-Aspekt* 1993, no. 2–3; *Sbornik zakonodatel’nykh i normativnykh aktov o repressiakh i rehabilitatsii zhertv politicheskikh repressii* (Moscow, 1993), pp. 88–93.

78. Okhotin and Roginskii, “Iz istorii,” pp. 56–57.

79. Werth, “Un état contre son peuple,” p. 212; V. Rogovin, *Partiia rasstrel’nykh* (Moscow, 1997), p. 164; Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, pp. 454–55.

80. *Sovetskaia Belorussia*, 22 January 1988.

81. O. Chlewnjuk, “Partei und NKWD: Die Machtverhältnisse in den Jahren des ‘grossen Terrors,’ ” paper for workshop “Stalinistischer Terror, Massenrepressalien, GULag,” February 1998, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, p. 9.

82. S. Courtois and J.-L. Panné, “Le Komintern à l’action,” in Courtois et al., *Le livre noir*, pp. 299–364, esp. p. 327; Panteleev, *Repressii v Kominterne*.

83. A. Vatlin, “Kaderpolitik und Säuberungen in der Komintern,”

in H. Weber and U. Mähler, eds., *Terror: Stalinistischer Parteisäuberungen 1936–1953* (Paderborn, 1998), pp. 33–119, esp. p. 84.

84. Piatnitskii, *Zagovor protiv Stalina*, p. 339.
85. *Arkhivy Kremliia i Staroi Ploshchadi: Dokumenty po “delu KPSS”* (Novosibirsk, 1995), p. 19.
86. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 162, d. 22, l. 7.
87. *Arkhivy Kremliia*, p. 20.
88. TsKhSD, f. 89, op. 29, d. 5, l. 1; Tepliakov, “Portrety,” p. 93.
89. J. B. Dunlop, *Russia Confronts Chechnya* (Cambridge, Eng., 1998), p. 56; N. F. Bugai, “Pravda o deportatsii chechenskogo i ingushskogo narodov,” *Voprosy istorii* 1990, no. 7: 32–44, esp. p. 35.
90. TsKhSD, f. 89, op. 73, d. 147, ll. 1–8.
91. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, pp. 188, 192.
92. “O kul’te lichnosti i ego posledstviia,” *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1989, no. 3: 128–70, esp. p. 137; Werth, “Un état contre son peuple,” p. 214.
93. *Reabilitatsiia: Politicheskie protsessy 30–50-kh godov* (Moscow, 1991), p. 39; “‘Massovye repressii opravdany byt’ ne mogu,” *Istochnik* 1995, no. 1: 117–32, esp. p. 124. For the exact figures: APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 409, l. 3.
94. “Spravka,” TsKhSD, f. 2, op. 1, d. 224, ll. 70–74; *Kommunist* 1990, no. 8: 103; *Istochnik* 1999, no. 5: 81, 83–84; Zhukov: *Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich, 1957: Stenogramma iun’skogo plenuma TsK KPSS i drugie dokumenty* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 38–39. For Molotov on these lists: F. Chuev, *Sto sorok besed s Molotovym* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 439–40, 463.
95. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 11, l. 41.
96. *Ibid.*, l. 42. From July 1934 on special collegia, forming part of the regular republican and provincial civil courts, examined NKVD cases. Unlike dvoikas, troikas, etc., they were fully official organs. In August 1938 they were abolished by the new Law on the Judicial System.
97. GARF, f. 9401, op. 1, d. 4157, l. 202.
98. *Ibid.*, f. 9414, op. 1, d. 2877, l. 140.
99. M. Wehner, “Der Grosse Terror 1937–38: Bisherige Interpretationen und neue Erkenntnisse,” paper for workshop “Stalinistischer Terror, Massenrepressalien, GULag,” February 1998, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, p. 3.

100. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, p. 192.
101. *Istochnik* 1995, no. 1: 120.
102. Werth, “Un état contre son peuple,” pp. 224–25.
103. Chuev, *Sto sorok*, pp. 390, 393–94, 416.
104. G. A. Kumanev, “Dve besedy s L.M. Kaganovichem,” *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia* 1999, no. 2: 101–22, esp. pp. 113–14, 116.
105. “Demokratiia . . . pod nadzorom NKVD,” *Neizvestnaia Rossiia*, no. 2 (Moscow, 1992): 272–81.
106. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 4, d. 6, ll. 34–35, 38–39.
107. See Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, p. 195.
108. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 617, l. 167.
109. *Ibid.*, d. 626, ll. 40–41, 62.
110. I. V. Stalin, *Sochineniia*, vol. 1 XIV (Stanford, Calif., 1967), pp. 368–69.
111. “O proekte Konstitutsii Soiuza SSR,” *ibid.*, pp. 136–83.
112. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, ll. 1–2.
113. *Ibid.*, ll. 2–3.
114. Gol’dberg, “Slovo i delo po-sovetski.”
115. Hagenloh, “Socially Harmful Elements,” p. 301.
116. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 2, ll. 32–35.
117. B. A. Starkov, “Narkom Ezhov,” in J. A. Getty and R. T. Manning, eds., *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (Cambridge, Eng., 1993), pp. 21–39, esp. p. 33; *Pravda*, 29 April 1988.
118. “M. N. Tukhachevskii i ‘voenno-fashistskii zagovor,’ ” *Voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv*, no. 2 (Moscow, 1998): 3–81, esp. pp. 55–56.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 50; see also, V. Shentalinskii, “Okhota v revzapovednike,” *Novyi mir* 1998, no. 12: 170–96, esp. p. 180.
120. Papkov, *Stalinskii terror v Sibiri*, p. 269; “Tukhachevskii,” *Voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv*, no. 1 (Moscow, 1997): 149–255, esp. p. 179.
121. D. Shepilov, “Vospominaniia,” *Voprosy istorii* 1998, no. 4: 3–25, esp. p. 6.
122. O. F. Suvenirov, *Tragediia RKKA 1937–1938* (Moscow, 1998), p. 207.
123. *Reabilitatsiia*, p. 258.
124. APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 413, t. 5, l. 122.
125. *Rossiiskaia gazeta*, 19 April 1996; *Kubanskaia ChK: Organy gozbezopasnosti Kubani v dokumentakh i vospominaniakh* (Krasno-

dar, 1997), p. 147; *Trud*, 17 October 1997; *Reabilitatsiia*, p. 40. At the Central Committee Plenum of June 1957 Kaganovich and Molotov confirmed that an instruction had been sent to the Central Committee members and all provincial committees, permitting the use of torture against prisoners; it had been written by Stalin himself during a Politburo meeting and had been signed by at least Kaganovich and Molotov. Khrushchev declared that during the time of the Twentieth Party Congress of 1956 the relevant document could not be found in the archives because the original had been destroyed; only a copy was found: *Istoričeskii arkhiv* 1993, no. 3: 88–89.

126. Firsov, “Dimitroff, Komintern und Stalinsche Repressalien,” p. 6; *Pravda*, 7 April 1989; *Soiuz* 1990, no. 41; *Novoe vremia* 1997, no. 48: 42. See also, R. C. Tucker, *Stalin in Power: The Revolution from Above, 1928–1941* (New York, 1990), pp. 482–85.

Chapter 5

1. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 989, l. 60; *Izvestiia*, 18 July 1937, with Ezhov’s photograph.

2. *Izvestiia*, 28 July 1937; APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 270, ll. 121–24. *Izvestiia* printed photographs of Kalinin handing over the order to Ezhov (his head shaved) and of Ezhov making his speech.

3. *Izvestiia*, 30 July 1937. The saying was not exactly original: on 27 June the new GUGB Special Department chief in an official document reported that there was a new saying in the army: “This is no fruit [*ia-godka*] for you, gentlemen, but hedgehog’s gauntlets [*ezhovy rukavitsy*].” O. F. Suvenirov, *Tragediia RKKA 1937–1938* (Moscow, 1998), p. 146. Two weeks earlier, on 13 June, in a private conversation, People’s Commissar of Justice Nikolai Krylenko had alluded to the same *ezhovy rukavitsy*: A. G. Solov’ev, “Tetradi krasnogo professora (1912–1941 gg.),” *Neizvestnaia Rossiia, xx vek*, no. 4 (Moscow, 1993): 140–228, esp. p. 194.

4. I. Deutscher and D. King, *The Great Purges* (Oxford, 1984), p. 111.

5. *Stalinskoe Politbiuro v 30-e gody* (Moscow, 1995), p. 159; O. V. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro: Mekhanizmy politicheskoi vlasti v 1930-e gody* (Moscow, 1996), p. 216; J. A. Getty and O. V. Naumov, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932–1939* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), pp. 462–63, 465.

6. B. Sultanbekov, *Stalin i "Tatarskii sled"* (Kazan', 1995), pp. 197–98. Another source says that Ezhov was preceded by Stalin and Voroshilov only: E. A. Rees, *Stalinism and Soviet Rail Transport, 1928–41* (London, 1995), p. 280.

7. At least in Leningrad: Suvenirov, *Tragediia RKKA*, p. 146.

8. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 270, l. 141; *Izvestiia*, 10 December 1937.

9. *Izvestiia*, 11 December 1937, with Ezhov's photograph.

10. Suvenirov, p. 146.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 146–47.

12. *Izvestiia*, 21 December 1937.

13. M. Ebon, *Malenkov* (London, 1953), p. 39.

14. Suvenirov, p. 146; A. Khinshtein and M. Gridneva, "Konets khoziaina Lubianki," *MK v voskresen'e*, 7 June 1998. From May through October 1936 alone: Republican Courses of Party Activists, a Party district committee, a chemical industrial complex, a frontier detachment: RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, dd. 977–78, 981, 989. See also: E. M. Pospelov, *Imena gorodov: vchera i segodnia (1917–1992)* (Moscow, 1993), p. 32; J. A. Getty, *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933–1938* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985), p. 182.

15. "Kak Moska chut' ne stala Stalinodarom," *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1990, no. 12: 126–27; B. Starkov, "Narkom Ezhov," in J. A. Getty and R. T. Manning, eds., *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (Cambridge, Eng., 1993), pp. 21–39, esp. p. 37; B. Starkov, "Wie Moskau fast zu Stalinodar geworden wäre," *International Newsletter of Historical Studies on Comintern, Communism, and Stalinism* 3 (1996), no. 7–8: 42–46; N. Zen'kovich, "Stalin protiv," *Parlamentskaia gazeta*, 22 October 1999.

16. Dzhambul, "Pesnia o batyre Ezhove," *Ogonek* 1937, no. 34: 2.

17. Dzhambul, "Poema o narkome Ezhove," *Novyi mir* 1938, no. 1: 92–96. The full text runs to 148 lines; the version here is somewhat abridged.

18. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 270, ll. 67–68.

19. In January 1935 Ezhov lived on Maliy Palashevskii Lane (No. 4, Apt. 8), a side street of Tverskaia Street, not far from Pushkin Square: GARF, f. 1235, op. 15, d. 76, l. 53. Later, probably since 1935, he had an apartment in the Kremlin, in the First Building of the USSR Central Executive Committee (Apt. 87): *ibid.*, op. 30, d. 99.

20. A. Polianskii, “Kak lomali ‘zheleznogo narkoma,’” *Sekretnoe dos’e* 1998, no. 2: 68–77, esp. p. 69.

21. A. Polianskii, *Ezhov: Istoriiia “zheleznogo” stalinskogo narkoma* (Moscow, 2001), p. 97; B. B. Briukhanov and E. N. Shoshkov, *Opravdaniuu ne podlezhit: Ezhov i ezhovshchina 1936–1938* (St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 122; V. Rogovin, *Partiia rasstreliaannykh* (Moscow, 1997), p. 455.

22. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 122.

23. Interview with A. I. Pirozhkova, *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 16 January 1998.

24. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, l. 198.

25. G. Zhavoronkov, “I snitsia noch’iu den’,” *Sintaksis*, no. 32 (1992): 46–65; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 124; Starkov, “Narkom Ezhov,” pp. 34–35; B. Kamov, “Smert’ Nikolaia Ezhova,” *Iunost’* 1993, no. 8: 41–43, esp. p. 41; V. Grossman, “Mama,” *Znamia* 1989, no. 5: 8–15; M. Il’ves, “Doch’ zheleznogo narkoma,” *Moskovskie novosti* 1999, no. 1; M. Franchetti, “Daughter Fights to Clear Stalin’s Hitman,” *The Sunday Times* (London), 31 January 1999.

26. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 2, ll. 109–58.

27. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 16–26-ob.

28. *Ibid.*, f. 3, op. 24, d. 372, l. 119.

29. *Ibid.*, l. 114.

30. *Politicheskii dnevnik*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1975), p. 136.

31. Testimony of Z. V. Ivanova, APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 372, ll. 116–28. See also, Ezhov, *ibid.*, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 16–26-ob.

32. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 57.

33. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, *Opravdaniuu ne podlezhit*, p. 34; E. Sinkó, *Roman eines Romans: Moskauer Tagebuch* (Berlin, 1990), esp. 408.

34. Testimony of L. Elisman, APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 376, ll. 82–83.

35. V. Shentalinskii, “Okhota v revzapovednike,” *Novyi mir* 1998, no. 12: 170–96, esp. p. 179; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 122.

36. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 4, l. 238.

37. *Ibid.*, l. 241.

38. Execution lists, Memorial archives, No. 32D-1355.

39. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, l. 265; d. 3, l. 56.

40. *Ibid.*, d. 1, ll. 266–69.

41. Ibid., ll. 269–70; *ibid.*, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, ll. 193–94.
42. Suveniurov, *Tragediia RKKA*, p. 23.
43. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 628, ll. 115–16.
44. Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, pp. 465–67.
45. I. Takala notes a break from 5 to 20 January 1938; I. Chukhin notes inactivity of the Karelian troika between 31 December 1937 and 17 January 1938. But already on 14 January the NKVD center in Moscow ordered the regional organs to extend the troika activity. See I. Takala, “Natsional’nye operatsii OGPU/NKVD v Karelii,” in V. Vikhainen and I. Takala, eds. *V sem’e edinoi* (Petrozavodsk, 1998), pp. 161–206, esp. pp. 190–91; I. Chukhin, *Kareliia-37: Ideologiya i praktika terrora* (Petrozavodsk, 1999), pp. 18, 147. See also, O. Hlevniuk, “Les mécanismes de la ‘Grande Terreur’ des années 1937–1938 au Turkménistan,” *Cahiers du Monde russe* 1998, no. 1–2: 197–207, esp. 201.
46. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 639, ll. 3–7.
47. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, *Opravdaniu ne podlezhit*, p. 125.
48. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, p. 255; Getty and Naumov, p. 502.
49. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 639, l. 13.
50. Ibid., d. 640, ll. 1–2.
51. *Prauda*, 19 January 1938; *KPSS v rezoliutsiakh i resheniakh s’ezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK*, vol. 5 (Moscow, 1971), pp. 303–11 (English transl.: *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, vol. 3 [Toronto, 1974], pp. 188–95). See also: “Konets kar’ery Ezhova,” *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1992, no. 1: 124; R. W. Thurston, *Life and Terror in Stalin’s Russia* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), p. 107; Zhdanov’s report to the Eighteenth Party Congress: *XVIII s’ezd Vsesoiuznoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (b): Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow, 1939), pp. 511–44.
52. Stenographic Plenum report: RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 630, containing agenda and decisions; see also, list of Plenum guests, 14 January, *ibid.*, ll. 66–68.
53. *Moskovskie novosti*, 1992, no. 25.
54. O. Chlewnjuk, “Partei und NKWD: Die Machtverhältnisse in den Jahren des ‘grossen Terrors,’ ” paper for workshop “Stalinistischer Terror, Massenrepressalien, GULag,” February 1998, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, pp. 11, 19.
55. Politburo decisions of July 1931 (APRF, f. 3, op. 57, d. 36, l.

108) and 17 June 1935 (RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 965, l. 75); Central Committee instruction of 13 February 1937 (APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 6, l. 28). See also, Central Committee resolution of 23 June 1935 on errors by the Saratov Party Committee: *Izvestiia*, 24 June 1935.

56. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 5, d. 14, ll. 19–20.

57. *Ibid.*, ll. 20–21.

58. *Ibid.*, Archival investigation case of A. A. Nasedkin, testimony of 16 July 1939.

59. *Ibid.*, f. 3, op. 5, d. 14, l. 341.

60. *Ibid.*, op. 4, d. 40, l. 54 and l. 3.

61. N. V. Petrov and A. B. Roginskii, “Pol’skaia operatsiia NKVD 1937–1938 gg.,” *Repressii protiv poliakov i pol’skikh grazhdan* (Moscow, 1997), pp. 22–43, esp. p. 30; N. Okhotin and A. Roginskii, “Iz istorii ‘nemetskoii operatsii’ NKVD 1937–1938 gg.,” *Repressii protiv rossiiskikh nemtsev: Nakazannyi narod* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 35–75, esp. p. 74.

62. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 40, ll. 42–43.

63. *Ibid.*, l. 75.

64. *Izvestiia*, 28 January 1938.

65. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, ll. 285–86.

66. *Ibid.*, d. 3, ll. 412–13.

67. *Ibid.*, ll. 314–15.

68. *Ibid.*, Case of A. I. Uspenskii.

69. *Ibid.*, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, ll. 266–68.

70. *Ibid.*, f. 3, op. 5, d. 13, ll. 26, 31.

71. *Moskovskie novosti* 1992, no. 25.

72. D. Volkogonov, *Sem’ vozhdai* (Moscow, 1995), 1: 341–42; S. Fedoseev, “Favorit Ezhova,” *Sovershenno sekretno* 1996, no. 9; *Moskovskie novosti* 1995, no. 63; *Izvestiia*, 3 April 1996.

73. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 2, ll. 40–42; *ibid.*, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 375–76.

74. *Ibid.*, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 9, ll. 37–46.

75. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 5, d. 86, ll. 32–34.

76. *Ibid.*, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 9, ll. 37–46.

77. *Ibid.*, t. 7, l. 196.

78. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 212.

79. Petrov and Roginskii, “Pol’skaia operatsiia,” pp. 31, 37; Okhotin and Roginskii, “Iz istorii ‘nemetskoi operatsii,’ ” p. 62.

Chapter 6

1. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 2, l. 39; *ibid.*, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 374; *Reabilitatsiia: Politicheskie protsessy 30–50-kh godov* (Moscow, 1991), p. 239; *Rossiiskaia gazeta*, 26 January 1996; R. Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (London, 1990), p. 343.

2. APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 375, l. 42.

3. For the criticism, *Vodnyi transport*, 28 March 1938, and *Pravda*, 29 March 1938; *Izvestiia TsK KPSS*, 1989, no. 12, p. 108.

4. *Vodnyi transport*, 9 April 1938.

5. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 16–26-ob.

6. See E. A. Rees, *Stalinism and Soviet Rail Transport, 1928–41* (London, 1995), p. 193.

7. *Izvestiia*, 30 May 1938.

8. B. Lewytkyj, *Die rote Inquisition* (Frankfurt, 1967), p. 152.

9. *Vodnyi transport*, 16 April 1938.

10. *Ibid.*, 18 and 26 April 1938; A. Sudoplatov, *Tainaia zhizn’ generala Sudoplatova: Pravda i vymysly o moem ottse* (Moscow, 1998), 1: 406.

11. See Orders of the People’s Commissariat of Water Transportation, RGAE, f. 7458, op. 3, dd. 158–62.

12. *Vodnyi transport*, 23 April 1938.

13. RGAE, f. 7458, op. 3, d. 158.

14. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 16–26-ob.

15. See TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of I. I. Shapiro, R-24334, t. 1, l. 229.

16. See A. A. Andreev’s report to Stalin of 25 April 1938: *Sovetskoe rukovodstvo: Perepiska 1928–1941 gg.* (Moscow, 1999), p. 393.

17. A. D. Coox, “L’affaire Lyushkov: Anatomy of a Defector,” *Soviet Studies* 1967–68, no. 3: 405–20; D. Kunert, *General Ljuschkows Geheimbericht: Über die Stalinsche Fernostpolitik 1937/38* (Bern, 1977); *Revelations from the Russian Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 120–21; B. Sokolov, “Sud’ba perebezhchika,” *Novosti*

razvedki i kontrrazvedki 2000, no. 13-14. Liushkov is supposed to have been liquidated by the Japanese in Manchuria in August 1945 in order to prevent his falling into Soviet hands.

18. *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1995, no. 4: 60.
19. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 2, l. 173.
20. *Ibid.*, ll. 173–75.
21. *Ibid.*, ll. 177–78.
22. “Poslednee slovo Nikolaia Ezhova,” *Moskovskie novosti* 1994, no. 5.
23. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 2, l. 179.
24. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 16–26-ob.
25. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, ll. 357–83. For the suspicion against Bliukher, see Ezhov’s reports to Stalin of 15 April 1938: *ibid.*, f. 3, op. 5, d. 50, ll. 91–92, 211–14.
26. E. Shoshkov, “Ne v svoikh saniakh,” *Rodina* 1997, no. 5: 91–94, esp. p. 92. On Mekhlis’s contribution: *Voprosy istorii* 1998, no. 10: 78; Iu. Rubtsov, *Alter ego Stalina: Stranitsy politicheskoi biografii L. Z. Mekhlisa* (Moscow, 1999), p. 107. For Frinovskii’s report of 28 August 1938 on Bliukher to Stalin et al.: TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 5, d. 72, l. 313.
27. A. G. Solov’ev, “Tetradi krasnogo professora (1912–1941 gg.),” *Neizvestnaia Rossiia, xx vek*, no. 4 (Moscow, 1993): 140–228, esp. p. 198.
28. “O masshtabakh repressii v Krasnoi Armii v predvoennye gody,” *Voenno-istoricheskii zhurnal* 1993, no. 3: 25–32, esp. p. 27; “M. N. Tukhachevskii i ‘voenno-fashistskii zagovor,’” *Voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv* no. 2 (Moscow, 1998): 3–104, esp. p. 61.
29. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, l. 350.
30. *Ibid.*, d. 3, l. 316.
31. *Ibid.*, l. 317.
32. The list, containing the names of 134 Chekists to be shot, had been approved by Stalin on 20 August: APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 417, ll. 248–53; most of them were shot immediately, on 26 and 29 August.
33. Politburo decision of 15 September 1938, *Moskovskie novosti* 1992, no. 25.
34. See A. I. Uspenskii, April 1939, during interrogation, TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 9, ll. 160–61.

35. See APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 264: report by V. P. Cherepneva, 26 March 1938, on the situation in the Georgian Party organization, abuses by Beriia, V. G. Dekanozov, et al., persecution, etc.; and report by the director of the subtropical pavilion of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition (VSKhV), M. F. Safonov, 21 July 1938, about style and methods of leadership of Beriia, Dekanozov, et al.

36. B. B. Briukhanov and E. N. Shoshkov, *Opravdaniiu ne podlezhit: Ezhov i ezhovshchina 1936–1938* (St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 105. The story's source is A. Antonov-Ovseenko.

37. *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1995, no. 5-6: 10, 18.

38. Visitors' journal of Ezhov's office: TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 5, d. 92, l. 23.

39. *Ibid.*, l. 25.

40. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 16–26-ob.

41. S. Fedoseev, "Favorit Ezhova," *Sovershenno sekretno* 1996, no. 9.

42. Konstantinov: TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 258; Glikina: V. Shentalinskii, "Okhota v revzapovednike," *Novyi mir* 1998, no. 12: 170–96, esp. p. 180.

43. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 10, l. 148; t. 13, ll. 116–21.

44. O. V. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro: Mekhanizmy politicheskoi vlasti v 1930-e gody* (Moscow, 1996), p. 211.

45. See P. Sudoplatov, *Novosti razvedki i kontrrazvedki*, no. 11-12 (1995): 3.

46. *Svobodnaia mysl'* 1997, no. 7: 109.

47. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 367; *ibid.*, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 2, l. 32.

48. *Ibid.*, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 9, l. 44.

49. Y. Cohen, "Des lettres comme action: Stalin au début des années 1930 vu depuis le fonds Kaganovič," *Cahiers du Monde russe* 1997, no. 3: 307–45, esp. p. 327. Mamuliia preceded Beriia as Georgian First Party Secretary; later he was accused of "deviationism," and in 1937 he was arrested and shot.

50. *Beriia: konets kar'ery* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 374–75. Long before, in 1922, Beriia had been praised for his techniques as a Chekist in Baku, using torture methods in interrogations to force prisoners to con-

fess: B. S. Popov and V. G. Oppokov, “Berievshchina,” *Voenno-istoricheskii zhurnal* 1990, no. 3: 81–90, esp. p. 89; *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik* 1922, no. 16: 12.

51. See A. Chuianov, *Na stremnine veka* (Moscow, 1977), pp. 46–48.

52. M. A. Suslov, *Marksizm-leninizm i sovremennaia epokha* (Moscow, 1982), 1: 11–12.

53. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 83.

54. *Pisatel' i vozhd': Perepiska M. A. Sholokhova s I. V. Stalinym 1931–1950 gody* (Moscow, 1997), pp. 76–106, 108–27.

55. “Poslednee slovo.”

56. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of I. I. Shapiro, R-24334, t. 1, ll. 93–94.

57. *Ibid.*, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, ll. 195–96.

58. *Ibid.*, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 384; d. 4, ll. 158–59.

59. *Ibid.*, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, ll. 196–97.

60. J. Berger, *Shipwreck of a Generation* (London, 1971), pp. 123–24.

61. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 323–24.

62. *Ibid.*, l. 259.

63. *Ibid.*, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, l. 194.

64. *Ibid.*, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 5, ll. 339, 374; d. 3, l. 86.

65. *Ibid.*, Archival investigation case of E. G. Evdokimov, interrogation protocol of 17 June 1939.

66. *Ibid.*, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 4, l. 403.

67. *Ibid.*, d. 3, l. 261.

68. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, p. 212; J. A. Getty and O. V. Naumov, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932–1939* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), pp. 529–30.

69. M. Ebon, *Malenkov* (London, 1953), pp. 38–39.

70. F. Chuev, “Chekist,” *Molodaia gvardiia* 1996, no. 2: 82–126, esp. p. 86.

71. N. S. Khrushchev, *Vremia. Liudi. Vlast'* (Moscow, 1999), 1: 179.

72. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 16–26-ob.

73. *Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich, 1957: Stenogramma iun'skogo plenuma TsK KPSS i drugie dokumenty* (Moscow, 1998), p. 44.

Chapter 7

1. *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1998, no. 5-6: 22.
2. *Pisatel' i vozhd': Perepiska M. A. Sholokhova s I. V. Stalinym 1931–1950 gody* (Moscow, 1997), p. 150.
3. *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1998, no. 5-6: 22.
4. P. Lugovoi, “S krov’iu i potom: Iz zapisok sekretaria raikoma partii,” *Don* 1988, no. 8: 135–43, esp. p. 137; *Pisatel' i vozhd'*, p. 150.
5. *Pisatel' i vozhd'*, p. 148.
6. *Kubanskaia ChK: Organy gosbezopasnosti Kubani v dokumentakh i vospominaniakh* (Krasnodar, 1997), pp. 144–46.
7. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 212, l. 205.
8. Contrary to what Khlevniuk writes, the delay in preparing the decision was not connected with any rearrangements in the NKVD apparatus. Nor did Stalin have to fear surprises “before the decisive blow.” The suspension of the terror was neither a blow to the regional leaders nor a surprise. See O. V. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro: Mekhanizmy politicheskoi vlasti v 1930-e gody* (Moscow, 1996), p. 212.
9. “Konets kar’ery,” *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1992, no. 1: 121–31, esp. pp. 125–28; “Postanovlenie SNK SSSR i TsK VKP(b) ob arestakh, prokurorskom nadzore i vedenii sledstviia,” 17 November 1938: *Organy gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti SSSR v Velikoi Otechestvennoi voine. Sbornik dokumentov. Tom I. Nakanune. Kniga pervaiia (noiabr' 1938-dekabr' 1940 g.* (Moscow, 1995), pp. 3–8; R. W. Thurston, *Life and Terror in Stalin's Russia* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), pp. 114–15.
10. See note 9 above.
11. Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv kinofotodokumentov (RGAKFD), Nos. 0292825 and 0292826.
12. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 5, d. 83, *iskhodiashchii nomer* 109680.
13. F. Chuev, “Chekist,” *Molodaia gvardiia* 1996, no. 2: 82–126, esp. p. 88; A. I. Mikoian, “Kruglyi stol” k 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia (Moscow, 1996), p. 88.
14. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 406, ll. 3–29.
15. *Ibid.*, l. 2.
16. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 385 (Uspenskii’s testimony after arrest).
17. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 406, l. 59.
18. *Voprosy istorii* 1992, no. 2-3: 87.

19. *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1995, no. 5-6: 24.
20. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro*, p. 214; “Konets kar’ery,” p. 129; E. Radzinsky, *Stalin* (London, 1996), p. 412.
21. *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1995, no. 5-6: 25; Khlevniuk, p. 214.
22. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 16–26-ob.
23. *Stalinskoe Politbiuro v 30-e gody* (Moscow, 1995), pp. 168–71; A. Knight, *Beria: Stalin’s First Lieutenant* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), pp. 89–90; “Konets kar’ery,” pp. 129–31; B. Starkov, “Narkom Ezhov,” in J. A. Getty and R. T. Manning, eds., *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (Cambridge, Eng., 1993), pp. 21–39, esp. p. 38.
24. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 58, ll. 61–62.
25. *Pravda*, 8 December 1938.
26. “Iz prikaza NKVD SSSR No. 00762 o poriadke osushchestvleniia postanovleniia SNK SSSR i TsK VKP(b) ot 17 noiabria 1938 g.,” 26 November 1938: *Organy*, pp. 16–20.
27. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of L. T. Iakushev-Babkin, N-13591, *Obzornaia spravka* of October 1955.
28. S. Fedoseev, “Favorit Ezhova,” *Sovershenno sekretno* 1996, no. 9.
29. *Politicheskii dnevnik*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1975), p. 136; B. Kamov, “Smert’ Nikolaia Ezhova,” *Iunost’* 1993, no. 8: 41–43, esp. p. 41; *Vsia nasha zhizn’: Vospominaniia Galiny Ivanovny Levinson i rasskazy, zapisannye eiu* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 153–54.
30. V. Shentalinskii, “Okhota v revzapovednike,” *Novyi mir* 1998, no. 12: 170–96, esp. pp. 180–81.
31. *Ibid.*
32. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 729, ll. 96–97.
33. See TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 9, l. 72.
34. B. B. Briukhanov and E. N. Shoshkov, *Opravdaniiu ne podlezhit: Ezhov i ezhovshchina 1936–1938* (St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 122.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
36. A. Khinshtein and M. Gridneva, “Konets khoziaina Lubianki,” *MK v voskresen’e*, 7 June 1998.
37. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 56–58.
38. G. Zhavoronkov, “I snitsia noch’iu den’,” *Sintaksis*, no. 32 (1992): 46–65, esp. p. 49.
39. Testimony of I. Dement’ev, APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 375, ll. 116–20.

40. Knight, *Beriia*, p. 250; G. Tsitriniak, “Rasstrel’noe delo Ezhova: Shtrikhi k portretu palacha,” *Literaturnaia gazeta* 1992, no. 7; V. Topolianskii, *Vozhdi v zakone* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 326–27; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, pp. 123–24; B. Piliatskin, “‘Vrag naroda’ Ezhov ostaetsia vragom naroda,” *Izvestiia*, 4 and 5 June 1998.

41. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 729, ll. 100–101.

42. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 257–58.

43. APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 375, ll. 120–21.

44. Shentalinskii, “Okhota v revzapovednike,” p. 179.

45. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 332–33. According to Dement’ev’s testimony, Ezhov had said, “I’ll send her a medicine that will make her fall asleep so profoundly that she won’t ever wake up again.” *Ibid.*, ll. 276–77.

46. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 59–60; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 124.

47. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 420–23.

48. *Ibid.*, d. 1, ll. 269–70; d. 3, ll. 59–60, 67.

49. *Ibid.*, d. 3, l. 256.

50. *Ibid.*, l. 266; APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 375, l. 116.

51. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 247–50.

52. *Ibid.*, l. 252.

53. *Ibid.*, d. 1, ll. 266–68.

54. APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 375, ll. 69–70.

55. J. A. Getty and O. V. Naumov, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932–1939* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), p. 542.

56. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 61.

57. *Ibid.*, l. 84.

58. *Ibid.*, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, l. 197.

59. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 29–41, 67, 71.

60. *Voprosy istorii* 1992, no. 2-3: 87.

61. Piliatskin, “‘Vrag naroda.’”

62. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 287, ll. 7–18.

63. A. Fadeev, “Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov: Syn nuzhdy i bor’by,” RTsKhIDNI, f. 671, op. 1, d. 270, l. 78; *Izvestiia* and *Pravda*, 15 May 1936; Ezhov to Stalin, 5 October 1935: APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 729, ll. 71–72.

64. Draft: TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, ll. 1–6; final version: APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 409, ll. 3–9.
65. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, *Opravdaniiu*, p. 130.
66. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 61.
67. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 161.
68. Photograph with text: *Pravda* and *Izvestiia*, 22 January 1939.
69. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 161.
70. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 71. On the district Party conference, see *Izvestiia*, 20–21 February 1939.
71. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 71.
72. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 20, l. 53.
73. N. G. Kuznetsov, “Krutye povoroty: Iz zapisok admirala,” *Voenno-istoricheskii zhurnal* 1993, no. 7: 50.
74. R. Medvedev, *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1989), pp. 458–60.
75. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 4, l. 159.
76. N. G. Kuznetsov, *Nakanune* (Moscow, 1969), p. 230.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 231; 18 *s’ezd VKP(b), stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow, 1939), p. 477.
78. Kuznetsov, *Nakanune*, pp. 233–34.
79. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 1, l. 54; APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 373, ll. 75–87.
80. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 132; “Overcome the Arrears in Water Transportation” (lead article), *Pravda*, 2 April 1939.

Chapter 8

1. R. Medvedev, *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1989), pp. 458–60; V. Topolianskii, “Ezhov: portret palacha,” *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 4 December 1991.
2. Three on 29 March, eight on 1 April, one on 2 April, two on 3 April, one on 4 April, six on 7 April, one on 8 April, three on 9 April: RGAE, f. 7458, dd. 5222–23.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Vodnyi transport*, 10 April 1939.
5. B. B. Briukhanov and E. N. Shoshkov, *Opravdaniiu ne podlezhit: Ezhov i ezhovshchina 1936–1938* (St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 132; A. Polianskii, “Kak lomali ‘zheleznogo narkoma,’” *Sekretnoe dos’e*

1998, no. 2: 68–77, esp. pp. 68, 73; A. Malenkov, *O moem ottse Georgii Malenkove* (Moscow, 1992), p. 34.

6. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 57.

7. D. Likhanov and V. Nikonov, “‘Ia pochistil OGPU,’” *Sovershenno sekretno* 1992, no. 4; G. Tsitriniak, “‘Rasstrel’noe delo Ezhova: Shtrikhi k portretu palacha,” *Literaturnaia gazeta* 1992, no. 7; B. Piliat’skin, “‘Vrag naroda’ Ezhov ostaetsia vragom naroda,” *Izvestiia*, 4 and 5 June 1998.

8. J. A. Getty and O. V. Naumov, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932–1939* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), p. 538.

9. According to information in *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 1990, no. 7: 94, Ezhov was arrested on 10 June 1939.

10. O. V. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro: Mekhanizmy politicheskoi vlasti v 1930-e gody* (Moscow, 1996), p. 215.

11. V. V. Mar’ina, “Dnevnik G. Dimitrova,” *Voprosy istorii* 2000, no. 7: 32–55, esp. p. 55.

12. S. Iu. Ushakov and A. A. Stukalov, *Front voennykh prokurorov* (Moscow, 2000), p. 69.

13. Khlevniuk, p. 215; P. Sudoplatov et al., *Special Tasks: The Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness—A Soviet Spymaster* (Boston, 1994), p. 63.

14. Polianskii, p. 75; “Pokazaniia Ezhova,” *Volia*, no. 2-3 (1994): 87–100.

15. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 420–23.

16. *Ibid.*, l. 265.

17. Testimony of M. I. Shabulin and Z. V. Ivanova, APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 372, ll. 114, 123.

18. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 2, ll. 109–58. Two months earlier, on 30 January 1939, Beria had asked Stalin’s permission to arrest Ivan Ezhov, but Stalin seems to have been in no hurry; probably he did not want to alarm Nikolai Ezhov: APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 372, l. 115.

19. According to his son Oleg, Frinovskii was arrested on 5 April: TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 6 (the arrest may have taken place on the night of 5–6 April); Briukhanov and Shoshkov, pp. 131–32.

20. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 2, l. 2.

21. APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 374, ll. 3–47; Shvernik Report (1964): “O

masshtabakh repressii v Krasnoi Armii v predvoennye gody,” *Voennostoricheskii zhurnal* 1993, no. 5: 59–65, esp. pp. 61–62.

22. Piliatskin, “‘Vrag naroda’”; APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 368, ll. 18–25.

23. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, l. 75; d. 5.

24. Memorial archives, execution lists, Nos. 25D-928 and 25D-959; *Vlast’ i khudozhestvennaia intelligentsiia: Dokumenty TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b), VChK-OGPU-NKVD o kul’turnoi politike. 1917–1953 gg.* (Moscow, 1999), p. 774.

25. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 123.

26. Piliatskin.

27. APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 375, l. 74.

28. Memorial archives, execution lists; APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 369, ll. 41, 130–44.

29. S. Povartsov, *Prichina smerti—rasstrel: Khronika poslednikh dnei Isaaka Babelia* (Moscow, 1996), p. 148.

30. V. Chentalinski, *La parole ressuscitée: Dans les archives littéraires du K.G.B.* (Paris, 1993), pp. 69, 82, 95–96.

31. B. Sopel’niak, “On veril Stalinu do kontsa,” *Novye Izvestiia*, 10 January 1998; *Rasstrel’nye spiski*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1993), p. 32.

32. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 16–26-ob.

33. *Ibid.*, f. 3, op. 24, d. 377, l. 109.

34. *Ibid.*, l. 115.

35. APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 377, ll. 116–35.

36. *Ibid.*, l. 136.

37. Ushakov and Stukalov, *Front voennykh prokurorov*, pp. 65, 69–70, 72.

38. Likhanov and Nikonov, “‘Ia pochistil OGPU’”; Tsitriniak, “‘Rasstrel’noe delo Ezhova.’”

39. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 145. According to A. Polianskii, *Ezhov: Istoria “zheleznogo” stalinskogo narkoma* (Moscow, 2001), p. 291, Ezhov was charged with pederasty. Since 1933 “pederasty” (*muzhelozhstvo*) had indeed been punishable by law: *Trud*, 24 February 2000; B. de Jong, “‘An Intolerable Kind of Moral Degeneration’: Homosexuality in the Soviet Union,” *Review of Socialist Law* 1982, no. 4: 341–57, esp. p. 342.

40. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 145; “‘Poslednee slovo Nikolaia Ezhova,’” *Moskovskie novosti* 1994, no. 5.

41. Likhanov and Nikonov; Tsitriniak.

42. Ushakov and Stukalov, p. 74.

43. “Poslednee slovo.”

44. Ushakov and Stukalov, p. 74.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 75. One highly embellished account of dubious authenticity describes how after the verdict Ezhov was half-unconscious and paralyzed with fear. In the prison corridor, on the way from his cell to the execution spot in the basement [not a separate building], he was ordered to undress and was conducted naked through a line of former subordinates. Somebody hit him first. Then the blows showered down. They hit him with their fists and feet, escorts smashed him with their butts. He screamed, fell on the stone floor, was picked up and dragged on, while they continued to beat him. He was dragged to the execution place hardly alive, possibly even already dead. All those present were disorderly and without a command started to shoot with their pistols and revolvers at the bloodstained body of the once all-powerful and frightening former People’s Commissar. See Briukhanov and Shoskov, pp. 154–55; also B. Kamov, “Smert’ Nikolaia Ezhova,” *Iunost’* 1993, no. 8: 41–43, esp. p. 43. Another completely different account has it that Ezhov sang the “International” while being taken to his execution: Sudoplatov, *Special Tasks*, p. 63.

46. Ushakov and Stukalov, p. 75.

47. Chentalinski, *La parole ressuscitée*, pp. 96–97; information from O. Kapchinskii, Moscow, October 1997.

48. *Komsomol’skaia pravda*, 29 September 1989; G. Zhavoronkov, “I snitsia noch’iu den’,” *Sintaksis*, no. 32 (1992): 46–65; B. A. Starkov, “Narkom Ezhov,” in J. A. Getty and R. T. Manning, eds., *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (Cambridge, Eng., 1993), pp. 21–39, esp. p. 39; S. Beriia, *Moi otets—Lavrentii Beriia* (Moscow, 1994), p. 81; V. Nekrasov, *Trinadtsat’ “zheleznykh” narkomov* (Moscow, 1995), p. 211; Briukhanov and Shoskov, pp. 124–25; Polianskii, “Kak lomali,” p. 69; M. Il’ves, “Doch’ zheleznogo narkoma,” *Moskovskie novosti* 1999, no. 1; M. Franchetti, “Daughter Fights to Clear Stalin’s Hitman,” *The Sunday Times* (London), 31 January 1999.

49. E. Shur, “Reabilitiruiut li Ezhova?” *Sovershenno sekretno* 1998, no. 4: 4–6; Piliatskin, “Vrag naroda.’”

50. Shur, pp. 4–6; Piliatskin; A. Khinshtein and M. Gridneva, “Konet khoziaina Lubianki,” *MK v voskresen’e*, 7 June 1998.

51. *Segodnia*, 5 June 1998; *Algemeen Dagblad* (Rotterdam), 5 June 1998.

52. Il'ves, "Doch' zheleznogo narkoma."
53. E. Shoshkov, "Ne v svoikh saniakh," *Rodina* 1997, no. 5: 91–94, esp. p. 94; *Knizhnoe obozrenie* 1989, no. 49. Frinovskii's wife and son were also condemned to death: *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 1996, no. 4: 176–77.
54. Khinshtein and Gridneva.
55. Information from the Main Information Center of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs.
56. Memorial archives, execution lists, No. 23D-768.
57. Ibid., Nos. 23D-765 (Anatolii Babulin), 23D-848 (Ivan Ezhov).
58. Memorial archives, execution lists, No. 23D-827.
59. Ibid., Nos. 23D-785 (Koriman), 39D-2480 (Glikina).
60. Ibid., No. 25D-987; V. Shentalinsky, *Arrested Voices: Resurrecting the Disappeared Writers of the Soviet Regime* (New York, 1993), pp. 67–71.
61. *Rasstrel'nye spiski*, 1: 32.
62. Memorial archives, execution lists, No. 25D-928.
63. Ibid., No. 25D-959.
64. *Vecherniaia Moskva*, 22 February 1999.
65. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 35.
66. Ibid., p. 154.
67. At one point, not long after World War II, when Natasha was fourteen years old, her former nanny came to see her and even had plans to adopt her; but she gave up the idea after realizing that she could not cope with the girl: Zhavoronkov, "I snitsia noch'iu den'," pp. 55–57.
68. *Organy gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti SSSR v Velikoi Otechestvennoi voine. Sbornik dokumentov. Tom I. Nakanune. Kniga pervaiia (noiabr' 1938 g.–dekabr' 1940 g.* (Moscow, 1995), p. 9. There are a number of errors in this source, however. For example, Leplevskii was arrested in April and not in late 1938, not all regional chiefs were arrested, e.g., not T. M. Borshchev (Turkmenistan), S. A. Goglidze (Georgia, then Leningrad), or A. K. Uralets (Murmansk), and V. A. Tkachev (Buriat-Mongoliia) was dismissed only in September 1939 and A. E. Rasskazov (Arkhangel'sk) in late May 1939.
69. Act for the transmission of NKVD cases, TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1.
70. Information of the NKVD personnel department, GARF, f. 9401, op. 8, d. 51, l. 2.

71. See Ul'rikh to Stalin and Molotov, 14 June 1939: Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, pp. 548–49.

72. *Argumenty i fakty* 1989, no. 45; V. Rogovin, *Partiia rasstrel'ian-nykh* (Moscow, 1997), p. 457.

73. *Revelations from the Russian Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 26–27; *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 29 April 1998 (suppl. *Khranit' vechno*, no. 2).

74. A. G. Tepliakov, "Personal i povsednevnost' Novosibirskogo UNKVD v 1936–1946," *Minuvshee*, no. 21 (Moscow–St. Petersburg, 1997): 240–93, esp. pp. 261–62.

75. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 177, ll. 68–69.

Chapter 9

1. B. B. Briukhanov and E. N. Shoshkov, *Opravdaniiu ne podle-zhit: Ezhov i ezhovshchina 1936–1938* (St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 10.

2. V. Iantemir, "Preliudiia k 'ezhovshchine,'" *Ioshkar-Ola*, 28 November 1996; A. Polianskii, "Kak lomali 'zheleznogo narkoma,'" *Sekretnoe dos'e* 1998, no. 2: 68–77, esp. p. 71.

3. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 6.

4. D. Shepilov, "Vospominaniia," *Voprosy istorii* 1998, no. 4: 3–25, esp. p. 8.

5. A. Uralov, *The Reign of Stalin* (Westport, Conn., 1975), p. 44.

6. Shepilov, p. 8.

7. G. Zhavoronkov, "I snitsia noch'iu den'," *Sintaksis*, no. 32 (1992): 46–65, esp. p. 52.

8. A. Khinshtein and M. Gridneva, "Konets khoziaina Lubianki," *MK v voskresen'e*, 7 June 1998.

9. B. Piliatskin, "'Vrag naroda' Ezhov ostaetsia vragom naroda," *Izvestiia*, 4 and 5 June 1998; L. Razgon, *Plen v svoem otechestve* (Moscow, 1994), p. 50.

10. Shepilov, p. 8.

11. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, l. 265.

12. *Ibid.*, l. 269.

13. *Ibid.*, l. 5.

14. "Poslednee slovo Nikolaia Ezhova," *Moskovskie novosti* 1994, no. 5.

15. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 266, l. 80.
16. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 8.
17. Shepilov, p. 6.
18. Zhavoronkov, p. 52.
19. “Bolshevik Marat”—thus he was praisingly called by both Aleksandr Bezymenskii and Aleksandr Fadeev. See Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 108; A. Fadeev, “Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov: Syn nuzhdy i bor’by,” RTsKhIDNI, f. 671, op. 1, d. 270, ll. 69–86.
20. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, pp. 17–18.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24; Iantemir, “Preliudiiia k ‘ezhovshchine.’ ”
22. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 35; Razgon, pp. 104–6.
23. V. I. Vernadskii, “Dnevnik 1938 g.,” *Sovetskoe obshchestvo: Vozniknovenie, razvitie, istoricheskii final* (Moscow, 1997), 1: 446–92, esp. p. 453.
24. Testimony of I. Ia. Dagin of April 1939: APRF, f. 3, op. 24, d. 375, l. 43.
25. *Rasstrel’nye spiski: Moskva, 1937–1941* (Moscow, 2000), p. 465.
26. Ezhov to Stalin, 6 September 1936: APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 94, l. 43.
27. Memorial archives, execution lists, No. 22N-2565.
28. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, l. 195.
29. *Ibid.*, t. 2, l. 35. At his trial, Ezhov admitted to having ordered that Mar’iasin be beaten: “Poslednee slovo.”
30. Ezhov’s bodyguard, V. N. Efimov: TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, ll. 266–68.
31. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 16–26-ob.
32. D. S. Azbel’ answering questionnaire of S. F. Cohen, Princeton, N.J., August 1983, photocopy, kindly made available by N. Adler.
33. V. Topolianskii, *Vozhdi v zakone: Ocherki fiziologii vlasti* (Moscow, 1996), p. 301.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 295.
35. O. V. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro: Mekhanizmy politicheskoi vlasti v 1930-e gody* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 207–8, 290–91; “Posetiteli kremlevskogo kabineta I. V. Stalina,” *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1994, no. 6; 1995, nos. 2–6.
36. Khlevniuk, p. 210.

37. I. B. Zbarskii, “‘Zhizn’ ’mumii i sud’ba cheloveka: Iz vospominanii khranitelia tela Lenina,” *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 1993, no. 5: 158–64, esp. p. 160.

38. See, e.g., Babulin’s and Konstantinov’s testimony: TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 72, 258, 261.

39. I. Takala, “Natsional’nye operatsii OGPU/NKVD v Karelii,” in V. Vihavainen and I. Takala, eds., *V sem’e edinoi* (Petrozavodsk, 1998), pp. 161–206, esp. pp. 196–97.

40. S. A. Papkov, *Stalinskii terror v Sibiri 1928–1941* (Novosibirsk, 1997), pp. 230–31.

41. See S. Konstantinov, “Malen’kii chelovek,” *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 13 April 2000.

42. A. Iakovlev, *Tsel’ zhizni*, 2d ed. (Moscow, 1970), p. 509.

43. Reference to 1938 in A. Iakovlev, *Tsel’ zhizni: Zapiski aviakonstruktora* (Moscow, 1966), p. 179.

44. RTsKhIDNI, f. 558, op. 4, d. 672, l. 10.

45. F. Chuev, *Sto sorok besed s Molotovym* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 398–400, 402, 438.

46. F. Chuev, *Tak govoril Kaganovich* (Moscow, 1992), p. 89.

47. A. Avtorkhanov, “Memuary,” *Oktiabr’* 1992, no. 8: 142–68, esp. p. 158.