

Notes

[A list of abbreviations of Russian archival sources appears on page 154.]

CHAPTER ONE: “Scurrilous Provocation”

1. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet State: microfilm, 1993–2002. RGANI, f. 89 (The Communist Party on Trial), op. 14, d. 1–20 (Hoover Institution Archives).
2. GARF, f. R-9401, op. 2, d. 65, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document 169. Report of L. P. Beria to I. V. Stalin and V. M. Molotov “About the course of operations for the deportation of Crimean Tartars,” May 19–20, 1944. Top secret.
3. Note that this is the first reference to such a joint commission in the Politburo file.

CHAPTER TWO: The Four Faces of Stalin

1. Boris Bazhanov (translated with commentary by David Doyle), *Bazhanov and the Damnation of Stalin* (Columbus: Ohio State Press, 1990), pp. 104–106.
2. Lars Lih, Oleg Naumov, and Oleg Khlevniuk, editors, *Stalin's Letters to Molotov, 1925–1936*. Letter No. 86 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 239.
3. RGASPI, f. 78, op. 1, d. 455, published in O. V. Khlevniuk, A. V. Kvashonkin, L. P. Kosheleva, and L. A. Rogovaia, *Stalinskoe Politbiuro v 30-e gody: Sbornik dokumentov* (Moskva: AIRO-XX, 1995), pp. 129, 142.
4. RGASPI, f. 558, op. 11, d. 58, p. 80, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 2, p. 154.
5. RGASPI, f. 558, op. 11, d. 58, p. 77, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 2, p. 153.
6. RGASPI, f. 558, op. 11, d. 58, p. 80, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 2, p. 154.
7. RGASPI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 634, pp. 65–135, published in Khlevniuk et al. *Stalinskoe Politbiuro*, cited in O. V. Khlevniuk, *Politbiuro: Mekhanizmy politicheskoi vlasti v 1930-e gody* (Moskva: Rosspen, 1996), pp. 216–29.
8. RGASPI, f. 558, op. 11, d. 95, p. 132, cited in O. V. Khlevniuk, R. Davies, L. P. Kosheleva, E. A. Ris, and L. A. Rogovaia, *Stalin i Kaganovich. Perepiska, 1931–1936 gg.* (Moskva: Rosspen, 2001), p. 683.
9. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, RGANI, f. 89, op. 48, d. 2, p. 1 (Hoover Institution Archives).

10. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, RGANI, f. 89, op. 48, d. 9, 12, 17, 3; op. 73, d. 121 (Hoover Institution Archives).
11. Lars T. Lih, Oleg V. Naumov, and Oleg V. Khlevniuk, editors, *Stalin's Letters to Molotov* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 50, cited in Paul Gregory, *The Political Economy of Stalinism* (New York: Cambridge, 2004), p. 14.
12. Marc Jansen and Nikita Petrov, *Stalin's Loyal Executioner* (Stanford: Hoover Press, 2002), p. 20.

CHAPTER THREE: Lenin's Brain

1. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, RGASPI, f. 89 (The Communist Party on Trial), op. 72, d. 2–12 (Hoover Institution Archives).
2. Tilman Spengler, (translated by Shaun Whiteside), *Lenin's Brain* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1993).
3. www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/works/1925/lenin/12.htm

CHAPTER FOUR: Marginals and Former People

1. N. I. Bukharin. *Izbranye proizvedeniia* (Moskva, 1990), p. 198. cited in O. I. Cherdakov, *Formirovanie pravookhranitel'noi sistemy sovetskogo gosudarstva v 1917–1936 gg* (Saratov: Izdatel'stvo Saratovskogo universiteta, 2001), p. 57.
2. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 174, pp 42–49 published in V. N. Khaustov, V. P. Naumov, and N. S. Plotnikova, editors, *Lubianka: Stalin i VChK-GPU-OGPU-NKVD. Ianvar' 1922-dekabr', 1936* (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnyi Fond Demokratsiia, 2003), pp. 613–616. “Report of L. M. Zakovskii to G. G. Iagoda About Former People,” February 16, 1935.
3. David Shearer, *Policing Stalin's Society* (forthcoming).
4. David Shearer, “Social Disorder, Mass Repression, and the NKVD During the 1930s,” *Cahiers du Monde russe*, 42/2, 3–4 (April-December), 2001, pp. 519–20.
5. GARF, f. R-9401, op. 12, d. 137, pp. 202–204, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, document No. 23, pp. 156–158.
6. GARF, f. R-7523, op. 89, d. 4408, pp. 18–19, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 226, pp. 613–615 (Statistical Appendix). Statistical Data of the Department of Justice Statistics of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the Number of Sentenced in the USSR for the Period 1937 to the First Half of 1955 (excluding those sentenced by special courts).
7. This case is found at the <http://www.memorial.run> site under the heading “Dva Lenskikh rasstrela.”
8. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, GARF, f. R-9479, op. 1, d. 19, p. 9 (Hoover Institution Archives), published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 22. Copy. Report of the Deputy Chief of the GULAG Administration I. I. Pliner to the Deputy Chairman of the OGPU G. G. Iagoda About the Purge of Moscow and Leningrad of “Socially Harmful Elements,” July 28, 1933.

CHAPTER FIVE: The Great Terror

1. <http://www.writing.upenn.edu/~afilreis/Holocaust/wansee-transcript.html>
2. Marc Jansen and Nikita Petrov, *Stalin's Loyal Executioner: People's Commissar Nikolai Ezhov* (Stanford: Hoover Press, 2002), p. 189.
3. TsAFSB, f. 66, op. 5, d. 2, pp. 155–174, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 58, pp. 268–275.
4. The classic study of the Great Terror remains Robert Conquest's *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).
5. Golfo Alexopoulos, *Stalin's Outcasts: Aliens, Citizens, and the Soviet State, 1926–1936*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 166.
6. Mark Iunge and Rol'f Binner, "Kak terror stal 'bol'shim'" (Moscow: AIRO-XX, 2003), pp. 156–163.
7. RGASPI, f. 558, op. 11, d. 1120, pp. 28–44, 48–57, published in V.N. Khaustov, V.P. Naumov, and N.S. Plotnikova, editors, *Lubianka: Stalin i glavnoe upravlenie gosbezopasnosti NKVD 1937–1938* (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnyi Fond Demokratiia, 2004), p. 207.
8. APRE, f. 3, op. 74, d. 21, p. 1.
9. APRE, f. 3, op. 58, d. 212, p. 55–78. Memo of M. P. Frinovskii to the Politburo, with attached NKVD Directive No. 00447, published in Khaustov et al., *Lubianka, Stalin i glavnoe upravlenie gosbezopasnosti*, p. 273.
10. TsAFSB, f. 66, op. 5, d. 2, pp. 155–174, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 58, pp. 268–9.
11. The ending date is from section III.1 of NKVD Order No. 00447.
12. TsAFSB, f. 66, op. 5, d. 2, pp. 155–174, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 58, p. 269.
13. TsAFSB, f. 66, op. 5, d. 2, pp. 155–174, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 58, pp. 269–70.
14. TsAFSB, f. 66, op. 5, d. 2, pp. 155–174, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 58, pp. 270–2.
15. TsAFSB, f. 66, op. 1, d. 1, p. 42 published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga* (Moskva: Rosspen, 2004), Vol. 2, Document No.1, p. 523. Decree of the VChK [Cheka] "About Red Terror." September 2, 1918.
16. TsAFSB, f. 66, op. 5, d. 2, pp. 155–174, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 58, p. 272.
17. *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 60, pp. 277–280. Operational Order of the NKVD No. 00486 "About the repression of wives and the placement of children of convicted traitors of the motherland," August 15, 1937.
18. GARF, f. R-8131, op. 37, file 145, pp. 193–197, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 98, p. 363–365. Declaration of former party workers of Chita province to Deriagin, Secretary of the Chita VKP(b) Committee, about the fabrication of cases by officials of the Chita NKVD Directorate, November 21, 1939.

19. TsAFSB, f. 66, op. 5, d. 2, pp. 155–174, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 58, pp. 272–3.
20. This case is found at the <http://www.memorial.run> site under the heading “Dva Lenskikh rasstrela.”
21. APRE, f. 3, op. 24, d. 302, pp. 96–124, published in Khaustov et al., *Lubianka: Stalin i glavnoe upravlenie gosbezopasnosti*, Document No. 60, pp. 144–156. Special Communication of N. I. Ezhov to I. V. Stalin, with attached interrogation of A. S. Enukidze, 28 April 1937.
22. A. Iu. Vatlin, *Terror raionnogo masshtaba: Massovye operatsii NKVD v Kuntsevskom raione Moskovskoi oblasti, 1937–1938gg* (Moskva: Rosspen, 2004), pp. 45, 48.
23. TsAFSB, f. 66, op. 5, d. 2, pp. 155–174 published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 58, pp. 273–4.
24. APRE, f. 3, op. 58, d. 3, p. 113 (both sides), published in V. N. Khaustov, V. P. Naumov, and N. S. Plotnikova, compilers, *Lubianka: Stalin i VChK-GPU-OGPU-NKVD. Ianvar’ 1922–dekabr’ 1936* (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnyi Fond Demokratiia, 2003), pp. 137–8.
25. Lunge and Binner, p. 226.
26. Lunge and Binner, p. 39.
27. Lunge and Binner, p. 241.
28. TsAFSB, f. 66, op. 5, d. 2, pp. 155–174, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 58, p. 274.
29. GARF, f. 9401, op. 8, d. 51, pp. 1–10, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 2, Document No. 84, p. 173.
30. R. Medvedev and Zh. Medvedev, *Neizvestni Stalin* (Moscow: Folio, 2001), pp. 149–151.
31. Medvedev and Medvedev, p. 144.

CHAPTER SIX: A Tale of Two Sons

1. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, RGANI, f. 89 (The Communist Party on Trial), op. 68, d. 1–7.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Relatives and Falsifying Death Certificates

1. APRE, f. 3, op. 58, d. 10, pp. 14–17, published in A. I. Kokurin and N. V. Petrov, editors, *Lubianka: Organy VChK-OGPU-NKVD-MGB-MVD-KGB, 1917–1991. Spravochnik* (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnyi Fond Demokratiia, 2003), Document No. 164, pp. 663–4; Memo from S. D. Ignatiev to the Politburo “About the order of answering relatives of persons sentenced to death,” October 30, 1951.
2. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, RGANI, f. 89, op. 18, d. 35.
3. GARF, f. R-7523, op. 83, d. 4408, pp 8–9, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 225, p. 610. Statistical information of the Department for

the Preparation of Petitions for Pardoning under the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR about the number of persons sentenced by special USSR courts (military tribunals, transport, and camp courts) in the period from 1940 to the first half of 1955.

4. *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, statistical appendix. pp. 608–645.
5. <http://www.fsb.ru> (publications).

CHAPTER EIGHT: The Ship of Philosophers

1. APRE, f. 3, op. 58, d. 175, pp. 1–2; 7–12, published in Khaustov et al, *Lubianka: Stalin i VChK-GPU-OGPU-NKVD. Ianvar' 1922-dekabr', 1936*, pp. 31–34.
2. RGASPI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 175, p. 31 and d. 304, p. 3, published in *Lubianka*, pp. 39–40.
3. APRE, f. 3, op. 58, d. 2, pp. 36–44, 46–58, published in *Lubianka*, pp. 52, 53.
4. RGASPI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 307, p. 2, published in *Lubianka*, p. 58.
5. APRE, f. 3, op. 58, d. 175, pp. 76–81, published in *Lubianka*, pp. 60–63.
6. Berdiaev's writings from exile published in Parisian émigré journals held in the Hoover Archives are summarized in David Satter, "The 'Russian Idea' of Nikolai Berdyaev," *Hoover Digest*, No. 4, Fall, 2006, pp. 236–242.
7. Vitalii Shetalinskii, "Oskolki serebrianogo veka," *Novy Mir*, 1998, Nos. 5–6.
8. Iurii Brodskii, *Solovki: Dvadsat' let osobogo naznacheniia* (Moskva: Rosspen, 2002), pp. 472–4.
9. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, f. 89 (Compiled by Lora Soroka) (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2001), see entries under "Andropov."

CHAPTER NINE: Who Is the Prisoner Here?

1. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, GARF, f. R-9414, op.1, d. 118, pp. 227a–232 (Hoover Institution Archives), published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 2, Document No. 187, pp. 451–3.
2. GARF, f. R-9414, op. 1, d. 895, pp. 27–30, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 2, Document No. 137, pp. 279–281.
3. G. M. Ivanova, *Labor Camp Socialism: The Gulag in the Soviet Totalitarian System* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2000), p. 140, cited in Anne Applebaum, *Gulag: A History* (New York: Doubleday, 2003), p. 259.
4. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, GARF, f. R-9414, op. 1, d. 947, pp. 191–194, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 2, Document No. 155, p. 356.
5. TsAOPIM, f. 3352, op. 3, d. III, Volume 2, p. 8, cited in Oleg Khlevniuk, *The History of the Gulag* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 222.
6. G. M. Ivanova, *Labor Camp Socialism*, p. 160, cited in Applebaum, pp. 264–5.
7. GARF, f. R-9401, op. 1, d. 2244, pp. 373–4, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 2, pp. 271–2.
8. G. M. Ivanova, *Labor Camp Socialism*, p. 163, cited in Applebaum, p. 261.

9. GARF, f. R-9401, op. 1, d. 2244, pp. 373–4 published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulag*, Vol. 2, Document No. 132, p. 272.
10. GARF, f. R-9401, op. 1, d. 2244, p. 375, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 2, Document No. 132, pp. 272–273.
11. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, GARF, f. R-9414, op. 1, d. 2556, p. 10 (Hoover Institution Archives).
12. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, GARF, f. R-9414, op. 1, d. 2552, p. 8.
13. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, GARF, f. R-9414, op. 1, d. 2561, p. 29.
14. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, GARF, f. R-9414, op. 1, d. 947, pp. 191–194, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 2, Document No. 155, p. 357.
15. A. I. Kokurin and N. V. Petrov, compilers. *GULAG, 1918–1960 gg.* (Moskva, 2000, pp. 318, 320), cited in James Heinzen, “Corruption in the Gulag,” in Leonid Borodkin, Paul Gregory, and Oleg Khlevnyuk, *Gulag: Ekonomika prinuditel'nogo truda* (Moskva: Rosspen, 2005), p. 169.
16. GARF, f. R-9401, op. 1, d. 499, pp. 1–4, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 2, Document No. 61. Order of the NKVD USSR No. 00349 “About the militarized guarding of NKVD camps,” June 5, 1938.
17. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, GARF, f. R-9414, op. 1, d. 39, pp. 67a, 68–71, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 4, Document No. 83, p. 197. Special communication of the deputy director of the operational department of the Gulag M. G. Kogenman to the deputy head of the Gulag G. S. Zavgorodnii “About the cohabitation of militarized guards in the Karagandinskii corrective labor camp with women; drunkenness and other violations of military discipline,” October 22, 1941.
18. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, GARF, f. R-9414, op. 1, d. 39, pp. 156–157, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 4, Document No. 93, p. 216. Special communication of the head of the operational department of the Gulag Ia. A. Iorsh to the deputy minister of internal affairs S. N. Kruglov and the Gulag chief V. G. Nasedkin about the killing of two prisoners by an armed guard in the Yagrinskii corrective labor camp. June 30, 1942.
19. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, GARF, f. R-9414, op. 1, d. 39, pp. 25–60, p. 5.
20. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, GARF, f. R-9414, op. 1, d. 2552.
21. Applebaum, pp. 172–179, 272–3.
22. For documents on Gulag uprisings, see V. A. Kozlov and O. V. Lavinskaia (eds.), *Vosstaniia, bunty i zabastovki zakliuchennykh* in V. P. Kozlov (general editor), *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 6 (Moscow: Rosspen, 2004).

CHAPTER TEN: Reasoning with Stalin on Zero Tolerance

1. Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, “About criminal responsibility for theft of state or socialized property,” June 4, 1947. Criminal Codex of the RSFSR. Moscow, 1950, pp. 142–143.
2. GARF, f. R-5446, op. 86a, d. 8073, pp. 3–12, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gu-*

- laga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 205, pp. 564–568, “Report of the justice minister K. P. Gorshenin to I. V. Stalin about the execution of the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet ‘About criminal responsibility for theft of state and socialized property of June 4, 1947’ for the years 1947–1950,” June 5, 1950.
3. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, GARF, f. R-9474, op. 16, d. 368, pp. 91–93, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 206, pp. 568–570.
 4. GARF, f. R-7523, op. 89, d. 4408, pp. 134–7, published in *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga*, Vol. 1, Document No. 221, pp. 601–2. “Proposal of the Department for preparation of petitions for pardons for examination to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet regarding lowering the term of punishment of those sentenced according to the Decree of June 4, 1947.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: Bolshevik Discourse

1. *Politburo TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b): stenogrammy zasedanii, 1920–1930-e g.g.. V trekh tomakh*, Paul Gregory, Oleg Khlevniuk, and Aleksandr Vatlin, red. (Moskva: Rosspen, 2007).
2. Paul Gregory and Norman Naimark (eds.), *The Lost Transcripts of the Politburo* (New Haven: Yale University Press, forthcoming).
3. RGASPI, f. 17, op. 163, d. 700. Transcript of Combined Meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission, September 8, 1927 (Stenographic Report) “On the Internal Party Opposition.”
4. RGASPI, f. 17, op. 163, d. 1011, pp. 211–215. “Combined meeting of the Politburo and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission on the Question of A. P. Smirnov, Eismont and others,” November 27, 1932.

CHAPTER TWELVE: Invading Afghanistan

1. <http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/20/documents/brez.carter/>.
2. G. F. Krivosheev, *Soviet Casualties and Combat Losses in the Twentieth Century* (London: Greenhill Books, 1993), pp. 285–289.
3. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, RGANI, f. 89, op. 14, d. 24–41.
4. There is no Andropov document per se, but rather notes taken by Anatoly Dobrynin. See <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB57/soviet.html>.
5. Aleksandr Liakhovskii, *Tragediia i doblest' Afgana* (Moskva: GPI Iskon, 1995), pp. 109–112. Aleksandr Liakhovskii was a Major General, General Staff of the Russian Army. During the war in Afghanistan, he served as assistant to Commander of Operative Group of the USSR Defense Ministry in Afghanistan General V. I. Varennikov. The above excerpt was translated by Svetlana Savranskaya, the National Security Archive. See <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB57/soviet.html>.
6. <http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/77conso1.html#chapo1>.
7. Letter of Zbigniew Brzezinski to President Carter, December 26, 1979. See <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB57/soviet.html>.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: “Arbeit Macht Frei”

1. “Arbeit Macht Frei” (“Labor makes you free”) was the sign above the main entrance to the Terezin concentration camp (among others) under the Nazis.
2. Archives of the Soviet Communist Party, RGANI, f. 89, op. 18, d. 36.
3. [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+ru0216\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+ru0216)).
4. These facts and figures are from Eugenia Belova and Paul Gregory, “Hang them All: The Economics of Crime and Punishment Under Stalin,” A paper presented at the American Economic Association Meetings, Boston, January 2005.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: Vladimir Moroz

1. Arkhiv UFSB po g. Moskva i Moskovskoi oblasti. Sledstvennoe delo Moroza Vladimira Grigor'evicha, pp. 1, 2, 6–10. 19–20, 23–24, 32–34, 45, 47–48, published in *Deti Gulaga, 1918–1956* (Mezhdunarodnyi Fond Demokratii i Guverovskii institut: Moskva: Rosspen, 2002), pp. 283–293.

Abbreviations of Russian Archival Sources

TsAFSB	Central Archives of the Federal Security Service
RGASPI	Russian state Archive of Socio-Political History
APRF	Archives of the President of the Russian Federation
GARF	State Archives of the Russian Federation
RGANI	Russian State Archives of Contemporary History
TsAOPIM	Central Archives of Social and Political History of Moscow
Arkiv UFSB	Archives of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service