Notes

Preface

5. See V. Rogovin, Partiia rasstrelannykh (Moscow, 1997), pp. 274, 465.
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: Istorii “zheleznogo” stalinskogo narkoma (Moscow, 2001), p. 42.

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


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

9. Ibid., l. 30.


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


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


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.

20. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 266, l. 78.
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.
25. See Kovalev, Dva stalinskikh narkoma, p. 177.
26. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, 1. 246.
27. Fadeev, “Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov.”
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 fotografii 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.
48. Fadeev, “Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov.”
50. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, ll. 1–2, 41, 42.
52. Fadeev, “Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov.”
53. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 8.
54. Ibid., ll. 44, 53.
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.
62. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 69.
64. Briukhanov and Shoshkov, p. 32.
66. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 25.
71. TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732, l. 69.
72. Istoricheskiy 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.
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).
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.


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.”


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


90. Shepilov, p. 6.


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. Mekhls, and P. Pospelov, “Pravyi uklon v prakticheskoi rabote i partiinoe boloto,” Bol’shevik 1929, no. 16: 39–62,

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.


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


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

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.
22. Testimony of S. F. Redens of 26 May 1939, TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 4, l. 342.
24. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 4, d. 6, l. 22.
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.
29. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 5.
31. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 57; see also, Istochnik 1995, no. 5: 160.
33. Getty and Naumov, pp. 159–60.
34. Khlevniuk, p. 160.
36. Khlevniuk, p. 160; TsKhSD, f. 5, op. 98, d. 148732.
37. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 961, ll. 61, 64–65.
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—in tellectuals, 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.
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 rezoliutsiiakh i resheniiakh s’ezdov, konferentsii i plenunov TsK, izd. 6-e (Moscow, 1941), 2: 635.
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.
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.
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.
73. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 971, l. 49.
74. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 729, ll. 71–72.
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.


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

81. “Poslednee slovo.”


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.


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


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


95. Ibid., p. 14.
96. Revelations from the Russian Archives, p. 90.
99. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 70, ll. 62–77.
102. Ibid.
103. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 572, ll. 67–73.
104. Getty and Naumov, p. 231.
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 otse 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.
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.


115. Reabilitatsiia, p. 176; Briukhanov and Shoshkov, Opravdaniu, p. 51.


117. Reabilitatsiia, p. 218.

118. Ibid., pp. 177, 186.


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

121. Ibid., d. 172, ll. 1–540.


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


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.


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.
7. V. Rogovin, Partiia rasstreliannykh (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.
12. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 81–82.
14. A. Larina (Bukharina), Nezabyvaemoe (Moscow, 1989), pp. 269–70.
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.
21. Ibid.
22. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 176; RTsKhIDNI, f. 671, op. 1, d. 176, ll. 66–74.
24. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 573, l. 2.
27. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 983, l. 50.
33. TsA FSB, f. 3, op. 4, d. 147, l. 34.
34. Rossiiskaia gazeta, 6 November 1993.
36. TsKhSD, f. 89, list 48, doc. 2.
37. Redens’s statement to Beriia, 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.
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. Tshitrianiak, “Rasstrel’noe delo Ezhova: Shtrikh 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.
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 mogut,’’ *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).


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

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

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.
60. Gorbunov, p. 58.
61. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 162, d. 21, l. 133.
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.
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 Ignatia 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.”
72. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 4, d. 6, l. 29.
75. Izvestiia TsK KPSS 1989, no. 4: 50.
79. “Statistika antiarmeiskogo terrora,” Voennno-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 (Tragediya, 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).
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.


91. See note 90 above.

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


94. Ibid., p. 45.


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


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 stalinskoi Rossii 30-kh godov (Kritika ‘revizionistskogo’ podkhoda),” Otechestvennaia istoriia 1998, no. 5: 107–21, esp. p. 117; S. A. Papkov, Staliniskii terror v Sibiri 1928–1941 (Novosibirsk, 1997), pp. 214–15. For the execution of Stalin’s orders in Kiev province: Arkhivy Kremlia 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,

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.


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, *Prauda*, 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.


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: Zapisiki 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.


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:
Notes to pages 85–90


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.


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

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


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


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).


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

34. See Hlevniuk, p. 200.

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


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.


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


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 otse* (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.


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.


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.


63. Firsov, p. 9.

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


66. Petrov and Roginskii, p. 33.

67. Ibid., pp. 33, 40.


70. Petrov and Roginskii, p. 33.


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


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


86. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 162, d. 22, l. 7.

87. Arkhivy Kremlia, p. 20.

88. TsKhSD, f. 89, op. 29, d. 5, l. 1; Tepliakov, “Portrety,” p. 93.


90. TsKhSD, f. 89, op. 73, d. 147, ll. 1–8.

91. Khlevniuk, Politbiuro, pp. 188, 192.


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.


98. Ibid., f. 9414, op. 1, d. 2877, l. 140.

100. Khlevniuk, Politbiuro, p. 192.
101. Istochnik 1995, no. 1: 120.
103. Chuev, Sto sorok, pp. 390, 393–94, 416.
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.
112. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, ll. 1–2.
113. Ibid., ll. 2–3.
116. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 2, ll. 32–35.
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-
Notes to pages 111–115

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: Istoricheskii arkhiv 1993, no. 3: 88–89.


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 GUB 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.


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


10. Suvenirov, p. 146.

11. Ibid., pp. 146–47.


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 Malyi 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.
24. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 7, l. 198.
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.
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.
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. Suvenirov, Tragediiia RKKA, p. 23.
43. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 628, ll. 115–16.
46. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 639, ll. 3–7.
47. Brukhmanov and Shoshkov, Opravdaniu ne podlezhit, p. 125.
49. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 639, l. 13.
50. Ibid., d. 640, ll. 1–2.
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.
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.

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.
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.
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.
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.

Chapter 6


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


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


7. Izvestiia, 30 May 1938.


9. Vodnyi transport, 16 April 1938.


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


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.


Notes to pages 144–149

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.


19. TsA FSB, Archival investigation case of Frinovskii, N-15301, t. 2, l. 173.

20. Ibid., ll. 173–75.

21. Ibid., ll. 177–78.


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 Blukher, see Ezhov’s reports to Stalin of 15 April 1938: ibid., f. 3, op. 5, d. 50, ll. 91–92, 211–14.


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.


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 Beria, 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 Beria, Dekanozov, et al.


37. Istoričeskii 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.


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.


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 Beria 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,” Voennno-isto-
richeskii zhurnal 1990, no. 3: 81–90, esp. p. 89; Sotsialistiche-
skii vestnik 1922, no. 16: 12.

46–48.

52. M. A. Suslov, Marksizm-leninizm i sovremennaiia epokha (Mos-
cow, 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. Stalynym

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.

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, interro-
gation 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,


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


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

73. Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich, 1957: Stenogramma iiun’skogo
plenuma TsK KPSS i drugie dokumenty (Moscow, 1998), p. 44.
Chapter 7

1. Istoricheskii arkhiv 1998, no. 5-6: 22.
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.
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.
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.
22. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 265, ll. 16–26-ob.
24. APRF, f. 45, op. 1, d. 58, ll. 61–62.
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.
35. Ibid., p. 123.
37. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 56–58.

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.


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.


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.


61. Piliatskin, “‘Vrag naroda.’ ”

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

Notes to pages 177–182

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.
68. Photograph with text: Pravda and Izvestiia, 22 January 1939.
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.
75. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 4, l. 159.
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

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.

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


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


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.


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.


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.


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.”


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.
49. E. Shur, “Reabilitiruiut li Ezhova?” Sovershenno sekretno 1998, no. 4: 4–6; Piliatskin, “‘Vrag naroda.’”
52. Il’ves, “Doch’ zheleznogo narkoma.”
54. Khinshstein 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).
61. Rasstrel’nye spiski, 1: 32.
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-Mongolia) was dismissed only in September 1939 and A. E. Rasskazov (Arkhangelsk) 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.
75. APRF, f. 3, op. 58, d. 177, ll. 68–69.

Chapter 9

11. TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 1, l. 265.
12. Ibid., l. 269.
13. Ibid., l. 5.
15. APRF, f. 57, op. 1, d. 266, l. 80.
19. “Bolshevik Marat”—thus he was praishingly called by both
Aleksandr Bezmenkii 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.
21. Ibid., pp. 23–24; Iantemir, “Preliudia k ‘ezhovshchine.’”
23. V. I. Vernadskii, “Dnevnik 1938 g.,” Sovetskoe obshchestvo:
Vozniknovenie, razvitie, istoricheskii final (Moscow, 1997), 1: 446–92,
esp. p. 453.
375, l. 43.
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, Vozhd 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 kremlev-
skogo kabineta I. V. Stalina,” Istoricheskii arkhiv 1994, no. 6; 1995,
nos. 2–6.
37. I. B. Zbarskii, “‘Zhizn’ ‘mumii i suđ’ba cheloveka: Iz vospomini-
38. See, e.g., Babulin’s and Konstantinov’s testimony: TsA FSB, f. 3-os, op. 6, d. 3, ll. 72, 258, 261.
43. Reference to 1938 in A. Iakovlev, Tsel’ zhizni: Zapiski aviakon-
struktora (Moscow, 1966), p. 179.
44. RTsKhIDNI, f. 558, op. 4, d. 672, l. 10.
46. F. Chuev, Tak govoril Kaganovich (Moscow, 1992), p. 89.