Description of materials in TsA FSB H 7825 vol. 2.

The file bears an older classification on the front: «Следственное дело № 374» Морозова Сергея Сергеевича, Морозова Даниила Ивановича, Кулukanова Арсентия Игнатьевича, Силина Арсения Никитовича и Морозовой Ксении Ильинишны. [Investigation File no. 374: Morozov Sergei Sergeevich, Morozov Daniila Ivanovich, Kulukanov Arsenty Ignat'evich, Silin Arseny Nikitovich and Morozova Kseniya Il'inishna].

On the title page:

СССР
НКВД: Управление по Свердловской области Дело №......
Дело об убийстве Павлика Морозова

Том №
Начало ,, ’’ 193
,, ’’ 193

[USSR]
NKVD: Sverdlovsk Province Head Office File No. .......
File on the Murder of Pavlik Morozov

Vol. No.____
Begun ,, ’’ 193
,, ’’ 193]

Inside the back cover, the file is stamped: «Листы проверены и сброшюрованы» Техническая Лаборатория Учетно-Архивного отдела КГБ при СМ СССР.

[Pages checked and placed in binding. Technical Laboratory of the Records and Archive Section of the KGB, Soviet of Ministers, USSR].

A stamped signature, Прохоров [Prokhorov], follows.

There is also a stamp with a similar heading, signature illegible, bearing the legend Зафильмировано, 9 апреля 1965 [Microfilmed, 9 April 1965].

An additional sheet before л. 1 [folio 1] is an untitled memo dated 15 May 1941, Вход № 4408, committing the file «для проведения в порядок и хранения в архиве, т. к. последнее имеет историческое значение» [for placing in order and storage in the archive, since this latter [=the file] has historical significance]. The directive is signed Ушаков, Врид начальника и Ушенин, начальник 2 отдел. УНКГБ по к/о [Ushakov, Acting Director, and Ushenin, Director, Special Operations Administration of the People’s KGB].

Across the memo has been written in pencil, «Обеспечить особое хранение» [Special storage conditions to be ensured].

The materials are in poor condition, with most documents on high-acid paper that is now very faded and brittle. Some words at the margins of pages have been caught in the stitching of the binding, or are now so rubbed that they are invisible; rubbing has also occurred with the

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1 Below, folio numbers are routinely given in the Russian form: л. 34 for folio 34, etc.
bottom sections of some pages. Most of the sheets are hand-written, in ink, or occasionally in pencil. The ink is mostly dark violet, faded no doubt from dark blue.

The documents are now arranged in roughly chronological order, rather than in the way in which they were organised when the case for the show trial was put together. Folio numbers in the overview statements (обвинительный акт, case for the prosecution etc.) are therefore not the same as those on file at the present time, and the former cannot now be reconstructed.

The records of interrogations give little sense of the way that these interrogations were actually conducted. They are generally presented as continuous statements, without citation of the questions and responses from the investigator that must have shaped the drift of discussion. The time at which the interrogations took place was not recorded, nor was the length of time that these sessions lasted. (Comparison with materials held in the Archive of Memorial, St Petersburg, e.g. Investigation File no. 53212-арх: Case of Leonid Andreevich Adler and Others (Следственное дело № 53212-арх, Адлер Леонид Андреевич и других), the so-called ‘Tolstoyans Case’ (Дело толстовцев) would suggest that this was typical for the day: see e.g. the record of the interrogation of Petr Petrovich Zerenkov, ll. 21-4, which consists essentially of an oral admission of hostility to Soviet power on pacifist grounds: ‘By conviction I am an opponent of the violently compulsory nature of the measures enacted by Soviet power’ (По своим убеждениям я являюсь противником всех насильственных мероприятий сов. власти) (l. 24).)

лл. 1-28 generally consist of протоколы допросов [interrogation records], mostly conducted by Yakov Titov, and involving various residents of Gerasimovka. According to the headings, they date from 6-8 September 1932. The handwriting used is clumsy, and spelling and grammar leave much to be desired, so that transcription of some sections has to be considered provisional.

лл. 1-2 Voluntary statement [протокол заявления] by Tatiana Morozova, given to Suvorov [recorded as a local police inspector]. It is dated 6 September 1932. In it, Tatiana lays out the story of how she got on badly with the parents because she and the father had split up in 1931, how PM betrayed his father to the authorities, etc.

These sheets are in particularly poor condition, but the beginning of the record is more or less legible:2

‘September 6 I the district inspector of no. 4 district, Tavda, today took down a statement from cit.-ess Morozova Tatiana Semenovna aged 35 illiterate no party affiliation married, has four children at home, social situation poor peasant no previous convictions declared resides Gerasimovka village Gerasimovka village Soviet cautioned re. false testimony acc. to art. 95 of the crim. code she stated as follows: my relations in Gerasimovka village were my father-in-law and mother-in-law only I didn’t get on with them because I was married to their son but in 1931 I split up with him and then my husband started selling documents to the exiles but my son pavel aged 13 he was a Pioneer and he went and told on my husband for selling documents on account of which my husband imprisoned and then his father and mother got cross at my son that he’d told on his father and threatened to stab my son and the grudge lasted up and till now and there was a case where my nephew out of bad feeling the grandson of my father-in-law the grandson of old Morozov beat up my son out of nastiness and he told policeman Titov and then after the 2 this month I went up to Tavda to take [text extremely unclear at this point, but the word ‘letter’ appears to be visible] […] and came from there on the 5 this month and my children weren’t there the oldest boy Pavel and the second boy3

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2 Russian transcriptions of this material will appear in the Russian-language edition of Comrade Pavlik (in preparation).
3 Thus literally, but presumably she means ‘a second son’.
Fyodor and when I got home I started looking, and then I went and told and then we went off [...] to the police [...] I was sitting by the window and I saw citizeness Kulukanova Khima go to her father Morozov Sergei, and then a little while later along came Kulukanov Arsenty also on his way to Morozov, and after that Silin Arsenty with nothing on his feet and no coat also on his way to Morozov’s, and then I started getting suspicious why they were all going to Morozov Sergei’s, after which later these citizens left Morozov’s and out came Morozov and his wife Aksin’ya and they come out quickly from their house and they goes over to Kulukanov Arsenty’s and a bit later they all come out from Kulukanov’s and then they goes to Silin Arsenty’s from where they went off somewhere else and then I thought maybe they’d snatched my children and were meaning some harm to them and then I went again to the policeman who sent people out to find my children and then they found my children in the woods beyond the village all cut to pieces, and so Morozov Sergei and his grandson Danila was under suspicion. That is all I have to say this is a true record of my words and has been read aloud to me [...] recorded by inspekter Suvorov of district 4.'

 carc. 3-5 additional testimony [добавлены к протоколу] taken down from Tatiana Morozova by Kartashev, dated 11 Sept. 1932. Here Tatiana repeated the allegations about a plot involving Sergei and Aksin’ya Morozova, Danila Morozov, the Kulukanovs and Arsenty Silin ‘because all that kulak band always got together as a group and they had talks about how they hated Soviet power’ and also Soviet leaders and the Party; her son, on the other hand, was a Pioneer who ‘fought with all his strength for the measures being taken’, and had ‘mercilessly’ exposed [?] his father for selling documents to ‘class hostile elements’, for which his father had got 10 years in prison. Pavel had also tirelessly denounced the other activities of this kulak band to the village soviet and ‘to other organisations’, ‘and so they hated him and in every way tried to sweep this young Pioneer off the face of the earth’.

л. 6 Record of the Removal of the Bodies [«Протокол подъема трупов»], signed by Titov, not dated.

On 6 September 1932 at one p.m. I district inspector Titov in the presence of Ermakov Kiril [,] Potupchik Denis [,] Ermakov Petr [,] Prokopovich Osip [,] Pulyashkin Egor [,] Kniga Maxim [,] Ostrovsky Andrei [,] Shatrakov Dmitry[,] on 6 September it having been announced by morozova Tatiana that her two Morozov boys Pavel 14 and Fedor 9 had got lost [,] they was found after a search 1 kilometre away from the village of Gerasimovka by a grove under a sergina [?fir? birch?] 10 metres away from the path morozov Pavel was lying with his head in an easterly direction on his head was a sack in his left hand between his index finger and thumb the flesh was cut and the mortal blow had been struck into the belly in the left half [,] out of which the guts was poking the second blow was in the chest next to the heart under what [sic.] cranberries was lying and some distance away was a basket his left leg was in a ring shape his other one was stuck out to the side half a metre away by his head in the easterly direction was a pine sapling about two inches in diameter at his feet stood two aspens about two inches in diameter, around the corpse there was scrub of birch and pine saplings The second corpse[,] of Morozov Fedor lay a diss tans of 15 metres away with its head in an easterly direction a blow had been aimed at the head with a stick and the right cheek was covered in blood there was no sign of a wound and the mortal blow had been aimed at the belly in the area of the belly-button and had guts poking through, and the right hand was also cut to the bone there was a bog bee side the corpse by which he was lying on its edge among sparse aspen saplings The mortal blows was struck with a knife See reverse side

Signatures of witnesses
1. Ostrovsky Andrei
2. Ermakov Peter
3. Efimkov
4. Pulyatkin [sic.] Yegor
5. ....
6. Pulyatkin
7. ....
8. ....
9. ....
10. ....

Dist. inspector of the WPM Titov

л. 7 Record of the Inspection of the Bodies [“Акт [об осмотре мертвых тел]”], a handwritten note detailing the injuries to Fyodor Morozov, signed by medical orderly Makarov, and dated 8 Sept., 8 a.m.

I Titov inspector of district 8 in the presence of an orderly from the Malogorodishchenskii Medical Point and of the Witnesses Ermakov Pyotr Kniga Avrian and Berkin Ivan this day did Conduct an Inspection of the body of a person Murdered in the village of Gerasimovka Morozov Fyodor Upon Which the following came to light. The mortal wound was inflickted on his left side with a knife below the ear 2 cm in length From the Right Side in the stomach below the last rib 3 cm long is one wound through which part of the guts have poked out which was the cause of death. Also in the right arm about 4 cm above the wrist joint on the outside [of the arm] was inflicted another wound as I certify here to which the following put their hands:
District inspector [signed] Titov
Medical orderly [signed] Makarov
Witness 1 [no signature]
Witness 2 [no signature]
Witness 3 [no signature]

л. 8 House Search Protocol [“Протокол обыска”], recording the removal of the bloodstained shirt and trousers from Sergei Morozov’s house. Dated 6 Sept. Titov. Records that T. and three witnesses (Ermakov Kirill, Kniga Maksim, Potupchik Denis) had searched the house and discovered ‘linen trousers, striped, with blood on them, which had been washed and were lying at the bottom of a barrel. The front trouser leg is smeared in blood and the left also has blood smears on the knee, and on the back next to the waist-band are smears of blood, as has been set down in the record of the search.’

л. 9 A note by medical orderly Makarov on the trousers, and how traces of blood have not been removed by fierce laundering. It is dated 7 Sept.

л. 10-11 Record of the Inspection of the Bodies [“Акт”], dated 7 Sept. and describing the injuries to Pavel Morozov. It is signed by Titov and Makarov, and is recorded on an official form, though most of the sections (e.g. on inspection of internal organs) have been left blank. The body is described as wearing a padded jacket [дубаїка], as being in rigor mortis, as having reddish-brown hair [русяе], a white face, open eyes, a closed mouth, and tongue behind its teeth. The section at the back gives a description of Pavel’s wounds.

л. 12 Interrogation record [“Протокол допроса”] of Sergei Morozov by Titov, 7 September. Sergei Morozov describes how he and Danila went ot the fields on 3 September – he was sowing, D. was harrowing. He went home after finishing sowing, but his nephew stayed on and only came home when the harrowing was finished. He then had dinner and went out

4 Worker and Peasant Militia (Raboche-krestyanskaya militsia).
5 The text appears in Istoricheskii arkhiv, April 2004. As the editor, Denis Shibaev notes, Kniga and Potupchik did not in fact sign the search record.
somewhere unknown to SM. SM had heard later that Tatiana’s children were lost. On 5 September Danila had told him they were in the woods, and one had three wounds and the other two, but he didn’t say which wounds. And the trousers found with blood on them had been worn by Danila on 3 September. And Anton Shatrakov’s sons must also be participants in the murder because they were angry at Pavel for having told on them for having a hidden gun; the gun had then been taken from them, after which Efrem and Filipp Shatrakov had threatened to kill Pavel.⁶

13 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Prokhor Ivanovich Varygin, 7 September. Names the Shatrakov brothers and Danila Morozov as the likely killers, citing Pavel’s denunciation over a hidden gun as provocation.

1932 /IX 7 [i.e. 7/IX/1932] I Titov the local inspector of the w. and p. militia Tavda disrikt on this day interrogated citizen Varygin Prokhor Ivanovich aged 18 non party barely literate says has no convictions poor peasant farm property 1 cow lives in Garosimka [sic.] villilage [sic.] Girasimovsky v.soviet Tavda district warned withrespekt to falsetestimony putt putenink [pertaining to] the present case I state

on 3 September 1932 in our village the brothers morozov pavel and fodor was knifed in the woods and people think morozov danil and shatrakov Efrem done it because shatrakov was angry the whole time with morozov pavel bekos morozov pavel told on them for having a gun hidden and on account of this he shatrakov made threats to pavel saying as I’ll kill you or cut your throat and then on 6 September when they brought in their bodies the brothers Mororozovs then i Varygi [sic.] got sent by district inspector titov to arest the shatrakovs and I could see it was Shatrakov Efrem what had done it seeing he was in a frightened condition and when he was brought in then shatrakov Edor [Efrem] he came to an understanding with morozov danil when they were sitting under arest in the barn⁷ and I varygin was acting as a police helper [?] and dis. inspect. Titov had sent me and them as was in the barn Morozov danil and shatrakov said we wont confess and morozov said ile say when they interrogate me those things what see other side [13 rev.] they found when they searched are my grandads and you Shatrakov say that I never saw morozov danila and then they wont do nothing to us they’ll hold us and then they’ll let us go they’ll say my grandad Morozov sirgei done it bekos ile say as those trousers they found fit my granddad and you and i didn’t see each other 3 September you say Efrem as you went off early in the morning to get the horses out of the fields and then you went sowing rye in the fields and [you saw] morozov danil and granddad sirgei morozov going sowing as well that’s what my grandmother morozova aksinya told me danila to say and then they’d do nowt to us and sheel tell the same story i can’t say no more the protocol is a true record of my words and has been read aloud to me and I hereby put my signature to it Varygin interrogation conducted by dis. inspector district 8 WPM Titov

⁶I Varygin Prokhor add to my testimony that the murderers morozov Danil, Morozov Sergei and his wife Aksenya had (? Paper torn at this point) very friendly relations with their sons inlaw from the Kulukan tribe with Kulukanov Arsenty and his wife Khima and with Silin Arsenty theyd often meet and drink together and I think the murdered activist Morozov Pavel and his brother Fyodor was [done in] because of Kulak agitation, because Morozov Pavel kept denouncing [донosiли] the evil deeds [?vylazki] of the aforesaid kulaks against the Sov. measures being taken to the v/Soviet and other organisations

⁷Filipp Shatrakov does not appear elsewhere in the testimony as a suspect: he was Efrem’s younger brother, so probably about 16 at the time of the case (see p. 141)

⁸In a different hand from the first part of the record; appears to have been added by Spiridon Kartashev.
Varygin [signed]⁹


[14]
And besides Shatrakov Efrem had boasted he’d shoot Morozov Pavel only Shatrakov kept his [?] gun hidden and didn’t have no lisens, what he had that gun for I dunno, and Pavel said that I’d [i.e. he, Pavel would] tell on Shatrakov They’ll take his gun away and he wont kill me and it really was at the initiative of that pioneer as dis. inspector Titov took away the gun following which Shatov [sic.: Shatrakov] had it in for Pavel and very often Morozov Pavel [14 rev.] would appear at general citizens assemblies and speak in favour of the suksess of the measures being taken, and also at meetings he would say things about Kulaks that they was hiding things or grain and so on and he did this about Kulukanov Arsenty and others, that the cart belonging to Kulukanov Arsenty, who had been dekulakised, was hidden at Morozov Sergei’s, and because of this all the aforesaid kulaks hated Pavvel [sic.] and was trying to get rid of him
To which I put my signature Varygin
Interrogation conducted by Kartashev

л. 15 Additional testimony [дополненя к протоколу] by Varygin, given to Titov, undated. Records threatening comments made about the Morozov boys by [Efrem?] Kniga, in response to a comment by Prokopovich that the boys’ killers should be shot.

л. 16 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Dmitry Antonovich Shatrakov, recorded by [Ivan] Potupchik (named as ‘leader of the Gerasimovka Brigade of Police Aides’, бригадир Герасимовской бригады содействия РКМ). Dated 7 Sept. Dmitry categorically denied his guilt, saying that he had been at a military medical inspection all day on 3 September.

л. 17 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Antonovich [sic.: Anton] Nikonovich Shatrakov, aged 58, described as a ‘middling peasant’, with 11 children, barely literate. Potupchik, 8 Sept. Efrem had gone off on 3 Sept. to fetch the horses, had harnessed them and gone off to sow rye, which he was doing till the evening, as Egor Pulyashkin and Prokhor Sakov could confirm. He came back, and then he went out again, ‘I don’t know where’, and returned only at supper, when he said he had been at Prokopovich’s. Then the next day, he had gone berry-picking with his mother. Anton knew he was under suspicion for the murder, but could not say whether he had done it or not.

л. 18. Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Olga Shatrakova by Titov, 8 Sept. Her age is given as 50, and she is down as the mother of 10 [sic.!] children. She knew her son to be under suspicion but was certain he had not done it. Efrem had been out working in the fields ‘with his father’ [хал напопи сацом] on 3 September. He had then visited Prokopenko and had come back as everyone was having breakfast [sic.] On 4 September she nad he had gone for berries. She had only heard the boys were missing when Tatiana returned and started looking for them.

л. 19 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Aksin’ya Morozova by Titov, 7 Sept. She knew Danila to be under suspicin but had no idea whether he had done the stabbing. On 3 September Sergei had been sowing and Danila harrowing. Her husband had come back and eaten and then gone to bed, and on 4 September she and he had gone to see their son Ivan in

⁹ The signature appears to be in different handwriting from the signature on the first part of the protocol above.
Kiselovo and returned the same day to find Danila at home. When she did the washing the next day, she found blood on Danila's trousers.

л. 20 Form of undertaking by Morozova Aksin'ya not to leave the vicinity of Gerasimovka, 7 Sept.

л. 21 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Danila Morozov, aged 18, by Suvorov [not dated]. Danila stated the Morozov boys had come up to him when he was harrowing; he had been wearing a white shirt and black trousers belonging to his grandfather. The next day, his grandfather had worn them to go to Kiselevo. He had no idea why the blood was there.

л. 22 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Danila Morozov, 7 Sept., by Potupchik. Danila stated that he had been harrowing, and that after supper he had gone to collect the mown grass. He had heard a cry from the woods and gone there to find Dmitry and Efrem Shatrakov with their hands covered in blood. They threatened him unless he kept silent. An addition to the testimony, also on 7 Sept., carries a retraction: Dmitry had not killed the boys: Danila and Efrem had (Danila holding them down, and E. doing the stabbing).

[22 rev.]
I Morozov Daniil add to the record of my interrogation that I shouldn't of sed as Shatrakov Dmitry he killed the Morozov brothers Pavel and Fyodor. I sed that cos I wanted to hide me own traces of the crime And it was me and Shatrakov Efrem what stabbed them Shatrakov Efrem stabbed them And I held them down. I told my grandfather Morozov Sergy [sic.] on 5 September as we killed them by Shatrakov [these two words crossed out] we gave one [boy] two knife wounds and the other three To which I put my hand Morozov Daniil
Interrogation conducted by Police Aide I. D. Potupchik
7/IX 32.

л. 23 Record of face-to-face confrontation [«Протокол очной ставки подозреваемых убийств Морозовых»] for Danila Morozov and Efrem Shatrakov, 9 Sept. Danila testified that he grabbed Pavel's arm and Efrem stabbed him, and Fyodor ran off into the woods. Efrem denied all this.

Protocol of [interrogation on the basis of] a face-to-face confrontation of a suspect of the murder of the Morozovs

[23] 1932 9/IX I morozov danila on 3 september 1932 went to harrow the field and shatrakov efrem was takin his horse home from the field and we ud agreed earlier we ud kill em or cut their throats and seeing as i live next door to morozov i saw them [him and his brother] going for berries and i morozov danil said to shatrakov efrem that Morozov pavel and fodor was going for berries you come over to my field and we’ll go and kill them and efem shatrakov he came over to me and we went along the path with him and we met morozov pavel and fodor and I morozov danila I [these four words crossed out] met [them] on the path I morozov danila grabbed pavel by the arm and shatrakov efem stuck his knife in morozov pavel and morozov fyodor went running off into the woods And pavel fell down on the path with his head in the bushes and we dumped im there and ran off for morozov Fyodor I morozov danil caught morozov fyodor I caught him and shatrakov stuck his knife into his belly and his head (?) and he fell down
PTO
[23 rev.] continuation of the interrogation of morozov danil shatrakov efem cut morozov fyodor across the throat and we went running back to the path running to the place where we seen morozov pavel but he wasn't nowhere on the path and so we went home and shatrakov took his little knife back home I can’t say no more the protocol
is a true record of [my] words and has been read aloud to me to which I hereby put my signititure

Morozov

I Shtrakov Efrem on 3 September was harrowing in the fields all day right till evening when I was taking the horses from the fields morozov danila was going to harrow and we didn’t say nothing to each other and he didn’t say let’s go and kill the morozov brothers pavel and fodor and Anushenko vasily can confirm this and I shtrakov efrem did not go out to the fields to him in the evening and didn’t stab the morozov brothers that is all I have to say this is a true record of my words and has been read aloud to me to which I put my signititure Shtrakov.

l. 24 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Efrem Shtrakov by Titov, 8 Sept.

Interrogation Protocol of Suspect
8 September I dis. inspector Titov of the 8 district of the WP militia administrashun interrogated in the capacity of a person accused of murder Citizen Shtrakov Efrem aged 15 peasant srednyak no party affiliashun unmarried barely literate lives in the village of girosimka girasimsky v/soviet puttinen [pertaining to] the case I state on 3 September 1932 in our village of Girasimka Girasimsky village soviet in our village the brothers morozov pavel and fodor [sic.] got killed they suspect me efrem shtrakov but I didnt have nuffin to do with it i was harrowin in the fields on 3 september and sakov Prokhor Nikolaevich Volkov Konstantin Minaivich Anushenko Vasily and Shtrakov Fodor Nikonovich can bear me out and I shtrakov efrem was harrowin right to the evening until it got dark and then I went home unharnesed the horses and took them out to the fields and then i went home and started havin me dinner and we had our dinner me too and then when Ide eaten I went into the village to prokopenko vasily he also had his lights on in his house and when I left prokopenkos I went back to bed on 5 september 1 shtrakov efrem was dead tired in the morning and so my mum and I went out to get berries cranberries they were out beyond the fir thicket and i didn’t know the morozov brothers had been killed till on 6 september they was found in the woods killed my brother shtrakov dmitry he found them and i don’t know who killed them I can’t say no more the protocol is a true record and has been read aloud to me to which i put my signititure Shtrakov

Interrogation conducted by dis. inspector, 8 district, administrashun WPM tavda disrikt Titov.

[24 rev.] addition [to] the interrogation protocol of shtrakov Efem I wish to explain that on 3 September I was harowin our field and when Ide finished harowin then I went home it wasn’t late the sun was high dunno what time weve got no clock and then when I got back I took the harness off of the horses and then took em to the fields And then I went to the field where Morozov danila was harowin and we two had agreed in the morning when I shtrakov was fetchin in the horses And Morozov danila was going to the fields that 3 September and danila he says to me that today the morozov boys are going to get cranberries off the bog and their mam has gone to the station10 and weell kill em or stab em When I met morozov danila [i.e. later that day] Id brought along a little knife and then we went down the path and we met morozov pavel and Fodor not far away from the field in the woods and I went and stuck my knife into pavel into his belly and danil went running after fedor and he also stuck his knife in his chest in the woods and pavel got away from me and danila came runing up and we got hold of pavel and stabbed him and then we put a sack on his head so that even if he was alive he’d never find his way back home i cant say no more the protocol is a true record to which I put my signititure Shtrakov

Interrogation conducted by dis. insp. 8 dis. Titov.

10 i.e. to Tavda, where there was a stop on the railway line.
л. 25 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Pulyashkin Egor Efremovich by Titov, 8 Sept. He was out harrowing next to Efrem Shatrakov, and when he went home the latter stayed on. He had no idea the Morozovs were out for berries, and only gathered they were missing when Tatiana got back and simply assumed they might be lost. But now he thought Danila might have done the murder, because ‘they were always mad at each other and often had rows and because of some kind of harness saddle, Morozov Danila beat up Morozov Pavel and the shatrakovs were mad too because Morozov Pavel had told that they had a gun hidden’ [как они всю время были сердиты часть скандалами и закакуют седелку Морозов Данила бил Морозова Павла и также были сердиты шатраковы за что что Морозов Павел доказал что у них скиванца ружо].

л. 26 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Dmitry Shatrakov by Titov, 6 Sept. Records that Titov had organized a search on 6 September; the gun confiscated earlier had been returned to Dmitry that morning. Dmitriy had gone hunting, and one of his dogs, pursuing a shot duck, had uncovered the bodies.

л. 27 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Prokopenko Vasily Fodorovich [sic.] by Titov 8 Sept. He repeated the story about the Shatrakovs’ anger over the gun, and accused Danila as well.

[27]
[…] Prokopenko Vasily Fodorovich aged 50 illiterate non party member has convictions married 8 children peasant srednyak [sic.] has a house with outbuildings 2 horses 1 cows [sic.] 2 head small animal
[…] pertaining to the present case I testify that on 3 September 1932 I was mowing and home I got home [sic.] in the evening the sun not yet being gonedown and in my house was sitting shatrakov Efem Antonovich and then potupchik ivan arrived him as is tresur as had been guarding the kulak grain11 They stayed in my house and I prokopenko had no idea as those morozovs been getting berries they was murdered there I only found out when they was founded murdered And they were cross with the Morozovs because Morozov Sirgei Sirgei [sic.] sirgeevich by tale-telling of that pavel morozov12 and shatrakov Efem he was cross on him as well because that morozov pavel he went and told where the shatrakovs had their gun hidden and I saw see other side
27 rev. when the were taking the gun from the shatrakovs the policeman and the witnesses and who killed pavel and fodor I don’t know they’re saying things against morozov danil and against shatrakov Efem I can’t say no more the protocol is a true record of [my] words and has been read aloud and I hereby
signed by personal request on behalf  Prokhorov [?] 

л. 28 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Ana [sic.] Stipanchenuka [sic.], aged 28, by Titov, 6 Sept. She had seen Aksin’ya Morozova with Anastasiya Sakova and with Mariya Bashkova, but not with the Morozov boys. She also saw Anton and Efrem Shatrakov working in the fields.

лл. 29-47 comprise a further group of interrogation records [«Протоколы допросов»], but this time mostly for sessions conducted by Potupchik and/or Kartashev, and mostly dating from 11-12 September 1932.

л. 29 Witness statement on a proper pro forma [Протокол допроса по делу №...] taken down by Kartashev from Potupchik, and dated 11 September 1932.13 The murder of the Morozovs

11 i.e.stopping those branded as kulaks from taking their own grain, now considered common property .
12 i.e., because Pavel had been telling tales on his grandfather.
13 This document, dated 4 September 1932, appears in Yury Druzhnikov, Donoschik 001, where it is used as evidence for the involvement of Kartashev and Potupchik in the murders.
was political, since Pavel was a ‘Pioneer and activist’, and had denounced Arseny Kulukanov and Sergei Morozov for hiding grain, and had also denounced his father for supplying false documents to special settlers and to Kulukanov and his wife Khima.\footnote{This latter allegation is certainly fantastic, as it is clear from the records of Kulukanov’s interrogations (see below) that the charge of being a kulak had been quashed by the cassation court (i.e. recognised as unjust to begin with). He would therefore not have needed false identity papers.}

10 A page of what appears to be a report (in Kartashev’s handwriting) claiming that Danila and Efrem had done the murder together because of ‘kulak agitation’ by the Kulukanovs, Arseny Silin, and Sergei and Aksinya Morozov.

30 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Anastasiya Sakina [sic.=Sakova], aged 11, conducted by Kartashev in the presence of ‘school-teacher Kabina’ and of Potupchik. Dated 11 Sept. 1932. Sakina claimed she had seen Aksinya Morozova with Pavel and Fyodor on 3 September.

31 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Anastasiya Sakina [sic.=Sakova], aged 11, conducted by Kartashev in the presence of ‘school-teacher Kabina’ and of Potupchik. Dated 11 Sept. 1932. Sakina claimed she had seen Aksinya Morozova with Pavel and Fyodor on 3 September.

32-3 Record of face-to-face confrontation [«Протокол допроса на очной ставке»] of Anastasiya Sakova [sic.] and Anna Stepanchenko. Anna S. says that she did not see boys with Kseniya, and Sakova repeats her testimony that she did see Kseniya with the boys. Signed by Varygin. Not dated.

34 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Efim Ignat. Galizov by Kartashev. Dated 12 Sept. Pavel had denounced Arseny Silin for selling a cartload of potatoes to the special settlers. Danila Morozov and Arseny Kulukanov had made threats to Pavel.

36-37 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Iosif Protopovich by Kartashev. 12 Sept. Protopovich stated that Pavel had come along when he, inspector Titov, Ivan Potupchik, Grigory Kniga and Surosim Netyshov, chairman of the village soviet, were searching the Shatrakovs’ and had told Anton to give up the gun. Efrem Shatrakov had made threats. Prokopovich also made various insinuations about the possible involvement of the Kniga family, and recalled that, on 3 Sept. at about 17 hours, he had seen Efrem Shatrakov emerge from the woods where the boys were murdered. Nearby Prokhor Sakov was harrowing. Efrem had walked up to him, they had had an exchange of some kind, and then Shatrakov had gone back into the woods.

38 Record of face-to-face confrontation [Протокол допроса на очной ставке] of Aksinya Morozova and Ana Stipanchenkino (sic.). Undated. The two tell the same story: that Aksinya was not with Pavel and Fyodor on 6 September. Stepanchenko additionally records seeing Efrem Shatrakov and Danila Morozov working in adjacent fields.

39 Record of admission [Протокол опознания], taken down by Kartashev (12 September): Sergei Morozov states that Kseniya washed the trousers.

40: Statement —"0": i.e. signed letter by Pavel Egorovich El’shin, dated 11 September. This states that Pavel had made many denunciations, including against the Kulukanovs and against the Shatrakovs, and that they had been killed soon after the search was made for the gun.

41 Additional testimony [«Добавление к протоколу гражданина Морозова Сиригея Сиригеевича»], signed Titov and I. Potupchik, and with a post-script by Mikhail Potupchik. Dated 12 September. This gives a long and involved story about how the dekulakised Kulukanov’s colt got taken by Mizunin [sic.], and kept until Kulukanov returned home. Pavel then went to policeman Titov and reported what was going on. The testimony, and the post-script, record alleged threats made by Mizunin against Pavel.
л. 42: Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Vladimir Mezukhin (sic.) by Kartashev.
Dated 12 Sept. Mezukhin denies the allegations, saying that he bought the horse from Kulukanov, and did not hide any property.

л. 43 Vladimir Mezyukhin (sic.) gives undertaking not to leave the vicinity.

л. 44-6 ‘Description of the Gerasimovka Village Kulaks. Issued by the Gerasimovka Village Soviet’ [«Характеристика 1932 года 12 сентября. Выдана Герасимовским с/советом Тавд. района Урал. области на группу кулаков деревни Герасимовки Герасимовского с/совета.»]. 12 September. Kulukanov Arseny Nikitovich is described as having had a kulak farm [кулацкое хозяйство] from 1921 and employed wage labour till 1931. People had to work for him to earn their bread [за хлеб]. Denis Potupchik worked thus in 1932 [corrected to 1922]. And then Kulukanov refused to lend Potupchik his horse in return for his labour, and told him to wait till the Kulukanovs were finished with it. Silin also employed wage labour and speculated in cattle, and no measures were taken to deal with any of this. Trofim Morozov was then chairman of the village soviet, and ‘made all sorts of concessions to these people’ [«делал им снженние по всем государственным дадолжностям [sic.].»]. He started making documents and selling them through his agents [«и для широкого употребления продажи документов завел на деревне и в колониях Агентов»]. But his son Pavel, then in school, took action [«Павел не посчитал с своим отцом взял заявил о его проделках»]. And so Trofim was arrested, and documentary evidence was found, and he got 10 years. Kulukanov and Silin threatened Pavel, but he wouldn’t give up what he was doing. The Morozov grandparents had made threats, and Danila had beaten Pavel up. The document also repeats the story about the Shatrakovs and their gun.

л. 47 Record of House Search [«Протокол обыска»], by Titov. 12 Sept. 1932. A search of Kulukanov’s house was made in the presence of Karp Yudov and of Osip Prokopovich, looking for a missing farm cart [ходок], which Kulukanov had been invited to give up voluntarily and had not. The cart had been found after a search, and later, two [cart] wheels had been found buried in Silin’s vegetable patch as a favour to Kulukanov.

лл. 48-55 The official charge sheets [«Постановления о предъявленные обвинении и избраннии меры пресечения»]. All are dated 15 Sept. except for л. 55, which is dated 3 October. All are signed Bykov and Rechkalov. All suspects were charged under article 58.8.

48: Danila Morozov, who is accused of having ‘stabbed the Pioneer Morozov Pavel and his brother Morozov Fyodor’ [«зарезал Пионера Морозова Павла и его брата Морозова Феодора».]
49: Efrem Shatrakov, who is accused of having ‘committed an act of terrorism on the “Pioneer” Morozov Pavel and his brother Fyodor’ [«совершил террористический акт над “пионером” Морозовым Павлом и его братом Федором»].
50 Sergei Morozov, ‘suspected of participation in the commission of an act of terrorism on the “Pioneer” Morozov Pavel and his brother Fyodor’ [«подозревается в соучастии совершения тер-акта над “пионером”...»].
51 Kseniya Morozova, ‘who is a participant’ [«является соучастницей»].
52 Arseny Silin, ‘who is a participant’ [«является соучастником»].
53 Arseny Kulukanov, ‘who is a participant’ [«является соучастником»].
54 Khima Kulukanova, ‘who is a participant’ [«является соучастницей»].
55 Vladimir Mezyukhin, ‘who is a participant’ [«является соучастником»].

15 In 7 out of the 8 cases the word ‘Pioneer’ appears in inverted commas, suggesting it was a local nickname for Pavel rather than an institutionally accurate description.
Assorted ancillary documentation to do with the case, originated at the point when Bykov was investigating the murders.


Hand-written copy and typed copy of the minutes of a meeting of the Poor Peasants’ Assembly [бездняцкое собрание] on 12 Sept.

‘The Characters of the Murder Victims Morozov Pavel and Morozov Fyodor’ [«Характеристика убитых Морозовых Павла и Федора»]. Dated 9 September 1932 in the header, and 12 September 1932 at the bottom. Signed Denis Potupchik. The boys are said to have been aged 14 and 8 respectively, and to have come from the family of a poor peasant, who was chairman of the village soviet in 1930-1931, and sold identity documents to special settlers ‘bearing an official seal and stamp’ [«печатью и штампом»]. The document repeats the allegation that Trofim had agents working for him, and that Pavel had given all the details of his crimes to the court [«и у него еще работали Агенты, при суде сын Павел обрисовал все подробности на своего отца»]. Therefore, his grandparents and other kulak supporters had got together to put pressure on him. However, Pavel would not give way to threats. The document repeats the story about the Shatrakovs and their gun, and makes a number of anti-Kulukanov allegations.

Statement [Заявление] allegedly given by Pavel Morozov to Yakov Titov, which records that on 26 August [1932] at 9 a.m. Pavel had gone to collect his harness saddle [седелка] from Sergei Morozov, and been beaten up by his cousin Danila, who had made threats to kill him in the forest. Undated. Signed ‘Moroz…’

Chit [Справка], bearing the stamp of Gerasimovka village soviet for 19 September 1932, stating that Morozov Pavel was referred to the Maloe Gorodishche hospital for investigation of injuries on 29 August 1932. On the reverse side of the document is a note by Titov: ‘Morozov Pavel did not go to be certified by the doctor [from] Gerasimovka village because there were no horses; the horses were in the fields local inspector 8 Titov.’ [Герасимовка сельсовет 19 сентября 1932 г. Чек, выданный Морозову Павлу: с 29 августа 1932 г. направлен в Городищенскую больницу. Под обратной стороной: Морозов Павел не пойдя к врачу деревенскую справку получил, потому что не было лошадей; лошадей были в поле. Локальный инспектор 8 Титов.] The note is dated 13 [?19] Sept. 1932.

Chit [Справка] dated 11 September 1932 and signed by the Assistant Secretary of the Rural Executive Committee certifying that Dmitry Shatrakov was in the call-up point in Maloe Gorodishche from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. on 3 September 1932 [«Призывных тов. Шатраков Дмитрий Антонович действительно 3 сентября с/т в 10 час до 8 часов вечера был на стаже (?) призывников в дер. м. Городище. Пом. Сергей Рик-а (назабор.) 11/9-32.]

The text appears in Istoricheskiy arkhiv, April 2004, and also in Druzhnikov; it was published in TR in September 1932.

The text of the document purports to be the chit as issued to Pavel Morozov himself: “29 VIII 1932 Справка дана сч [его числа] гр-ну Деревене Герасимовке Морозову Павлу в том, что он действительно на правлен в Городищенскую больницу для установления Телесных повреждений, т. к. таковой избит одним гр-ном, просьба осмотреть без очереди ун. инспектор 8 Титов”. [This chit was issued on 29 inst. to citizen Morozov Pavel of Gerasimovka village in order to certify that he has genuinely been referred to Gorodishche Hospital for the purpose of investigating his physical injuries, since the aforesaid was beaten up by a certain citizen I request that he be seen without having to wait in line local inspector 8 Titov].
л. 66 Chit [Справка], bearing the stamp of Gerasimovka village soviet, and dated 22? [exact date invisible because sewn into the binding of the file] September 1932. This states that Danila Morozov really was 18 or 19 years of age, i.e. born in 1913, as had been confirmed by Karp Yudov and Kirill Silin, his coevals.

лл. 67-118 These relate to the interrogations carried out by the district centre [раицентр] of OGPU, specifically District Plenipotentiary [РУП] Bykov, which seem to have begun in mid-September, and then continued in late September and early October. Some of the interrogations were also carried out by Rechkalov, who according to л. 123 was the deputy district plenipotentiary. The general quality of grammar and style is considerably higher than in the earlier records, and dates and names of operatives involved are meticulously supplied.

л. 67 Interrogation record [Протокол допроса] of Aleksei Morozov. Rechkalov. Dated 18 Sept. 1932. He stated that on 3 Sept he (his age is given here as 11) and his younger brother Roman had latched themselves in [держали дверь на крючек] as their mother had said they should when they were alone. That evening, though, they decided to go and play next to the house and saw Kitai, their dog, and Daniil (sic.) Morozov in a black shirt and striped trousers and ‘his hands was all calloused’ [рус те его были в дернулах]. When they asked if he had seen Pavel, they got an equivocal answer.

[This text is in pencil and rubbed pretty well to extinction: the transcription is highly provisional.]

л. 68-70 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Tatiana Morozova. Bykov. 23 September. Tatiana’s age is given as 35 and d.o.b. 1897. Tatiana reported once more that her son was a Pioneer [сын состоял в отряде пионеров], and repeated the story about how Pavlik had ‘told on’ his father [доказал на отца], and how his father’s relatives had become angry. Daniil had made threats to Pavel [Я тебя проклятого коммуниста все равно зарежу], and had hit her across the mouth with his stick. Aksin’ya had urged Danila to kill Pavel [мой мильный внучек, зарежь этого проклятого человека]. After the search for the boys, Aksin’ya had come back to the village and gloated about having ‘made meat’ for Tatiana to eat [Татяна, мы тебе наделили мяса, и ты теперь его ещё]. Once more, she repeated the story about looking through a window on the night of 5 Sept. and seeing Kulukanov and Silin going to the Morozovs; they stayed half an hour and then they all went off to Silin’s. Tatiana thought this odd because it was early in the morning and not the usual time for the group to meet up.

л. 71-2 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] for Prokhor Ivanovich Varygin questioned by Bykov on 23 Sept. He stated that he had overheard Danila cautioning Efrem not to say anything even if he was beaten; they would blame everything on Sergei Morozov [сошлемся на старика, он старый его подержат и выпустят]. They would say the blood on the trousers came from a case of bloody flux [кровавый повор] his grandfather had been suffering. He repeated the story about how Aksin’ya Morozova was overheard saying to Tatiana they had made her ‘meat’.

л. 73 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] for Stepanida Iv. Yudova (aged 25, b. 1905 – sic!): Interviewed by Bykov, 27 Sept. 1932. She repeated the story about Aksin’ya Morozova, Tatiana, and the ‘meat’.

л. 74-6 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] for Ivan Potupchik, d.o.b. given as 1911. Poor peasant. Career: Plenipotentiary of the land society [уполномоченный з/об-ва] from 1930 to 1931, salesman in the local co-operative [продавец], police aide [член]

Potupchik stated that there had been several interrogations of Efrem Shatrakov and D. Morozov, who had confessed on 8 Sept. in Potupchik’s presence. A bloodied knife had been found at the Shatrakovs’. He recapitulates the story set down in л. 23-23 об.: i.e. that Shatrakov and Morozov had done the stabbing together, etc.


Titov stated that the Morozov boys, now named as ‘Pioneer Morozov Pavel and his brother Fyodor’ had been killed on 3rd September. He himself had told Danila and Efrem that as they were both under 18, their punishment would be much reduced ‘if they made a full and frank confession’ [«при сердечном признании»], but, of course, ‘I inflicted no threats and beatings on them’ [«угроз и побоев совершенно не наносил»].

л. 78-80 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] for Morozov Daniil Iv. age given as 18, d.o.b. 1914 [sic.]. Non-party, but ‘sympathetic to Soviet power’ [«сочувствую советской власти»]. Conducted by Bykov. 16 Sept.

Danila gave an account of his biography. He had lived at home till 1927, and then went to live with his grandfather. His father had remained behind in Kiselevo; the latter’s marriage to another woman [«женятся на другой»] seems to have been the cause of the split. Danila had three years in school from 1928. He stated that his grandfather had close links with the local kulaks, who were anti-Soviet. And grandfather also hated Soviet power, in this case because his son had got 10 years for faking documents. Kulukanov was dekulakised in 1931 and hates Soviet power. About the clothes discovered at Sergei Morozov’s, he stated that these belonged to his grandfather, but that he had himself been wearing them on 3 September. Sergei had asked Danila to say that he (D.) had committed the crime because the idea was he’d get off lightly, being young. He told D. to say he was with the Shatrakovs.

The grandfather had threatened to kill those ‘calves’ if he could [«обожди, мне эти телята где-нибудь попадутся, я с ними расправлюсь тогда по своему»], and after their deaths had said that he had killed them because they were ‘exemplary Pioneers’ [«Я убил за то, что были примерными пионерами»]. At the end of the interrogation, Danila denied his own complicity in the murder.

л. 81 Record of face-to-face confrontation [«Протокол допроса очной ставки»] between Arseny Kulukanov and Danila Morozov. Recorded by Bykov. Dated 23 Sept. Danila alleged that Kulukanov gave him 30 roubles to buy his silence. Kulukanov stated that he had given Danila nothing and that he had not come to his house on 4 Sept.

л. 82 Record of face-to-face confrontation [«Протокол допроса очной ставки»] between Danila Morozov and Sergei Morozov. Recorded by Bykov. 16 September. Danila repeated the story about his grandfather asking him to keep silent; his grandfather stated that he himself was wearing the shirt and trousers on 3 Sept., but that he had no idea why there was blood on them. He denied that he had made threatening statements about Pavel.

л. 83 Record of a measurement test on the trousers found in Sergei Morozov’s house, which were deemed to fit Danila Morozov. Bykov, 16 Sept. 18

л. 84-5 Further interrogations [«дополнительные показания»] of Danila Morozov. Bykov. 22 Sept.

Danila stated that he had spent 69 roubles over the summer, of which he had earned only 35 working on the lumber in Tavda. 30 roubles had been given to him by Kulukanov. On 26

August, Pavel had come to retrieve a harness saddle [седелка] from the house. But his grandfather wouldn’t let him have it, and Danila threw a stick at Pavel. However, there was no fight as such.

л. 86 Further interrogations [«дополнительные показания»] of Danila Morozov. Bykov. 1 October. Danila stated that his grandfather had been at loggerheads with Arseny Kulukanov [«жил и живет враждебно с Кулукановым Арсентием»].\(^{19}\)

And K. had a special settler who had gold living in his house, and Kulukanov had stolen this gold: Danila had been told this by his grandmother Aksin’ya Morozova.

л. 87-8 Further interrogations [«дополнительные показания»] of Danila Morozov. Bykov. 4 Oct. At this interrogation, Danila stated that he well knew his cousin Pavel’s handwriting. He had never threatened Pavel, though he did once have a go at him with a stick on 26 August. He had seen his grandfather go to the woods while he was working in the fields. In response to a direct question about why he had told Kulukanov the boys were missing, he stated that he did not know, but that he had started to keep silent deliberately once the 30 roubles had been handed over.

л. 89 Record of face-to-face confrontation [«Протокол допроса очной ставки»] between Danila Morozov and Efrem Shatrakov. Bykov. 5 October.

Danila stated that he and Efrem were friends as they were the same age, and that they often went through the village together playing on the accordion. He had never heard Efrem make threats about Pavel, though Efrem had asked him about how Pavel got to know about the gun. Efrem denied any friendship with Danila [«Я с ним не водился и с ним дружно не жил и по деревне с гармошкой ни когда с Морозовым Данией не ходил...»] In response to questioning about his own age, he stated, ‘my mother said I’m 15’ [«Сколько мне лет, я не знаю, но мне моя мать говорила, что мне 15 лет, т. е. мой возраст.»] Danila and he had never talked about the gun and he didn’t know who had told the police but certainly never supposed it was Pavel.

л. 90-1 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Shatrakov (22 Sept: Bykov):

Shatrakov is here said to have been born in 1916.

Shatrakov testified that he had met Danila on his way home [from the fields] with the horses, and that they had walked in silence, saying nothing about anything. He could only remember Titov and Potupchik attending his interrogation in the village Soviet [i.e. could not remember an interrogation involving Danila]. He had never said he was guilty of murder. Titov had refused to read the record of his interrogation aloud to him. He had never quarrelled with Pavel. On 13 August or so, when the policeman arrived to search for the gun, Pavel had been with him, and the gun had been removed, but he felt no sense of resentment against Pavel and had no idea who had made the denunciation [«пожаловался на меня мой палев Болдуинский и стал производить у нас в доме обьяснение совместно с милиционером. Это ружье у нас нашли и отобрали. Обиды я к Морозову Павлу не имел и не знаю, кто донес милиционеру о том, что у нас имеется не где [так!] не зарегистрированное охотничье ружье». Efrem denied that he was friendly with Danila. The knife found at the Shatrakov’s with blood on it was used to smooth down the floor [скоблить пол]\(^{20}\) and would be taken to the barn (when not in use) and kept there.


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\(^{19}\) This piece of testimony, which directly contradicted the official version of a ‘kulak plot’ in which both Sergei Morozov and Arseny Kulukanov were participants, was, needless to say, ignored in the case for the prosecution.

\(^{20}\) i.e. to flatten down the mixture of earth and blood used as flooring.
Kulukanova’s biography is given. She was b. 1872, and had two children, Matrena, 17, and Zakhar, 14. She had been married in 1899, and had worked as a servant. She and her husband had arrived in 1909 in Gerasimovka with only one horse and 33 roubles, but by 1917 they had a working farm [хозяйство] with 2 horses and a yearling [подросток], 2 cows and a yearling [подросток], 7 [sheep?] and 4 pigs. And everything had gone well until the family was dekulakised in 1931. She confirmed that her sister was married to Arseny Silin, and that she herself had friendly relations with Danila, who often visited her son Zakhar. In response to what was evidently a question about the family’s relations with special settlers, she stated that Troitsky village soviet had started to be settled in May 1931, and that her husband would sometimes call in there. An elderly special settler had also lived in the house for a while, but did no damage. The family had hidden stuff at the Morozovs’ when they were de-kulakised, and then the cart [ходок] was found there. About the murder itself, she stated that, when visiting her husband in the village lockup, she had said to her father, ‘You were always sinning with the Morozov children… and they found your shirt with blood on it’ [«ты всегда грешил с ребятами Морозовыми ... а у тебя нашли рубаху в крови»]. He had said nothing. She stated that she and her husband had sold their colt to Mezyukhin in 1931.

л. 94 Further interrogations [«дополнительные показания»] with Efim’ya/Khima Kulukanova. Rechkalov. 3 October. She stated that Mezyukhin had bought a horse from them, but then it had run away, and he had come to collect it from their stable. She confirmed that the cart had been deliberately hidden, but this time suggested that Sergei Morozov had told the local policeman about it when he was questioned.

л. 95 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] for Vladimir Frolich Mezyukhin. Bykov. 2 Oct. Mezyukhin’s biography is given: he was b. 1902 in Vladimirovka [a village not far from Gerasimovka]. He was married with two children, barely literate, not a Party member, but sympathetic to Soviet power. He insisted that he had never been in Sergei Morozov’s house and that he was not even properly acquainted with Kulukanov, though he had bought a colt from him for 100 roubles. He had never said anything hostile about ‘Pioneer Pavel Morozov’, nor would he have had cause to do so.

л. 96-7 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Arsenty Ignat’evich Kulukanov. Bykov. 19 Sept. 1932. Kulukanov’s biography is given: he was b. 1862, and came from Vitebsk province, but a different district [uezd] from SM. He described himself as having ‘no political convictions’. He confirmed that he had got 5 years’ exile in 1931 for non-fulfilment of a hard grain quota [нечерноземелие]. The family he came from had 5 desyatins, two horses, 2 cows and 9 children. Between the ages of 15 and 25 he had worked as a farm labourer [батрак], and had done odd jobs. In 1909, ‘because we were short of land’ [«в виду малоземельства»], he and his family had settled in Gerasimovka. At that point, the family had owned their house, one horse, and a cow; Kulukanov had worked 6 desyatins, and sowed 2.5 desyatins, until 1919; and then, when his son Feoklist grew up, he gave him a desyatina. By 1920, the Kulukanovs had 2 horses and a yearling, and 2 cows, and farmed 5 desyatins. In 1924, Arseny gave his second son 1.50 desyatins; the father and his family now had a house, two horses, a cow and a yearling, 4 head small animals, and 4 desyatins of arable land, which they kept until they were dekulakised. At that point, Arseny was sentenced to exile, but the sentence was remitted by the Ural cassation court. He had been allowed to return to his home village, but there was no farm left to work. In 1930 [sic.] he had a special settler lodger for a month, a man aged around 70. This person definitely had no gold. Arseny had given his wagon [рапараж] to Sergei Morozov to look after, but then someone had denounced this arrangement to the village soviet. Kulukanov had also hidden trunks of clothes, horses’ collars, two dugi, two bridles, a set of leather reins, and a set of cartwheels. Arseny concluded

21 As did Sergei Morozov: however, Kulukanov was not from the same district [uezd].
with an admission that he had cheated Soviet power, but denied the murder. He had been at home all day on 3 September, and the neighbours could confirm this. He had not seen Danila at all on 4 September. He felt no sense of resentment at 'Pioneer Pavlik Morozov'.

л. 98-9 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] for Arsenty (sic.) Nikitovich Silin (28 September, Bykov)
Details of Silin’s biography are given. He was b. 1892 in Gerasimovka. Married. Sympathetic to Sov. power. He had been convicted of ‘non-surrender of grain surplus’ [несдача хлебных излишков] in 1931, and had been subjected to a fine of 200 roubles. His stock consisted of 2 horses and 2 cows. He had served in the Tsarist army (as a conscript) in 1914, and had been wounded in the hand in 1915 [he in fact lost two fingers, see л. 130], and had then returned to Gerasimovka. He had married in 1916; in 1918 has 0.30 desyatins, a horse and a cow; he had 'gradually expanded by 1929' [постепенно расширил (так!) до 1929 года], by which time he had 2 horses, a cow and yearling, and 4 small animals.
In 1932 all his household goods (хозяйство) were put under the hammer [=sold off] as part of his punishment for non-surrender of grain.
Silin confirmed that Sergei Morozov was his father-in-law, and confirmed the story about hiding the cart. He had gone with Kulukanov, Prokopy Arsentovich [sic.: Arseny Prokopovich], Kulukanova Khima, Volkov Konstantin Minaevich, Morozov Sergei Sergeevich and Morozov Danila to Sergei Morozov’s house to take the cart down from where it was being stored in the attic, and at this point he had taken two wheels to hide in his vegetable garden.
On 5 or 6 August [«В Августе м-це ср. примерно 5-го или же 6-го но в эти числа я это хорошо помню»], Danila had come over and seen that Arseny Silin had over 3 metres of factory-made cloth [«мануфактура»] that he had bought in Tavda. Danila had tried to persuade him to sell it, and Silin had said, fine, provided he produced 30 roubles. Danila had promised him the 30 roubles, and Silin had given him the cloth. Danila had paid Silin three five-rouble coins and five three-rouble coins. Silin himself had been in Tavda between 3 and 5 Sept.
An additional piece of information on the back of [99] has AS remembering that he was wrong to say this had happened on 5 or 6 August, it was actually on 3 or 5 September. [«Я, Силин, в своем показании указал, что мануфактуру Морозову Даниле Ивановичу продал 5-го или же 6-го Августа (99 об.) не верно, я сказал по ошибке. Я Морозову Даниле Мануфактуру продал 5-го или 6-го Сентября с/г. перед арестом Морозова Даниле (так!) и меня.»]

л. 100-1 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] for Aksin’ya Morozova (19 September)
Age given as 79: D.O.B. 1852. Birthplace given here as Sertel’naya volost’ (Letopol’e) in Vitebsk Province. Married; stated that had 'no political convictions' [«политубежденний нет»]. Aksin’ya claimed not to know who had committed the murders. She had not heard about the wounds from Danila and in fact they did not talk about the murders at all. She had no idea why the garments were bloody. She reported that the day after the fight between Danila and Pavel [«на другой день после того, как Данила драли с пионером Морозовым Павлом когда он приходил к нам за селдкой»], Mezyukhin had come to the house and had dinner, and he had made threats about Pavel, saying that he’d show that ‘snot-nose Pioneer how to talk about a Red Partisan’ [«эта болтливый пионер народу покоя не дает, все время доказывает про людей сельсовету и милиционеру о том кто что спрятал, да сказал и. т. д. даже про меня теперь стал доказывать ... но я этому соплику пионеру покажу как про красных партизан доказывать.»] Aksin’ya admitted that she had put the shirt and trousers to soak in water, but only when there was the search did she gather they were bloody. She claimed that she had never said anything to Tatiana about 'meat'. As she recalled, Danila had not had employment of any kind, but then in August he had bought a shaika for 14 roubles and a piece of factory-made cloth for 30 roubles, and he had bought these on the day that he went to Tavda with Silin to help the latter surrender grain [сдавать хлеб]. On 5th Sept., she remembered, Silin had dropped by to ask, had Sergei been to the
citizens’ assembly, and she said he had not. Aksin’ya claimed she had not seen the boys on 3 September. She did not take Mezyukhin’s threats seriously (and hence didn’t report them).

л. 102 Further interrogations [«дополнительные показания»] of Aksin’ya Morozova. 
Rechkalov. Not dated. 
Here Aksin’ya testified that she had heard Danila say, ‘No-one will find them now [=the boys] one has two wounds and the other three and their guts is hanging out’ [«их теперь не найдут у одного две раны а у другого три и кишки выпущены.»] She became afraid, as she realised it meant the boys had been murdered. Dmitry Shatrankov had then came back from the woods and said he had found one of the boys. 

лл. 103-4 Further interrogations [«дополнительные показания»] of Aksin’ya Morozova (Bykov). 5 October. 
Here Aksin’ya stated that Danila had brought three metres of factory-made cloth on 5 September, and had said that he had bought this from Silin. She repeated the story about how Danila had referred to the boys’ wounds – but said she thought he was joking. She insisted that she had not noticed blood on the washing. When the boys went missing, she thought they must have gone to visit their aunt in Kulukhovna. Aksin’ya also repeated the story about meeting Tatiana as she was on her way to take bread to DM and SM, giving her riposte in a slightly different form, ‘you can cut some meat off my children and give it to them’ [«…отреж мясо от моих детей и дай им»], and crediting herself with a similar reply. Aksin’ya claimed the exchange was overheard by ‘some citizens’, but could not remember their surnames. She confirmed the story about Pavel’s denunciation of his father: when Trofim was undergoing a show trial in Gerasimovka, ‘Morozov Pavel on his own initiative appeared at the trial and said that he as a Pioneer demanded my son be severely punished for the bad things he had done and at the same trial said that he, that is, Pavel, did not consider his father to be his father… I felt no resentment at what Morozov Pavel had done, I thought his denunciation and appearance at the trial were the actions of a silly little boy.’

л. 105-9 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Sergei Morozov (Bykov). 16 Sept. 
Biographical details of Sergei were given: he was b. 1851, Velizhsky uезд, Sertel’naya волост’ [on the front page of the record this is given as Sercheevskaya volost’, on л. 105 об. as Sertel’ naya], Vitebsk Province. He had ‘no political convictions, I don’t care who’s in power’ [«политических убеждений нет, какой бы власть не [sic.] была – безразлично.». His parents were landless. His father was a prison warder [тюремный надзиратель], who died in 1886. Sergei had lived with relations till he was 20, and had then moved to his wife’s family’s farm. In 1910, he had moved to the Urals, where he had been allocated 45 desyatins, mostly of bog. At that time there had been no worked land. He had himself turned 10 desyatins into ploughed land. His family and stock comprised [in the early 1920s?] two grown sons and two daughters, two horses, two cows, and 5 head melkogo skota. He had later made over most of the land to his sons, leaving himself with 0.50 desyatins. In 1927, he had bought a horse, bringing his holdings in that year to one horse and one cow. His eldest son lived in Kiselevo; Trofim had been exiled ‘somewhere up North’ [«куда-то на север»] in 1931 for falsifying documents. On 3rd Sept., Sergei had stayed in the field till dinner time (about 12), and Danila had remained behind harrowing. D. had got home at 4-5, unharnessed the horse; he had then left the house after dinner, and had got back only late at night. Sergei recalled that Danila had said the boys should be looked for in the woods, and that one had three wounds and the other two. He also referred to the discovery of clothes and a knife [ножик] in the house. Pavel and Danila had anyway been at loggerheads, as was instanced by the fight over the horse harness: Danila had yelled at Sergei, ‘Why did you give him that harness saddle!’ [‘Зачем ты отдал
emy седелку!"], and there had been a fight. He recalled also that Danila had been friends with Efrem Shatrakov, and remembered the denunciation over the gun. He also asserted that, when he was in the barn being used as lock-up, his wife and Danila had tried to persuade him to say the clothes were his: he could say he had the bloody flux. Sergei repeated the story about Vladimir Mezyukhin’s hostility to Pavel, and said that the former had given Danila ‘three marks’ [три марки]. Sergei insisted that Danila had been put up to the murders – ‘he was only the instrument of a kulak plot’ [только исполнитель кулакского приговора]. Efrem was likewise. Kulukanov, Sirin, Mezyukhin had been the plotters.

Sometime around 15-20 August, Danila had bought himself a shaida for 18 roubles and some blue material for 30 roubles. Sergei himself had seen Danila with 19 roubles. Arsenty Silin had made hostile comments about ‘that damned Pioneer – the snot-nose Communist’ [Этот проклятый пионер-сопливый коммунист жить нам не дает]. Sergei had seen Danila and Silin go into Kulukanov’s house on 5 Sept. – he himself was not there, and he would not in any case have attended such a gathering [собрание]. The trousers that were found on 6 September did not fit Sergei himself.

Sergei acknowledged that he might have been guilty for not doing anything about the threats to Pavel, and about Danila’s words on 5 September, since he knew the latter signified Danila had murdered the boys.

л. 110 Record of face-to-face confrontation [«Протокол допроса о черной ставке»] between V. Mezyukhin, D. Morozov, A. Morozova and S. Morozov, organised by Bykov (2nd Oct.) Aksinya and Sergei repeated the story about how Mezyukhin had called Pavel a ‘snot-nosed communist’ [сопливый коммунист] when at dinner with them. Danila denied the story in part, saying the dinner in question had taken place on 5 Sept and not 27 August. Mezyukhin insisted he was never in the house at all.

Arseny Kulukanov had stolen some stooks of grain [хлеб в снопах] from Gerasimovka village soviet in August 1932, and Danila had taken it off to sell on 11 August. Kulukanov had hidden a cart and harness. Kulukanov’s son had warned him that Pavel had made a denunciation of this and that a search was to be carried out. This explained the family’s hatred of Pavel. But it was Danila who did the murders.

л. 112 Further interrogations [«дополнительные показания»] of Sergei Morozov. Bykov. 30 Sept. 1932.
This repeated the assertions about how Kulukanov had special settlers living in his house in 1931, and about how he stole the gold from them.

л. 113 (Typescript)
‘Extract from the Testimony of Pioneer MOROZOVA Pavel Trofimovich, 26 November 1932’ [«Выписка из показаний пионера МОРОЗОВА Павла Трофимовича от 26/XI-32»]. ‘1932’ is a clear error, and the 2 has been amended in red pen to a 1. The text is identical in substance (some differences of punctuation) to the text published in Arkhivy Urala, no. 1, 1996, as a written denunciation by Pavlik Morozov, reported in the Nizhnetavdinskie svodki. It is undated, and the source is not given. At the bottom, it is ‘Certified as an accurate copy’ [«Верно»] by Iskrin – see confession protocol at л. 178 for the identity of the latter.

л. 114-5 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Fyodor Kas’yanovich Timoshenko, Special settler, b. 1903. 18 October 1932. Rechkalov.
Timoshenko stated that he had gone into prison on 10 Oct, and had shared a cell with the Morozov murderers. He had heard them trying to persuade Efrem to carry the can as he was a minor – and Sergei saying he would allege he was beaten during testimony. He also saw Silin
and Kulukanov read a note which had come in a parcel to AK, tear it up and throw it in the cell latrine [сталая параша].

л. 116-118 Handwritten statements that the accused understand the investigation to have been concluded, two to a sheet (written by Bykov, signed by the accused). 116: Sergei and Aksinya Morozov; 117: Arseny Kulukanov and Arseny Silin; 118 Danila Morozov and Efrem Shatrakov. All are dated 16 October 1932.

лл. 119-122 These folios are missing from the file. A staff archivist at the Central Archive, FSB, thought that it was probably a question of inaccurate pagination on the part of the archivist who originally arranged the leaves for binding; it could also conceivably be because these items related to some central organ (e.g. OGPU at the top level) and were removed from the file to be dispatched there at some stage after the file was originally archived in 1952. Or perhaps the materials comprised the interrogation records for Khima Kulukanova and Vladimir Mezyukhin, which are the only items listed on л. 123 not currently held in the file. Or perhaps (finally), the sheets went missing while the rehabilitation cases were under review. My own experience would suggest that while it is not unknown for single sheets, or even sets of two successive sheets, to be renumbered, these are usually annotated during checking as ‘119a, 119b’. I have not previously come across a case where so many sheets were missing.

л. 123 (Typescript)
Memo to the Director of the Secret Political Bureau of the Plenipotentiary Division, OGPU, Urals Region, Sverdlovsk [«Нач. СПБ ППГ»] ОГПУ по Уралу г. Свердловск]. ‘Additional material relating to the Morozov case is attached.’ [«Предпринимается дополнительный материал по делу братьев Морозовых»]. Dated 21 October 1932. The ‘additional material’ was said to comprise:

(a) The interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] for Kulukanova Khima, and ‘the order commanding that the investigative measures be concluded in her case’ [«ее же постановление об изъятии пресечений»].

(b) Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] for Mezyukhin Vladimir.

(c) 6 medical certificates [«6 штук медицинских справок»].

л. 124 A report (unsigned, but appears to be in the handwriting of Rechkalov; dated 20 October) on the evidence presented by Timoshenko. The testimony is slightly different from that given by Timoshenko two days earlier (see л. 114), not including the story about seeing something dropped in the latrine, but providing more details of the squabbles between the prisoners. Kulukanov is alleged to have said to Sergei ‘Well so now we have to answer for you, you old viper, because you told on us’ [«ну из затаёбы гада старого наш придетелся расчитаться потому что ты нас выказал»], and Sergei to have replied, ‘If it hadn’t been for you i.e. Kulukanov Ars. and you Silin Arsenty me and my grandson Morozov Daniil [sic.] wouldn’t be locked up here’ [«да если бы не ты т-е Кулуканов Арс. да ты Силин Арсентий то я и мой внук Морозов Даниил не сидели бы здесь»]. A note at the bottom indicates that Sergei Morozov had now been moved to a different cell.

л. 125 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Fima Kulukanova 16 Oct. 1932, Bykov; 16 October 1932. Fima/Khima stated on this occasion that Aksinya had told her that ‘my old man’ [мой старик] had killed the boys, with Danila to help him. Kulukanova also supplied discreditable detail about her father. He had ‘more than one conviction for

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22 This was a most unlikely claim, given that Kulukanov was illiterate and Silin nearly so. However, it did not discredit Timoshenko’s evidence, so far as the authorities were concerned.
23 Полномочное Представительство.
hooliganism²⁴ [«неоднократно судился за хулиганство»] dating from the early twentieth century, and his father was a prison official [«стражник»]. She also denied that the Kulukanovs had, or had ever had, any gold. Danila Morozov, she claimed, used to visit the Kulukanovs regularly.

лл. 126-7 (Typescript)
Orders [постановления], signed Bykov, releasing Mezyukhin [126] and Kulukanova [127], dated 16 Oct. 1932. The reason given is ‘lack of evidence’ [«за недоказательностью (улик)»].

лл. 128-45 6 [Personal Information] Forms for Arrestees in the Tavda District Division of the Plenipotentiary Division, OGPU, Urals Region [«Анкеты для арестованных числящихся за Тавдинским Р/а ПП ОГПУ по Уралу»]. All are dated 16 September, except Kulukanov’s (no date). The biographical information was supplemented by that available in the interrogation records. л. 128 is an explanatory insert (ditto 131, 134, 137, 140, 143). Printed pro formas, competed in handwriting.

лл. 129-30 Silin: states that his wife Matryona was aged 35, and that they had 5 children: Koz’ma (11), Aleksandra (9), Nikolai (7), Vasily (5) and Leonid (1). There was only one working member of the family [i.e. Silin himself]. In response to a question about possible involvement in the Kolchak uprising [«Где был и что делал во время захвата Урала Колчаком? Тоже при восстании 1921?»], Silin stated that he had been at home at the time. He gave the dates of his First World War army service as 1914-1915, and detailed the nature of his wound – he had lost two fingers of his right hand. The date of his arrest is given as 12 September 1932.

л. 132-3 Aksin’ya Morozova is stated here to have been b. 1853, and to have had 5 children: Khima 55, Trofim 32 [sic.: 42 is perhaps meant], Ivan 44, Ustin’ya Potupchik 53, Matryona Silina 32 [sic.]. She stated that her son Trofim had been chairman of the village soviet in 1930 and again in 1932 [sic.: not 1931, as is claimed elsewhere]. The date of her arrest is given as 6 Sept. 1932. The section relating to her health describes her as ‘elderly and frail’ [старческая дряхлость].

л. 135-6 Sergei Morozov: d.o.b. given as 1851. His family is listed as Aksin’ya and Pavel Ivan. Morozov [sic.], 19 [Danila is meant]. The section relating to his health describes him as ‘elderly and frail’ [старческая дряхлость]. The date of his arrest is given as 6 Sept.

л. 138-9 Arseny Kulukanov is stated to have been b. 1862, Smol’ni, Vitebsk Province. His wife’s age is given as 60, and his children as Matryona (17), and Zakhary (15). The date of his arrest is given as 15 September.

л. 141-2 Efrem Shatrakov’s d.o.b. is given as 1915, but his age as 18 [!]. His family is listed as: father Anton 55, mother Ol’ga 50, siblings Dmitry 22, Natal’ya 20, ‘and six younger ones in my father’s family, 3 brothers, Filipp, Mikhail, and Ivan, and 3 sisters, Matryona, Mariya, and Anna’ [«и младшие шесть имеется в составе семьи моего отца, 3 моих брата, Филипп, Мишаил и Иван, и 3 сестры, Матрена, Мария, и Анна»].

л. 144-5 Danila Morozov’s age is given as 19, and his d.o.b. as 1914 [!]. лл. 144 об. family: Ivan Serg. (father) 35 [sic.], Efrosim’ya (mother) 32 [!]. Perasp (Gerasim?) 16 – bro. Roman (9) – bro.

л. 146 (Typescript)

²⁴ Applied to a wide range of public order offences, including drunkenness, street fighting, etc.
...the case has been terminated by investigation and dispatched for consideration by a troika [three-man tribunal] of the Plenipotentiary Division, OGPU, Urals Region, with a list of the arrestees held under guard by the Secret Political Section of the Plenipotentiary Division, OGPU, Urals Region, [accordingly] I consider their further detention in custody in Tavda to be inapproporiate.

The document continues that they are to be transferred to Irbitsk prison (тегазированы в Ирбитский Домзак). In pen has been added: AND LET THEM BE TRANSFERRED TO CUSTODY UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SECRET POLITICAL SECTION, PLENIPOTENTIARY DIVISION, OGPU, URALS REGION [И ПЕРЕЧИСЛИТЬ СОДЕРЖАНИЕМ ПОД СТРАЖЕЙ ЗА С.П.О. П.П. О.Г.П.У. ПО УРАЛУ]

л.147 (Typescript)
Telegram text
Tavda GPU URGENT IMMEDIATELY SEND FILE MURDERS PINEERS [sic.]
MOROZOV
65628
13/X-32 Sverdlovsk
Deputy Director of Plenipotentiary Division, OGPU, Urals Region
TUCHKOV

л. 148 (Typescript)
Telegram text
TAVDA GPU
Inform results investigation case no. your ref. NR 1853 STOP Send material troika NR 65522
8 October 1932
Sverdlovsk
ACTING DIRECTOR SECRET POLITICAL SECTION,
PLENIPOTENTIARY DIVISION, OGPU Urals Region
KLOPOV

лл. 149-51 (Typescript)

SERIES ‘K’
DIRECTOR, SECRET POLITICAL SECTION, PLENIPOTENTIARY DIVISION, OGPU, URALS REGION

Sverdlovsk
Copy: Director, Secret Political Section, Nizhny Tagil Operations Section, OGPU
Nizhny Tagil

From the Tavda District Administration, Plenipotentiary Division, OGPU, Urals Division
The [Political] Situation as of 16/IX-1932
Re.: ‘Terror’

Special Report [Спец-записка]
stamped 17.9. 1932 no. 1853
and with stamp of receipt, 19 Sept 1932.

Records that ‘Morozov Pavel Trofimovich (aged 13)’ was a ‘Pioneer activist’ who was always participating in public meetings, taking part in discussions, and exposing kulak misdeeds, and who had exposed his own father in November 1931 for stamping official forms and selling these to the special settlers, for which he had been sentenced to 10 years; Pavel had also denounced other kulaks for hiding unregistered guns etc.; the local kulakery had taken offence at this and had made threats. On 3 Sept. Pavel and Fyodor had gone out for berries. His grandfather had murdered them by stabbing; a search had discovered the trousers. Tatiana Morozova’s testimony had been the source of suspicion falling on the grandfather, who was angry about the denunciation of his son, and also fearful that Pavel would tell the authorities about Arseny Kulukanov’s grain-hoarding. Two knives had been found as well as the clothes. Sergei and Danila had been arrested at confined in a barn at the village soviet.
Danila had been persuaded to say that he and Efrem Shatrakov had done the killing. ‘After which the District Plenipotentiary of OGPU, Bykov, took the affair out of the hands of the police, and when Morozov Danila was interviewed on 16 September 1932, the latter stated that the murder of Pioneer Morozov and his brother had been carried out by Morozov Sergei Sergeevich’. Sergei had very close links with the kulaks and had threatened the children in the presence of Tatiana, Aksin’ya, and Danila. ‘Just you wait, you young communist dogs, you tangle with me and I’ll sort you out…’ At the time the report was written, investigations involving the Kulukanovs, Sergei and Aksin’ya and Danila Morozov, and Arseny Silin, were in train.

The following items, лл. 152-191, relate to a third stage of the investigation, in early November 1932: the investigator for this set was the plenipotentiary of the Secret Political Section, Nizhnii Tagil’ OGPU Operations Inspector Fedchenko.


л. 153 Record of face-to-face-confrontation [«Протокол допроса на очной ставке»] for Danila Morozov and Arseny Kulakov. Investigator Fedchenko. 1 Nov. 1932. Danila stated that he had gone to Kulakanov and suggested looking for children, and had got given 30 roubles hush-money; Kulukanov categorically denied these allegations. The bottom of the protocol indicates that two further operatives of the Tavda OGPU, Iskrin and another (?Likhobabin) were also present at the interrogation.

л. 154-6 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Aksin’ya Morozova. Fedchenko. 2 Nov. 1932. Iskrin was also present (see note at end of interview). Aksin’ya claimed that Sergei Morozov had hated Pavel. Sergei had removed some of Trofim’s property after he was exiled – including axles for a cart, an axe, a harness saddle etc. -- and Pavel had protested. There had been many rows about this. Pavel had brought a court action against his grandfather making the latter still more cross. The sedelka incident: Pavel came and demanded it back. His grandfather had then ‘hit Pavel hard and thrown him out of the izba, having punched him in the back’ [«на что СМ ударил Павла сильно и выбросил его из избы, ударив кулаком в спину.»]. Pavel had thrown a stick through the windows and Sergei had said, ‘You son of a bitch, you’ve not gone left anyway, I’ll soon finish you off’ [«Все равно суйни сын не будешь долго на свете скоро тебя прикончу»]. This quarrel took place either a day or two days before the murder. Sergei had been acting suspiciously on the day of murder; he had refused to go fishing and had said, ‘No, I’d best finish off the farm work’ [«лучше прикончить свое хозяйство»] [investigator’s italics]. On the day of the murder, Sergei had been wearing a black shirt and home-spun trousers, the ones later found with blood on. However, on the evening of that day, he had changed into some other clothes. He had told Aksin’ya that he had put Danila’s clothes on by mistake. Generally, he had been acting strangely.

Aksin’ya claimed that Danila had visited Kulukanov that day. Sergei had told her in the corridor after one of his interrogations that he regretted not having burned the bodies.

25 For the full text, see Istoricheskii arkhiv (April 2004). The placing of the report in the file is curious: if the date on it is correct, then it belongs with the documents compiled by Bykov at the start of his investigation (i.e. around л. 48). On the other hand, if the regional OGPU authorities were involved so early, it seems curious that a high-ranking investigator arrived nearly a month and a half after this report went through. Equally, the report names a list of suspects that reflects the ‘state of play’ in terms of the investigation as at mid-October, not mid-September. Is this perhaps a case of retrospective creation of paper trails? Or is the date of ‘17 September’ simply a mistake?
26 Sic. This unlikely claim did not make its way into the official interpretation of the reasons behind the Morozov murders.
л. 157 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Arseny Kulukanov, 2 Nov. 1932 (Fedchenko alone). Kulukanov insisted that he had taken no part in the murder, and that he was not on friendly terms with Sergei and Danila Morozov.

л. 158 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Arseny Silin, 2 Nov. 1932 (Fedchenko alone). Silin repeated that he had been in Tavda on 3 Sept., and so on. He denied that he had been particularly friendly with Kulukanov, but confirmed that he had sold Danila 3 metres of cloth on 5 Sept. for 30 roubles.

158 об. Further testimony [«Дополнительные показания»] (not dated: presumably from the 2 Nov. session). Silin claimed that when he met Sergei in the corridor of the Political Section after Bykov had interrogated Sergei (on 18 or 19 Sept), Sergei had said that he was mad not to burn Pavel’s body.27

л. 159 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Dmitry Shatrakov, 4 Nov. 1932 (Fedchenko). Shatrakov repeated the story about his dog finding Pavel’s body; he stated that he had fired in the air, and when he heard nothing, had returned to the village. The place where the bodies were found was on the edge of a small bog. A note to the text adds that Shatrakov was sent on the search, and had not gone on his own accord.

л. 160 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] for Konstantin Minovich (sic.) Volkov, 4 Nov. 1932. Fedchenko (Gerasimovka is given as the place for the interrogation at the end of the record). Volkov stated that he had gone past the Shatrakovs’ field at about 11 and had seen both Efrem and his father working there. However, he saw no-one when he went past the field at 6-7 p.m. He had not seen Arseny Kulukanov on 3 Sept. at all, and had no idea where he might have been.

л. 161 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Afanast Volkov (aged 15), 4 November (signature undecipherable: appears to read Nikitin): On the way to the fields at 9, Volkov had seen Efrem harrowing, but on the way back at 4 p.m. he had not [i.e. Efrem was not in the field]. Volkov had gone to Prokopenko’s at about 7, and Efrem had turned up at 7.30 behaving just as on other evenings. They had gone back home together, and Efrem had turned into the Shatrakovs’ house when they reached it.

л. 162 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Yakish Galyzov. 4 Nov (Fedchenko). Galyzov said he believed that Sergei, Aksin’ya and Danila had done it, influenced by Kulukanov and Silin. Sergei had set off on a visit to his eldest son in Kiselevo on 4 Sept., but had turned back half-way, so was clearly in a bad state of mind. In the early morning, there had been visits from house to house involving Kulukanov etc. Sergei had been overheard saying to Danila that the bodies should have been put in Petrushensky bog. Public opinion [общественное мнение] in Gerasimovka held that Efrem was not guilty of the murder and that he had been implicated wrongly because of his hostility to Pavels.

л. 163 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Ivan Potupchik, 5 Nov. (Fedchenko). Potupchik stated that Danila Morozov had told him, Titov, and Suvorov that Danila and Shatrakov had killed the brothers. At this point he recapitulated Danila’s confession, as given in the interrogation record at л. 23 above. Danila had claimed Efrem took part; however, Efrem had denied the charge at a face-to-face confrontation.28

27 There is no record of an interrogation for Silin on one of these days, nor indeed on the same day as Sergei Morozov at this stage. Clearly, the claim was suggested to him by the interrogator.

28 At this point, Potupchik apparently did not refer to Efrem’s confession, though under cross-questioning at the trial itself he claimed it had definitely happened.
л. 164. Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Grigory Egorovich Matsuk. 5 Nov. 1932. Fedchenko. Matsuk stated that his wife had told him that Pavel Bashkov and his daughter Sof'ya Ermakova had visited the forest to hunt for berries on 3 Sept., and had seen Sergei and Aksin'ya Morozova in the woods not far away from where the bodies were found. They had been afraid to tell the authorities because they were afraid of reprisals [«заговорил (Башков), что родня Морозовых может отомстить нам за доказ»].

л. 165. Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Pelageya Kovalenskaya, 6 Nov. Fedchenko. She claimed to have overheard Sergei Morozov saying to Danila that they should have put the bodies in Petrushensky bog.

л. 166. Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Sof'ya Efimova [?Ermakova], aged 23. 4 Nov. Fedchenko. Efimova stated that she had gone nowhere on 3 Sept., and had been at home all day; she had no further comments to make.

л. 167. Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Vasilisa Andreevna Prokopenko, 4 Nov. (Fedchenko). Prokopenko said that she had seen Efrem coming home from the fields at sunset. About 20-30 minutes later, Efrem had come over to the Prokopenkos’, and had stayed till late evening, ‘i.e. about 9’ [«т. е. до 9 часов»]. He had then gone home. Afanasy Volkov and Ivan Potupchik and Karp Yudov had also been there.

л. 168. Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Prokhor Sakov, 4 Nov. Fedchenko. Gerasimovka is given as the place at the end of the protocol. Sakov said that he had himself been working the fields on 3 Sept, his own field being next to the Shatrakovs’ field. No-one had been there till 12, when Efrem and his father both turned up. Anton had done the sowing and left at 3, and Efrem had remained; he had come over to Sakov at 5, just before sunset, to ask for a cigarette. ‘But I had no time to chat and I told him I had no tobacco’ [«Мне было некогда с ним разговаривать и я сказал, что у меня табаку нет»]. After that, Efrem had gone back to work. Sakov had not seen him leave.

л. 169. Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Anastasia Sakova. Fedchenko. Sakova now stated that she had not seen the boys in the wood, only their grandmother. Potupchik and Galyzov were present at this interview. A note by investigator Fedchenko at the end of the report suggested that Sakova appeared to be ‘intimidated’ [«в крайне запуганном состоянии»], despite ‘the perfectly gentle treatment by the investigator’ [«не смотря на вполне мягкое обращение следователя»].

л. 170. Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] for Anna Stepenchenko [sic.]. 4 Nov. Nikitin. Stepenchenko again stated that she had not seen the Morozov grandchildren with Kseniya, but had seen Shatrakov in the fields harrowing.

л. 171. Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Petr Karpovich Bashkov (5 Nov.: Fedchenko). Bashkov said he had been mowing not far away from the murder site. He had not seen anyone enter the forest. However, he had heard a cry at about 2-3 p.m., but had paid it no heed. ‘I thought it was people collecting berries calling to each other’ [«думая, что это кричат-перекликаются ягодники»]. Then later, he had realised it must have been the Morozovs screaming.

29 Kovalenskaya or Kovalenkova signed on Efimova or Ermakova’s behalf on the protocol at л. 166; judging by the handwriting, she was a girl of school age.
30 Efrem Shatrakov himself, at his interrogation on 6 Nov., listed a different group of witnesses. See below, л. 175.
31 This is one possible interpretation; however, as Sakova gave her first testimony in the presence of her schoolteacher, it is also possible that she was ‘intimidated’ on that occasion.
Further testimony of Danila Morozov, 5 Nov. 1932. (Fedchenko). Danila claimed on this occasion that the bloodied clothes were his, but that he had not been wearing them on the day of the murder – his grandfather had. The knife found with blood on it was used by everyone in the house. His grandfather had said they should have pushed the bodies in Petrushensky bog. Efrem had not been involved: ‘I gave false testimony against him, hoping to confuse the investigation’ [«я показал на него ложно, желаю спутать ход следствия»]. The protocol is signed ‘Morozov’ in a shaking hand.

Further testimony of Aksin’ya Morozova, 5 Nov. (Fedchenko. Trusov was also present.) Aksin’ya now stated directly that Sergei and Danila had committed the murder. Sergei had come home and said, ‘Me and Danila have settled (that is killed) the Morozov children’ [«Мы с Даниилой решили (т. е. убили) ребят Морозовых»] (the gloss on the meaning of ‘settled’ was provided by the investigator). Aksin’ya had concealed this as she thought no-one would find out.

Record of face-to-face-confrontation for Danila and Aksin’ya Morozova. 5 Nov. (Fedchenko. Trusov also present). Aksin’ya stated once more that Danila and Sergei had killed the boys. Danila denied that he was a participant, and claimed he did not know who was. The protocol is signed ‘Morozov Danil’ in a shaking hand.

Interrogation record for Efrem Shatrakov. 6 Nov. 1932. Fedchenko. Efrem insisted he was not guilty of the murders. He had been in the fields all day, and had then gone to the Prokopenkos’, and there were witnesses to this: Prokhor Sakov, who had seen him in the fields, Prokopenko Vasily, Pupyashkina (sic.) Marfa and Volkov Afanasy. In his view, Sergei and Danila had done it.

Interrogation record of Danila Morozov. 6 Nov. Fedchenko. Likhobabin and Iskrin from OGPU were also present, and so was Silin. At this session, Danila made a full admission of his guilt. His grandfather and ‘Pioneer Pavel Morozov’ were enemies because the latter had tried to expose Kulukanov. Sergei and Kulukanov had tried to persuade Danila to do it several times but there had never been an ‘opportune moment’ [«подходящий момент»]. Then on 3 Sept. Kulukanov had told Danila the boys had gone off for berries, and had given him 30 roubles. His grandfather had given him similar instructions (deal with the boys now, on their berrying trip). Sergei had then taken Danila into the woods at 2 p.m.. Sergei had stabbed Pavel, and Fyodor had run off; his grandfather had called, ‘Grab him!’ [«Держи его!»], and Danila had obeyed, and Sergei had struck several blows. Danila, scared by the boys’ screaming, had then run off. His grandfather had stayed on in the woods an hour. When Sergei got back, he had changed his clothes (which were in fact Danila’s). The two had told Aksin’ya nothing about the murder. All this had been done under the influence of the kulak Kulukanov.

Interrogation Protocol
for Citizen Morozov, Daniil Ivanovich, interrogated 6/XI [1932]
by Fedchenko, Plenipotentiary of the Special Political Department, [Nizhny] Tagil Operations Section.

In addition to the testimony given by me earlier, I hereby add that I admit my guilt in the murder of the brothers Morozov Morozov Pavel and his brother Fyodor. The murder took place for the following reasons, my grandfather Morozov Sergei, Kulukanov Arsenty and Pioneer Morozov were enemies because Pavel Morozov as an active [Party] worker, a Pioneer was trying to expose the kulak machinations of the kulak Kulakanov Arsenty, Morozov Pavel had found out that he was hiding his kulak property from confiscation at Morozov Sergei’s. Kulukanov and my grandfather Morozov Sergei hating Pavel Morozov and afraid that he would get in the way of them getting up to their kulak activities in the
future, decided to kill Pavel Morozov. Kulukanov had tried several times to take part in the murder but there was no opportune moment to commit the murder. On 3 Sept of the present year early in the morning I went to Kulukanov Arseny’s house, he was alone there, he said to me, ‘Pavel Morozov has gone off into the woods for berries this morning and his brother Fyodor has gone with him, today will be a good day for the murder, go to the woods and fix it up, I’ve already talked to Sergei about everything but he can’t manage it on his own here’s 30 roubles for you and when you’ve done it I’ll give you two handfuls of gold.’ /176 rev./ I took the money from Kulukanov, I promised him I’d do the killing and firmly decided I would. Having left Kulukanov’s I went home to fetch my grandfather and we went out to harrow and sow. Having arranged to commit the murder before we went out to the field and after we reached there Morozov Sergei said to me, ‘This morning they’ve gone for berries, let’s go and get them and you can help me exact retribution on Pashka.’ Having got to the fields we worked there till mid-day till about one o’clock or two o’clock, and then my grandfather Sergei led me into the woods having got to the woods we saw Morozov Pavel and Fyodor, the latter were walking through the woods with full baskets of berries The place where we met up with them consisted of the following. Dense forest, paths tracking off that are used infrequently, not far off the path is a small bog, next to the bog is thin scrub Having met up with Morozov Pavel and Fyodor, old man Sergei Morozov, went up to Pavel right close and struck him a blow with the knife[,] what he did with the knife then I couldn’t see, and then Fyodor started running. Sergei shouted to me, ‘Hold him’ – I ran off after Fyodor and grabbed him by his jacket and began holding on and then old man Sergei Morozov came up and struck him, Fyodor Morozov several blows, with the same knife. After the murder had been committed I went off through the woods at a run and ran all the way home because I had taken fright at the Morozov children’s screaming, but the old man stayed behind, at the place where the murder was committed and he got back an hour or so later. /177/ Having got back home, old man Sergei Morozov discovered that his trousers and shirt were spattered with blood, then he changed into other clothes and hung the bloody clothes on a hook in the izba. I should add here that the bloody clothes the trousers and shirt were put to soak in water not so as to hide the crime but just by chance since we did not say anything to old woman Kseniya Morozova about the murder and she put them to soak without noticing the blood. I admit that the trousers found during the house search really do belong to me, but on the day of the murder that is 3/IX they were being worn by Sergei Morozov. Having openly admitted my part in the murder of the Morozovs, I emphasise once more that the murder was committed only by us two, that is Morozov Sergei my grandfather and with my direct help. All of this happened under the influce of kulak Kulukanov Arseny and according to his directions. Silin Arsent and Shatrakov Efrem were in no way involved in this affair. But Kulukanov made me interfere with the process of the investigation all the time since we were arrested and deny the murder that had been committed.

This is a true record of [my] words and has been read aloud to me Morozov Daniil

[signed]

In addition I testify that the knife with which the murder was committed was not brought back by Morozov Sergei, he threw it away somewhere in the woods. The knife removed during the house search has nothing to do with the present case.

This is a true record of my words and has been read aloud to me Morozov [signed]

Interrogation conducted by Plen. SPD O/S Afedchenko /signed/ FEDCHENKO

Interrogation conducted in the presence of the following operatives of OGPU Likhobabin Iskrin Silin

accused prisoner in relation to the case in hand

л. 178 Record of Confession to the Murders of the Brothers Morozov [«Протокол о признании по делу об убийстве бр. Морозовых»]. This document, in the handwriting of Fedchenko, and signed by two OGPU workers, Andriyan Iskrin, p/upoln. of Tavda RO

32 In the original, Silin’s name is on the same line as those of the OGPU operatives, though the next line, ‘accused prisoner in relation to the case in hand’ evidently relates to him. .
OGPU, Likhobabin, predstavitel’ GPU TsSI (?), and by Arsenii Silin, confirms that at his interrogation on 6 November 1932, Danila Morozov ‘after much talk had been expended’ [«после длительных разговоров»] had confessed to the murder of his cousins.

л. 179-80 Interrogation record [«Протокол допроса»] of Sergei Morozov. Fedchenko. 6 Nov. 1932. Likhobabin and Iskrin were also present at the interrogation. Here Sergei, too, admitted his guilt in the murders. He had gone to the fields with Danila, and had then said to Danila at about 1 that the children were off for berries. Once the two had caught up with the boys, Sergei had ‘stabbed [Pavel] in the chest’ [«ударил ножом в грудь»]. Pavel had yelled, and Fyodor had run away. Realising Fyodor could talk about it, Sergei said, ‘Grab him!’ [«Держи его!»], and then went and stabbed Fyodor several times, ‘during which Fyodor yelled loudly’ [«при этом Фёдор сильно закричал»] Danila then ran away. In the meantime, Sergei put the sack on Pavel’s head. Once back home, he had changed his clothes. The motive for the murder was that he was angry with Pavel and under the influence of Kulukanov. They had often talked about killing the boys.

. Interrogation Protocol

For Citizen Morozov Sergei Sergeevich, interrogated 6/IX [1932]
Fedchenko Plenipotentiary of the Special Political Department

In addition to the testimony given by me earlier I add that I admit my guilt in the murder of the brothers Morozov Pavel and Fyodor. The murder took place in the following circumstances: On 3/IX 32 my grandson Danil Morozov and I had gone out to the field early in the morning. After noon at about 1 p.m. I said to Danila, ‘Those boys Pashka and Fyodor have gone to get berries in the wood, let’s go there ourselves and finish Pashka off.’ When we got into the wood, we saw Morozov Pavel and Fyodor coming out of the wood with full baskets of berries. Having met up with Pavel Morozov I went up to him right close and struck him a blow with the knife in the chest. Pavel cried out and at that moment Fyodor started running away and I thought Fyodor could go and tell people what had happened so I shouted to Danilke, ‘Hold him’ Danilka rushed after Fyodor and got hold of him and kept holding him, when I’d finished with Pavel I went up to Fyodor and struck him several blows with the same knife and while I was doing this Fyodor yelled loudly. After the murder had been committed /179 rev./ Daniil Morozov ran out of the woods. But I finished off the Morozovs, I put Pavel Morozov’s own33 sack on his head and then I went home. After my return home I changed, my clothes my trousers and shirt which were bloody, I should say that the trousers that were bloody belonged to Danil Morozov and were being worn by him [that day] Openly admitting my part in the crime that has been committed I am speaking the whole truth and I state that I really did do this out of malice for Pavel Morozov, and I also confess that all this happened under the influence of Kulukanov Arseny, he it was that gave Danila the money and so on so that Danila helped me murder Pavel Morozov, Kulukanov and I had many times talked about killing Pavel, and on 3/IX a good moment for the murder arrived, and Danil Morozov and I did what had been planned. I confess that when doing34 the crime I did not know what I was doing, only now do I fully recognise what happened. I only spoke to Danila Morozov about the murder that was being planned on the day we did it. I also add that after my return home and taking off the bloodied clothes, we didn’t intend to wash them and destroy the traces /180/ of the crime I repeat that the murder was committed out of malice for Morozov Pavel because I had heard himsay that he would burn my house down and give me no mercy
This is a true record of my words and has been read aloud to me /thumb print of Sergei Morozov/
Interrogation conducted in the presence of the following operatives of OGPU TT Melnikov and Likhobabin Melnikov /signed/

33 The words ‘his own’ have been inserted by the interrogator after the sentence was completed. 
34 The word ‘doing’ has been inserted by the interrogator after the sentence was completed. 

28
Likhobabin /signed/
Present at the interrogation were the accused Morozov Daniil and Morozova Kseniya
Morozov Danil /signed/
/thumb print of Kseniya Morozova/

л. 181-6: 6 (pro formas, completed in handwriting)
‘Chits on Property Ownership of Tavda District Resident….’ [«Справки об имущественном
положении жителя Тавдинского района…»]. They bear the official stamp of Gerasimovka
village soviet for 193_, but the year has not been filled in. Kulukanov’s describes him as a
kulak, though his land holdings at 2.8 desyatins are not much larger than 1.5 for several
others. However his income is large, being given at 442 roubles p.a. pre-1929, and at arrest at
227 roubles (corrected from 22 roubles). The tax he paid was 23.50 roubles, and 55 roubles
prior to 1929. By contrast Efrem Shtrakov [181 rev.] has his income given as 140/160
roubles, his tax paid as 15.14 roubles and 8 roubles (before 1929), and Silin [184] is listed as
income 220/317 and tax 18/15. Both Silin and Shtrakov are described as ‘middling
peasants’.

л. 187: (Typescript)
Official copy [дубликат] of Daniil Morozov’s birth certificate. His date of birth is given here
as 1913; the birth was entered in the church register for 1916. The copy is dated 4 November
1932.

л. 188: (Typescript)
Official copy [дубликат] of Efrem Shtrakov’s birth certificate. His date of birth was given
here as 1912; the birth was entered in the church register for 1916. The copy is dated 4
November 1932.

л. 189: Hand-written memo. confirming the transfer of clothes and a knife for forensic tests.
[«рубашки, штаны и 2 ножи доставлены в НТО для производства последования»].
Dated 2 Nov. 1932.

л. 190 Doctor’s note, in classic physician’s illegible handwriting, dated 6 November 1932. It
appears to state that ‘Comrade Morozova has undergone an operation for removal of an
ovary. At present the operation wound is still healing and requires dressing every second
day. Morozova is elderly and very frail. 6.XI.1932. Doctor…. [signature illegible]’
[«Тов. Морозова была произведена операция выделения яичка [была подвергнута
операции выделения яичка?] Настоящее время рано поджигает (?) требует излечения
через день Морозова имеет резко выраженную (?) старческую дряхлость
6.X1.1932 Врач (неразб.)»]
л. 190 об.
The reverse of the sheet contains an unsigned memo, dated 6 November, which appears to be
an order directing the doctor to send Morozova for interrogation:
‘Comrade Karelin.
It is essential that Morozova attend investigation, no matter what condition she is in. Kindly
send information about her state of health forthwith.
[«Т. Карелин.
Морозова сейчас необходимо на допрос [необходима на допрос?], в таком состоянии в
каком она есть, и нашли [ношли?] справку о ее состоянии здоровья.»]

л. 191 (Typescript)
Order from Nizhny Tagil to finish the investigation, signed Zuev on behalf of the Director of
the Operations Section of OGPU, Iodko [Нач. Оперсектора ОГПУ Иодко.] Signed: ‘A true
copy. Khlebnikov’ [«Верно. Хлебников»].
л. 192-205 comprise the final batch of interrogation records, carried out from 11 November. This time the investigator was Shepelev, Plenipotentiary of the No. 2 Section, Political Department, OGPU, in Sverdlovsk.

л. 192-4 Further testimony [«дополнительные показания»] of Danila Morozov. 11 Nov. 1932. Shepelev.

At this session, Danila once more admitted his guilt. A great deal of family property had been hidden at Sergei’s, and Pavel had found out about it, and gone to the village soviet. When Pavel did this, Iosif Prokopovich, the brother of Kulukanov’s daughter-in-law, was a member of the grain surrender commission [«комиссия по хлебозаготовкам»], and also doing forced labour [принудиловка] for hooliganism. And Prokopovich had told Kulukanov that Pavel had made the denunciation; this had happened at some point during the rye-sowing season in August. The hidden property had duly been found, and Kulukanov had started to hate Pavel: ‘What a filthy little tyke, if you go on telling like that you won’t have long left!’ [«вот какая поскуда, если так будешь доказывать так на свете не будешь жить!»]

On 3 Sept., Kulukanov had told Danila the boys had gone berrying, and had given him 30 roubles, five three-rouble pieces and three five-rouble pieces. Danila had said he must do harrowing, and Kulukanov had said, ‘you can do the field first and then you can both go’ [«как раз пашню [?] заборонишь и пойдете»]. Danila had gone and told his grandfather they must do the murder, but without telling him who had given him the instructions. His grandfather had immediately replied they would do the harrowing and go. It was clear that Sergei must have talked separately to Kulukanov, and he was also sore because ‘Pavel told on his father’ [«Павел выказал на своего отца»], and the latter had been imprisoned for giving false documents to the kulaks.

After dinner on 3 Sept., Danila had taken the knife and put it ‘inside my dark cloth jacket’. [«за пазуху в суконного черного цвета пиджак»]. His grandfather had said, ‘Mind you don’t lose your nerve’ [«смотрите не робей»] Now Danila had started claiming that he committed the murders: ‘I ran up to Pavel with the knife in my right hand and stabbed in the stomach [«Я подбежал с ножом в правой руке к Павлу и резнул его в живот»]. Pavel had called out, ‘Fedya, little brother, run!’ [«Федя, братишко, убегай!»], but ‘my granddad (Sergei Sergeevich) already had him, Fyodor. I stabbed Pavel with my knife again and ran up to Fyodor and stabbed him with the knife in the stomach’ [«я его Федора дед (Сергей Сергеевич) держал уже Я Павла резнул ножом вторично и побежал к Федору и ударили ножем в живот»]. His grandfather had held Fyodor still. Then he had shaken berries out of the sack, and the grandfather had said to put it on Fedya’s head so he couldn’t get home. 35 The two, Danila said, had only killed Fyodor to cover up their tracks.

Danila now claimed that much of what he had said before was inaccurate [«В раннем данных мною показаниях много не точностей (sic)»]. At first, he had represented Kulukanov and his grandfather as the murderers in order to provoke Kulukanov into admitting that he had given Danila the money. Kulukanov had told Danila while the two were in the Tavda prison [арестантский дом] to say nothing. Danila had blamed Efrem for nothing because his grandfather had told him to. Efrem knew nothing about the killings at all.

л. 195-6 Further testimony [«дополнительные показания»] of Sergei Morozov. (Shepelev; 11 Nov).

Sergei asserted that Aksin’ya had told him Pavel was to blame for the house searches, and that she had said Pavel had to be exterminated (sic.). She had said this daily every time Sergei visited Tatiana’s family. He himself held Pavel to blame for what had been going on [«За виной всех этих переживаний я считал, что является Морозов Павел»]. Therefore, when Danila suggested they do the murder, he agreed. He had taken nothing along to the woods, as he knew Danila had a knife. Danila had stabbed Pavel in the chest and P had fallen to the ground. Danila had then stabbed Pavel again, and he had gone quiet. And then Danila had

35 Other testimony indicates that it was Pavel who had the sack on his head, however.
run up to Fyodor and stabbed him as well. Aksin’ya had known all about their plot to kill the boys and had herself washed the bloody clothes.

л. 197 Further testimony [«дополнительные показания»] of Arseny Silin. Shepelev. 13 Nov. Silin again repeated that he had gone to Tavda on 3 Sept. He had heard nothing about the murders beforehand. He had gone and helped when news got out about the imminent search at Sergei’s and had taken the cart. He had never made threats to Pavel: ‘I thought what they were doing was just kids’ stuff and I didn’t pay it any attention’ [«я на них как на малых ребят не обращал внимания»]. He also denied having heard anything about Pavel’s denunciation of his father [«А то, что он (Павел) выказывал на своего отца и еще на кого я об этом не знал»]. An additional note appended to the testimony stated that Silin had only had two wheels of the cart in his possession. 

л. 197 об.: is Silin’s signed statement that he knows the investigation is now concluded.

л. 198 Record of face-to-face confrontation [«Протокол допроса на очной ставке»] between Sergei Morozov and Arseny Kulukanov. 14 Nov. 1932. Shepelev. The investigator asked, had there been talk between the two about Pavel etc.? [«Скажите, разговаривали ли вы с Кулакановым об убийстве пионера Морозова Павла?»] Sergei agreed there had, and stated that Kulukanov had been furious when Pavel reported the hidden property at his own [Sergei’s] household. Asked to confirm this [«Подтверждает ли вы сказанное Морозовым Сергеем Сергеевичем в отношении ваших разговоров о пионере Морозове Павле (?)»], Kulukanov responded ‘Morozev Sergei Sergeevich – my father-in-law – is giving false testimony against me’ [«Морозов Сергей Сергеевич -- мой тестя показывает на меня ложно»]. No such conversations had taken place.

л. 199 14 Nov. 1932: Signed statements in Shepelev’s handwriting, with the signatures of Sergei Morozov and Danila Morozov, that they know the investigation to have been concluded [«об окончании следствия мне объявлено»].

л. 200-1 Record of face-to-face confrontation [«Протокол допроса на очной ставке»] between Danila Morozov and Arseny Kulukanov. 14 Nov., Shepelev. Danila was asked about the relationship between Pavel and Kulukanov. Once again, Danila told the story about how property had been hidden at Sergei’s. Kulukanov confirmed the truth of this story in general terms: his cart had been concealed in Volkov’s vegetable garden, and then Kulukanov had taken it back himself.

Danila then said, in answer to a direct question, that Kulukanov had certainly known who made the denunciation against him. And when Pavel had been riding into Vladimirovka with Titov on a horse that had been bought from Medyukhin, he fell off. Kulukanov had said, ‘That horse is a fool, it couldn’t even break his head open’ [«Вот конь дурак, не мог головы сломать ему»]. Kulukanov responded to all this, ‘Morozev is not telling the truth’ [«Морозов говорит не верно»]. He had no idea who had made the denunciation about his things, and he had never said anything like that.

Danila said that they had also talked about the murder on that day, and that Kulukanov had paid him the 30 roubles for complicity. To this Kulukanov responded, ‘Danila Morozov is lying about me’ [«Даниил Морозов на меня лгет.” (sic.)].

л. 202 (Typescript) Order for the release of Efrem Shatrakov, 14 Nov. 1932, signed E. Shepelev. 

л. 203 (Typescript)

36 As had been stated at earlier stages of the investigation.
37 For the full text, see Istoricheskii arkhiv, April 2004.
Prison convoy order [Арестантское]. 10 Nov. 1932, no. 3205.
TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE SECRET POLITICAL SECTION, OGPU, URALS PROVINCE

Sverdlovsk

Re.: To accompany the arrestees in the MOROZOV murders case
Pursuant to the personal instructions of the Director of the SPO PP OGPU [Secret Political Section, Plenipotentiary Division, OGPU], as communicated by telephone to the Director of the Operations Division, the following arrestees in the case of the murder of Pioneer MOROZOV Pavel and his brother Fyodor from Gerasimovsky [village soviet], Tavda District, are being transferred to you:

1) MOROZOV Sergei Sergeevich
2) MOROZOV Daniil Ivanovich
3) KULUKANOV Arseny Ignat’evich
4) SILIN Arseny Nikitovich
5) MOROZOVA Kseniya [sic.] Il’inishna
6) SHATRAKOV Efrem Antonovich

At the same time, the case file at No. 42 containing the accusatory material against the given arrestees is being transferred to you by courier.

Head of the Operations Section, OGPU, Urals Province
Iodko

Head of the Secret Political Section
Zuev

л. 204 Note accompanying the report on forensic tests carried out on the Morozov trousers and shirt and two knives, dated 11 November 1932, and stating that it would be a good idea to have the water the clothes were washed in tested for signs of blood.38

л. 205 (Typescript)
Report on forensic tests carried out on the trousers and shirt [«НТО брюков и рубашки»], stating that nothing had been found on the shirt, and that the trousers had yellow-brownish spots on them, but had not given off fluorescence when studied under ultra-violet light (as would have been characteristic of blood spots). The two knives (one large, with a wooden handle, one small, and wrapped in paper) both had rust-red spots on them, but neither gave off fluorescence. Haemoglobin globules had not formed when potassium chlorate was applied. The forensic chemist concluded: ‘On the basis of this investigation, one must conclude that no blood has been found on the exhibits in the case (the shirt, the trousers and the knives).’ 39

лл. 206-13 (Typescript)
Case for the prosecution [Обвинительное заключение]. On 25 November, Pavel Morozov had reported his father’s misdeeds, and Trofim had got 10 years’ exile. Pavel had appeared at the trial and exposed his father’s crimes. He had also denounced his grandfather for hiding kulak property. In winter 1932 [i.e. the beginning of the year], he had told the village Soviet that Silin had sold special settlers a load of potatoes, despite not fulfilling his grain norms. Kulukanov had then stolen 15 poods of rye from the village soviet, and Sergei had been afraid Pavel would denounce this as well. Threats had been made by Danila. The plan was laid long before 3 September; when the day came, Danila stabbed Pavel who called out to Fedya to run; but Danila, after stabbing Pavel twice more, caught up with him and stabbed him three times. They then put sacks on the boys’ heads and thus they were found by Dmitry Shatrakov three days later. Once back home, Sergei and Danila removed their clothes and Kseniya washed the knife later found behind the icon. Kseniya had gloated to Tatiana in the presence of witnesses. Kulukanov was the inspiration and organisation behind the crime; he had given Danila 30

38 Tests on the items themselves having proved inconclusive (see л. 205). The full text appears in Istoricheskii arkhiv April 2004.
roubles for it. All the accused were to be tried under article 58.8; the three Morozovs had admitted their guilt. The case was accordingly forwarded for trial.40

Л. 214 (Typescript)
List of witnesses to be subpoenaed in the case of the murder of Pioneer MOROZOV Pavel and his brother Fyodor.41

1. Morozova Tatiana Semyonovna  Gerasimovka village, Tavd. dist. Mother of the victims
2. Shatrakov Dm. Ant.  Gerasimovka village  Discovered the bodies
3. TITOV Yakov Tikh.  Gerasimovka village, Tavd. dist.In inspector of District 4,42 took statements about kulaks from MOROZOV Pavel
4. GAZYKOV Efim Ign.  Gerasimovka village, Tavd. dist.Plenipotentiary of Gerasimovka village Soviet, took statements from MOROZOV Pavel about the kulaks
5. YUDOVA Stepanida  Gerasimovka village, Tavd. dist.In whose presence Morozova Kseniya made statements about the murder
6. VARYGIN Prokhor Iv.  Gerasimovka village, Tavd. dist.In whose presence Morozova Kseniya made statements about the murder
7. TIMOSHENKO Fyodor Kas.  Gerasimovka village, Tavd. dist.In whose presence Morozova Kseniya made statements about the murder
8. VOLKOV Konst. Mineevich [sic].  Gerasimovka village, Tavd. dist.In whose presence Morozova Kseniya made statements about the murder
9. PROKOPOVICH Iosif  Gerasimovka village, Tavd. dist.Informed kulak KULUKANOV that Pavel Morozov had told the village soviet about his property

Plenipotentiary of Secret Political Section, Plenipotentiary Division, OGPU Eshepelev

Л. 215 (Typescript)
Arrestee forwarding order [Арестантское 11? XI 1932]. A senior operative (operativnyi rabotnik) had been sent to Tavda and established who the killers were; their confessions were now included in the case file.43

41 This item is particularly bizarre, since it bears little relation to the witness testimony, and also to the actual witnesses called in the case itself.
42 Sic. He was in fact inspector of District 8 (see [24] above etc.).
43 Istoricheskii arkhiv April 2004. Here the date is given as ‘between 2 and 13 November 1932’.
34

л. 216 Prisoner docket [О лишениях свободы]
On printed form: the handwritten sections are given below in italic.

urgent

Urals District Procuracy
Sverdlovsk, 68 ul. Malysheva.
Date: 16 November 1932. Our Ref. 4-х-5

Attn. Urals Regional Court

I enclose the order relating to the charges against Morozov Daniila Ivanovich, Morozov Sergei Sergeevich, Kulukanov A. I., Silin,⁴⁴ and Morozova K. I. and inform you that the case for the prosecution has been approved. I request you to kindly proceed to trial under article 58.8 of the Criminal Code [above has been written by hand, 17-58-8].

I ask you to try the case by show trial in the locality with the participation of both sides the prosecution case will be supported by the Procuracy The arrestees are committed as of today into your custody.

The exhibits in the case will be transferred under separate cover.
Assistant Regional Procurator
Urals Regional Court

лл. 217-34 Trial transcript [Протокол судебного заседания по делу №....]

Protocol of the Court Meeting in Case No. 217.
[Протокол судебного заседания в деле № 217].
Handwritten, in ordinary longhand rather than shorthand; evidently an impressionistic and abridged version of what actually took place.

‘1932 November 25, 26, 27, 27: A public session of the Urals Regional Court (Circuit division), Urals Province, in attendance: as chair people’s judge [crossed out] member of the court Zadravsky, people’s assessors Klimentkov and Borozdin, in the presence of procurator Zyabkin, defence lawyer Vlasyko, social prosecutors Urin, Smirnov; Secretary Makarinin, held to conduct proceedings in the case [of the murders of Pavel and Fyodor Morozov], accused Morozov Sergei, Morozova Kseniya [sic.], Morozov Daniil [sic.], Kulukanov Arseny and Silin Arsen. Under Article 58.8 of the Criminal Code.’

There follows a list of the accused, procedural details, a record that there were no objections to the tribunal composition [против суда отвода нет, против общественных обвинителей и защиты отвода нет]. The witnesses were then cautioned and removed from the court-room. Biogs. of the accused are given:
1) SERGEI MOROZOV was described as 82 and from Vitebskaya province, Velitebskii district [uezd] Sherpetskaya volost’, Yaropol’e village.

³. 217 об. He had been in Gerasimovka from 1910, and had moved there under the government resettlement scheme «переселился в Герасимовку по просьбе комиссии». His stock is listed: in 1916-1917 it amounted to 2 horses and cows. He had 10 desyatinas of ploughed land. 2 of his sons were in the army; one had been sentence to ten years in prison (‘одного осудили на 10 лет’). ‘When my sons came out of the army, the farm was in a mess, I had no hired labour, I was never dekulakised. I was in the collective farm for two months, I left because they threw me out.’ Danila was helping him with the khozyaistvo. His father (SM’s) had been a prison warder and then a policeman (тюремный надзиратель, городовой).

⁴⁴ Thus, without initials.
2) KSENIA IL’INISHNA MOROZOVA, aged 79: she had been in Gerasimovka 21 years. In 1931, she had paid 36 poods in tax. She confirmed that Kulukanov and Silin were her sons-in-law; another son-in-law, Potupchik, was working as deputy village Soviet chairman.

3) DANIIL MOROZOV’s age was given as 19 (corrected from 18). He said he was no longer living with his father ‘because my mother is my stepmother’ (потому что мать является мачехой). He had been with his grandfather for 4 years. His father had 2 horses 1 cow; 1 sister lived with D’s mother and his brothers of 2 and 9 lived with his father. He stated that Kulukanov had a ‘large’ farm, with 3 horses and 2 cows, though no tractor [машина]; D often helped out there: 2-3 men would work on the harvest. In 1927 ‘he had grown men working for him, and I’d turn up when I felt like it and he’d pay me and my grandfather’. ‘It was my granddad and Kulukanov that wouldn’t let me study.’ [“учиться мне не дали дедушка с Кулукановым”]. There was no Komsomol in Gerasimovka while I was around. The police aides weren’t doing anything. When I had free time, I’d do nothing much, I had newspapers I was subscribing to, I’d read them and books. My big mates in the village are Kulukanov’s son and Shatrakov.’

218 4) ARSENY KULUKANOV’s details are given. He arrived in Gerasimovka in 1909; he had previously worked as a labourer in Belorussia; he had one son in Red Army. He denied having employed seasonal labour. His taxes were given as : 1927 15 roubles, 1929, 30, and 1931, 22. In 1931, he was assigned a hard grain quota. He was not a member of the collective farm.

218 об. 5) ARSENY SILIN is given as aged 37, barely literate, and originally from Minsk province. His father had brought him to Gerasimovka aged 8. He had fought in the First World War. His holdings stretched to two horses and cows at best. In 1931 had 1-2 seasonal workers. He confirmed that Kulukanov and Morozov were his relations, and described Kulukanov as having ‘a strong farm’ (хозяйство крепкое). He stated that during the Civil War he had worked as a carter for the Red Army. (Во время восстания я был военком в Красной армии.)

219 KSENIA MOROZOVA’s evidence was that her husband had been trying to get hold of property after Trofim was sent into exile; a squabble had arisen when Sergei removed the harness saddle. Sergei had made threats to Pavlik after the latter fought with him and broke a window. On 3 September Pavel had been harrowing while his grandfather sowed. Then the boys had disappeared, she didn’t know where, but Sergei had said, ‘No-one ever yet came back from the dead. The old man and Danila had killed them, but told her nothing; then Sergei had confessed at the OGPU interrogations.

Pavlik feared no-one and would tell on any miscreants. There was no bad feeling between him and his grandfather. He had told everything at his father’s trial, and had asked to speak three times.

Lots of people were angry with Pavel because he was always denouncing people; but Danila and Kulukanov weren’t among them.

The old man had made threats about murdering Pavel [«Старик похвалялся убить Павла»] but had said nothing to her about the murder. She claimed that Sergei was harsh and cruel, and had immediately suspected Pavel was to blame when his father was put on trial. [«Старик у меня очень суровый и жить с ним было тяжело и не любил когда ему возражали. Когда судили моего сына то старик сказал, что это Павел цел (?) моего сына»]45.

45 At this point, the confusion in Morozova’s testimony reaches its height: on the one hand, Pavel’s accusation against his father was all out in the open in the court-room (he demanded the floor three times), but on the other, the old man knew from somewhere special that Pavel had made the denunciation…
On 3 September, she had gone berry-picking in the morning with Sakova and Vlasikha [Vlasova]; she had not seen the boys. She had got back when it was still light. Danila and Sergei were there, ‘acting very calm’ [«и очень держали себя спокойно»]. As she recalled, Pavel and Fyodor had been dressed identically («Убитых братьев одежда была одинакова»).

She had not noticed blood on the laundry. Then people arrived from the sel'sovet and the policeman took the clothes. Her old man gave the knife to the policeman (it was behind the icon). She then went and visited Silin to attend to her sick daughter, his wife. She stated she had no idea why Kulukanov had got cross with P. She then confirmed that P. had denounced him over a cart which the latter had hidden. But P. was not cross with Silin. She had visited Kulukanov’s house to take milk over there but Sergei had not come over with her. Silin had visited the Morozovs to ask whether SM had been at the public meeting earlier that day, but Kulukanov had not visited at all.

Sergei had disliked the boys, but she had had good relations with them. [«Старик уж очень не любил Павлика а ко мне внучата относились хорошо»]. Their grandfather would say, if they came over, ‘Why have those mangy curs come here?’ [«за чем паршицы пришли»]. Her exchange with Tatiana was given according to the established pattern (along the lines of, ‘let whoever made this meat eat it’ [«кто наделел мяса, тот пусть и ест»]. She described Danila as a good boy, ‘no thief and no rowdy’ [парень не вор и не хулиган]. He had got paid by Kulukanov in money and earned money at the lumber.

220 His friends included Efrem Shatrakov, but the latter was a bit older than he was. [«Хорошие товарищи у него были (так!) Шатраков Ефрем, но он старше Даниля»]. She referred to Pavel’s denunciation over the gun, but denied she knew anything about revenge. ‘От Шатракова я ни чего не слыхала, что собираются убить.” But Pavel had denounced Kulukanov for stashing grain, and the latter had threatened to kill him over this.

Under cross-examination (221), Morozova confirmed these details: her husband was vicious and had made threats; Tatiana knew this, and had heard the threats. Danila had had money from Kulukanov for helping him transport surrendered grain. Sergei did not have rows with Tatiana, but was always driving the children away; however, he disliked other children too.

221 об. She stated that Danila had bought the cloth for the shirt and a hat in Tavda after the murder. She had always regarded Tatiana as one of the family [«Татьяну всегда признавала своей»]. She had known that the boys were on their own on 3 Sept., but not that they had gone berrying. The shirt that she washed was black; the trousers’s were Danila’s.

2) SERGEI MOROZOV stuck to the story as given to the investigators at later stages: he had held Fyodor down and Danila had killed him. This had happened around mid-day on the Saturday, in a spot 1.5 versts from the village. The reason was fear for Kulukanov’s property.

He confirmed that he and Tatiana had been at loggerheads: when Trofim was doing military services, she had tried to get S. to hand over property; he had made over land to his son, but had borne a grudge.

He had not be able to stand the boys because they laughed at him. When Pavel came round for the harness saddle, Danila had asked Sergei why he had handed it over, and the boys had started fighting.

He had handed over half his stock to Trofim. [До выдела сына было 2 лошади и 2 коровы, я им отдал 1 лошадь и корову.] But Tatiana had wanted more. She had split up with her husband because he was involved with another woman [он познакомился с другой женщиной].

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46 This is correct: the day of the murder, 3 September, was a Saturday, and 6 September a Tuesday.
47 But as he was not out of Gerasimovka on 4-5 September, and was arrested on 6 September, this is arrant nonsense.
After the divorce [развод], Tatiana would visit when she needed something, but ‘I didn’t like meeting her and I didn’t think of her as one of the family’ [«и я встречал ее неохотно и считал чужой»].

‘The children were always jeering at me and throwing sticks.’

‘And then when Pavel told on his father at the trial I got even more mad at him. I told Pavel to calm down.’

Danila, though, was a good boy.

л. 222 об. His anger with Pavel was because of the latter’s denunciations to the village soviet [«доносил в с/совете»].

He had never talked to Danila about the boys, but he had to Kulukanov – in Silin’s presence.

Pashka had shouted: ‘All the grain is buried at your place’ [“Весь хлеб у тебя выгребен”].

Aksin’ya knew about the planned murder.

223 Danila had stabbed [ударил] PM. Sergei had dragged F. off, and Danila, Pavel. Danila had put the sack over Pavel’s head. Sergei found he had blood on his shirt.

He had told no-one about the murder.

Sergei finished by admitting his full guilt, but insisting that the actual murderer had been Danila. [«Все принимаю на себя. Но убил Данилю.»]

In response to cross-questioning by the procurator [На вопросы прокурора], Sergei accused his wife of having a bad past – a magistrate’s court conviction for theft before 1917. [Мировым судом она сужилась за кражу.]

As for Danila, he had no obvious way of getting hold of money ordinarily, as he had no job.

223 об. But he had helped Kulukanov remove the village soviet’s grain – though told by the soviet not to touch it.

At this point, however, Sergei suddenly went back on the testimony that he had given so far: ‘you have to mind what you say’, he told the procurator.48

3) DANILA MOROZOV

Danila described his visit to Kulukanov, and how he had returned to tell his grandfather the children were out after berries, and Tatiana was in Tavda.

224 He had grabbed Pavel and had inflicted 3 wounds: 2 while the boy was standing, and one when he was lying down.

His grandfather had held Fyodor, and inflicted 2 wounds. His grandfather had put the sack on Pavel. He had gone back via the vegetable patches [орород].49

At home, he had taken off the trousers with blood on them, and his grandfather had taken off the shirt.

It was the money that made them do it.

But there had indeed been a quarrel (over the harness saddle), and Pavel had knocked out the windows.

224 об. Danila insisted he had said nothing to Kulukanov after the killing. The reason for killing Fyodor was so that he didn’t report the murder. Danila had said nothing to his grandmother.

225 Eventually Danila made an admission of guilt that was a neat mirror-image of his grandfather’s: he had done the crime, but his grandfather had been fully involved. [«Старик Вам правду говорил, но я подтверждаю, что преступление мое – с дедом.»]

225 об. Danila said that he hadn’t been to many meetings, but had got on well with Pavlik till August.

48 The papers reporting the case in November 1932 had a different version: Sergei had said he would be silent and take the guilt upon himself, ‘as Jesus did in the court of the Jews’. See Comrade Pavlik, chapter 4.

49 This is the only occasion in the testimony where these are mentioned.
At this point, Sergei testified that he had not seen blood on D’s trousers, or only when this was pointed out to him. When Danila came home, he was already asleep [на печке], so he had no idea when this was.

At this point, Kseniya stated that the old man had no supper on 3 September.

226 4) ARSENY KULUKANOV
Kulukanov denied he had ever quarrelled with Pavlik [ругался с Павликом]: he had no reason to [«он для меня ничего плохого не делал»].
But Kseniya said at this point she had heard AK call PM ‘a noisy little squealer’ [«писун неспокойный»].
Kulukanov stated that his wife and son had gone to Tavda on 2 Sept and had returned on 5 Sept.
226 об. He himself had not seen DM on 3 Sept. and did not give him vodka on 4 Sept. Kulukanov was not a drinker. [«Я вино совсем не пью».]
He only knew the date of 3 Sept. as the murder one from local gossip. [«убили 3/1Х говорили ребята в деревне а сам не знал»].
Daniil repeated his claims about the drink, adding details: the vodka had been poured in a tea-cup. [Вино приносил в чашке.]
Kulukanov denied he knew anything much about the murder at all: ‘I keep myself to myself.’
He admitted that he was the only villager who had not gone out to look for the boys [«искать ПМ и ФМ не ходил, один не пошёл»].
227 This was because he didn’t like the idea of searching alongside the old man and Daniil.
[со стариком и Даниилом нет интереса искать].
228 And in any case, he was the only person at home.
On 6 Sept. at 3 a.m., he had dropped in to fetch a horse from Sergei’s, but had not dropped in to the house to see Sergei. He had no idea whether Sergei had visited his house that day. [«ходил к сыну за лошадь у старика не был, был ли старик у меня не знаю»].
Kulukanov said he had no gold, and never had had any. He knew nothing about Pavel or about who had denounced his cart to the village authorities.
Evidence from others was presented: DM had brought some sateen (satina) for a shirt and a fur hat (шапка) with the 30 roubles that Kulukanov gave him; Kulukanov had called his horse ‘a fool’ for not breaking Pavel’s neck. Sergei had ‘tempted’ [соблазнил] Sergei into hiding things.
227 об. In response to this, Kulukanov claimed he had never even seen Pavlik on the horse.
He had taken his cart back from Volkov, covered it in hay, and put it into the barn [гумен].
He denied he had any idea whether Pavel was given to denouncing people. He did know that he used sometimes to visit his son. Kulukanov and Silin were not on visiting terms.
Here Daniil made an allegation that Ivan Silin, ‘who’s in exile right now’, had a bible-reading group, and Kulukanov was part of it. [«Собирались у Силина Ивана, которого сейчас сослали, и читали библию, и Кулуканов тоже участвовал.»]
228. 5) ARSENY SILIN
Once again, he insisted that he was in Tavda when the murder happened, and knew nothing.
He had not been on poor terms with Pavel [«Я Павла не ругал и он мне зла ни какого не делал.»]
About Sergei and Pavel’s relations, he only knew they were neighbours. [«Старик жил рядом с Павлом а как жили я не знаю.»]
He again confirmed that he had sold the sateen to Danila for 30 roubles.
He denied he had known about Pavel being a Pioneer. [«О Павле не знал, что он был активист.»]
228 об. The old man was strict and fierce. [«Старик был суровый очень.»]

WITNESS TESTIMONYY
TATIANA MOROZOVA
Here Tatiana stated that she was aged 39, and had 2 children. She had split up with her husband in 1931 because of his activities with illegal documents ["последствия его незаконных документов которым он занимался"]. Her husband had moved out to the Kulukanovs', where he had been married off to his new wife. The children had been shooed off when they tried visiting.

Her husband had moved out to the Kulukanovs', where he had been married off to his new wife. The children had been shooed off when they tried visiting.

The ill feeling against Pavlik started after his denunciation at his father’s trial. [Павлик «высказался тогда судили мужа против него за что на него сердились»].

She had sent Pavlik off to retrieve the harness saddle, but he had not been given it, and had been chucked out.

Danila had called him a ‘lousy Communist’ and said he’d be thrashed in the way the Communists were in 1924. [«паршивый коммунист (...) как были коммунисты в 1924 г. то и тебе будет»].

Pavel had broken the window, and Danila had hit him again. 229 She repeated her story about leaving for Tavda on the Friday. She had been told by her nephew on returning from Tavda that the boys were gone. Kseniya, when asks where they were, said, ‘To hell with all Communists’ [«к черту коммунистов»].

Kulukanov had also said things like this.

On 5 September, policeman Ostrovsky had been sent to Kulukhovka to find out whether the boys were there. Tatiana had stayed at home. The Morozovs’ gates had creaked all the time [всю ночь] early in the morning. Kulukanova and Kulukanov had visited and sat in the house for ages. Silin had dropped in for a while. No-one had come to ask about the children.

Tatiana had felt that suspicion fell on the Morozovs from the start because of the threats. 229 об. She gave an embellished story about the meat: now, Kseniya had sworn as well as saying to her, ‘we’ve managed to drink blood, you’ve managed to eat meat’. Tatiana had called them (Kseniya and the others) ’vile slaughterers’ [дурщуги].

Danila denied at this point that he had spoken to PM and threatened to kill him.

ALEKSEI MOROZOV [Pavlik’s younger brother], aged 11. P and F. had gone berry-picking on Sat. and DM had gone after them. Later, the younger Morozov boys had seen their grandfather, grandmother, and Danila ‘walking round all covered in blood’ [«идут в крови»]. Danila had refused to say where Pavel was. Aleksei described his clothes: a jacket and a homespun shirt, his grandfather in a baggy white overshirt. The Morozov children’s dog was with them.

Aleksei said that he hadn’t visited his grandfather when Pavel did because Sergei used to drive them out. Danila and Pavel would fight ‘over our dad’ [«из-за нашего отца»]. 230 Aleksei had never told on Danila because he was afraid of him. But Pavel had reported the beatings [побои] to the police – and to his mother. Silin, on the other hand, had not said anything bad to Pavel. [Спиш Павлу не ругал.]

Aleksei finished with a description of his brother’s Pioneer activity, energetically recruiting others etc. He, on the other hand, was scared to be a Pioneer; he was scared of Zakhar Kulukanov. Even their father [i.e. Trofim] had told off Pavlik for joining, and hadn’t even let him read.

The grandfather hadn’t visited when the boys murdered. He had also made threats.

ZOYA ALEKSANDROVNA KADINA50 [sic.] Aged 17. She had directed the Gerasimovka school since 1931. Using official language, she described Pavel’s heroism: he was ‘a staunch, active boy who always led the rest in the measures being taken’. His friends were Kovalenko and Yakov Yudov; he had made appearances at public meetings. Danila didn’t seem to be the kind of boy who caused trouble.

50 Actually Kabina.
For his part, Kulukanov was against all the measures being taken, and was definitely a kulak [он является kulakом].

When Kseniya was in the local shop, she had told women there that Pavel might have gone off to Kulukhovka. Then rumours had gone round the village that the boys had been murdered.

Generally, attitudes to the Pioneers were bad – people even made up nasty rhymes [частушки] about them. The kulak children and young people were all against the Pioneers; when children stuck notices on kulaks’ fences, kulaks would find out who had done it and stop them.

PROZEROVA KLAUDIYA IVANOVNA, 18. ‘school worker’ [=teacher]. She had been working in Gerasimovka from Feb. 1931. Pavel was a Pioneer ‘and always the leader in the measures being taken’ [шёл всегда первым в проводимых мероприятиях].

231 Now children were afraid that if they joined up they would be murdered too.

SHATRAKOV EFREM: age given as 18, his father’s social position as ‘poor peasant’. He is described as ‘illiterate’. 51

He told how he had gone to fetch the horses; at the same time, Danila had been going to the Morozovs’ field. Having fetched the horses, Efrem had started harrowing. He had gone home (with his father, presumably: the verb is given in the plural, приехали) at sunset. He had seen Vlasikha [Vlasova] and Sakova with baskets going to the woods, but not Kseniya Morozova. He had not plotted to kill the boys with Danila. He admitted that there had not originally been a licence [‘ticket’, билет] for the gun. But now there was, and it had been returned. He stated he had been friends with Pavel, and had known of no threat to him.

He stated that he had not signed one of the protocols of an interrogation with Titov, because the latter had not read it out to him. [«При допросах м-ром Титовым один протокол я не подписывал т.к. он мне его не читывал.»] 53 Titov had been insisting he confess, though he was innocent, and had hit him three times. He had told Titov what he told Ivan Potupchik, and there were other people too. He had refused to sign the interrogation record, since Titov had not read it aloud, and he had never said he and Danila killed the boys.

VARYGIN PROKHOR (aged 18)

231 об. He repeated the ‘meat’ story. Tatiana asked, seeing KM walking round village, where she was going, and KM replied that she was taking food [хлеб] to SM and DM, and Tatiana said, ‘aren’t you ashamed when they killed my children’ [как не стыдно, убили моих детей], and KM replied, ‘eat the meat if it’s been killed for you’ [наделяли мяса, так ешьте].

He had overheard Danila telling Shatrakov, his grandfather, and Kulukanov not to admit anything when they were in the barn lock-up.

Pavel had told Varygin that ES and DM were threatening to kill him, and had said he would report the gun, and then DM had said they’d knife him.

Silin and Kulukanov ‘take a poor view of the measures being taken’ [Силин и Кулukanов к мероприятиям относятся плохо].

POTUPCHIK DENIS ADAMOVICH deputy chairman of the village soviet and relation by marriage of the accused [зам. председ. с/с. свояк подсудимым].

He stated that Pavel had been favourably inclined towards the measures being taken and had denounced Kulukanov’s kulak property to the village soviet; he had sought out concealed special settlers and people who were having dealings with them. Pavel had been ‘very active’,

51 Both these represent changes from earlier protocols. Originally, the Shatrakovs were ‘middling peasants’, and Efrem ‘barely literate’.
52 This contradicts his father’s testimony: Anton claimed to have gone home first.
53 All the protocols of these interrogations are signed, so either Titov faked the signature, or Shatrakov’s story is untrue.
the only person like that in the village. The testimony continues on л. 233 (the pages are bound out of order). Kulukanov had a strong farm. He never spoke out openly about the measures being taken, but did it on the sly [но делали в тишину].

Potupchik did not know him to be angry with Pavel. He had not done anything concrete. [«По словам от людей мёр ни каких не принимал»].

As for Silin, he was not a kulak [«Силин кулаком не считал»]. Potupchik had no idea why he had been in trouble with the law in 1931. He had not made trouble over taxes [«Он всегда платил аккуратно»]. Morozov and Kulukanov were against the measures being taken. Kulukanov the grandfather had employed seasonal workers ‘till 1910’ [sic.]

It was Pavel’s brother Fyodor who had told the police he was being beaten. Threats continued to be made against members of the village soviet.

233 об. POTUPCHIK IVAN DENISOVICH
He is described as a candidate member of the Communist Party; he had a conviction under article 74 of the Criminal Code going back to 1929.

Kulukanov had kept a strong farm from 1921, and employed seasonal workers. In 1930, he had not been dekulakised, because Morozov who was the chairman of the village soviet, was ‘one of his own’. [является своим] Silin had bought and sold cattle, and no-one had done anything.

Pavlik was a Pioneer and an active lad. [«Павлик был пионером и активным парнем.»] He had been behind the exposure of his father. [«После инициативы выявили Морозова Трофима в подделке и продаже документов.»] Silin and Kulukanov had made threats, and said Pavel should leave the Pioneers. Once, Pavel had been beaten, and had gone to Titov, who advised him to make a complaint to the court. Titov had given him a referral to hospital. But Potupchik had not himself heard any of the accused make threats. [«Личное от подсудимых угроз не слышал.»] He did know that none of them had gone to look for the children.

Potupchik stated that he had no idea that Titov had beaten suspects, and had never heard of anyone refusing to sign an interrogation record. He had himself ‘dropped by’ [посетил] when Titov was interviewing, and had heard him ask whether the suspect agreed or not [согласен или нет]. He didn’t know whether Titov had read out the record. He had asked, ‘How did things go?’ Titov said nothing and did not show him the record.

VOLKOV KONSTANTIN MINOVICH
Aged 26; sentenced under article 74 of the Criminal Code to 4 months’ forced labour [4 м. пр. работ].

Out fishing, he had seen D. grab P. and ‘drag him along by the legs as though it were all a big joke only Pavlik was crying’ [тащил за ноги как будто шутя но Павлик плакал].

Danila had put a smouldering firebrand [человешку] under P’s head when the latter was sleeping. This was in June. ‘I said to Danila, what you messing round for, grow up.’ [«Я говорил Данилу, что ты делаешь ведь не маленький.»]

Danila said that Volkov had said to PM himself, ‘why did you tell on your father, they’ll kill you,’ and had gone on at him. [‘Your dad’ll get back and there’ll be hell to pay,’] Pavel had said his father wouldn’t be out for 24 years. Danila denied putting the brand under Pavel’s head.

54 Yet it was Potupchik who was responsible for the earlier report stating that Silin was a kulak – see лл. 44-6.
55 This last part of Potupchik’s testimony is more reliable than the rest – there had in fact been attacks on activists in Gerasimovka in November 1932. See Pioneer Pavlik, ch. 2.
56 Article 74 of the Criminal Code: CHECK.
57 Contrast the episode above, when Kulukanov was made to say that only he had failed to look for them.
GALYZOV stated that Pavel had been an active Pioneer and had told him that Silin was hoarding potatoes to sell. Galyzov had told the village soviet, but he didn’t know what steps were taken.

234 SHATRAKOV DMITRY (aged 21) reported once more how his dog had found the place with the bodies, DS had seen Pavel with a sack over his head. When he told Kseniya her grandsons were found, she said nothing, and walked by calmly.

TITOV (whose age was given as 35) reported that when he got back to Gerasimovka on 5 Sept., he was told the boys had disappeared. He sent ‘a person’ [одного гражданина] to Kulokhovka to their grandmother\(^58\) to find out whether there. When there was no sign, he started to round up people for a search.

He had problems with the case because of being new to the village: ‘I’ve been in Gerasimovka since 1 June and I couldn’t recognise people straight away.’ [«В Гер. работаю с 1 июня и узнать населения (так!) сразу не мог.»]

On 26 August, Pavel had said that DM had beaten him up. Titov had sent him to the doctor to get a chit, and had told him to make a complaint to the court [подать заявление в суд]. ‘I thought it was just a straightforward fight.’ [Думал это просто драка.] Then, when the children were found, Titov had organised a search at the Morozovs’; a knife was discovered behind the icon, and also bloodied trousers and shirts.

Ivashchenkova and two girls had seen Daniil and Efrem out in the fields: ‘they were harrowing not far apart from each other and could hear the cry’ [«что они боронили на пашне не далеко и могли слышать крик.»]

Pavlik had taken part in the search for the Shatrakovs’ gun, and Titov had realised he could be useful and was an active boy. He had warned Danila to let him alone. Sakova had said that she had Ivashkova\(^59\) and old woman Morozova with her and had not seen the boys. He had questioned Shatrakov once or twice, with Potupchik.

No-one had refused to sign a protocol. Shatrakov had signed all protocols. He had not beaten ES. He had returned the Shatrakovs’ gun after the murder.\(^60\)

This concluded the witness testimony. The procurator then moved to bring an accusation under the decree of 7 August 1932 [постановление ЦИК и СНК 7/8] against Kulukanov and the Morozovs for grain theft [хищение хлеба].

Titov was to be called to answer under article 11 [sic.: meant is 111?] of the Criminal Code (‘failure to take steps’ [непринятие мер] with regard to threats).

Criminal proceedings were to be instituted under article 110 of the Criminal Code in order to investigate allegations of beating by Morozova and witness Shatrakov.

The court then determined to ‘satisfy all requests made by the procurator’. The proceedings were declared closed.

The floor passed to the social prosecutor Smirnov, who demanded the death penalty on behalf of all the schoolchildren and Pioneers in the Soviet Union.

The floor then passed to the second social prosecutor, Urin, who requested that national indignation etc. be taken into account and that everything be done to fight back against the ‘assaults of the enemy’.

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58 i.e. Tatiana’s mother.
59 Sic.: meant is Baskova, perhaps? (л. 28)
60 As is confirmed by the interrogation of Dmitry Shatrakov (л. 26).
Procurator Zyabkin then declared that the charge according to article 58.8 was correct, and that theft of grain should be added to the list of crimes. Kulukanov and Morozovs should be condemned to execution by shooting [расстрел], but charges were to be dropped against Silin [«от обвинения отказываюсь»].

The floor then passed to the defence lawyer, who refused to offer a defence, but stated that Silin had committed no crime and should get a suspended sentence of 10 years.

With that, the deliberations were concluded.

The accused were given their last word.

Danila said that he hoped the proletarian court would judge him according to the law.

Kulukanov asked for pardon, as he was being condemned for nothing at all.

Sergei and Kseniya Morozov said nothing.

Silin also said nothing.

The tribunal then withdrew for its deliberations.

The document is signed ‘Chair of the Court Zadravsky’.

Пред суда Задравский [подпись]

л. 235-9 (Typescript)
Sentence [Приговор]. The substance is the same as in the prosecution case: PM was a Pioneer activist, Gerasimovka a backward place with no collective farm. The murder story is set out as before: Danila had done the stabbing, his grandfather had held the boys, Kulukanov had inspired it, Kseniya had tried to put villagers off the trail, and Silin had not been involved. All four of those convicted were to be shot under 58.8.

л. 240. (Typescript).
Response from the Cassational Commission, Supreme Court of the RSFSR [Судебно-кассационная Комиссия Верховуда РСФСР] (not dated) to the appeal against the death sentence on the Morozovs and Arseny Kulukanov. The decision made was that the sentence should be left in force.
A note in pen at the bottom states: ‘7/IV [1933] sentence carried out’ [«7/IV приговор обращен к исполнению»].

The rest of the materials in the file relate to various requests on the part of the Pavlik Morozov museum to have copies of documents from the case file, dated 1941 and 1952.

e.g. л. 242 (Typescript)
gives the founding of the Pavlik Morozov Museum as 1941 (it comprises a letter from the Director of the Regional Museum of the Revolution dated 7 March 1941, and saying he had been asked to set it up).

61 The full text appears in Istoricheskii arkhiv (April 2004).