

The
**Carl Beck
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in Kirov, 1941–1943



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Image from cover: A photograph of the school that served as headquarters of the Commissariat of Education when it was in Kirov. Photograph by Larry Holmes.

The Carl Beck Papers

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Abstract

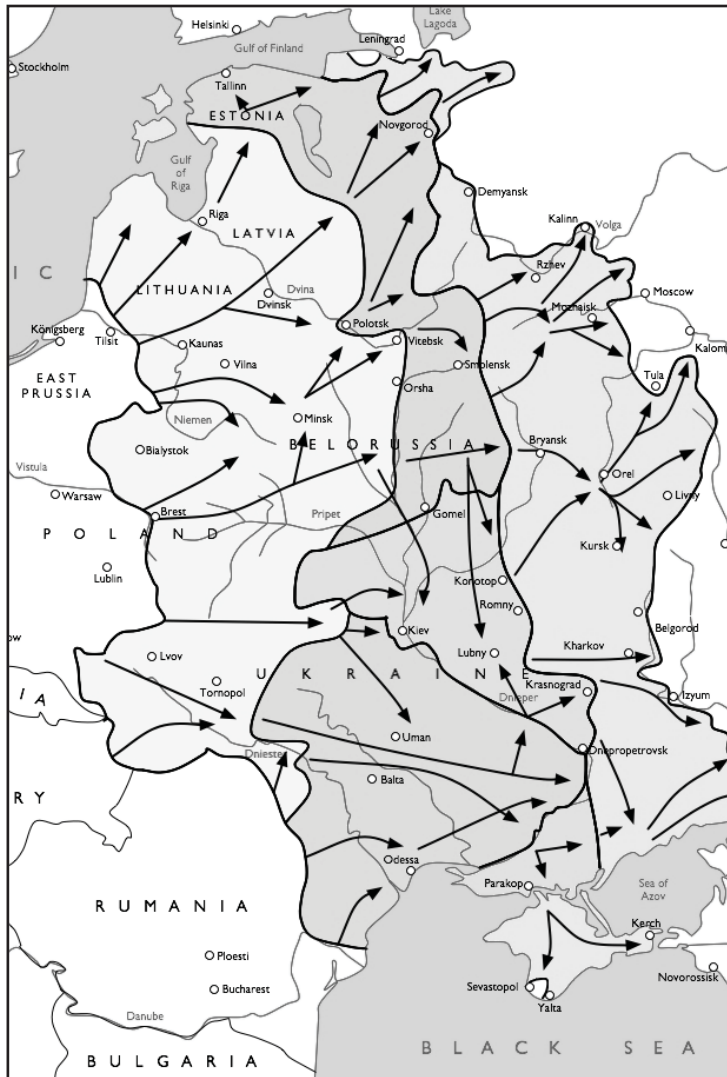
During World War II, a quarter of million people and many factories, institutions, and government agencies evacuated to the region and city of Kirov (known as Viatka before December 1934) and located 530 miles northeast of Moscow. Their number included the Russian Republic's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros). *Putting Up Moscow* focuses on the resistance by local, municipal, and regional organs in Kirov, when confronted with Narkompros's demands of them. While the commissariat at first received scarce resources, including prime physical facilities, Kirov's soviet and party organs pushed back, tentatively at first, and more boldly later, in order to limit the strain on the region's resources and the harm to local interests. In 1943, Narkompros completed its return to Moscow. Its leaders and rank-and-file members were happy to go home. Kirov's government and many of its citizens were equally happy to see them go.

Introduction

On Sunday, June 22, 1941, at 3:30 a.m. German artillery began shelling Soviet positions. Thirty minutes later, over three million German troops, supported by over three thousand tanks and two thousand warplanes, overwhelmed everything in sight along an eight-hundred-mile front stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Within hours, they had destroyed twelve hundred Soviet planes, most of them still on the ground. After six weeks the German army had plunged deep into the Soviet Union, killing or capturing almost one million troops. By mid July, invading forces had advanced within two hundred miles of Moscow, and on July 29 the Luftwaffe had commenced the bombing of the Soviet capital. Further north, on September 4, Leningrad experienced its first artillery bombardment and a few days later its first air raid. On September 8, enemy troops cut off Soviet access to the city by land, beginning a siege that would last for nine hundred days. Two months later, in November, the Nazi army had advanced to within twenty miles of Moscow, encircling the capital on three sides. By that time, German forces occupied an area encompassing about 40 percent of the Soviet Union's prewar population, railways, and grain fields and half its coal and steel production (see map 1).

Neither the Soviet Union's armed forces nor its civilian population was prepared for such an onslaught. Moscow had long insisted that any war would be fought chiefly, if not exclusively, on foreign soil and without the surrender of one square inch of Soviet land. "We believed that our 'powerful and invincible' Red Army would deal with the impudent aggressors in just two or three days," an artillery officer later recalled.¹

Soviet soldiers responded as best they could, fighting bravely when possible, but they were often faced with no other choice than to retreat in disorder. While many civilians stayed in territories overrun by the enemy, millions abandoned their homes for safer, they hoped, areas to the east and south. Some of the evacuees were registered and assisted by agencies created by the Soviet government for the purpose, others were never officially accounted for. Because of the chaotic nature of the evacuation and the partial registration of the many Soviet citizens who fled their homes, estimates of their number vary considerably, ranging from a low of 16.5 million to a high of 25 million.² Factories were evacuated in a somewhat more organized yet nevertheless chaotic fashion. Each month during the second half of 1941, an average of 165,000 railroad cars of industrial equipment rolled eastward.³ Estimates of the total number of these evacuated enterprises have varied widely from fifteen to twenty-five hundred.⁴ Perhaps as much as one-eighth of the nation's



Map 1. German advance on the Eastern Front. From left to right, territory seized as of July 9, September 9, and December 5, 1941.

industrial assets, including the bulk of its defense industry, was relocated.⁵ Cultural and educational institutions, including museums, theaters, orchestras, libraries, orphanages, and higher technical institutes moved as well. Much of the Academy of Sciences left Moscow for Kazan. Portions of Leningrad's Hermitage Museum as well as collections from Moscow's Lenin State Library, the Tretyakov Gallery, and the Pushkin Art Museum departed for safer locales. Even Lenin's mummy traveled from its mausoleum on Moscow's Red Square to Tiumen, 2,144 km. (1,332 miles) eastward for safekeeping.

Many of the evacuated people, factories, institutions, and government agencies settled in the region and city of Kirov (known as Viatka before December 1934), located 530 miles northeast of Moscow. From 1941 to 1942, 115 industrial enterprises and about a quarter of a million people evacuated to the Kirov region, a number equivalent to 10 percent of the region's original population.⁶ In the city of Kirov there were 56,500 evacuees as of January 1, 1942, a figure equaling 39 percent of the city's prewar population and 30 percent of its 186,708 current inhabitants.⁷ In addition, the Kirov region also took in a special category of evacuees: wounded soldiers. During World War I, the province had accommodated forty military hospitals caring for three thousand patients.⁸ From late 1941 to mid 1944, however, an average of fifty-five to sixty military hospitals functioned in the region, taking care of thirty-five to forty thousand soldiers.⁹

The Russian Republic's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros) was one of the government agencies evacuated to Kirov. It arrived in several waves from mid to late 1941 and returned to Moscow in stages from early 1942 to mid 1943. This essay focuses on the relationship, sometimes cooperative but increasingly troubled, between Narkompros and local and regional administrative organs. In so doing, it examines mounting tension and conflict between the center and the periphery at a unique point in Soviet history, when the center descended on the periphery and took up residence there.

Issues and Historical Literature

Considerable scholarship on governance in Stalin's Russia and the USSR has privileged the Kremlin's ability to force its arbitrary will on local, municipal, and regional governments. Another approach, however, while recognizing Moscow's preeminence, has found considerable diffusion, even confusion, of power whereby subordinate governments exercised considerable authority. Adherents of the former point of view include the earlier generation of historians who represented the so-

called totalitarian school, one that stressed Moscow's aspirations for total control and its considerable success in achieving it. A more recent cohort of scholars has challenged the sweeping generalizations of that school, while setting forth a similar, though highly nuanced, interpretation of Soviet administration. Some of that work emphasizes not the despotic rule of institutions, whether at the center or in the regions, but of individuals, beginning, of course, with Joseph Stalin himself.¹⁰ Moreover, this scholarship has underscored the center's immense power by demonstrating how local and regional authorities rushed, even competed one with the other, to reinforce Moscow's directives. J. Arch Getty has shown that local party and police officials, often for their own selfish reasons, supported the mass terror of the mid and late 1930s, even requesting increases in the central government's quotas for people to be shot or exiled.¹¹ In her study of organized labor and the Terror, Wendy Goldman has argued that "the repression was institutionally disseminated," not only through the party's organs and the NKVD security police, as is commonly acknowledged, but also through the leadership of the Central Council of Trade Unions and rank-and-file members of the unions themselves. Unions were thereby both victims and victimizers.¹²

Other historians have found a dilution of power, the product of intensive infighting among governing institutions.¹³ More to the point of this study of the relationship between the center and periphery, scholars have commented at length about successful efforts on the part of local and regional organs to influence and resist Moscow's dictates. In an earlier work, published in 1985, and one of the loud salvos directed against the totalitarian school, Getty found a bureaucracy below to be so insubordinate, disorganized, and cumbersome that it provoked, in his opinion, the terror unleashed against it.¹⁴ James Hughes and Lynne Viola, when discussing the collectivization of agriculture; Stephen Kotkin, when evaluating the emergence of the steel complex and city of Magnitogorsk; and James Harris, when analyzing plans for investment and construction in the Urals region, demonstrated how local and regional authorities employed a variety of tactics including the falsification of data in order to modify the center's grand campaigns.¹⁵ In a recent study of the Communist Party in the Voronezh region from 1934 to 1941, Youngok Kang-Bohr found numerous examples of autonomous behavior that resulted not from conscious resistance, but from incompetence, ignorance of Moscow's orders, and the irrelevance locally of such grand political campaigns as that against "Trotskyists."¹⁶

In his examination of the postwar reconstruction of Sevastopol, Karl Qualls emphasized negotiation and accommodation between local and national planners. Sevastopol's leaders successfully sought to replace Stalinist monumentalism for an

architectural style more in keeping with people's everyday needs and the city's pre-revolutionary traditions. "Sevastopol became," Qualls concluded, "what it is [today] largely because of the efforts of those local officials and citizens who had learned well how to negotiate the Soviet system."¹⁷ Paula Michaels has found, however, that earlier attempts by local and regional leaders in wartime Kazakhstan to influence the center's policies "rarely bore fruit."¹⁸ And Kees Boterbloem has underscored the unwillingness of authorities in the Kalinin region from 1945 to 1953 to stray in any way whatsoever from the Kremlin's instructions. Any tinkering with central decrees on the part of localities, therefore, was a response to "imprecise central policy that allowed a large degree of interpretation, to the horror of local leaders."¹⁹

Putting Up Moscow emphasizes the self-conscious importance of local, municipal, and regional party and state organs in Kirov in their exercise of power, when confronted with one of Moscow's evacuated agencies, Narkompros. While Narkompros at first demanded and received scarce resources, including prime physical facilities, local soviet and party organs pushed back, tentatively at first, and more boldly later, in order to limit the strain on local resources and the harm to local interests. With such a focus, this work departs thematically and conceptually from several existing studies of refugees and evacuation in Russia and the USSR. In *A Whole Empire Walking*, Peter Gatrell estimated that during World War I more than six million people were on the move. Refugees made up 15 to 30 percent of the population in some cities. While a number of public and state agencies hoped to support those in need, Gatrell noted only as a general phenomenon that local governments (and their citizens) increasingly failed to muster the resources and even the goodwill to cope with the new arrivals in their midst.²⁰ A study of evacuation to Tashkent during World War II by Rebecca Manley, *To the Tashkent Station*, captures well the chaos and desperation accompanying evacuation and the complex relationship between the local population and evacuees. However, in that work the city's government and that of the republic of Uzbekistan are largely mute.²¹

Sources

From my earlier research, I knew of the abundance and accessibility of materials in Kirov's two main archives, the State Archive for the Social and Political History of the Kirov Region (GASPI KO) and the State Archive for the Kirov Region (GAKO). These archives exceeded my expectations. GASPI KO contains *fond* (collection) 591, which is an especially valuable source of the records of Narkompros's party organization, when it met in Kirov.²² GAKO has retained and made available almost

all of the decrees, orders, and decisions issued by Kirov's municipal and regional governments. It also possesses a nearly complete collection of similar documents released by the governments of the Russian Republic and USSR. Some of these items were only recently declassified and remain, even now, difficult to access in Moscow's central archives.²³

Of particular importance in Moscow are several collections in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF): records of the Evacuation Council, an agency responsible for Narkompros's relocation to Kirov in 1941 (*fond R-6822*); correspondence from the USSR's Soviet of Peoples Commissars (Sovnarkom) (*fond R-5446*) and the Russian Republic's Sovnarkom (*fond A-259*); and items in Narkompros's own collection (*fond A-2306*) with information on the commissariat's evacuation, apparatus, and budget as well as its perspective on life in Kirov. *Fond 15* of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Education (NA RAO) provides considerable information on the activity of Narkompros's Schools Institute in evacuation, first in the city of Kirov and then in the town of Molotovsk (called Nolinsk before 1940 and after 1957), located 137 km. from the provincial capital. Two local newspapers proved especially valuable: *Kirovskaia pravda*, published by Kirov's Regional Party Committee, and *Kolkhoznaia gazeta*, published by Molotovsk's district party committee.

Structure

After a survey of the various stages of Narkompros's evacuation to Kirov in 1941 and its return to Moscow over the course of the next two years, I discuss the relationship between Narkompros and its host. Of special importance are the conflicts that emerged between the commissariat and Kirov's state and party governing organs. Narkompros's occupation of school buildings became an especially contentious issue.

I then turn to a discussion of the new arrivals' resentment of the conditions of everyday life in Kirov and a corresponding clash between Narkompros and local governing bodies over real and perceived slights in providing evacuees with transportation, fuel, and food. This section includes the indignant response of Narkompros's employees when Kirov required them to carry out their fair share, as Kirov understood it, of civic obligations, including that of labor on nearby collective farms. I then examine the growing bitterness exhibited toward both Moscow and Kirov by Narkompros's contingent that remained after re-evacuation had begun. Finally, I consider Narkompros's helpful, but more often than not overbearing, involvement in the work of the region's teachers and school administrators. Kirov's

schools discovered that the heightened interest in their activity on the part of their governing agency, now in their midst rather than far away in Moscow, meant both unusual praise and harsh criticism.

Technical Matters

The Soviet educational system included three distinct types of common schools: elementary schools consisting of the first four grades only; junior secondary schools with the first four and three additional grades (five through seven); and senior secondary schools with the first seven and an additional three grades, eight through ten.

After 1936 the city of Kirov was divided into three administrative units, the Zhdanov, Molotov, and Stalin districts. When describing the people, organizations, and places in this essay, I have used the Library of Congress transliteration system with several exceptions. Some place and proper names are rendered as they usually appear in English.

Evacuation and Return

Soon after the German invasion, Narkompros's employees prepared for the worst by building a bomb shelter in the basement of the commissariat's facility in Moscow at 6 Chistye Prudy.²⁴ For some of the staff, relief of a sort came on July 8, when the Russian Republic's Sovnarkom ordered a complete evacuation of ten commissariats with their affiliated agencies and a limited evacuation of ten others to occur no later than July 15. In so doing, Sovnarkom required the partial relocation of Narkompros to the city of Kirov.²⁵ As some of its staff prepared to move, others remained behind to learn how to extinguish the fires that might result from German bombing. Still others went to Kalinin (called Tver' before 1931 and after 1992), located 168 km. west of the capital to help prepare defenses.²⁶

It is difficult to determine just how many Narkompros employees and family members left Moscow and arrived in Kirov at any given moment that summer. Much of this information is located in the archival collection of the USSR's Evacuation Council, the organization in charge of overseeing the movement of people and institutions from endangered areas.²⁷ That record, however, is incomplete and often contradictory in regard to the number of people and institutions moved and the timing of the trip. The materials themselves reveal a chaos that belied hopes to make evacuation a planned, organized, and orderly affair. Some of the documents were handwritten with subsequent and confusing crossovers, deletions, and additions scribbled in the margins. Orders are issued, countermanded, then countermanded

again, and sometimes never implemented. An institution or enterprise was sent to one place, but as indicated by documentation elsewhere, it took up residence in an entirely different locale. Like the council's members and evacuees at the time, historians now find themselves struggling to make sense of it all. As Manley observed in her study of the evacuation to Tashkent: "In practice the charts and graphs of the Evacuation Council were but pieces of paper, with little real effect."²⁸

Before evacuation Narkompros's main staff consisted of 513 employees, a figure that included the commissariat's top administrators as well as janitorial, office, and service personnel.²⁹ In addition, it employed about 625 other people in its affiliated and subordinate agencies.³⁰ On July 15, the commissar of education, Vladimir Petrovich Potemkin, ordered 219 staff members and 266 family members to leave Moscow for Kirov. The next day the first contingent left by train. Because of the movement of troops to the front and evacuation of industrial machinery to the rear, the trip that normally took about twelve hours, lasted five days.³¹ More people and baggage followed, and by the end of the month, about 320 employees and 950 additional family members had departed for Kirov in a total of thirty-five railcars.³² By mid August, about 60 percent of Narkompros's prewar staff had left Moscow. However, the actual percentage of its total workforce in Kirov was higher because of a reduction of the commissariat's staff. At the end of July, the Sovnarkoms of both the Russian Republic and USSR had ordered a retrenchment in the number of employees of most commissariats. On August 2, Narkompros eliminated 114 of its positions largely by dismissing janitorial and other service personnel still in Moscow.³³

On the afternoon of October 16, 1941, Stalin convened a meeting in the Kremlin at which he ordered many state agencies and factories to leave the city. A massive exodus followed, clogging Moscow's streets and railroad stations with people, personal baggage, office equipment, and industrial machinery. Their departure set off panic among the city's population, who believed that they and their city were being abandoned to a cruel fate. Rioting and looting and a mad dash by those who could leave the capital ensued, a scene further darkened by swirling soot, the result of the burning of documents and entire archives by agencies before their departure.³⁴

Narkompros was part of that chaotic scene. On October 16, the Evacuation Council ordered it to relocate almost in its entirety to Kirov.³⁵ Because most of its central staff had already made the trip, the latest batch of its evacuees consisted primarily of the personnel and family members of affiliated agencies and institutions. Thirty-six associates of Narkompros's Schools Institute made the journey, as did seven members of the Institute for Special Schools and Orphanages.³⁶ Their

numbers also included more than thirty employees each from the Children's Press (Detgiz) and Academic Educational Press (Uchpedgiz). The editorial board and staff of the teachers' newspaper, *Uchitel'skaia gazeta*, also set out for Kirov.³⁷ One of the travelers, Ele Isaevich Monoszon, an associate of the Schools Institute, recalled that the journey now required twelve days. Other travelers and baggage needed at least seventeen.³⁸ By early December, 438 of Narkompros's employees and its affiliated organs had been evacuated to Kirov as well as 1,303 family members.³⁹

Return to Moscow

On December 6, 1941, the Soviet army launched a counteroffensive that drove German forces back from the outskirts of Moscow (map 2). Although the capital remained in danger, Narkompros soon began its gradual return home. By late January, it had opened in Moscow a division (*operativnaia gruppya*) of about twenty-five persons, including Potemkin.⁴⁰ During the following month, February, Potemkin recalled several department heads, including the chiefs of the commissariat's Special Department (an organ directly answerable to the security police) and of the Planning Department. At the same time, he ordered the return of the archive's director and the chief bookkeeper.⁴¹ By the spring of 1942, the employees of the Children's Press and the Academic Educational Press had also returned to Moscow.⁴²

That spring and summer, Narkompros's re-evacuation to Moscow accelerated. On May 27, 1942, *Uchitel'skaia gazeta* published its last edition in Kirov. By early July, the newspaper was up and running in Moscow. On June 9, the commissariat's party unit in Kirov acknowledged that "a not large part of our collective" remained in the city and one week later, on June 16, that "a significant number" of the staff had left for home.⁴³ By the end of July, little more than sixty members of the commissariat's central apparatus remained in Kirov, most of them associated with offices for extracurricular work, orphanages, elementary and secondary schools, and adult and political education. An additional sixty people, primarily service personnel with the Business and Maintenance Department, remained behind, although most of them soon departed for home as well.⁴⁴ On October 9, 1942, a session of the party unit acknowledged that Narkompros as a whole (*tselikom*) had returned to Moscow.⁴⁵ On December 11, 1942, the USSR's Sovnarkom ordered the relocation to Moscow of the remaining members of Narkompros's central staff and an additional fifty-six individuals in Molotovsk, who were associated with the Schools Institute and the Institute for Special Schools and Orphanages.⁴⁶



Map 2. Soviet counteroffensive, December 5, 1941, to May 5, 1942.

Moving the staff was one thing, their families another. Employees of Narkompros as well as of its affiliated agencies, including the Schools Institute, left families behind in Kirov, because there was little room in Moscow to house them. In February 1942, the USSR's Sovnarkom had ruled that local housing administrations could reassign apartments left behind by evacuees to other individuals, especially those associated with defense plants.⁴⁷ In Moscow (as elsewhere) it was now difficult, often impossible, for the original occupants to evict the new inhabitants. Narkompros's retinue struggled to find space for itself alone. As a result, in early 1943, the Schools Institute left most of its staff's families in its dormitory in Molotovsk and Narkompros's own staff temporarily abandoned a number of its family members, whose fate will be discussed below.

The Competition for Space

That first summer in 1941, Kirov's municipal and regional authorities responded energetically in finding accommodations for Narkompros and other evacuated institutions. In so doing, they followed Moscow's instructions, to be sure, but they also acted magnanimously on the assumption that the war would be a short one, and thus the tide of evacuation and growing demands on local resources would soon be reversed. It was not only Kirov's government that thought this way. Few of the Narkompros families who came to Kirov that summer brought winter clothing with them. They would be back in Moscow, they thought, before the onset of cold weather.⁴⁸

On July 8, the executive committee of Kirov's Regional Soviet placed the commissariat's offices in the city's most famous school, one that had received national recognition in the 1930s—Senior Secondary School No. 9, located in the Zhdanov district.⁴⁹ There employees divided the relatively large classrooms into smaller work areas by erecting temporary walls of plywood.⁵⁰ For living quarters for employees and their families, the Regional Soviet handed over several rooms in that school and in the buildings of the Cattle Procurement Agency, the Grain Procurement Agency, a pedagogical college, the regional publishing house, and the regional offices of the Red Cross, all conveniently located in the city's center. In addition, the executive committee ordered the Municipal Soviet to place other Narkompros employees in one hundred apartments or separate rooms, which they would share with the current occupants. Five days later, it assigned still additional space to be used as lodgings at three schools—Elementary Schools No. 9 and 13 and Senior Secondary School No. 8, all centrally located, like Secondary School No. 9, in the Zhdanov district.⁵¹

Moreover, in September the commissariat's leading cadres received 113 private apartments in Kirov.⁵²

Therefore, Narkompros placed its offices and cafeteria in Senior Secondary School No. 9 and located its employees in about 100 apartments or rooms to be shared with their current occupants, 113 private apartments, the offices of several agencies, and the buildings of at least four schools (secondary schools no. 8 and 9 and elementary schools no. 9 and 13). Moreover, Narkompros benefited from a considerable downsizing of the Kirov Institute for Teachers In-Service Training, which resulted from the conscription of young male teachers into the armed services and mobilization of some of their female colleagues for agricultural and industrial labor. Much of the institute's furniture and academic equipment and the greater part of its library of eleven thousand volumes were transferred to Narkompros.⁵³

Narkompros did not come alone to Kirov. As previously mentioned, evacuees and evacuated institutes inundated the province and city. Office space and housing were at a premium. At first, Kirov's government eased the congestion by targeting its own agencies for exile. On July 2, the Regional Soviet ordered the removal of thirty-nine of them, including the regional offices for forest conservation and several schools for specially challenged children, from the city to rural districts. It closed thirty-five others.⁵⁴ This effort helped relieve some pressure on housing, but the situation took a turn for the worse in the following months, especially in October, with the arrival of still more evacuees, chiefly from Moscow, including the remainder of Narkompros as well as a number of defense plants. On October 15, the Regional Soviet's executive committee discussed the placement of fifteen thousand workers who had recently arrived, ten thousand of whom had come with their families. Although workers required accommodations somewhere in the city, the executive committee forced family members of these and other recent arrivals, twenty thousand people in total, to go to collective farms in an adjoining rural district (the Kirov rural district). The executive committee decided as well to expel from the city all inhabitants not employed in a factory or institution. In addition, on October 15, it ordered the relocation of thirty additional regional agencies and their employees to outlying districts. Their present offices and living quarters were to be vacated within three days. Among the thirty relocated agencies was Kirov's Pedagogical Institute, banished to the village of Iaransk, located 213 km. southwest of Kirov, and the Regional Department of Education, sent to Khalturin (known as Orlov before 1923 and after 1992), 77 km. west.⁵⁵

The executive committee was so desperate to find additional space that on October 15 it asked the USSR's Sovnarkom for permission to send six of the center's

organizations to rural locations. Among the six, Narkompros was to go to Urzhum, 195 km. south, the Russian Republic's Commissariat of Forest Industry to the town of Kai, 290 km. northeast, and the Administration for Lumber Sales and other agencies of the USSR's Commissariat of Forest Industry to other, unspecified, locations.⁵⁶ Moscow put an abrupt halt to such fanciful notions. Nikolai Mikhailovich Shvernik, chair of Moscow's Evacuation Council, a body directly subordinate to the USSR's governing body, the State Defense Committee, sent a telegram rejecting any relocation of the center's own agencies.⁵⁷ Thus rebuffed, the executive committee had no choice but on October 18 to transfer out of the city an additional twenty-nine regional offices, including those for lumber sales, light industry, and trade.⁵⁸

Thanks to Moscow's intervention, Narkompros stayed put in Kirov. However, on October 18, an undaunted executive committee took one additional step to clear the city by ordering an auxiliary unit of a central institution to leave. It wanted Narkompros's Main Administration for the Production of Academic Materials to relocate to Urzhum.⁵⁹ Narkompros responded immediately and angrily. Potemkin complained to the executive committee's chair that Narkompros had not been consulted. He opposed the relocation because the affected agency should remain in the region's capital to facilitate communication with its factories, which operated in Kirov, Moscow, and Leningrad, and which after refitting, now manufactured, among other products, detonators and antitank grenades for the armed forces.⁶⁰ Once again, the center got its way. On November 11, 1941, the executive committee rescinded its order.⁶¹

While Narkompros refused to send the Main Administration for the Production of Academic Materials to Urzhum, it did agree under considerable pressure from municipal and regional authorities to move many of its most recent arrivals to nearby rural districts. Over the course of three days, November 4, 5, and 6, Potemkin dispatched eighty-four individuals to Molotovsk. Their numbers included the thirty-six employees of the Schools Institute and their families and seven persons working for the Institute for Special Schools and Orphanages and their families.⁶² Potemkin also sent to the same town a few people from the commissariat's main apparatus, including the head of the Planning and Finance Administration, several members of the Administration for Elementary and Secondary Schools, and a number of prominent professors recently evacuated from Leningrad, who were now assigned to the Schools Institute.⁶³ This contingent was significant enough that Potemkin appointed one of his deputies, Pavel Vasil'evich Titkov, to head up the operation there.⁶⁴ On November 17, still another Narkompros institution was exiled, when the Regional Soviet's executive committee sent Moscow's Regional

Pedagogical Institute, which had earlier been evacuated to the city of Kirov, further afield to Malmyzh, 294 km. south.⁶⁵

In the meantime, Kirov informed Moscow that it could not meet the center's expectations for accommodating the employees as well as four hundred tons of equipment coming with the Children's Press. On November 9, 1941, Lidia Mikhailovna Petukhova, deputy chair of the Regional Soviet's executive committee, told Moscow's Evacuation Council that her government would scatter the arriving people and machines hither and yon. The Soviet then proceeded, as she had indicated it would, to send some of the Detgiz equipment to preexisting printing establishments in Kirov as well as in Slobodskoi, a town 35 km. northeast of Kirov. The Soviet found living space in the provincial capital for only a few of the most skilled personnel, while their families were sent to nearby rural districts and about thirty other workers and their families were dispatched to Slobodskoi.⁶⁶

It was now Slobodskoi's turn to refuse to play the victim. As late as February 1942, its government had not moved much of the Detgiz equipment from railroad sidings, let alone place it in a warehouse. Moreover, it provided the press's employees and their family members with meager fare at a local cafeteria. When prodded by the Regional Soviet about the matter, Slobodskoi claimed that Detgiz was responsible for feeding its own people.⁶⁷ Deprived of access to much of its machinery and of motivated workers, and faced with a paper shortage, Detgiz had completed only 15 percent of its production plan by February 1942, when it began its return to Moscow.⁶⁸

Much the same fate awaited the machinery and staff of the Academic Educational Press, which was divided between Kirov and Slobodskoi. Confronted with the same problems plaguing the Children's Press, it printed in the second half of 1941 slightly less than half (48.9 percent) of the items planned for primary and secondary schools and about one-third (37.9 percent) of the projected press run of its journals. Thirteen of its eighteen journals ceased publication.⁶⁹

School Buildings as Targets

Narkompros had directed some of its people to Molotovsk in order to ease the pressure on accommodations in the provincial capital. However, Kirov demanded more concessions. Since the beginning of the school year, municipal and regional authorities had asked the commissariat to provide classrooms in the school buildings it occupied. They did so because schools were in a dreadful situation. Narkompros was hardly alone in its occupation of school buildings. Seizure in Kirov of educational facilities for noneducational purposes had proceeded on a grand scale, as a result not

only of contingencies created by the war but also of prewar planning. From 1936 to 1939, the five new schools built in the city were constructed in such a way as to facilitate their quick conversion into military hospitals.⁷⁰ By July 8, only two weeks after the Nazi attack, the city had four military hospitals occupying school buildings; two of them each took over a part, or the entire structure, of three schools.⁷¹ As of November 19, 1941, the buildings of sixteen schools housed military hospitals.⁷² A few others were turned into dormitories for workers and army recruitment centers. Schools in turn crowded into offices, clubs, theaters, and other unsuitable structures and operated in three even four shifts, the last one ending at 11 or 12 p.m.⁷³

In early November 1941, at the seventh session of Kirov's Regional Soviet, Potemkin condemned the seizure and plundering, as he put it, of school buildings and property. Too often, he said, when pressed for space, local governments took the path of least resistance and victimized schools. Mimicking their rationale, Potemkin put it sarcastically: "School buildings are better than all others [because] people will not be evicted from their permanent living quarters." In the Kirov region alone, 360 schools were thus occupied. Without acknowledging his own commissariat's takeover of several educational facilities, Potemkin noted that in the city of Kirov "a great number of schools" could be vacated and returned. Narkompros had suggested it, Potemkin said, to the central government.⁷⁴

Potemkin appealed in vain. One month later, twenty-six of thirty-four schools in the city of Kirov had been forced to surrender one or more of their buildings.⁷⁵ A few months later, on January 17, 1942, Potemkin took measure of the problem in the city in a letter to Rozaliia Samoilovna Zemliachka, one of the deputy chairs of the USSR's Sovnarkom. Twenty-seven school buildings had been occupied since the war's beginning—eighteen as military hospitals and more as dormitories, chiefly for workers of evacuated factories. As a result, schools experienced overcrowded conditions, some operating in three, four, even five shifts, a situation that adversely affected the quality of instruction and led to the outbreak of infectious diseases such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, and measles. Faced with such circumstances, pupils understandably refused to attend school. Potemkin suggested that the executive committees of the city's three districts require the return of the buildings of elementary schools no. 3, 4, 8, 10, and 11 and of secondary schools no. 3, 10, and 11.⁷⁶ His list did not include the four schools occupied by Narkompros.

The commissariat's use of those schools, however, had not occurred without controversy that was now taking on sharper dimensions even as Potemkin spoke. As previously mentioned, when Narkompros arrived in Kirov, it set up its offices in Senior Secondary School No. 9 and assigned additional rooms there as living quarters.

Matters seemed to be going smoothly enough, when on August 6, 1941, Potemkin officially thanked the school's director, Sergei Nikolaevich Kornev, as well as the head of the Regional Department of Education, Dmitrii Vasil'evich Vaneev, for making the relocation a relatively smooth affair.⁷⁷ The school's teachers and administrators issued no formal protest, no doubt because other schools experienced a similar fate and because they knew such action would evoke an unfavorable response.⁷⁸ Nor did the school director's periodic reports submitted to the Municipal Department of Education make it an issue, even when mentioning shortages of space that forced the school to meet in four shifts, to convert laboratories for physics, chemistry, and the natural sciences into classrooms, and to curtail, if not eliminate altogether, extracurricular activities and after-hours consultations of pupils with teachers.⁷⁹

Narkompros perhaps made the difficult situation for School No. 9 more palatable by publishing occasional articles in its newspaper, *Uchitel'skaia gazeta*, that spoke of the excellent instruction by the school's faculty and the accomplishments of its pupils. On November 15, the newspaper ran a photograph of the school's female pupils knitting mittens for Red Army soldiers. An editorial in mid January 1942 mentioned that the physics teacher, Vladimir Ivanovich Romanovskii, had found it difficult to conduct laboratory experiments for lack of space. However, he had successfully addressed the problem by arranging for pupils to conduct experiments at home. In May, the newspaper carried an article by Romanovskii that emphasized that despite difficult conditions, teachers at the school had successfully adhered to syllabi and promotion examinations were set to begin.⁸⁰

All that positive press was said for the public record. Behind the scenes, Narkompros's occupation of schools and other facilities aroused considerable discontent. Regional and municipal authorities were not prepared to surrender so much space even to such a prestigious tenant. At some point in August 1941, Narkompros still thought it possible that on September 1, notwithstanding its own presence, School No. 9 could handle the full complement of the school's pupils, 667 in total.⁸¹ Not quite as optimistic about such prospects, on August 22, the Municipal Soviet's executive committee ordered the commissariat to vacate several rooms to help accommodate pupils scheduled to show up in little more than week.⁸² That fall, School No. 9 hosted nineteen classes, meeting in multiple shifts, while Narkompros occupied eight large rooms and the school's kitchen and cafeteria.⁸³ No one was pleased with the arrangement. The school No. 9 became even more crowded when, during the course of the 1941/42 academic year, other schools began to use its building for their classes. To make room, the Municipal Soviet asked Narkompros to vacate still more space.⁸⁴ In the meantime, in September, the Regional Party Committee expressed dismay

about the occupation of yet another institution by Narkompros, Elementary School No. 9. A report from the committee's Cadres Department indicated that when the academic year began the school had eight classes in total, but 320 pupils could not attend because of the lack of space, resulting from Narkompros's use of much of the building as apartments.⁸⁵

Narkompros responded to this pressure from Kirov's soviet and party organs by freeing up a few rooms at Secondary School No. 9 and, as previously indicated, by moving some of its personnel to Molotovsk. Only in December 1941, after Potemkin publicly commented critically about the occupation of schools in Kirov, and following his letter to Zemliachka, did Narkompros indicate a willingness to move some of its employees out of several schools where they lived.⁸⁶

Eviction Notices

Narkompros's expressions of sympathy and intentions, sincere or otherwise, were one thing, but the surrender of space was another. On January 21, 1942, Petukhova, deputy chair of the Kirov Regional Soviet, directly challenged the commissariat. She wrote Potemkin, asking him to move seven Narkompros employees living in a classroom on the first floor of Elementary School No. 9 to other facilities under the commissariat's control. She told Potemkin that in current conditions pupils at the school were squeezed into one classroom and forty others met in a lounge of twelve to fifteen square meters. An additional room would allow the instruction of an additional 120 pupils over the course of four shifts.⁸⁷

Narkompros refused to move. Its earlier surrender of some space at Secondary School No. 9 was, in its estimation, a sufficient concession. Kirov's regional and municipal governments disagreed. On February 13, 1942, the Regional Soviet's executive committee ordered Narkompros to remove its employees and their families from Secondary School No. 8. It wanted the commissariat to assign its single employees to apartments, which they would share with their current occupants, and place families in facilities already under its jurisdiction.⁸⁸ Narkompros still did not budge.

On February 18, 1942, the Municipal Soviet's executive committee forced the issue. It ordered Narkompros to leave the first floor of Elementary School No. 9, abandon entirely Secondary School No. 8, and vacate several more rooms at Secondary School No. 9, although the commissariat could continue to occupy the second floor at Elementary School No. 9.⁸⁹ Narkompros was surprised that Kirov's government would try such a thing. Someone drew with a flourish in the left-hand

margin of the order several large question marks by each of the provisions compelling eviction from school premises.⁹⁰ Where the executive committee's decision mentioned that Deputy Commissar Titkov had expressed a willingness to free up more space at Secondary School No. 9, this person penciled in three large question marks and ordered that the document be sent to Titkov.⁹¹

In response to these attempts by the Regional and Municipal Soviets' executive committees to free up school space, Narkompros still refused to leave. Kirov's resentment became uncomfortably apparent at a Conference of Regional Departments of Education, convened by Narkompros and held in Kirov, April 10–13, 1942. This event brought together the commissariat's leaders and the administrators from Kirov and nearby regions. The former chief of Kirov's Department of Education from 1934 to late 1937, and now deputy head of Narkompros's Administration for Higher Schools, David Borisovich Marchukov, discussed at length the declining number of institutions for the training of teachers. Some had disappeared because they were located in areas occupied or directly threatened by the enemy; others could not function because of the occupation of their facilities by military hospitals and government agencies. Marchukov then moved on from these uncontroversial remarks to blame regional authorities. They had, he insisted, hastily and unnecessarily approved the closure of some of these institutions and the transfer of others to distant locations (*dalekie raiony*). He then singled out Kirov for forcing the Pedagogical Institute to move to Iaransk.⁹² At this point, someone in the audience interrupted: "And Narkompros itself has occupied three [school] buildings." Without losing his stride, Marchukov responded: "One can always find another way, but it won't make much difference."⁹³ Having so brusquely dismissed the objection, Marchukov renewed his criticism of Kirov's government, which had, he claimed, refused to recognize its mistakes and to accept the need for criticism and self-criticism. Instead they sent to Narkompros "all sorts of worthless declarations and documents" full of alleged achievements and lame excuses for failures.⁹⁴

If Narkompros held firm, so did its critics. On May 11, 1942, the Municipal Soviet's executive committee told Titkov to move the commissariat's employees out of Secondary School No. 8 within three days. Two days later, on May 13, the Zhdanov district's soviet asked Narkompros to vacate at least two rooms at School No. 8 that were desperately needed as classrooms.⁹⁵ Narkompros still refused to accommodate its local hosts. On June 21, at a conference of heads of district departments of education, Titkov conceded only that Narkompros might soon vacate Elementary School No. 9.⁹⁶

More was expected of Narkompros. Pressure not only to open more classrooms but also to set up more beds for military hospitals led on July 4 to a decision by the Regional Soviet's executive committee to expel Narkompros and even most of the pupils from Secondary School No. 9. Five days later, Narkompros vigorously objected in a memorandum from Titkov to the chair of the executive committee and to the secretary of the Regional Party Committee. The commissariat could hardly manage in its present cramped quarters and it would also lose its cafeteria. The loss of the cafeteria was a legitimate concern, but Titkov added, perhaps disingenuously, that the thirteen hundred pupils using the building would be hard-pressed to find other space. He even suggested that Narkompros units that had re-evacuated to the capital might have to return to Kirov. He asked the executive committee to annul its decision. On July 15, it refused.⁹⁷ It presumably had in hand orders from Moscow's State Defense Committee, chaired by Joseph Stalin, which was not so much concerned about classrooms but about using schools for an expanding network of military hospitals in the region. Nevertheless, a stubborn Narkompros managed to retain a few rooms at the school.

Later that summer as the school year approached, Kirov moved again to evict Narkompros to make room for classes. On August 13, 1942, the Zhdanov district soviet asked the Municipal Soviet to demand, in turn, that the Regional Soviet expel seven families of Narkompros's staff living at Elementary School No. 13.⁹⁸ A week later, on August 21, the Regional Soviet's executive committee obliged by ordering the commissariat to move its people out of that school and into the first floor of Junior Secondary School No. 20, located in the town of Dymkovo.⁹⁹ The move could hardly have pleased Narkompros. Although geographically not far from Kirov city's center, Dymkovo was located across the Viatka River, which in the absence of any bridge had to be crossed by boat. As will be discussed in detail below, later that year and into 1943, local authorities put even more pressure on Narkompros to vacate its premises.

Adjusting to Provincial Life in Wartime

Office and living space were not the only scarce items that became a source of conflict between Narkompros and its hosts. Whatever its intentions, even when initially inclined to sacrifice local interests, Kirov's governing organs lacked the resources to provide Narkompros with the assistance that the commissariat thought it deserved. Perhaps Narkompros had little choice but to accuse Kirov of neglect instead of Moscow, which it could not blame for political reasons. But it was the

center that failed to allocate to Narkompros the funds necessary to purchase not only basic supplies, but also essentials like food and firewood. On August 26, 1941, Potemkin asked the Russian Republic's Sovnarkom for 33,000 rubles for the commissariat's operation in Kirov.¹⁰⁰ Two months later he wanted 28,000 rubles for fuel.¹⁰¹ On November 6, 8, 11, and 13 Potemkin telegraphed again, asking for unspecified additional credits. "There is no money," his final telegram read, "the situation is intolerable."¹⁰² Out of desperation, Narkompros turned to Kirov's municipal and regional authorities. But they could do little better than Moscow, and they became increasingly disinclined to help even when they could.

Upon their arrival in Kirov, the commissariat's leaders went without their customary privileges, the fault, they believed, of Kirov as well as Moscow. In early August, deputy commissars complained of a lack of sufficient horses and coachmen.¹⁰³ Later that month, Narkompros received four cars, two of them assigned to each of two deputy commissars.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, when the commissar, Potemkin, relocated to Kirov in mid-October, he lacked his own mode of transportation. Ele Isaevich Monoszon, a graduate of Kirov's Pedagogical Institute in 1929, who had returned to Kirov with the Schools Institute, found Potemkin walking with difficulty toward Narkompros headquarters along one of the city's main thoroughfares, Lenin Street, which was paved but surrounded by mud on all sides. Potemkin had lost one of his galoshes, which had been sucked up by the "impassable Viatka muck" (*v neprolaznoi viatskoi gline*). After accompanying the commissar to his destination, Monoszon went to the offices of the Regional Soviet's executive committee to ask how it could be that such an important figure lacked basic transportation. Potemkin soon received his own horse and buggy. Two weeks later, a car arrived from Moscow.¹⁰⁵

At headquarters, day-to-day operations were complicated by the loss of the commissariat's archive during its trip to Kirov and by the subsequent destruction in October of critical items when pruning the records that had arrived.¹⁰⁶ The Children's Press lost so many of its documents during its trip that it could not compile an official report on its activity in 1941 for the Russian Republic's Sovnarkom.¹⁰⁷ Yet it was the grind of daily life in Kirov that proved most troublesome. As previously mentioned, municipal and provincial authorities put Narkompros employees and their families in makeshift rooms in former schools and offices as well as in peasant homes in nearby rural areas. Accommodations in the city itself were uncomfortable enough without the cold temperatures soon to come. In September 1941, even before its complete relocation in Kirov, the commissariat demanded 3,000 cubic meters of firewood from Kirov's Municipal Planning Department, of which almost 40 percent was for its headquarters at School No. 9 and the remainder to heat

employees' lodgings.¹⁰⁸ Narkompros did not get the response it wanted. During the following months, it lacked enough fuel (firewood and peat) to keep its main facility and the living quarters of its chief employees warm in freezing temperatures that would extend through April. Some of the rooms were so cold and drafty that they had snow in their corners.¹⁰⁹ The situation was all the more desperate because of an absence of warm clothing, left behind in the expectation of a short war. Moreover, Narkompros could not provide its people at home or at work with a consistent flow of electrical power or with kerosene lamps.¹¹⁰

While clothing and shelter were of considerable concern, anxiety about food trumped both. Like all inhabitants of the city, the commissariat's employees encountered high prices on the open market. While some of them took these inflated prices in stride as something beyond their control, it was a different matter when they evaluated the performance of the commissariat's cafeteria. They were convinced that local authorities deliberately deprived the cafeteria of adequate food and staff. At sessions of the commissariat's party organization and at meetings of the Cafeteria Commission, formed by Narkompros's union local, rank-and-file workers repeatedly complained of a shortage of food, poor preparation of what was offered, long lines, and slow and impolite service. Not unlike other cafeterias in the city, the Narkompros unit lacked sufficient kitchen utensils to prepare meals, not to mention plates, cups, and tableware to serve meals in a timely manner. And like so many others, the cafeteria could not always honor ration cards for bread and other items. Employees directed their anger not only at their superiors but also at municipal and provincial organs.¹¹¹ When addressing the issue of poor service, Narkompros's leaders blamed local citizens, hired to work at the cafeteria, and in March 1942, they called for the dismissal of the entire cafeteria staff.¹¹²

Cold working and living conditions, a poor diet, and the absence of advanced medical facilities in Kirov made health an issue of concern. Valentina Stytsko, a school inspector, who had come with Narkompros to Kirov in late July or early August, lost her five-year-old son to meningitis.¹¹³ In late 1942, a local doctor told Titkov's personal secretary, N. P. Iakovleva, that the birth of her child might be a difficult one. She should go to Moscow, he said, because Kirov lacked skilled medical personnel. Even though her ration card was valid only in Kirov and, as a person assigned to Kirov, she could receive maternity leave only there, Iakovleva left for the nation's capital. Once in Moscow, she appealed to Narkompros, which obliged her with a formal appointment to its Moscow staff as a chief clerk.¹¹⁴

Made to Work

Like other citizens of Kirov and throughout the Soviet Union, Narkompros employees were asked to participate in civic activities, ranging from collecting warm clothing for the Red Army to conducting civil defense exercises in the buildings where they lived. They also lectured and showed films at military hospitals, most often at Military Hospital No. 3462, assigned specifically to the commissariat. They and their dependents also experienced supposedly voluntary, but in fact compulsory, mobilization for unpaid workdays on Saturdays and Sundays and for longer stints, sometimes up to a month, on collective farms during spring planting and fall harvesting, and in peat bogs and forests for the harvesting of fuel. In October 1941, in response to instructions from the Zhdanov district's party committee, Narkompros sent thirty people to a collective farm in the Zuevka district, located 120 km. east of the city of Kirov. From October 2 through 12, they lectured local inhabitants on current events, helped teachers in the local school, and worked in fields, earning an impressive 188 labor days, chiefly by digging and transporting potatoes.¹¹⁵ On July 30, 1942, the commissariat's party organization agreed to sponsor a nearby collective farm by sending to it a brigade of ten to fifteen people no less than two to three times a week to lecture on current events and work in the fields.¹¹⁶ In Molotovsk, on August 18, 1942, the School Institute's director, Boris Vasil'evich Vsesviatskii, ordered his staff to work at the office from 6 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. and then proceed to a nearby farm to help bring in the harvest from August 19 through October 1. Two weeks later, on September 2, his deputy imposed even more demanding obligations. The staff was now to work on the farm until an unspecified date from 9 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.¹¹⁷

To be sure, some of Narkompros's people accepted labor conscription as a necessary part of Soviet life, especially in wartime. Others resisted. It was not fitting, some of the staff said, to be sent into surrounding forests and peat bogs to gather fuel even for the agency's own facilities.¹¹⁸ As the fall harvest of 1942 approached, several employees, including V. F. Karmanov, deputy head of the Administration for Orphanages, refused to participate. Other staffers allegedly became hysterical when informed of their assignment. Even when sent to the commissariat's own plot, they went reluctantly and worked poorly. As a result, vegetables, potatoes in particular, were neither planted nor harvested in a timely fashion.¹¹⁹ The low yield contributed to the cafeteria's shortage of food.

Molotovsk

In early November 1941, Potemkin transferred eighty-four personnel, including all thirty-six of the School Institute's staff, from Kirov to Molotovsk. Located at some distance south of the city, the town also became home to at least six evacuated orphanages, five from Leningrad. The latter included Spanish Orphanage No. 10, one of over twenty such institutions in the Soviet Union, accommodating many of the three thousand sons and daughters of loyalist parents brought to the USSR in the midst of the Spanish Civil War.

For Muscovites associated with the Schools Institute, Molotovsk was a god-forsaken place. The town lacked a rail connection. Because it had neither a sewage system nor an effective program of waste disposal, stench from outhouses permeated many areas, including the warehouse of the local dairy. Inhabitants often went without electricity and adequate food. Like many of the other enterprises located there, the local bakery frequently relied for illumination on kerosene lamps. Citizens in the town and surrounding district suffered from epidemics of scarlet fever, diphtheria, dysentery, and measles. Typhus was such a recurring problem that in August 1942, the local government ordered a medical check-up for every inhabitant in the district.¹²⁰ When Monoszon, from the Schools Institute, was ordered to go to Kirov to report for active military duty, he showed up weighing 112 pounds, extremely low even for his relatively small frame of five feet and five inches. Military officials immediately placed him in a hospital and then sent him back to Molotovsk.¹²¹

Diversiory Maneuvers

As the year 1941 came to a close, the chief and his deputy in the Narkompros Business Office, as well as the head of the cafeteria, wanted to help their colleagues forget the difficulties of provincial life by properly celebrating the approaching New Year's holiday. They used their connections to obtain a large quantity of vodka to sell at a favorable price to their colleagues. On December 28 and 29, they dispensed more than twenty liters of the stuff from a large barrel at the commissariat's headquarters at School No. 9. The happy recipients of this largesse included Ivan Dmitrievich Artiukhin, head of the School Cadres Administration, and M. V. Rauzen, deputy head of the Administration for Political Enlightenment. When informed on the second day about the sale and, perhaps, even of consumption of vodka on school grounds, Mariia Vasil'evna Sarycheva, deputy commissar, ordered the barrel to be plugged and sealed.¹²²

On December 30, the bureau of the commissariat's party organization devoted almost its entire session to a discussion of the events of the past two days. Having just returned from Kuibyshev, Potemkin led the way. He officially rebuked all those who sold and purchased the brew. For good measure, the bureau reprimanded those officials who had initiated the spectacle.¹²³ A little more than a month later, on February 6, 1942, the secretary of Narkompros' party organization, F. S. Eliseev, revisited the incident. The sale of vodka, he said, demonstrated that a vulgar obsession with the difficulties of everyday life (*obyvatel'shchina*) had so preoccupied the commissariat's communists that many of them had lost their political edge (*chut'e*). Yet everyday concerns continued to dominate both party and nonparty personnel. Even when chastising his comrades, Eliseev felt moved to speak about the cafeteria's disgraceful food and service.¹²⁴

In Molotovsk, Narkompros agencies avoided local party activity. Narkompros was not among the thirty-four organizations represented at a plenary session of the district's party committee on March 23, 1942.¹²⁵ That July, the committee and the local draft board summoned some of the institute's members to active military duty despite previous assurances that they would remain in the reserves. The night before they were to report for duty an unspecified number left for Moscow, where, presumably, they confirmed their reservist status before a return to Molotovsk. Monoszon, then thirty-four, was conspicuous as an exception. He again reported for military service and this time he was accepted. He returned to the Schools Institute only upon his demobilization in 1945.¹²⁶

Left Behind and Abandoned

Narkompros employees sought re-evacuation to the capital at the earliest possible moment. When many of them returned home in 1942, those left behind, including family members, felt more isolated than ever before.¹²⁷ Their frustration gave way to escalating dissatisfaction with local conditions and to anger at the behavior, real and alleged, of Narkompros's leadership in Moscow and Kirov's governing organs. In early March 1942, Mikhail Fedorovich Arbuzov, a chief inspector of schools since 1938, complained of what he called "unhealthy moods" among his colleagues in Kirov, who were now more upset than ever before with the difficulties of provincial life because of the departure of their comrades to Moscow.¹²⁸ Later that month, on March 23, Rauzen spoke for many left behind when he declared in an understated fashion: "To a certain degree, we regard ourselves as temporary inhabitants of Kirov."¹²⁹

That spring and summer, as more staff members and entire units departed, those who remained routinely blamed the Narkompros division in the capital, whatever the facts of the matter, for a host of sins. Moscow purportedly failed to assign specific tasks to Kirov or, conversely, dumped most of the duties on agencies there. Moreover, Narkompros's Moscow division allegedly neglected to approve work plans and even requests for information.¹³⁰

Matters came to a head at a session of Narkompros's party organization, June 9, 1942, attended by twenty-six full and one candidate member of the party. There, I. F. Belov, an inspector of the Administration for Elementary and Secondary Schools, excoriated his colleagues for allowing their disenchantment with Kirov to adversely affect their job performance. Because of their feelings of abandonment, he said, they showed up late for work and chatted about personal and other trivial matters in corridors during working hours. Titkov agreed, but he hoped to comfort his colleagues with the assurance that in due time "we will all go to Moscow."¹³¹

Frustration with life in the provinces also helped to provoke backbiting and mutual recriminations. At a meeting of Narkompros's party organization, July 11, T. M. Mesrop'ian, an official in the Planning and Finance Administration, felt it necessary to deny rumors that her husband would not join the army because he, as a person with a higher education, was not disposed to become cannon fodder (*pushechnoe miaso*).¹³² Meanwhile, those left behind grew more apprehensive. In mid 1942, already anxious about the forthcoming fall and winter cold, the Kirov division's chief bookkeeper appealed for more funds for the purchase of firewood.¹³³

By the end of 1942, Narkompros had relocated almost in its entirety to Moscow. Some staff remained however, as did at least seven families of employees who had been transferred back to Moscow. In early 1943, Kirov's municipal government took full advantage of their isolation. The Municipal Trade Department refused to honor their ration cards, and the Municipal Fuel Agency held up deliveries of firewood. A complaint from Narkompros's deputy commissar, Grigorii Ignat'evich Ivanenko, led by the end of the month to more firewood, but food continued to be a problem.¹³⁴

These families and staff members experienced still other difficulties. They were now pushed to and fro from one location to the next. At the end of March 1943, Kirov's municipal and regional soviets, the Zhdanov district's soviet, and the departments of education for both the Zhdanov district and Kirov region all took on the commissariat in order to free up space for other institutions. The campaign began on March 22, when the Municipal Soviet's executive committee ordered Narkompros to vacate the regional offices of the Cattle Procurement Agency at 26 Kommuna Street.¹³⁵ Four days later, on Friday, March 26, the Zhdanov district's department of

education complained to its counterpart at the municipal level that it lacked room for eight classes enrolled in Secondary School No. 8 and for eleven classes in Secondary School No. 9, as a portion of No. 9's structure was still occupied as office space by Narkompros.¹³⁶ On that same day, the Municipal Soviet's executive committee rushed to the assistance of pupils and faculty of Secondary School No. 9 by ordering Narkompros to move all its offices and its cafeteria out of the school's building by the next day, March 27. The commissariat was to relocate to a single room on the first floor in a building across the street and had to share the cafeteria there with the building's main tenant, the regional office of the Main Administration for Lumber Sales.¹³⁷ This time, Narkompros had no choice but to move. Resentment over the loss of their own building and cafeteria was compounded when the staff discovered that their new building's sewage system had not worked in over a year.¹³⁸ Narkompros did get some, but hardly fair, in its estimation, compensation the following day. On March 27, the Regional Soviet's executive committee reversed the Municipal Committee's instructions of March 22 removing the commissariat from 26 Kommuna Street and gave it additional space there in the basement.¹³⁹

Narkompros as Colleague

For the administrators and teachers in Kirov's schools, the arrival of Narkompros was both a blessing and a burden. The commissariat naturally turned considerable attention to schools in its new, albeit temporary, home. Some of it was helpful and made Kirov proud, but much of it was critical and far too intrusive for Kirov's comfort.

In Praise of Kirov

Narkompros encouraged the efforts of local schools and departments of education with ample praise and a frank acknowledgement of the many difficulties they faced. Its newspaper, *Uchitel'skaia gazeta*, printed in Kirov from November 1941 to June 1942, featured stories praising Kirov's schools and photographs of their pupils hard at work.¹⁴⁰ When addressing the Seventh Session of Kirov's Regional Soviet in November 1941, Potemkin mentioned that of the four hundred thousand children in the region of school age, thirty thousand were not attending school. He did not take the occasion, however, to launch a tirade of abuse at local educators for coming up far short of perfection. Without admitting his commissariat's own culpability in the matter, Potemkin admitted that many schools had been displaced from their buildings and were forced to hold multiple shifts in unsuitable facilities, a situation

that depressed attendance. He ended on an uplifting note. The Kirov region would hold high the banner of education as it had in the past, “when in the dark period of autocracy, Viatka province was one of the best in the field of education in Russia.”¹⁴¹

Narkompros’s inspectors, while finding fault with schools and departments of education for inadequate enrollment and poor instruction, likewise acknowledged the incredible challenges facing schools.¹⁴² In April 1942, A. A. Shestakova, an inspector of elementary and secondary schools, submitted a report based on investigations of nine institutions in the city of Kirov. She criticized school administrators for failing to enroll all school-age children and to retain those who did show up. And yet she acknowledged that it was not the personal shortcomings of educators, but rather the loss of school buildings and the corresponding multiple shifts in poor facilities without heat and lighting that depressed attendance. Children’s poor health and their lack of proper shoes and clothing contributed significantly to the problem. Poor facilities and conditions, Shestakova astutely concluded, created the impression among some pupils that education was not an official priority.¹⁴³

Power and Privilege

And yet Narkompros conducted itself in ways that unduly antagonized its host community. As previously discussed, it refused to admit its own culpability in the seizure of school buildings, even as its occupation of them was apparent to all. Marchukov, at the conference held in Kirov in April 1942, had arrogantly dismissed the objection that Narkompros had taken over school buildings.

Narkompros imposed on local authorities in other ways. The retrenchment of its staff often meant that Kirov’s Regional Department of Education had to hire those dismissed. On August 10, 1941, Narkompros’s Kirov division cut twenty-eight positions. It had not gone smoothly, and Potemkin, out of town at the time, had to rush back to Kirov to force its implementation by reminding those affected that the Soviet government had ruled that individuals dismissed and then reassigned had to accept their new posting or they would be prosecuted for desertion.¹⁴⁴ Narkompros cushioned the blow by ordering its Cadres Administration and the Regional Department of Education to find work in schools and in other educational institutions in the region for those who had just been released.¹⁴⁵ That November, Potemkin dismissed two inspectors, but at the same time assigned them to Kirov’s Regional Department of Education.¹⁴⁶

Narkompros made no friends locally when, in January 1942, it shielded some of its staff’s children from labor conscription. In October 1940, the Soviet government

had created a Labor Reserves System, consisting of vocational schools affiliated with specific factories, mines, or construction projects and offering courses lasting from six months to two years for adolescents fourteen years of age and older. During their study and then upon graduation, these youths were expected to work at the sponsoring enterprise. At the same time, the government imposed fees for enrollment in grades eight through ten in senior secondary schools (and in technicums and higher educational institutions as well). Offering a free education with no charge for room and board, the labor reserves' schools attracted many youths wishing to find quick employment and others whose parents could not afford the tuition in regular schools. In the first year of its existence, it trained 602,000 adolescents in 1,549 institutions.¹⁴⁷ However, because of a labor shortage, exacerbated by an expanded draft into the Red Army, Moscow adopted more coercive measures to insure enrollment by assigning quotas to soviets, collective farms, and orphanages. On January 14, 1942, Kirov's Regional Soviet drafted into the labor reserves system 1,290 adolescents, including some pupils attending the eighth and ninth grades of regular schools.¹⁴⁸ Ten days later, Narkompros's deputy commissar, Sarycheva, asked the soviet to instruct the local administration of labor reserves to waive the requirement for fourteen eighth and ninth grade pupils, who were the children of Narkompros's employees. Their number included Karl Sarychev, a ninth grader at Secondary School No. 10, presumably Sarycheva's son. They should not be assigned to local vocational schools, Sarycheva hastened to point out, because they would soon return with their parents to Moscow.¹⁴⁹ She did not say so but surely knew that any waiver given to Narkompros's children meant that someone else's children from the local population would have to take their places.

Relentless Negativity

As previously mentioned, Narkompros's personnel, including its commissar, rendered balanced assessments of the work of schools. On many occasions, however, they issued scathing reports on the performance of teachers and school administrators with little or no regard for the less than ideal circumstances in which they worked. Shortly after Narkompros arrived in Kirov, its collegium summoned the heads of the regional and municipal departments of education, Vaneev and Serafima Ivanovna Likhacheva respectively, for a face-to-face evaluation of their work. After praising the placement of evacuated children in orphanages and schools and the assignment of teachers and pupils to work in the fall harvest, the collegium's members turned relentlessly critical. Schools had failed to enroll all eligible children, including re-

cent evacuees. Without any recognition of the shortages of funds and facilities, the collegium demanded that the two departments find the buildings and fuel necessary to keep schools running and clothing and footwear for distribution to children in order to entice them to enroll and remain in school. It further demanded the impossible when it called upon the departments to create even more schools and classes.¹⁵⁰

One year later, in mid 1942, Potemkin and Serafim Prokop'evich Kotliarov, deputy commissar for cadres since June 1942, took Kirov's Pedagogical Institute to task. Potemkin's telegraph to the institute on July 29, and Kotliarov's instructions to the institute that followed two months later, excoriated it for low enrollment and a high dropout rate. Neither official acknowledged that the institute's forced removal from Kirov to distant and isolated Iaransk, a town without rail service, severely hindered student recruitment and retention. Kotliarov also criticized the institute's faculty for inadequate research, without acknowledging that scholarly activity was exceedingly difficult in offices and apartments without heat or lighting and without much of the institute's library and laboratory equipment, left behind in Kirov.¹⁵¹

Narkompros's inspectors and higher officials routinely found, embellished, and, perhaps, invented the negative. It was all part of a process that I have called elsewhere "escalating negativity," a phenomenon by which each successive administrative unit in the chain of command compiled ever more harsh evaluations of schools and schooling.¹⁵² Without acknowledging the insuperable obstacles that teachers and school administrators faced, the inspectors, now focusing their attention on Kirov's schools, found inadequate enrollment and attendance, incompetent instruction, unqualified teachers, dirt everywhere from corners in rooms to pupils' clothing and faces, children afflicted with infectious diseases and lice, and, where they existed, foul toilets and grimy sinks. Of course, conditions were bad enough without such a privileging of the negative.¹⁵³ In early 1942, Karmanov, deputy head of Narkompros's Administration for Orphanages, singled out an institution in the Kirov region as an example of what was wrong with orphanages throughout the Russian Republic. In so doing, he repudiated any use of difficult circumstances, "objective causes," as he put it, to account for horrendously poor food and medical treatment.¹⁵⁴ On April 15, Narkompros chastised the Kirov region, among a few others, for a failure to provide evacuated orphanages with sufficient firewood, food, clothes, footwear, and capable caregivers.¹⁵⁵ As previously mentioned, that month Narkompros's inspector, Shestakova, filed a report on the work of nine schools in the city of Kirov that acknowledged the circumstances hindering their achievement of universal compulsory elementary and secondary education. However, her superior, Sarycheva, overruled that assessment. At the end of the month, on April 30, Sarycheva used Shestakova's

report as reason for a blanket reprimand of school directors, the heads of the city's three district departments of education, and the leader of the Municipal Department of Education for a "completely unsatisfactory" state of schooling.¹⁵⁶

Sarycheva's fellow deputy commissar, Titkov, the official primarily responsible for Narkompros's operation in Kirov, treated local officials in a rough and disrespectful fashion. In late March and again in late June 1942, he told district heads of the region's departments of education that they were culpable for multiple failures in enrollment, instruction, evaluation of pupils' performance, and the formation of Pioneer and Komsomol units in schools.¹⁵⁷ At the June session, Titkov thought department heads came up short in enrolling children in school because of their cooperation with local religious communities. In one district, they had taken no action against sectarians who refused to send their children to school. In another, they had allowed residents to close grades five and six while opening a church. And in yet another, they had ignored a school's need for firewood, while permitting villagers to provide a new church with fuel. Knowing full well the Soviet regime's relative wartime tolerance for religion and especially for the Russian Orthodox Church, Titkov hastened to add somewhat disingenuously that he was not opposed to the opening of churches.¹⁵⁸

On the other hand, Titkov hoped to insure that one of Narkompros's prized institutions, Spanish Orphanage No. 10 in Molotovsk, performed well and avoided criticism. Despite the absence of a rail connection, Titkov frequently visited it and contributed to its privileged existence. Numerous accounts, even those meant to be critical, acknowledged that the orphanage had excellent physical facilities—two brick structures including a well-equipped kitchen and a sports hall. Its children were fed three times a day. The orphanage had more than the usual number of staff, including a deputy director, Kravchinskii, a former school director who possessed a higher education, an evacuee from the Moscow region, whom Titkov had appointed to the position.¹⁵⁹

In this case, however, regional authorities demonstrated that they had had more than enough of Titkov's harsh criticism of them and their schools, on the one hand, and his far different attitude toward this one favored institution, on the other. On April 21, 1942, at a meeting of Narkompros's leaders held in Kirov, Potemkin joined Titkov in praise of Orphanage No. 10, indicating that in part thanks to Titkov's efforts, pupils' behavior at the orphanage had improved.¹⁶⁰ On the very next day, April 22, the head of the Regional Department of Education, Andrei Aver'ianovich Pis'menskii, and the head of the Regional Party Committee's Schools Department, Evgeniia Nikolaevna Petrova, told the bureau of Kirov's Regional Party Committee

about undisciplined children at the orphanage. The bureau responded by blaming, in addition to the usual list of suspects (the orphanage's director, the local soviet, and the district's party committee), Titkov who, it was said, knew full well of the problems but had done nothing to correct them.¹⁶¹

The Regional Party Committee wanted more information and sent one of its inspectors from its Department of Agitation and Propaganda, Vitorina Aleksandrovna Fomenko, to investigate. Two weeks later, on May 5, she submitted a detailed report to the committee. She found much at the orphanage to be admired, including its physical facilities and cafeteria. But its youngsters were badly behaved. They stole, skipped school, refused to join the Young Communist League, and disobeyed orders. There had been at the orphanage, she observed, an unsuccessful week-long campaign against the words "I don't want to." She approvingly quoted one of the caregivers: "We are training not communists but anarchists." After blaming the director and other members of the staff, Fomenko singled out Kravchinskii, Titkov's friend and appointee, and then Titkov himself who, Fomenko explained, echoing the bureau of the Regional Party's earlier judgment, knew of the situation yet had failed to take corrective action.¹⁶²

An Assault on the Schools

Like its parent organization, Narkompros, the Schools Institute simultaneously helped, overwhelmed, and intimidated local schools and departments of education. Shortly after its arrival in Kirov, the Schools Institute arranged an exhibit on instruction running from September 1 through 10 at Narkompros headquarters. The exhibit included consultations for teachers, held by the institute's Monoszon, as well as by such educators evacuated from Moscow as Elena Iakovleva Fortunatova and Alexander Alekseevich Fortunatov.¹⁶³ It was a rare treat for Kirov. The Fortunatovs had gained fame as instructors working with the internationally renowned educator, Stanislav Teofilovich Shatsky, in several experimental schools and, after 1917, at Shatsky's First Experimental Station. Since 1926, Fortunatov had taught history and pedagogy in several higher educational institutions in Moscow and from 1939 at Moscow's Pedagogical Institute. At the same time, in response to a request from the Regional Department of Education, the institute dispatched several members from its staff to nearby districts to participate in teachers' conferences that occurred annually at the beginning of the academic year.¹⁶⁴

After its relocation to Molotovsk, the Schools Institute hoped to provide positive leadership locally. That November, while it continued to send lecturers to

Kirov, it honored a few local teachers, including the director of Molotovsk's Senior Secondary School, by appointing them as corresponding members of the institute.¹⁶⁵ In December 1942, it hosted a three-day conference on improving instruction, which was attended by over one hundred teachers, school directors, and curriculum specialists.¹⁶⁶ The institute's Mikhail Alekseevich Mel'nikov published an article in Molotovsk's local newspaper, *Kolkhoznaia gazeta*, critical of a collective farm in the district and by implication elsewhere that neglected to encourage children to attend school by issuing them proper clothing and footwear. His colleague, Sergei Grigor'evich Shapovalenko, after visiting the district's Spanish Orphanage No. 10, now, as we have seen, under criticism for its allegedly undisciplined children, wrote for the same newspaper an unusually positive account.¹⁶⁷ Several members of the staff of the Institute for Special Schools and Orphanages, also located in Molotovsk, helped as well. In November 1942, they had organized an exhibit of the work of local children as part of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the October revolution.¹⁶⁸

And yet without a library to support research and, therefore, with much time on their hands, the School Institute's staff proved to be an intrusive and not altogether welcome force. That first December in Molotovsk, the institute dispatched eight of its own to inspect over a seven-day period the town's Senior Secondary School and six over a six-day period to its Junior Secondary School. Their reports were predictably detailed and critical of allegedly poor instruction, a cold and dirty physical plant, and poorly disciplined children.¹⁶⁹ Later that month, from December 20 to 25, the Schools Institute sent six inspectors to the district's rural schools.¹⁷⁰ It was only the beginning of an ambitious program that would extend well beyond the district.

In January 1942, the institute planned to send three brigades of five persons each to six nearby districts and the city of Kirov. Over the course of seven days in a district, and more time if needed, the brigades would assess the schools' instruction, enrollment, the pass rate, grade repetition, and extracurricular activities as well as the work of local departments of education. Brigade members would attend at least three lessons a day; meet separately with pupils, teachers, and administrators; examine pupils' written work; assess teachers' work plans and class journals; read wall newspapers; and evaluate minutes of meetings of pedagogical councils. They might suggest to teachers specific questions to ask pupils during the lesson and even, especially upon a second or third visit, pose questions themselves in the classroom. The result, it was hoped, would be a report for the commissar of education under the title, "The State of Schooling in the Kirov Region and Ways to Improve It."¹⁷¹

In practice, the program became an even more ambitious and intrusive campaign than initially planned. From late January to the end of March, three brigades consisting of five persons each went to nine districts, spending up to six weeks on the road.¹⁷² Brigadiers visited 1,005 lessons in fifty-three schools and addressed district conferences of teachers, pedagogical councils, executive committees of district soviets, and bureaus of district party committees.¹⁷³ They submitted over two thousand pages of material, containing their own reports and such items as teachers' instructional plans.¹⁷⁴ The Schools Institute then prepared a 214-page overview of the state of schools and schooling in the Kirov region.¹⁷⁵ While occasionally the document praised teachers, it more often than not criticized them, school administrators, and departments of education in formulaic fashion. It was an easy thing to do. Brigades had focused on problems they knew they would find—inadequate enrollment, weak retention of pupils, poor instruction, and insufficient extracurricular activities. Two brigadiers, who had visited schools in the Urzhum district rendered an even more damning indictment because it appeared in the region's main newspaper, *Kirovskaia pravda*. Without a discussion of conditions, they blamed the district's department of education and school directors for a failure to enroll all eligible children.¹⁷⁶ The region's departments of education, school administrators, teachers, and pupils were surely pleased that after this flurry of inspections, the Schools Institute acted far less intrusively in their lives until its return to Moscow in early 1943.

Conclusion

On June 23, 1941, at the close of the workday, over forty thousand people streamed into Kirov's Revolution Square in a solemn yet celebratory mood. "Among a sea of slogans and banners," as reported by *Kirovskaia pravda*, Vladimir Vasil'evich Luk'ianov, the first secretary of both the Regional and Municipal Party Committees, and other dignitaries called the city and region to arms. "A sea of hands," the newspaper continued with its metaphor, unanimously resolved to raise the productivity of labor, defend the Soviet fatherland, and destroy the enemy.¹⁷⁷

Most of those gathered there thought that the war would be brief and victorious. Little did they realize the scale of demands to be made of them and of others in the Soviet Union. Almost six hundred thousand of Kirov's citizens, one-third of the region's population, served in the armed forces. Of that number two hundred fifty-eight thousand (43 percent) perished during the war.¹⁷⁸ Those who remained behind worked shifts of twelve and more hours in factories and for entire days with

few breaks on collective farms. Some industrial workers lived in dugouts as late as 1943, many others in makeshift barracks throughout the war and beyond.

Initially, Kirov's governing organs did their part to win the war by accommodating Narkompros. But as it became apparent that the evacuation would continue for a longer period than anyone, Narkompros included, had expected, Kirov's local, municipal, and regional governing organs came to resent the commissariat in their midst. It did not help that Narkompros occupied school buildings even as it denounced other agencies for such behavior, or that its inspectors issued overbearing and intrusive assessments of schools with little sympathy for the difficult conditions in which pupils, teachers, and administrators worked. By the fall of 1941, even as more of Narkompros's employees were on their way from Moscow, Kirov's municipal and regional agencies pressured the commissariat to vacate some of the facilities that it had occupied. They even attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to banish first Narkompros and then its Administration for the Production of Academic Materials from the provincial capital (and to send other Moscow agencies packing to rural districts). By early 1942, Kirov's municipal and regional soviets were serving Narkompros with eviction notices. Then and throughout the remainder of the commissariat's stay, they forced it to free up space by moving offices and living quarters of employees and families, who remained in Kirov, into other, more uncomfortable, surroundings.

Narkompros viewed its experience in Kirov through an entirely different lens. Almost from the moment of its arrival in the provincial capital, its staff believed that local agencies slighted it in the provisioning of both food and firewood. This was unfair to Kirov, which had insufficient supplies of both to meet even the sharply reduced demands of its own population, let alone evacuees and their institutions. Yet later, when the commissariat's top leadership, including its commissar, Potemkin, returned permanently to Moscow, Kirov's governing organs aggressively took advantage of a weakened Narkompros to disproportionately reduce the supply of food and fuel for those left behind.

In sum, much to Narkompros's surprise, Kirov's governing state and party agencies acted as a united front in resisting its claims on local resources. Those agencies did so not by intrigue, false arguments, or coy maneuvers, but openly, directly challenging the commissariat's pretensions. Faced with Narkompros's overwhelming presence, Kirov responded with a remarkable show of force.

The center's descent on the periphery turned out to be an unpleasant experience for almost everyone concerned. In 1943, Narkompros completed its relocation to Moscow. Its leaders and rank-and-file members were happy to go home. Kirov's government and many of its citizens, including teachers and school administrators, were equally happy to see them go.

Notes

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1. Isaac Kobylanskiy, *From Stalingrad to Pillau: A Red Army Artillery Officer Remembers the Great Patriotic War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 33.

2. For the lower figure, see Mark Harrison, *Soviet Planning in Peace and War, 1938–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 72; for the higher figure, M. I. Likhomanov, L. T. Pozina, and E. I. Finogenov, *Partiinoe rukovodstvo evakuatsiei v pervyi period Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny, 1941–1942 gg.* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo Universiteta, 1985), 165, and Frederick Kagan, "The Evacuation of Soviet Industry in the Wake of 'Barbarossa': A Key to the Soviet Victory," *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 8, no. 2 (June 1995): 406.

3. John Barber and Mark Harrison, *The Soviet Home Front, 1941–1945: A Social and Economic History of the USSR in World War II* (New York: Longman, 1991), 128.

4. For these figures in succession: Kagan, "The Evacuation of Soviet Industry," 406, and Likhomanov, *Partiinoe rukovodstvo*, 165.

5. Harrison, *Soviet Planning*, 78, 130. Usually about 30 to 40 percent of a factory's workers accompanied it into evacuation: A. F. Vasil'ev, "Deiatel'nost' partiinykh organizatsii iuzhnogo Urala po razmeshcheniiu evakuirovannykh predpriatii v 1941–1942 godakh," *Voprosy istorii*, no. 6 (June 1961), 68.

6. On December 1, 1941, evacuees in the Kirov region numbered 224,499; and on January 1, 1942, 227,869. For December 1: Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Sotsial'no-Politicheskoi Istorii Kirovskoi Oblasti [henceforth GASPI KO], f. 1291, op. 1, d. 9, ll. 88–91. For January 1: GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 8, d. 86, l. 26, and same figure in GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 8, d. 95, ll. 32–32 ob. The region's population in January 1942 was 2,275,639. As of April 1943, evacuees in the region numbered 167,025 and in November of the same year, 143,352: Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Kirovskoi Oblasti [henceforth GAKO], f. R-3071, op. 1, d. 38, ll. 7–14, 21–24. Other areas in the USSR hosted far more evacuees. Over 700,000 had gone each to the Uzbek Republic

and the Sverdlovsk region, about 600,000 to Kazakhstan, and over 400,000 to Cheliabinsk. (Likhomanov, *Partiinoe rukovodstvo*, 39.) By the end of 1941 some cities had dramatically increased in population—Omsk by 42 percent, Kuibyshev by 36 percent, and Sverdlovsk by 28 percent. These figures from William Moskoff, *The Bread of Affliction: The Food Supply in the USSR During World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 36. From July 1941 to early 1942, the city of Stalingrad almost doubled its initial population of 445,000 (Harrison, *Soviet Planning*, 71).

7. On the population of the city in January 1942: GASPI KO, f. 1291, op. 1, d. 7, l. 10. On the number of evacuees, see a report of an inspector of the Regional Party Committee in GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 8, d. 95, l. 32.

8. Sergei Vladimirovich Kazakovtsev, “Mobilizatsiia liudskikh i material’nykh resursov v Viatskoi gubernii v gody Pervoi Mirovoi voiny” (dissertation, Viatskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet, Kirov, 2007), 145–148, 184–185.

9. Report to Kirov’s Party Control Commission, September 1941: GASPI KO, f. 1291, op. 1, d. 11, l. 33; report from the Department of Military Hospitals, June 1, 1942, to the Regional Party Committee: GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 8, d. 73, l. 126; and a report to the Regional Party Committee, July 1944: GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 10, d. 60, l. 188. In 1943 and 1944, there were eleven so-called “special hospitals” for 9,000 sick and wounded prisoners of war: B. S. Kir’iakov, *Voennoplennye v Viatskom Krae, 1942–1947 gg.. (Spetsgospitali). Dokumenty, materialy* (Kirov: Kirovskaia oblastnaia tipografiia, 2007), 265–266, 291. On hospitals for POWs, see also E. N. Chudinovskikh, “Voennoplennye Vtoroi mirovoi v Viatskom Krae,” *Otechestvennye arkhivy*, no. 2 (2000), 98.

10. For this more recent view, see: Graeme Gill and Roderic Pitty, *Power in the Party: The Organization of Power and Central-Republican Relations in the CPSU* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 7–8; J. Arch Getty, “Stalin as Prime Minister: Power and the Politburo,” in *Stalin: A New History*, ed. Sarah Davies and James Harris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 104–106. Getty continued this argument in a biography of Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov, Stalin’s chief of security police from 1936 to 1938: J. Arch Getty and Oleg V. Naumov, *Yezhov: The Rise of Stalin’s “Iron Fist”* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008). A study largely of public opinion in the USSR after 1945 emphasizes that the dominance in society of the person and personality of Stalin was a matter of personal conviction among many people: Elena Zubkova, *Russia After the War: Hopes, Illusions, and Disappointments, 1945–1957*, trans. and ed. Hugh Ragsdale (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 77. Relying on a wealth of archival materials, the Russian historian Oleg Khlevniuk has underscored Stalin’s immense personal and arbitrary power from the 1930s until his death: Oleg V. Khlevniuk, *Master of the House: Stalin and His Inner Circle*, trans. Nora Seligman Favorov (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009). Similarly relying on an impressive array of archival materials, A. A. Danilov and A. V. Pyzhikov have demonstrated how at the Kremlin from 1945 to 1953, individuals, often forming “clans,” wielded immense power, while Stalin ruled over all of them with a toxic combination of spite, distrust, and arbitrariness: A. A. Danilov and A. V. Pyzhikov, *Rozhdenie Sverkhderzhavy: SSSR v pervye poslevoennye gody* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001), 195–268.

11. J. Arch Getty, "'Excesses are not permitted': Mass Terror and Stalinist Governance in the Late 1930s," *Russian Review* 61, no. 1 (January 2002): 113–138.
12. Wendy Z. Goldman, *Terror and Democracy in the Age of Stalin: The Social Dynamics of Repression* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 7.
13. For this view, see several studies of Sergo Ordzhonikidze and the institutions he represented over his career: Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Ordzhonikidze's Takeover of Vesenkha: A Case Study in Soviet Bureaucratic Politics," *Soviet Studies* 37, no. 2 (April 1985): 153–172; Oleg V. Khlevniuk, *Stalin i Ordzhonikidze: Konflikty i Politbiuro v 30-e gody* (Moscow: Izdatel'skii Tsentr "Rossiia Molodaia," 1993). On the role of agricultural, industrial, and judicial specialists, see: Mark Tauger, "The People's Commissariat of Agriculture," in *Decision-Making in the Stalinist Command Economy, 1932–1937*, ed. E. A. Rees (London: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 150–175; R. W. Davies, "The Management of Soviet Industry, 1928–1941," in *Social Dimensions of Soviet Industrialization*, ed. William G. Rosenberg and Lewis H. Siegelbaum (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 105–123; R. Devis and O. V. Khlevniuk, "Vtoraia piatiletka: Mekhanizm smeny ekonomicheskoi politiki," *Otechestvennaia istoriia*, no. 3 (May–June 1994), 92–108; and Peter H. Solomon, *Soviet Criminal Justice Under Stalin* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
14. J. Arch Getty, *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933–1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 199, 206. See also Moshe Lewin's discussion of how efforts at centralization of power often had the opposite effect: Moshe Lewin, "Russia/USSR in Historical Motion: An Essay in Interpretation," *Russian Review* 50, no. 3 (July 1991): 249–266.
15. James Hughes, *Stalinism in a Russian Province: A Study of Collectivization and Dekulakization in Siberia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Lynne Viola, *Peasant Rebels Under Stalin: Collectivization and the Culture of Peasant Resistance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); James R. Harris, *The Great Urals: Regionalism and the Evolution of the Soviet System* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); James Harris, "Dual Subordination? The Political Police and the Party in the Urals Region, 1918–1953," *Cahiers du Monde russe*, 42, no. 2–4 (April–December 2001): 423–446. For an illustration of the devastating response by central authorities to initiative below, see Nick Baron, *Soviet Karelia: Politics, Planning, and Terror in Stalin's Russia, 1920–1939* (London: Routledge, 2007).
16. Youngok Kang-Bohr, *Stalinismus im der ländlichen Provinz: Das Gebiet Voronež, 1934–1941* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2006).
17. Karl Qualls, *From Ruins to Reconstruction: Urban Identity in Soviet Sevastopol After World War II* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), 194. By contrast, Jeffrey Jones's examination of the reconstruction of Rostov-on-Don from 1943 to 1948 focuses not on center-periphery

relations but rather on the divide between local party leaders and Rostov's citizens. "A line did exist," Jones concludes, "between 'them,' Communist Party members (especially local party leaders), and 'us,' those at the bottom of the social order, the workers (and peasants)": Jeffrey W. Jones, *Everyday Life and the "Reconstruction" of Soviet Russia During and After the Great Patriotic War, 1943–1948* (Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2008), 277.

18. Paula A. Michaels, "Mobilizing Medicine: Medical Cadres, State Power, and Center-Periphery Relations in Wartime Kazakhstan," in *Provincial Landscapes: Local Dimensions of Soviet Power, 1917–1953*, ed. Donald J. Raleigh (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 217–235, quote on p. 235.

19. Kees Boterbloem, *Life and Death Under Stalin: Kalinin Province, 1945–1953* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 259.

20. Peter A. Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), especially 61–68. To be sure, Gatrell dealt with a period in history when the state's local, municipal, and regional organizations were not expected to handsomely accommodate incoming people and institutions, unlike their Soviet counterparts during World War II. Other scholarly studies of refugees emphasize their considerable numbers, the chaos of their flight, and state and public efforts to help. They do not deal extensively, if at all, with the response by local governments toward evacuated institutions or organizations. See, for example, studies of France in 1940 by Hanna Diamond, *Fleeing Hitler: France 1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Julian Jackson, *The Fall of France: The Nazi Invasion of 1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). See also literature that focuses on the frequently hostile response of the local population toward refugees, who are perceived to be, rightly or wrongly, foreigners. For example, Leon Gordenker, *Refugees in International Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Caroline Moorehead, *Human Cargo: A Journey Among Refugees* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005); Gil Loescher, *Beyond Charity: International Cooperation and the Global Refugee Crisis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

21. Rebecca Manley, *To the Tashkent Station: Evacuation and Survival in the Soviet Union at War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009).

22. While Narkompros retained its own records and took them back to Moscow, it deposited and left proceedings of its party organization with Kirov's Zhdanov district party committee.

23. GAKO, f. R-2169, inventories 1, 5, 23, 25.

24. Valentina Stytsko, "Narkompros v gody voiny," *Narodnoe obrazovanie*, no. 4 (April 1995), 17–18.

25. The resolution is in GAKO, f. R-2169, op 5, d. 13, ll. 240–241. Neither this nor any other document indicates why Kirov was chosen as Narkompros's new home.

26. Stytsko, "Narkompros," 17–18.
27. Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (henceforth GARF) contains a collection limited to the records of this council: f. R-6822.
28. Manley, *To the Tashkent Station*, 138.
29. This number included, for example, typists, telephone operators, bookkeepers, and chauffeurs.
30. GARF, f. R-6822, op. 1, d. 44, ll. 11, 141, 174.
31. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2691, ll. 81–97; Stytsko, "Narkompros," 18.
32. GARF, f. R-6822, op. 1, d. 44, ll. 11, 117, 126.
33. For the resolution of July 23, 1941, by the USSR's Sovnarkom, see GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 1, d. 530, l. 507. See Narkompros's instructions of August 2 in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2692, ll. 1–2.
34. On October 15, Stalin had ordered the evacuation to Kuibyshev of the Soviet government and diplomatic missions. On the meeting of the sixteenth and the chaos that followed, see the reminiscences of the deputy commissar of the Commissariat of Transportation and Communications, N. F. Dubrovin, "Eshelon za eshelonom," in *Eshelony idut na vostok: Iz istorii perebazirovaniia proizvoditel'nykh sil SSSR v 1941–1942 gg. Sbornik stat'ei i vospominanii* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 1966), 212–214. On the soot, see Andrei Sakharov, *Memoirs*, trans. Richard Lourie (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 43.
35. GARF, f. R-6822, op. 1, d. 53, l. 30.
36. See the order of October 16, which was issued by the School Institute's deputy director, Pavel Vasil'evich Kovanov, in Nauchnyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Akademii Obrazovania (henceforth NARAO), f. 15, op. 1, d. 1859, ll. 1–2 and GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3537, l. 72.
37. The head of the Academic Educational Press, N. A. Sundakov, made the trip. Several editors of Narkompros's journals were also evacuated: see Potemkin's instructions of November 4, 1941, transferring some of them to Molotovsk: GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3537, l. 72.
38. E. I. Monoszon, "Stranitsy zhizni (Kratkii ocherk vospominanii i razdum'ia o perezhitom)," vol. 1 (ms., Herzen State Public Library, Kirov), signed by the author in 1980, 74. I am indebted to Tat'iana Nikolaevna Koriakina for bringing this manuscript to my attention. On the longer period, see the Narkompros report on the fourth quarter of 1941 in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 70, d. 10886, l. 1.
39. To be sure, the total number from Narkompros was a relatively small portion of all evacuees in Kirov. Nor was Narkompros the largest governing body transplanted there. By mid autumn,

over 3,000 employees associated with the USSR's and Russian Republic's commissariats of forest industry and affiliated agencies, as well as over seven thousand of their family members, had descended on Kirov. Controversy over their behavior erupted chiefly at the end of the war and thereafter. I am writing a monograph on the relationship between Kirov and these two commissariats.

40. See correspondence by Potemkin and N. F. Gavrilov in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2834, l. 43, and GARF, f. A-259, op. 3, d. 649, l. 8.

41. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2814, ll. 79, 96.

42. See Potemkin's letter to the State Defense Committee, February 26, 1942, in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3038, ll. 36–38. In April 1942, the staff in Kirov consisted of twenty-one people, in June 1942, ten: see a report on the work of Narkompros's Kirov division for the second quarter of 1942, signed in July by the deputy commissar, Pavel Vasil'evich Titkov, in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2840, l. 17.

43. GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 124, ll. 19, 23.

44. See the report on the Kirov division for the second quarter of 1942 in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2840, ll. 1–23. On the approximate number of people with the Business and Maintenance Department, see Potemkin's comments in GAKO, f. A-259, op. 3, d. 649, ll. 8–9.

45. GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 124, l. 40.

46. A copy of the order is in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2796, l. 99. The departure of the staff of the two institutes occurred in January.

47. See *Pravda*, February 17, 1942, 3 and *Kirovskaiia pravda*, February 18, 1942, 1.

48. Stytsko, "Narkompros," 18.

49. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 5, d. 18, l. 137. For a history of this school, see Larry E. Holmes, *Kirov's School No. 9: Power, Privilege, and Excellence in the Provinces, 1933–1945* (Kirov: Loban', 2008).

50. Stytsko, "Narkompros," 18.

51. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 5, d. 18, ll. 135, 180.

52. See information provided in a request for firewood by Narkompros's Business and Maintenance Department to Kirov's Municipal Planning Agency: GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3533, l. 10.

53. On the items surrendered, see a report in December 1944, submitted by an inspector of the Regional Party Committee's Schools Department in GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 10, d. 168, l. 135.

54. GAKO, f. 2169, op. 5, d. 18, ll. 116–117.
55. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 5, d. 17, ll. 39–41. Authorities in the areas where these agencies would be relocated were given three days to find facilities and living accommodations for the newcomers. The Pedagogical Institute remained in Iaransk until its return to Kirov in March 1945. The Regional Department of Education stayed in Khalturin until sometime in early 1942.
56. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 1, d. 17, l. 40.
57. GARF, f. R-6822, op. 1, d. 46, l. 69. Shvernik prohibited, as he put it, any transfer of “union or republican organizations.” A copy of the Regional Soviet’s decision is in the files of the Evacuation Council. The section with the request for the transfer of the six agencies is marked with a double vertical line in the left-hand margin: l. 67. It is the only portion of the decision that is marked.
58. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 5, d. 17, ll. 55–56.
59. *Ibid.*, l. 53.
60. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 5, d. 21, l. 54.
61. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 5, d. 17, l. 171.
62. See three directives from Potemkin in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3537, ll. 71–72, 78, 100.
63. Among the professors from Leningrad: Lev Vladimirovich Shcherba, linguist; Nadezhda Pavlovna Grinkova, philologist and ethnographer; N. M. Berzilin, biologist; and N. A. Znamenskii, a physicist: information from Monoszon, “Stranitsy,” 75.
64. Instructions of November 4: GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3537, l. 27. Titkov did not take up residence in Molotovsk, but he frequently traveled there.
65. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 5, d. 17. Narkompros issued the order to do so on November 28, 1941: GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2693, l. 4. On November 5, 1941, in Malmyzh, the Regional Pedagogical Institute incorporated a few students of Moscow’s Lenin Pedagogical Institute, who had earlier evacuated there. Classes began in late December with 273 students. See *Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskii institut imeni V. I. Lenina, 1872–1972* (Moscow: MGPI im. V. I. Lenina, 1972), 167. At the end of 1941, Kirov’s government sent Moscow’s Kaganovich Engineering Institute, under the jurisdiction of the Commissariat of Light Industry and evacuated to Kirov in late October, to Urzhum: see reports from the Institute in GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 8, d. 173, ll. 51, 134.
66. Petukhova’s memorandum to Shvernik is in GARF, f. R-6822, op. 1, d. 399, l. 60. On the subsequent placement of people: GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 5, d. 17, l. 216. On placement of machinery, the letter from the director of the press’s factory to Kirov’s Party Control Commission, February 11, 1942: GASPI KO, f. 1291, op. 1, d. 27, ll. 62–63.

67. GASPI KO, f. 1291, op. 1, d. 27, l. 62 ob.

68. See the communication from the director of the Press, L. Dubrovina, to the State Defense Committee, February 1942, in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3038, l. 25. It did publish in Slobodskoi and Kirov a number of booklets and pamphlets in 1941 and 1942. The Herzen State Public Library, in Kirov contains six such items printed in 1941 and twenty-five in 1942. For a list, see *Kirovskaia oblast' v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny* (Kirov: "Staraiia Viatka," 2005), 81–104.

69. Report from the press for 1941, filed 4.5 months late on July 9, 1942, in GARF, f. A-514, op. 1, d. 62, l. 5.

70. See a corresponding adjustment of plans in 1936 for the construction of a school: GAKO, f. R-2333, op. 1, d. 77, l. 3. This information in a report from the Regional Department of Education, January 6, 1941, in GAKO, f. R-897, op. 3, d. 350, l. 3. The five schools were senior secondary schools no. 7, 11, 12, 17, and 22.

71. From information presented by an inspector to Kirov's Party Control Commission: GASPI KO, f. 1291, op. 1, d. 11, ll. 1–2.

72. See the report of Kirov's Municipal Department of Education in GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 1, d. 614, l. 57.

73. On multiple shifts in schools in the city of Kirov, see a report to the Regional Party Committee by one of its inspectors, September 1941, in GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 7, d. 128, l. 137.

74. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3539, ll. 10–11. The seventh session occurred shortly after the November 7 parade in Moscow, an event mentioned by Potemkin. The speech is not in the volume, V. P. Potemkin, *Stat'i i rechi po voprosam narodnogo obrazovaniia* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii pedagogicheskikh nauk RSFSR, 1947).

75. A. I. Toropkin, "Obshcheobrazovatel'nye shkoly Kirovskoi oblasti v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny," in *Viatskaia zemlia v proshlom i nastoiashchem* (Kirov: KGPI imeni V. I. Lenina, 1989), 104.

76. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3551, ll. 1–2.

77. See Potemkin's decree to this effect in GAKO, f. R-2342, op. 1, d. 236, l. 66. The decree misspelled Kornev, rendering it Kareev.

78. See protocols of meetings of the school's pedagogical council in the early 1940s in GAKO, f. R-1846, op. 11, d. 44 and d. 59.

79. See reports from the 1941/42 academic year in GAKO, f. R-1864, op. 11, d. 46, ll. 1–65, and d. 51, ll. 3–11 ob. Periodic reports from School No. 9 and other schools rarely discussed negative features of school life, but rather in a scripted fashion consistently emphasized the

positive whatever the realities of the situation. See Larry E. Holmes, “Ascent into Darkness: Escalating Negativity in the Administration of Schools in the Kirov Region, 1931–1941,” *History of Education* 35, no. 4–5 (July-September 2006): 521–540.

80. *Uchitel'skaia gazeta*, November 15, 1941, 3; January 14, 1942, 1; March 19, 1942, 3; May 20, 1942, 3.

81. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2678, l. 29.

82. GAKO, f. R-897, op. 8, d. 2, l. 349 ob. Also GASPI KO, f. 6820, op. 1, d. 7, l. 25.

83. See a Narkompros memorandum of July 9, 1942, in GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 8, d. 67, l. 47.

84. See information in the decision of the Municipal Soviet's executive committee of February 18, 1942, in GASPI KO, f. 6820, op. 1, d. 8, l. 23.

85. Report by the Cadres Department of the Regional Party Committee, September 6, 1941: GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 7, op. 128, l. 137.

86. See the Narkompros report for the fourth quarter of 1941 in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 70, d. 10886, l. 1.

87. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 1, d. 679, l. 16. The one classroom and lounge accommodated pupils not only of Elementary School No. 9 but also of Elementary School No. 15, the latter earlier banished from its own facility.

88. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 5, d. 27, l. 26.

89. A copy of the decision is in GAKO, f. R-897, op. 8, d. 6, l. 65 ob. I am citing here a copy in Narkompros's files in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d., 2849, ll. 1–4. As a result, nine classes could meet on the first floor of Elementary School No. 9, thirteen additional classes (from Junior Secondary School No. 20) could be placed at Secondary School No. 9, and thirteen classes could meet at Secondary School No. 8.

90. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2849, l. 1.

91. *Ibid.* At the top of the document, someone wrote in hand: “to c[omrade] Titkov.”

92. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2806, ll. 166–167.

93. *Ibid.*, l. 167: “Mozhno po kazhdomu povodu nakhodit' drugoi vykhod, eto pogody ne delaet.”

94. *Ibid.*, l. 171. Marchukov's criticism of Kirov's regional government may have been payback for earlier insults. In December 1937, he had been arrested as an enemy of the people. Marchukov survived confinement and on January 11, 1940, the Military Collegium of the USSR's Supreme

Court annulled his sentence of ten years' imprisonment. Fifteen days later, Marchukov petitioned an open meeting of the Regional Department of Education's party organization to restore his party membership. In addition to fourteen full and two candidate party members, nine others, former colleagues, attended the session. They refused his request. Marchukov appealed the decision and two weeks later Kirov's Regional Party Committee voided his earlier purge and restored him to party ranks. For his aggressive manner as head of Kirov's Department of Education, his purge and reinstatement, see Larry E. Holmes, *Grand Theater: Regional Governance in Stalin's Russia* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), 77–78, 95–96, 157, 168, 181–182.

95. From the Municipal Soviet: GAKO, f. R-897, op. 3, d. 387, l. 29. It reminded Titkov of the previous order to do so by the Regional Soviet's executive committee on February 13. From the Zhdanov soviet: GAKO, f. R-2034, op. 2, d. 9, l. 190. The soviet wanted to place there pupils from senior secondary schools no. 8 and 17.

96. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 70, d. 2751, l. 13.

97. GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 8, d. 67, ll. 47–48.

98. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 1, d. 679, l. 241. It also wanted the complete removal of the commissariat's remaining offices at Secondary School No. 9 by transferring them to the facility formerly occupied by the security police's Chief Administration for Labor Camps for Railroad Construction.

99. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 1, d. 631, l. 17 ob. It also wanted a military hospital removed from the facility of what had been Junior Secondary School No. 14.

100. GARF, f. A-259, op. 3, d. 660, l. 1. Potemkin asked for 60,000 rubles for fuel and overall for 166,000 rubles for a variety of items.

101. See the request of the Russian Republic's Sovnarkom, October 22, 1941: *ibid.*, ll. 25–25 ob.

102. The telegrams in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2659, ll. 133, 134, 136, 141. Quote on l. 133: "Deneg net. Polozhenie neterpimoe." The requests continued. In mid 1942, the Kirov division's bookkeeper wanted 340,000 rubles for operating expenses and an additional 56,000 to cover travel expenses of inspectors. This information in a report by Titkov on the work of the commissariat's Kirov division in the second quarter of 1942: GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2840, l. 20. The bookkeeper needed the 340,000 rubles to fix the sewage system, purchase fodder for horses, and procure fuel for the winter.

103. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2678, l. 36. The complaint was registered at a meeting of Narkompros's leaders, August 10, 1941.

104. Instructions issued by Mariia Vasil'evna Sarycheva, Deputy Commissar, in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3538, l. 54. Sarycheva and Titkov were the two deputies who received a car. The two other cars were assigned to the heads of the Chief Administration for the Supply and Trade of Academic Materials and the Main Administration for the Production of Academic Materials.

105. Monoszon, "Stranitsy," 76.

106. On the loss of materials during the trip, see Potemkin's comment of May 30, 1942, in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2817, l. 173, and resolutions adopted by a meeting of Narkompros's leaders, February 18, 1942, in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2802, l. 42. On October 16, 1941, N. T. Sergeenkov, a deputy commissar, had called for the formation of a commission to examine the archive and discard unimportant materials: GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3536, l. 40.

107. See Potemkin's note to the Russian Republic's Sovnarkom in GARF, f. A-259, op. 3, d. 709, l. 4.

108. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3533, l. 10.

109. See a report at the meeting of the bureau of Narkompros's party organization, December 18, 1941: GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 53, ll. 16 ob. –17.

110. Ibid.

111. See, for example, sessions of the commissariat's party organization of February 6, March 23, and June 9, 1942, in GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 124, ll. 8 ob., 11–11 ob., 19 ob. For complaints by the Cafeteria Commission in late September 1941, see its report submitted to Titkov in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2678, ll. 89–90.

112. Comments at a session of Narkompros's party organization, March 23, 1942, in GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 124, l. 11.

113. Stytsko, "Narkompros," 18.

114. Relevant correspondence in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2831, ll. 90–91.

115. See the report by the group's brigadier, T. M. Mesrop'ian, in GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 53, l. 5.

116. GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 124, l. 31 ob.

117. NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, d. 1860, ll. 57, 103.

118. See comments at a session of the bureau of the commissariat's party organization, July 20, 1942, in GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 124, l. 29.

119. Comments at the July 11, 1942, session of the commissariat's party organization, *ibid.*, l. 27; information in *ibid.*, l. 31 ob. For repeated references to haphazard cultivation of the commissariat's plot and also of individual plots, see comments at the sessions of June 9, July 11, and July 20, *ibid.*, ll. 19 ob., 27, 31.

120. We know a good deal about general conditions in Molotovsk from two sources. The first is a report of August 13, 1942, filed jointly by the senior inspector, V. I. Pivovarov, of the

Department for Military Hospitals of the Regional Health Department, and by a representative of the Molotovsk district's health department: GASPI KO, f. 790, op. 2, d. 152, ll. 4–5 ob. The second is a report released on August 12, 1942, by Pivovarov and the head of Military Hospital No. 4689 on conditions at the hospital, which had on the day of inspection 161 patients. See GAKO, f. 790, op. 2, d. 152, l. 7.

121. Monoszon, “Stranitsy,” 77. Monoszon was ordered to report in December 1941. He did not blame conditions in Molotovsk for his poor health.

122. We know of these events from the spirited discussion at the session of the bureau of the commissariat's party organization on December 30: GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 53, ll. 12–12 ob.

123. *Ibid.*, ll. 12, 13.

124. GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 124, l. 8 ob.

125. See the record for that session in GASPI KO, f. 790, op. 2, d. 151, ll. 5–5 ob. The School Institute's S. S. Plaksa did represent Narkompros at a meeting of secretaries of party organizations in the district on September 19, 1942: *ibid.*, l. 15.

126. Information in Monoszon, “Stranitsy,” 77. In 1943, the Schools Institute became the Methods Institute of the newly created Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.

127. Narkompros employees were not the only evacuees from Moscow wishing to re-evacuate. Evacuees were often accused of nurturing “suitcase sentiments,” that is, the desire to pack their belongings and go home. An interesting case in point was Munitions Factory No. 58, evacuated in 1941 to the village of Sapozhniata, about 20 km. north of the city of Kirov. The factory's administration, employees (about seven hundred in total), and party organization petitioned the Munitions Commissariat and the party's Central Committee in Moscow for relocation to Kirov or, preferably, to Moscow. When the Central Committee forwarded the request to Kirov's Regional Party Committee, its secretary for industry, Petr Petrovich Kokurin, brusquely told the factory's personnel to get to work instead of “sitting around with your arms folded or asking for a relocation.” He added: “The question, ‘Why are we not in Moscow but in Sapozhniata,’ must be discarded altogether.” GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 8, d. 225, l. 24. For an essay on this subject, see V. S. Zharavin, “Voennyi zavod v Sapozhniatakh v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny,” in *Sbornik “Slobodskoi i slobozhane”* (Slobodskoi: Slobodskoi muzeino-vystavochnyi tsestr, 2008), 90–93.

128. Comments at a session of Narkompros's party organization, March 5, 1942, in GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 124, l. 9 ob.

129. Comments at a meeting of Narkompros's party organization, March 23, 1942, in *ibid.*, l. 11.

130. See such complaints from Sarycheva, deputy commissar, and Marchukov, deputy head of the Administration for Higher Schools, at a Conference of Regional Departments of Education, held in Kirov, April 10–13, 1942, in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2834, l. 173; from the Administration

for Elementary and Secondary Schools and again from the Administration for Higher Schools, as registered in a Narkompros report for the second quarter of 1942 in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2840, ll. 6, 11, 21–22; and from the Preschool Administration, as indicated at a session of Narkompros's party organization in Kirov, July 11, 1942, in GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 124, l. 27. On July 13, 1942, a conference of Narkompros's deputy commissars created a commission to make recommendations to Potemkin for improving communication between the Moscow and Kirov divisions: GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2803, ll. 82–82 ob.

131. GASPI KO, f. 591, op. 3, d. 124, ll. 19 ob., 20.

132. *Ibid.*, l. 27.

133. This information in a report by Titkov on the work of the commissariat's division in Kirov in the second quarter of 1942: GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2840, l. 20. That November, the Russian Republic's Sovnarkom allotted the division 76,000 rubles to cover fuel and telegraph expenses: GARF, f. A-259, op. 3, d. 660, l. 23.

134. Correspondence regarding the matter in February 1943, in GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 1, d. 808, ll. 28–29.

135. GAKO, f. R-897, op. 8, d. 11, l. 105.

136. GAKO, f. R-1970, op. 2, d. 44, l. 47. If it did not get the space, it said, some classes on March 29 would be cancelled.

137. GAKO, f. R-897, op. 8, d. 11, l. 108.

138. See a report at the session of the Municipal Soviet, March 30, 1943, in GAKO, f. R-897, op. 8, d. 5, l. 169.

139. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 1, d. 704, l. 260 ob.

140. An article on School No. 9 in *Uchitel'skaia gazeta*, November 15, 1941, 3; on Junior Secondary School No. 20, November 29, 1941, 3; on Secondary School No. 15 and No. 16, July 30, 1942, 1. The latter issue was printed after the newspaper returned to Moscow. Narkompros's main journal, *Sovetskaia pedagogika*, largely ignored Kirov. There was only one exception—a passing reference to excellent teachers in the region and elsewhere: *Sovetskaia Pedagogika*, no. 5–6, May–June 1942, 11. By contrast, the city and region of Moscow, not unexpectedly, received considerable attention as did the Sverdlovsk and Gorky regions.

141. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3539, ll. 1–14, quote on l. 14.

142. For example, see a report, filed in the fall of 1941 by an inspector of the Administration for Elementary and Secondary Schools, on the city of Kirov's Elementary School No. 4 and Secondary School No. 16 in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 70, d. 2693, ll. 1–3 ob.

143. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2834, ll. 160–163.
144. See Potemkin's recollections of retrenchment at a session of Narkompros's collegium, April 2, 1942, in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2801, l. 7. The resolution of the USSR's Sovnarkom, July 23, 1941, in GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 1, d. 530, l. 507.
145. See proceedings of a meeting of Narkompros's leaders, August 10, 1941, in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2678, ll. 35–36.
146. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 3537, ll. 132, 136. One inspector was with the Administration for Teachers Training and the other with the Administration for Elementary and Secondary Schools.
147. For a useful study of these and other vocational schools, see A. N. Veselov, *Professional'no-tekhnicheskoe obrazovanie v SSSR: Ocherki po istorii srednego i nizshego proftekhobrazovaniia* (Moscow: Vsesoiuznoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo Proftekhizdat, 1961), these figures on 351, 373.
148. GAKO, f. R-2169, op. 1, d. 679, l. 17.
149. *Ibid.*, l. 15.
150. Information in a resolution issued by Narkompros in the records of the Molotov district's department of education, city of Kirov, in GAKO, f. R-2019, op. 1, d. 203, l. 21. The session occurred some time before November 14, the day on which Vaneev was drafted into the Red Army.
151. Potemkin's telegram in GAKO, f. R-1148, op. 2, d. 78, l. 61; Kotliarov's instructions in *ibid.*, l. 85. In fact, Kotliarov was fully aware that the institute had left many of its possessions in Kirov and even ordered its director, Filipp Sel' vestrovich Oreshkov, to take emergency measures to preserve them.
152. Holmes, "Ascent into Darkness," 521–540, and Holmes, *Grand Theater*, 39–62.
153. See, for example, a report on an elementary school in the Zuevka district, October 7–9, 1941, in GARF, f. A-2306, op. 70, d. 2693, l. 7, and a report of February 6, 1942, based on an investigation of seven schools in the city of Kirov in GAKO, f. R-1970, op. 2, d. 27, l. 8.
154. GASPI KO, f. 1682, op. 2, d. 112, l. 82. He did not name the orphanage.
155. GAKO, f. R-2342, op. 1, d. 248, l. 29.
156. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2834, ll. 158–159. Sarycheva did call for schools to provide more clothing, shoes, and food in order to attract and retain pupils.
157. For the March session, see *Kirovskaia pravda*, March 26, 1942, 1; for the meeting on June 21, attended as well by directors of some of the region's boarding schools, GARF, f. A-2306, op. 70, d. 2751, ll. 45–49.
158. GARF, f. A-2306, op. 70, d. 2751, ll. 45–46 ob.

159. For conditions, see a lengthy report from Vitorina Aleksandrovna Fomenko, an inspector for the Regional Party Committee, submitted May 5, 1942, in GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 8, d. 167, ll. 139–140 ob.; on Kravchinskii, *ibid.*, l. 139 ob.

160. Potemkin's remarks at a session devoted to a discussion of the state of all orphanages for Spanish children in the Russian Republic: GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2802, ll. 70, 75–77.

161. GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 8, d. 9, l. 66.

162. GASPI KO, f. 1290, op. 8, d. 107, ll. 140–140 ob., quotes on l. 140. Titkov remained in Kirov. On November 11, 1942, the Russian Republic's Sovnarkom removed him as deputy commissar of Narkompros and as a member of the Narkompros's collegium: *Sobranie postanovlenii i rasporiazhenii raboche-krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva RSFSR*, no. 6 (December 30, 1942), 47. On November 20, 1942, Potemkin formally released him without explanation: GARF, f. A-2306, op. 69, d. 2830, l. 35. I do not know what then happened to Titkov.

163. Information in a Narkompros circular of September 5, 1941, in GAKO, f. R-2019, op. 1, d. 200, ll. 17–17 ob.

164. The request from Pis'menskii in NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, d. 68, l. 10, the response, l. 7. The three districts: Molotovsk, Kyrchany, Urzhum.

165. On the dispatch of lecturers to Kirov, see a number of the director's instructions for 1942 in NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, d. 1860. For the appointment of corresponding members, *ibid.*, l. 62.

166. NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, d. 198, l. 13 ob.

167. *Kolkhoznaia gazeta*, October 9, 1942, 1 (Mel'nikov) and December 5, 1942, 4 (Shapovalenko).

168. *Kolkhoznaia gazeta*, November 18, 1942, 2.

169. On the Senior Secondary School inspected from December 4 to 11, see NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, d. 578, ll. 5–13 ob; on the Junior Secondary School inspected from December 4 to 10, see *ibid.*, ll. 48–61. The inspection of the latter institution focused intently on subject-matter instruction in grades five through seven and found some good teaching amidst many failures.

170. See the instructions in NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, d. 1859, l. 14 ob.

171. See "Instructions for the Study of Schools in the Kirov Region" in NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, d. 601, ll. 1–7, 15–16. Over the course of seven days an entire brigade would examine the work of a senior secondary school. Two or three brigade members would study a junior secondary school for five days and at least one brigadier an elementary school for three days.

172. See the director's instructions of February 17 and March 3 and 24, 1942, in NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, d. 1860, ll. 9, 11, 15. The brigades visited schools in Urzhum, Shurma, Orichi, Slobodskoi, Sovetsk, Lebiazh'e, Suna, Khalturin, and Kotel'nich districts, all located not far from the institute's home base.

173. This information from the School Institute's report on the state of education in the Kirov region from January to March 1942: NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, d. 213, l. 3.

174. These materials included handwritten notes, often scribbled and barely legible, taken while attending lessons; handwritten as well as typed reports on instruction in particular subjects and on a school's participation in agricultural work; teachers' plans; and school reports for the first quarter and for the first half of the 1941/42 academic year. The notes taken in class were often on poor paper or in a school notebook (*tetrad'*), or in one case written in between the lines of a carbon copy of a document. These items take up the entirety of seven large folders in NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, dd. 209, 579, 580, 598, 602, 1353, and 1492, in total 1,463 ll.

175. NA RAO, f. 15, d. 213, 114 ll. It may have been intended as a draft of a publication to come. A slightly shorter 199-page version is in NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, d. 599. The director's instructions of April 7, 1942, had changed the original plan for a mere report to the commissar of education to the publication of a monograph by October 1, "Kirov's Schools in the Period of the Great Patriotic War" (see NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, d. 1860, l. 19). The Schools Institute never published the monograph. It did print a collection of articles, "The Work of the School During the Great Patriotic War," but it was a volume that had little to do with the Kirov region. Its authors focused primarily on schools in nearby Penza, Gorky, and Novosibirsk regions, while paying some attention to efforts in schools in the Shurma and Slobodskoi districts of the Kirov region. The report: NA RAO, f. 15, op. 1, d. 438, ll. 64.

176. *Kirovskaia pravda*, March 6, 1942, 4. The two inspectors: B. Barash and L. Reznikov.

177. *Kirovskaia pravda*, June 24, 1941, 1.

178. *Velikaia pobeda i Viatskii krai, 1941–1945* (Kirov: Ekspres, 2005), 6.

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