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The Strange Story of Nikolai Starostin, Football and Lavrentii Beria

JIM RIORDAN

SET AGAINST THE BACKGROUND of the Soviet modernisation process, the development of sport in the two decades from the early 1930s to the early 1950s not only established the world-recognised pattern of sport in the Soviet Union and, later, in many other communist countries (like China, Cuba and the GDR), it also resulted in a phenomenon unprecedented in world sports history: the arrest and execution of a host of sports personalities. No one knows the exact number of victims; but the purges carried off five sports ministers,¹ Olympic Committee members for the Baltic states,² heads of the major physical education colleges,³ eminent sports scientists and medics⁴ and probably thousands of leading athletes. This article describes the fate of just one, a man who captained his country at soccer and ice hockey, founded the Spartak Sports Society and managed it and the Soviet national soccer team.

He also spent ten years as a political prisoner in Stalin's labour camps.

Nikolai Starostin lived to tell the tale (he enjoyed his 90th birthday in Moscow in 1992). To the extent that sport is universal, the popular acclaim accorded it by fans and even political leaders saved Starostin's life at a time when military and political leaders, poets, artists, engineers and scientists lost theirs. As he put it in his autobiography published in 1989, 'I naturally regret the lost "camp" years ... Yet, however strange it may seem, everywhere I went the soccer ball was always out of Beria's reach; even though the notorious police chief had once been a player himself, he was never able to defeat me'.⁵ Such was the power of soccer.

The Starostin brothers

Nikolai Starostin, the eldest of four footballing brothers, was born in the Moscow suburbs in 1902. His father was a hunter who died in the typhus epidemic of 1920 (that also carried off the Harvard soccer player and revolutionary John Reed⁶) when Nikolai was 18, his brother Alexander was 16, Andrei was 12 and Petr was 10. To survive in the famine years the family sold the father's precious set of guns and paintings. Nikolai became the family's provider. Being a talented soccer and ice hockey player he made a living playing soccer in summer and ice hockey in winter (the traditional playing seasons in Russia); he rose to become captain of the Soviet national team at both sports.

Being such a prominent sportsman inevitably brought him into contact with Alexander Kosarev, Secretary of the Young Communist League (Komsomol) and a

prominent Politburo member. At that time, in the early 1930s, the Komsomol had considerable influence on sport; indeed, the then Sports Minister, Ivan Kharchenko, was himself a former deputy Komsomol chief. Nikolai Starostin persuaded Kosarev to take up his idea of forming a new sports society separate from the two dominant nationwide sports clubs—the security forces-sponsored Dinamo and the Red Army. The new sports society would cater for civilians, primarily those employed in cooperatives for garment making, leatherwork, textiles and food. In search of a name Nikolai recalled playing in 1927 against a German worker team called Spartacus after the German communist Spartacus League founded by Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht (in turn named after the leader of the uprising of slaves in Rome in 73–71 BC).⁷

The new society was the first of the non-paramilitary voluntary sports societies, set up in March 1935. Spartak quickly attracted top athletes in track and field, boxing, sculling, swimming, equestrian sport, basketball and volleyball. This was partly because the cooperatives were ploughing substantial funds into sport, but mainly because it was run by athletes themselves, free from the suffocating tutelage imposed upon Dinamo (formed in 1923 by the first police chief Felix Dzerzhinsky) and the armed forces Red Army Club formed in 1928.

Initially, Spartak rented a sports stadium in the Moscow suburbs originally equipped, in one of those ironies of history, by another four soccer-playing brothers—the Charnocks from the cotton textile centres of England's Lancashire, attracted to Moscow to manage the vast Saava Morozov mills.⁸

The birth of Spartak heralded the start of a rivalry in Soviet sport that lasts even up to today in the post-Soviet era: Spartak versus Dinamo. Before 1936 the Dinamo teams (six in soccer's Premier Division alone) had held undisputed sway over soccer, as over most other sports. Spartak was now to challenge that supremacy. The first clash, however, occurred on a rather unusual pitch—the Red Square's cobblestones. Kosarev had planned to stage a soccer match between Spartak and Dinamo to mark Physical Culture Day in 1936; it was to be the first sports contest staged in the presence of Stalin, by then the country's undisputed ruler.

At the last moment, however, the OGPU pulled out their team for fear of political repercussions should the ball be kicked against the Kremlin walls or (Heaven forbid!) that it should hit Stalin ... Two Spartak teams therefore played an exhibition match on a 9000 m² carpet of green felt (laid in the night by 300 Spartak volunteers). Nikolai Starostin was captain, his three brothers playing in the side; all the while Nikolai kept an anxious eye on Kosarev standing alongside Stalin on the Lenin Mausoleum podium. They had arranged beforehand that, should the Great Friend of All Athletes show signs of boredom, Kosarev would signal with a white handkerchief for Starostin to bring the game to a halt. In fact, instead of the scheduled 30 minutes, such was Stalin's interest that the game lasted 43 minutes. Nonetheless, apart from the war years, 1942 and 1943, no match was repeated on the hallowed cobblestones of Moscow's Red Square.

It was in 1936 that the sports leadership instituted nationwide sports league and cup competitions for such popular team games as soccer, basketball and ice hockey. Hitherto, championships had been contested by city teams; now societies like Dinamo, Spartak, Lokomotiv (representing railway employees and their families),

Torpedo (car workers) and Burevestnik (students), as well as armed forces clubs, had professional teams in all major cities. These leagues created new interest and mass appeal, especially in the most popular spectator sport, soccer, and drew thousands of spectators to stadiums. The cloud that had hung over the word 'sport' (implying competition) since the early 1920s was now officially lifted.

No competitive rivalry was greater than that between Dinamo and Spartak. In 1936 the new chief of the security forces, Lavrentii Beria, became honorary president of Dinamo; at the same time Spartak had the political patronage of the Komsomol boss, Alexander Kosarev. The rivalry between the two sports societies and teams therefore reflected the fight between the security forces and the Komsomol for control over Soviet sport. Dinamo had won the newly inaugurated soccer league in 1936, Spartak the new cup competition; in 1937 the positions were reversed. In the following two years, 1938–39, Spartak completed the 'golden double'—a feat never repeated by any club. The political repercussions of Dinamo's demise were about to make themselves felt throughout the sports movement.

Sport was not exempt from the arrests and persecution that permeated all walks of life from the mid-1930s. As Nikolai Starostin writes in his autobiography:

Hundreds of athletes and dozens of my friends were arrested. They included my sister's husband Viktor Prokof'ev, a former Spartak player; Volodya Strepikhleev, with whom I'd played in the national ice hockey team for several years and who was currently in charge of Burevestnik (he had had the misfortune to referee the match in 1935 between Dinamo and a visiting Basque team which Dinamo had lost 7–4); Viktor Ryabokon, our top referee and the first chief of Lokomotiv; a whole group of skiers, including Spartak members Nikolai Korolev and his three brothers. The strangest thing is that no one knew why!⁹

In 1936 the same fate befell the head of the Cooperative Association (Spartak's parent organisation), and his successor six months later.

Nikolai and his friends knew full well that the 'repressed', as they were referred to, were 'impeccably honest and honourable people'. But the word had it that these athletes had been abroad (playing against communist worker teams) and, *ipso facto*, had been recruited by bourgeois agents as spies.

The greatest shock for Starostin and Spartak was the arrest in 1938 and subsequent execution of Kosarev, now branded by the worst possible epithet, 'enemy of the people'. Beria was wreaking a terrible revenge on Spartak and other rivals. Unlike other political leaders and police chiefs, Beria was a fanatical soccer supporter. In his youth he had even played at a fairly high level in his native Georgia and participated in a match against a team led by Nikolai Starostin (which the Georgians lost). Starostin remembered him as a 'crude and dirty left half'. When he became honorary president of Dinamo, Beria began to attend virtually every Moscow Dinamo home game. His fury was evident to all when the Dinamo team from the Georgian capital Tbilisi lost the 1939 cup semi-final 1–0 to Spartak on a disputed goal. Since the referee, Ivan Gorelkin, was a former Dinamo player and a highly respected arbiter, the defeat was accepted and Starostin's team went on to win the final 3–1 against Leningrad Stalinets a fortnight later. To the astonishment of even the sports authorities, however, a rematch was ordered from above (the NKVD) with Tbilisi Dinamo—even though the final was already over and done with. The original match referee,

Gorelkin, was disqualified (and shortly to be arrested) and it was almost impossible to find a replacement until the Sports Minister Colonel Snegov ordered the respected Nikolai Usov to officiate. Spartak won a closely fought match 3–2 and, according to Starostin, ‘When I glanced up at the dignitaries’ box, I saw Beria get up, furiously kick over his chair and storm out of the stadium’.¹⁰ But the four Starostins and other Spartak players were to pay dearly for this affront to the NKVD and their boss Beria.

The case of the Starostin brothers

Three years later, on 20 March 1942, Nikolai arrived home from work at Spartak, went to bed and was awoken in the middle of the night by a torch shining in his eyes and two pistols pointed at his head. He was arrested and hauled off to the secret police HQ in Moscow’s city centre—the dreaded Lubyanka. He later discovered that his three brothers had been taken in too—along with his two brothers-in-law Petr Popov and Pavel Tikston, and his close friends and team-mates Evgenii Arkhangel’sk and Stanislav Leuta.

Nikolai was to spend the next two years in the Lubyanka, mostly in isolation and constantly under interrogation. Initially he was charged with being involved in ‘the criminal activity led by enemy of the people Kosarev’,¹¹ who had already been executed. Specifically, he and his brothers were accused of plotting to assassinate Stalin and other leaders who had stood on the Mausoleum during the Red Square parade of 1937. When that could not be substantiated—or when it was thought too risky to try to pin on the country’s most popular footballer—Nikolai was accused of ‘propagandising bourgeois sport’. The charge read:

Nikolai Petrovich Starostin publicly praised bourgeois sport and endeavoured to instil into our sport the mores of the capitalist world.¹²

He was reminded of the 80 rubles a month that his Spartak club paid to its top players. The fact that the government had authorised such payment was ignored.

After prolonged interrogation Nikolai owned up to making some criticism of Soviet sport and was ‘persuaded’ to think up anti-Soviet utterances he had heard from his brothers. While his treatment was harsh, it had not permanently disabled him. Petr, however, was left with tubercular lungs as a result of constant beatings; and Andrei was unable to walk for several months as a consequence of being kept awake round the clock. What saved his brothers from a worse fate at Beria’s hands was, in Nikolai’s words, ‘the place they held in the hearts of all soccer fans’:

Beria was pitiless with party and state leaders and their relatives. Of course the Starostin name could not stop him; yet the Starostins were more than mere human beings. In the minds of the public they personified Spartak. That altered a great deal. Beria was dealing not just with a few prisoners, but with the support and aspirations of millions of fans, ordinary Soviet people. I’m sure that it was the authority of Spartak that lightened our destiny.¹³

Life in the GULAG

In November 1943 the four brothers were brought before the Supreme Court Military Tribunal. The charges were read out and the accused were asked if they pleaded

guilty. They each answered that they admitted to making the cited comments without realising that they constituted a criminal offence. Within three days the court delivered its sentence: Nikolai, Andrei and Alexander were found guilty of 'lauding bourgeois sport and attempting to drag bourgeois mores into Soviet sport'. Petr was charged with having once said that 'the collective farms were not justifying themselves, as well as that Soviet engineers were not paid enough'.¹⁴ However ridiculous the charges might sound, in the hysteria of the time (especially in wartime), they were considered almost treasonable.

As members of the Communist Party, each brother received ten years in the labour camps, the other non-party accused got eight years. When they were being driven away from the court, it was the last time they were to see each other for twelve long years. All the same, 'ten years in a labour camp was, for those times, a virtual 'not guilty' verdict. The future seemed not so gloomy after all!'¹⁵

There began for Nikolai an amazing, if harsh, life in far-flung camps—first in the Ukhta oil field within the Arctic Circle for a year, then in the Soviet Far East, near the border with China, initially at Khabarovsk, then at Kom-somol'sk-na-Amure. Wherever he went he found camp commandants vying for his services as soccer coach. As irony would have it, he was now much sought after as coach to the local Dinamo teams! He never failed to find himself astonished that the

camp bosses, arbiters of the life and death of thousands upon thousands of human beings, personifications of the GULAG brutalities and horrors, were so benevolent to anything concerning soccer. Their unbridled power over human lives was nothing compared to the power of soccer over them.¹⁶

As a result, Nikolai Starostin had extensive privileges—to reside outside the camps, to live with his players at the local stadium, to exist 'more like an exile than a political prisoner'—a far cry from the fate of the non-footballing camp fraternity, like Pasternak's Dr Zhivago or the poet Osip Mandel'shtam, Spanish and German communists seeking refuge from Franco and Hitler in the 'fraternal' Soviet Union (many were incarcerated and shot), engineers, priests and yeoman farmers (the kulaks). Nikolai himself tried to explain how soccer was unique in this respect:

I think that the prewar social role and significance of soccer grew out of the special relationship the public had with it. People seemed to separate it from all that was going on around them. It was like the totally unreasoned worship by sinners desperate to seek oblivion in their blind appeal to divinity. For most people soccer was the only, and sometimes the last, chance and hope of retaining in their souls a tiny island of sincere feelings and human relations.¹⁷

With guards and criminal inmates alike, Starostin became a hero. No one was permitted to lay a hand on him. 'Even inveterate recidivists would sit quiet as mice to listen to my football stories'.¹⁸

One consolation for the Starostins, as for other political prisoners, was that they were spared the horrors of World War II. The end of the war found Nikolai

Starostin still coaching Dinamo teams a third of the way round the world from Russia's western borders.

Postwar xenophobia in sport

The war's end brought a new wave of arrests, purges and executions—in sport as well as in other walks of life. A catalyst for purges in sport was the London Olympic Games of 1948; at that time Soviet leaders were uncertain whether Soviet sport could mount the sort of all-around challenge that would secure Olympic victory and thus ensure what one party resolution called 'world supremacy in the major sports in the immediate future'.¹⁹ Some sports officials and enthusiasts began to agitate for a Soviet presence at the London Olympics. They were soon silenced by an official rebuttal in the weekly *Fizicheskaya kul'tura i sport* that reiterated Soviet opposition to Olympism on the grounds that the Olympics were run by capitalists and aristocrats, that workers had little chance of competing, that racial discrimination against Jews and Blacks had occurred in Berlin in 1936 and would be applied to East Europeans who, in any case, might well be corrupted and recruited as spies.²⁰ Subsequently, the principals of the Stalin Institute of Physical Culture, S. M. Frumin, and of the Army Physical Training College, General Kal'pus, were arrested and tried as spies in the pay of foreign intelligence (and shot in 1950), as were 'a large number of PE lecturers and sports officials'.²¹ A number of (mainly Jewish) sports scientists and medics were accused of 'anti-patriotic', 'anti-scientific' and 'cosmopolitan' deviations, and arrested; they included such eminent figures as D. A. Kradman, A. D. Novikov, E. Yu. Zelikson and I. M. Sarkozov-Serazini.²²

Another irrational, though relatively harmless, effect of the xenophobic attitudes in sport was the attempt at Russifying sports terminology. Russian terms were prescribed for the mainly English vocabulary.²³ Thus, in regard to soccer, approximate Russian equivalents were invented, such as:

<i>futbol'</i>	became	<i>nozhnoi myach</i>
<i>offsaid</i>	"	<i>vne igry</i>
<i>gol'kipер</i>	"	<i>vratar'</i>
<i>korner</i>	"	<i>uglovoi</i>
<i>pass</i>	"	<i>podacha</i>
<i>forvard</i>	"	<i>napadayushchii</i>
<i>referee</i>	"	<i>sudya</i>
<i>bootsy</i>	"	<i>botinki</i>
<i>shorty</i>	"	<i>trusiki</i>
<i>penal'ty</i>	"	<i>shtrafnoi</i>

The last-named was the most ridiculous of all since the 'Russian' term was actually taken from the German *Straf*. At a Russian soccer match today one can hear a mixture of all these terms (often by the same person), although *nozhnoi myach* never caught on (unlike *ruchnoi myach* which competes equally today with *gandbol'*).

Starostin returns to Moscow

It was in this postwar atmosphere of purges and Great Russian chauvinism that Nikolai Starostin's life was to take another incredible turn. In the middle of the night, sometime in 1948, he was woken up by the local party secretary in his Siberian outpost with the urgent news: 'Stalin is on the phone. Come quickly!'²⁴ Half an hour later, Nikolai picked up the receiver and heard the voice of Stalin's son Vasilii.

He had got to know Vasilii back in the late 1930s when Nikolai's daughter Evgeniya had been a member of the Spartak horseriding club. She had made friends with 'a skinny unremarkable lad by the name of Volkov'. Insofar as Nikolai Starostin was the Spartak Director only he knew that Volkov's real name was Vasilii Stalin. During the war, Vasilii was to become the world's youngest general at 18 and commander-in-chief of the Soviet Air Force. Now the dictator's son was sending his personal plane to bring Nikolai Starostin back to Moscow where he was to become chief coach to the Air Force soccer team.

Life, of course, was not so simple. As Nikolai himself writes of the time, 'man proposes and God disposes'.²⁵ He well knew that implacable hatred existed between Beria and Vasilii Stalin. Not surprisingly, therefore, Beria's police soon paid Nikolai a visit at his old home, giving him 24 hours to quit the capital. On informing Vasilii Iosifovich, Nikolai was immediately transferred to the security of Vasilii's own residence.

I realised the tragi-comic situation I was in—under the personal protection of the tyrant's offspring. We were destined to become inseparable. We went everywhere together: to the Air Force HQ to training, to his dacha. We even slept in the same wide bed. And when we went to bed, Vasilii Iosifovich invariably placed his revolver under his pillow.²⁶

From being a prized soccer coach, Starostin now became a pawn in the deadly rivalry between Stalin's son and Stalin's police chief. But Nikolai overestimated his inviolability and underestimated the secret police. One day, when his protector was engaged in another of his alcoholic bouts, he made his way via an open window to see his family. It was a fatal error. Precisely at six o'clock the next morning the plainclothesmen came for him and put him on a train for Maikop in the North Caucasus. Once more he was heading into exile.

But Vasilii Iosifovich was not to be outdone so easily. At a stopping point, in Orel, who should appear on the station platform but Vasilii Stalin's head of counter-espionage to take Starostin back to Moscow, despite his protests. Tired of being the object of this tug-of-war, Starostin this time begged Stalin Junior to let him live in southern Russia. Finally, Stalin agreed, realising he could not prevail over Beria's tentacular power; he did insist, however, that Starostin be allowed to train the local Dinamo team in Lenin's birthplace Ulyanovsk. That did not satisfy the police: Starostin was once more intercepted and exiled for life to the deserts of Kazakhstan, on the frontier with China and Mongolia, to the flyblown outpost of Akmolinsk.

And again soccer came to his aid. Initially he was taken on by the local soccer team, then flown to the Kazakh capital Alma Ata to coach soccer and ice hockey with the Kairat club. The subsequent nationwide success of the Kazakh team Kairat owed

much to the work done by Nikolai Starostin in those five postwar years up to Stalin's death in 1953.

Rehabilitation

Soon after Stalin's death in March 1953, Beria was arrested and shot by the new leadership. 'It was like the sun rising in the Far North after the long Polar night', wrote Starostin. 'Surprise, joy and hope were all mixed together. A month later I heard my wife's agitated voice telling me that my sentence was being reviewed'. It was time to thank Spartak's rival, Dinamo: 'Our family must express its gratitude to Dinamo. In those terrible years it was the island on which we survived, keeping our families together and finally enabling me to return to the capital'.²⁷

In his autobiography published in Brezhnev's time, in 1973, Andrei Starostin, Nikolai's younger brother, was only able to make a veiled reference to the missing decade: 'People's destinies varied in the war years. Life took its toll. But when I returned to Moscow in 1954 *after several years beyond the Arctic Circle* [My emphasis] the capital was already constructing a new life'.²⁸ It was only with Nikolai's autobiography, published in the fourth year of Gorbachev's *perestroika* period, that the truth could be told. Andrei, in fact, had ended up with his brother-in-law Tikston in the dreaded Noril'sk camp, mining copper. There they came across the only woman sports minister in Soviet times, E. L. Knopova, purged after only three months in office even though 'she had done all she could to help persecute the Starostin family'.²⁹ Just deserts perhaps. Andrei also met Kosarev's wife and daughter in the Noril'sk camp, both of them sentenced to ten years there.

Petr first worked at an iron and steel plant, then become engineer at a hydro-electric station and, subsequently, manager of a cement factory. Alexander had the worst time of it, at a lumber camp in the Siberian taiga.

All four now had their party cards returned upon their return to Moscow; and their sentences were declared illegal. Nikolai was the only one to return to soccer. At the age of 50 he was put in charge of the Soviet national team. A year later, in 1955, he took charge of Spartak, a post he held in both a full-time and an honorary capacity up to his 90th birthday in 1992. He survived his two younger brothers: Alexander and Andrei both died of heart attacks in their early eighties. Petr was still hale and hearty in 1992.

If Nikolai has any regrets, apart from the irretrievably lost years in the camps, it is that the soccer players of today do not have the broad cultural and vital outlook of his own team-mates:

It always astonishes me that today's players seem to have no interests beyond video and rock cassettes. I believe wholeheartedly that you cannot separate culture from soccer; a soccer cognoscente must be an art cognoscente at the same time.³⁰

Paradoxically, the incomparably greater freedom to live and play has resulted in narrower specialisation and almost complete lack of culture in the modern soccer player.

All the same, today's freedom in Russia has enabled Nikolai Starostin's amazing story to be told. It offers a glimpse into the Soviet Union's darkest years and sheds

light on one of the most harrowing periods which sports people have anywhere had to endure. While Hitler had no scruples about putting to death athletes with communist sympathies and Jews involved in sport, the crimes of Stalin and his henchman Beria can only be likened to those of the Roman emperor Caligula in throwing gladiators to the lions.

Yet Starostin's story also demonstrates something else: the immense power and vitality of sport, particularly soccer, in its ability not only to engage the popular consciousness, but to restrain the arbitrary actions of brutal tyrants.

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¹ *Nikolai Antipov* (1894–1941) was Chairman of the All-Union Council of Physical Culture, March 1931–33. In 1936 he was arrested and charged with being a 'right-oppositionist' and an accomplice of Nikolai Bukharin; he was shot in 1941. *Vasilii Mantsev* (1889–1939) was Chairman of the Council from 1933 to 1936. Despite having been a founder of Dinamo and one of its first managers in the 1920s, as well as being a prosecution witness at Antipov's trial, he was charged as a 'left oppositionist' and executed in 1939. *Ivan Kharchenko* (1906–39) was Chairman of the All-Union Committee on Physical Culture and Sports Affairs, June 1936–August 1937. He had risen through the ranks of the Komsomol, but was caught up in the ubiquitous campaign of vilification and denunciation of leaders in all walks of life. He was branded an 'enemy of the people', arrested in 1937 and is reported to have died in a labour camp in 1939. *E. L. Knopova* was in charge of the Committee for only three months in 1937, but was arrested in September 1938. Her ultimate fate has not been disclosed. *Alexander Zelikov* took over the reins in October 1937 until September 1938. He had the misfortune to take over at a time when the sports administration was under constant attack for harbouring numerous 'enemies of the people', including Trotskyists, whose alleged intention was to sabotage an organisation regarded as vital to the defence of the USSR. Zelikov was accused of being 'non-Bolshevik' and removed from office with all his deputies in September 1938. No information is available on their ultimate fate.

² See Gounnar Paal, 'Increasing Olympic enthusiasm in Estonia' paper given at the International Symposium 'Sport ... Le Troisième millenaire', 20–25 May 1990, Quebec, Canada, p. 2.

³ See V. V. Stolbov, 'Sovetskii sport i osnovnye tendentsii razvitiya mezhdunarodnogo dvizheniya', in S. I. Guskov (ed.), *Sport i perestroika* (Moscow, VNIIFK, 1988), p. 146.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁵ Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol' skvoz' gody* (Moscow, Sovetskaya Rossiya, 1989), p. 128.

⁶ John Reed played soccer for an 'International XI' against a representative Moscow team during the Second Congress of the Third International in July 1920. The 'Internationalists', captained by William Gallagher (then a Scottish Temperance delegate, later President of the Communist Party of Great Britain), lost heavily and were watched by over 18 000 fans in the new Red Stadium—formerly the Moscow River Yacht Club. See J. Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society* (Cambridge, CUP, 1977), pp. 79–80.

⁷ For the most part, as long as the Soviet Union remained weak and isolated, foreign sports relations were restricted to worker sports organisations and reflected the policy of the Communist International (Comintern) and its subsidiary, Red Sport International. See J. Riordan, *Sport, Politics and Communism* (Manchester University Press, 1991), ch. 3.

⁸ Harry Charnock it was who first introduced soccer to the Morozov workers in 1894; his brother Willy had played centre half for England. Robert gained notoriety in being expelled from Soviet Russia as a British Embassy agent in the Reilly spy case.

⁹ Starostin, pp. 42–43.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44. In fact, Kosarev was the last of the first seven Komsomol leaders to be purged: six were shot and one, Milchakov, spent 14 years in a labour camp. See J. Riordan (ed.), *Soviet Youth Culture* (Routledge, 1989), p. 73.

¹² Starostin, p. 73.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 80–81.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁹ The party resolution was published in I. Novikov, 'Bol'shoi sport i vneshnyaya politika', *Kul'tura i zhizn'*, 11 January 1949, p. 3.

²⁰ N. N. Romanov, 'Trudnye dorogi k Olimpu', *Fizicheskaya kul'tura i sport*, 1948, 17, p. 27.

²¹ Stolbov, p. 146.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 148.

²³ See *Sovetskii sport*, 20 July 1948, p. 2.

²⁴ Starostin, p. 107.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

²⁸ Andrei Starostin, *Povest' o futbole* (Moscow, Fizkul'tura i sport, 1973), p. 168.

²⁹ Nikolai Starostin, p. 133.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135.