

MAGAZINE

# RAZVEDCHIK

We search for knowledge not for glory's sake — But to learn the truth for the good of our State!

№1 (14) MARCH 2026



## 65<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST HUMAN SPACE FLIGHT

V. V. TERESHKOVA:  
"MY MOTHER IS MY MAIN  
ROLE MODEL IN LIFE"

ROSKOSMOS HEAD DMITRY BAKANOV:  
"WE HAVE ONLY TAKEN THE FIRST  
STEP BEYOND THE PLANET'S DOOR"

COSMONAUT Y. M. BATURIN:  
"SPACE DIPLOMACY HAS  
A BRIGHT FUTURE"

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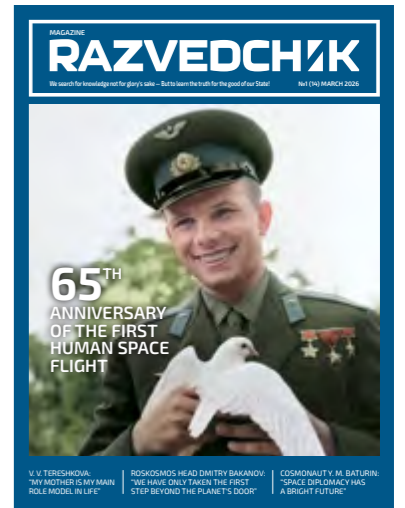
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WE ARE ALL INDEBTED TO OUR  
MOTHERLAND.

WE ARE ALL NOBODY WITHOUT IT.  
YOU HAVE TO STAY FAR AWAY  
FROM YOUR MOTHERLAND  
TO UNDERSTAND WHAT IT  
MEANS FOR YOU.

GOAR LEVONOVNA VARTANYAN,  
DEEP-COVER INTELLIGENCE OFFICER



"Razvedchik" magazine  
№ 1 (14) 2026

16+

### Founder

"Soglasie" — charitable foundation for promotion of social protection of the officers and veterans of the foreign intelligence Russia, 119034, Moscow, Ostozhenka Str., 51, building 1

### Publisher

Club for assistance in conservation of historical and cultural legacy

### Chief editor

Mikhail Pogudin, chairman of the Veterans council of the SVR of Russia, chairman of the board of the "Soglasie" charitable foundation

### Photos

"Razvedchik" magazine, RIA Novosti

The magazine is registered by the Federal service for supervision of communications, information technology and mass media. Registration No.: ПИ N° ФС77-83469 from June 24, 2022. Published four times a year.

Manuscripts are not reviewed or returned. Authors' opinion may not coincide with the position of the editorial board. In case of reprinting of the materials or using them in any form, including in electronic media, reference to the "Razvedchik" magazine is obligatory.

ISBN 978-5-7164-1244-6  
Circulation: 3000 copies  
Date of publishing: March 10, 2026

Printed in: JSC "Order of October Revolution, Order of Labour Red Banner Pervaya obraztsovaya tipografiya" Printing house, "Chekhovskiy pechatnyy dvor" branch 142300, Moscow region, Chekhov, Poligrafistov Str.,1  
Order No.: 995

**First Deputy Prime Minister  
of the Russian Federation,  
Hero of Russia  
Denis Manturov:**

**“We will definitely  
complete everything  
we started”**

For the past four years, Russia has been developing under conditions of unprecedented pressure from the West, which has unleashed hybrid warfare against our country. Meanwhile, domestic industry, having quickly adapted to the needs of the Special Military Operation (SVO), is not only far from stalling but is actually accelerating processes related to ensuring technological sovereignty and developing its own competencies. "Razvedchik" has spoken with First Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation and Hero of Russia Denis Manturov about the challenges being addressed today.

Denis Valentinovich, given your vast experience — before assuming the position of Deputy Prime Minister in July 2022, you headed the Ministry of Industry and Trade of the Russian Federation for over ten years, you worked in the real sector and you have deep understanding of the situation in key industries — what was the most challenging aspect of the initial phase of the SVO? Was it expected that our companies would be able to adapt so quickly to external conditions?

Our flexibility and adaptability were rather a surprise to the collective West. Do you remember all the failed predictions of their politicians about the "Russian economy gone to pieces"? For us, its resilience is largely the result of regular "training": the 2008 crisis, the 2014 sanctions, and COVID. The core principles of crisis management in industries, systemic mechanisms for supporting businesses, and channels

of interaction between government and business were already established — we didn't have to work on it from scratch or reinvent the wheel.

Russian companies have demonstrated a unique ability to adapt to rapidly changing business conditions, disruptions in cooperation with foreign suppliers, difficulties with international payments, and the closure of export markets. This is also evidenced by industrial production growth in the manufacturing sector: after a minimum growth rate of 0.3% in 2022, growth rates remained consistently positive over the following three years. As a result, over the past five years, production in the manufacturing sector has increased by 23%.

Throughout the four years of the SVO, we have been steadily increasing military-industrial production; in 2025, we even set a historic record for combat aircraft. Do you think we have

#### Denis Valentinovich Manturov

Was born on February 23, 1969, in Murmansk to a diplomat's family. He graduated from Lomonosov Moscow State University, completed his doctoral studies at the Moscow Aviation Institute, and the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA). He also holds a Doctor of Economics degree. He began his career in business, becoming Deputy General Director of JOSC "Ulan-Ude Aviation Plant" in 1998 and Deputy Chairman of the "State Investment Corporation" in 2001. From 2003 to 2007, he headed the "United Industrial Corporation "Oboronprom"" and served on the boards of directors of "Sukhoi" Experimental Design Bureau, Kurganmashzavod, and the Mil Moscow Helicopter Plant. In 2007, he became Deputy Head of the Ministry of Industry and Energy of the Russian Federation, and from 2012 to 2022, he served as Minister of Industry and Trade of the Russian Federation. In July 2022, he assumed the post of Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, while continuing to lead the Ministry of Industry and Trade of Russia. Since May 14, 2024, he has been First Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation. He has been awarded the Order of Merit for the Fatherland, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Classes, the Order of Alexander Nevsky, the Order of Honor, and the Order of Friendship. In February 2026, he was awarded the title of Hero of Russia.

“ Our flexibility and adaptability rather came as a surprise to the collective West.

reached the limit of our capabilities, or can we still grow? After all, judging by the statements of Western politicians, they are seriously preparing for a major war with Russia.

We are guided by the state armament program, and in particular its new version for 2027-2036, which is currently being drafted. And, of course, we take into account future challenges and the corresponding needs of our armed forces. As for the limits of our capabilities, they certainly haven't been reached yet. At the same time, the cornerstone of increasing defense industry production and improving its products, as in other industries, is labor productivity increase, process automation, and digital maturity increase.

At the same time, despite the exponential growth in the production of military equipment and weapons, the share of civilian products manufactured by the defense industry

continues to grow as well. With the advent of the SVO, the President's goal of diversifying the industry remained unchanged. Last year, civilian products accounted for over 30% of the total output of defense enterprises. All the necessary preconditions were in place: domestic companies received over a thousand new orders, approximately 70% of which have entered serial production.

Russia is currently implementing large-scale national technological leadership projects, designed to run through 2030. Could you tell us how this work is progressing?

As you know, we launched seven national technological leadership projects last year, and two more — on the bioeconomy and space — were launched early this year. These projects include cross-cutting areas of strategic importance for a number of industries. Overall, the implementation of these national projects is working to unlock the innovative potential of 15 industrial sectors.

The significant growth in investment in manufacturing last year (over 20% over three quarters; data for the full year 2025 will be available in April) is largely due to the concentration of resources and efforts by the government and



Working trip to the Omsk transport engineering plant. June 29, 2023



businesses on addressing national project objectives. The ecosystem of all key government support instruments is currently geared toward this goal. Work is underway in machine tool manufacturing, chemicals, unmanned systems, transport engineering, energy, food security, and the space industry. At least fifteen industries (including pharmaceuticals) are interested in medium- and small-tonnage chemical products, for which production is currently underway.

I'd like to make a special mention of railway engineering, where work is currently in full swing to develop high-speed train production. We provided support to the contractor, "Ural Locomotives", through the cluster investment platform, and just in February, I had the opportunity to personally verify that the construction of the necessary facilities and the creation of the main units of the new train are proceeding at a good pace.

What can you say about the domestic aircraft industry? How is import substitution progressing in this sector?

Our country is implementing a large-scale project to create a line of civilian aircraft with entirely domestically produced components. As has been repeatedly stated, a task of such complexity and scope has never been undertaken

Assembling the MS-21-310 aircraft on Irkutsk aircraft plant. October 18, 2024

“ A task of this complexity and scope has never been undertaken or solved in any country in the world, and today we can confidently say that we will definitely complete this project.

During a working trip to Tomsk. March 22, 2024



or solved in any country in the world, and today we can confidently say that we will definitely complete this project.

Tu-214 has already been fully import-substituted. Work on the updated Superjet, Il-114–300, and MS-21-310 is in the final stages, with factories laying the groundwork for ramping up production of these aircraft after certification is completed. Development of the Baikal light multipurpose aircraft continues. In February of this year, its third flight prototype, powered by a VK800 engine, successfully completed its maiden flight.

Of course, we still have a number of challenges to overcome — from accelerating certification and improving the cost-effectiveness of new models to modernizing airfield and service infrastructure. Successful implementation of these measures will not only meet domestic demand for modern aircraft but also strengthen Russia's position in the international civil aviation market.

“Today, we must restore lost competencies, develop new ones, protect the domestic market, and expand into foreign markets.”

You mentioned the national project "Technological Support for the Bioeconomy." What practical results does it aim to achieve?

The bioeconomy is applicable to a very wide range of industries: from pharmaceuticals and agriculture to metallurgy, microelectronics, and optoelectronics. The list is endless. The main goal of the national project is to ensure sovereignty in critical areas of this field, and in areas where we have the greatest potential and reserve, to achieve global leadership.

As for the specific solutions, these range from familiar and generally understood enzymes or vaccines to more specific examples. For example, bioreactive waste disposal systems, additive biotechnology, solutions for accelerated breeding in agriculture, or biotechnological additives. Such as gaprin — a protein synthesized using methane-fueled bacteria which is used as a low-cost animal feed additive. The technology for its production was developed back in the Soviet Union, which ranked second in the world in terms of supply of such biotechnological products. Today, we must restore lost competencies, develop new ones, protect the domestic market, and expand into foreign markets.

As part of the national project, we will establish close cooperation between private businesses,

development institutions, research institutes, and applied sciences, create conditions for scientific breakthroughs, and stimulate innovation. As a result, by 2030, bioeconomy production in our country should almost double.

Work is currently being completed on a national strategy for developing bioeconomy through 2050. Its provisions will be aligned with the objectives of the national project and will be reflected in policy documents on food and biosecurity, systemic development of healthcare, energy, agriculture, industry, and other sectors.

Last year, you chaired the board of trustees of the rare metals (RM) and rare earth metals (REM) processing cluster in Siberia. What are the plans for developing this industry?

We are taking a system approach to this issue. The government's recently approved

“The result is a long-term, sustainable development model focused on creating a complete added value chain in Russia and strengthening international ties, first of all with friendly countries.”

development plan for the rare and rare earth metals industry is aligned with the corresponding federal project and includes three key stages: mining, metallurgy, and high-tech. Each stage has a defined list of investment projects, along with regulatory measures, financial support, domestic market protection, and expanded international cooperation. The result is a long-term, sustainable development model focused on creating a complete added value chain in

At the opening of the Moscow shipbuilding yard. November 26, 2025



Russia and strengthening international ties, first of all with friendly countries, where interest in joint projects in this area is currently very high.

The Angara-Yenisei cluster for RM and REM processing is a key element of the state program for creating innovative scientific and technological centers in Siberia. The technological focus encompasses not only the REM separation and the production of permanent magnets, but also related areas: additive technologies, including 3D printing of magnetic materials, energy storage, and artificial intelligence. We are also working to attract partners and investors from friendly countries, and we have already achieved certain results.

**The automotive industry has changed dramatically in recent years, with the presence of Chinese brands growing significantly. What**

**measures are being taken to encourage localization of production and the development of domestic capacity?**

Following the sudden departure in 2022 of Western automakers that had been developing production in Russia for decades, our Chinese partners temporarily assumed the role of primary foreign suppliers. Their support helped prevent a market shortage and ensure consumer choice in all key segments. However, in the long term, the state's industrial policy remains focused on stimulating local production. By the end of 2025, we have already seen a reversal of this trend: 56% of the market was now captured by domestically produced cars.

It's important to understand that all manufacturers — both Chinese and Russian — are obligated to gradually increase localization. Fulfilling

In the assembly plant of the "AvtoVAZ" automobile manufacturing company. Tolyatti. March 3, 2023



these obligations is the key to receiving government support and preferential treatment in the Russian market. A clear system of points has been introduced for the use of domestic components and the performance of manufacturing operations within the country. Companies that fail to demonstrate annual growth in this area are deprived of access to effective and in-demand tools and lose their competitive edge.

On the contrary, those investing in production localization have access to a whole range of measures: subsidies for research and development, reengineering grants, and preferential loans from the Industrial Development Fund, as well as special demand support programs. As a result, we are solving a complex problem: not only replacing departing manufacturers but also creating a competitive industry with a high level of technological independence.

**In conclusion, if you don't mind, a question on the topic of space — this year marks an anniversary, the world will be celebrating the 65th anniversary of Yuri Gagarin's space flight. Tell us how the joint project to create the International Scientific Lunar Station is progressing, and what are your thoughts on deep space exploration?**

It's impossible to talk about deep space without exploring near space, which includes the Moon. All technologies must first be proven there, and only then we can move forward.

Regarding the construction of the lunar station, we are currently working with our partners to address issues related to its power supply. This involves delivering our low-power nuclear power plant to the lunar surface, which will become the station's primary source of electricity. These technologies, as I've already mentioned, could later be used for deep space exploration.

**Is deep space primarily about Venus? Or is Mars of interest to us too?**

Research missions to the Moon and Venus currently occupy a central place in the plans of Roscosmos and the Russian Academy of Sciences for studying other celestial bodies. Let me remind you that back in 1970, our country succeeded in landing a spacecraft on another



planet in the Solar System. And that planet was Venus. Therefore, we will probably move in this direction first. Then we'll see how successfully we accomplish our assigned tasks.

The implementation of such ambitious projects will require from our country not only significant resources but also the search for innovative engineering solutions. And this requires talented and daring (in the best sense of the word) young people who can take a fresh look at problems and offer fresh ideas. Perhaps such young people — future Korolevs, Chelomeys, and Keldyshes — can be found among the readers of your magazine. 🚀

During a working trip to Omsk. June 2023

Interviewed by Vladislav Ilyin

Photos by Alexander Maximenkov

“ Those investing in production localization have access to a whole range of measures: subsidies for research and development, reengineering grants, and preferential loans from the Industrial Development Fund, as well as special demand support programs.

# Dear friends!



Hero of the Soviet Union, Hero of Russia  
pilot-cosmonaut Sergey Krikalev

Sixty-five years ago, Yuri Gagarin, with his legendary «Let's go!», opened to the humanity the path to the stars. Since then, April 12th is not just a date on the calendar, but the day when an event occurred that changed our world for ever, proving that for those bold and courageous, driven by the pioneer spirit, nothing is impossible.

It is a great honor for me to address you — people whose work often remains invisible, but is very important to the security and well-being of our state. There is much in common between our space service and your intelligence service. Both are associated with romance, a thirst for adventure, and a desire to show one's worth in a real cause. And both are connected with risk, real danger, long business trips, and the need to make quick but thought-out decisions in extreme conditions.

Both astronauts and intelligence officers must possess such qualities as the highest level of professionalism and responsibility, dedication to the cause, and the ability to anticipate the course of events. Both undergo rigorous selection and lengthy special training. In space, as in your work, there is no place for error, so discipline and accuracy, mutual trust, and the ability to remain calm in any situation come to the fore in order to succeed.

In 1991, when I went on my second flight from the USSR, I returned to Earth as a citizen of Russia. Like many of your colleagues who were then «in the field», I found myself far from my homeland in times of great change, and this added to my keen awareness: you clearly realize that you must fulfill all the tasks assigned to you, regardless of external circumstances.

Like intelligence, space unites people of different professions — from builders and engineers to pilots and scientists. All of them are integral and important components of a single mechanism. In this regard, I would like to emphasize the importance of teamwork. When you feel the reliable shoulder of a comrade, even the most difficult mission becomes feasible, and you overcome the most difficult times much more easily. In the crew, we learn to make decisions together and bear joint responsibility for them. Our lives literally depend on our ability to work together.

In 2000, during our expedition to the ISS, Yuri Gidzenko, our American colleague Bill Shepherd, and I clearly realized: one person's mistake means the death of everyone. Before the docking of the Soyuz with the station, which we were conducting manually, Bill held up the communication, Yuri controlled the systems, and I controlled the trajectory. Not a single extra word — only extreme focus, clarity, mutual trust. A team is not just working together, it

is the ability to listen to and hear each other, to understand and anticipate the actions of a comrade. In space, there is no «I» — only «we». And this attitude helps not only in orbit.

Returning to the anniversary of the first human flight into space, I want to say that, in fact, Yuri Gagarin was also a scout. In fact, a scout is the one who first goes into the unknown, risking himself, paving the way for others. It is no coincidence that Vyacheslav Ivanovich Trubnikov,

who served as Director of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Russia in 1996-2000, said that a cosmonaut is a scout, an explorer of space.

May the commemoration of the 65th anniversary of Gagarin's flight guide the younger generation of our compatriots towards groundbreaking discoveries and significant achievements. Friends! Don't be afraid to think and dream big, to strive for the stars, for new heights. Congratulations on the Cosmonautics Day! 🚀



**1**  
January  
1916

Mikhail Vladimirovich Fedorov, a Soviet deep-cover intelligence officer, was born in Kolpi-no near Petrograd into a working-class family. In 1939, after graduating from the Lesgaft Leningrad Institute of Physical Education, he was accepted into military intelligence service. During the Great Patriotic War, he spent over two years behind enemy lines as part of special-purpose reconnaissance and sabotage units. In 1947, he and his wife, Galina Ivanovna Fedorova (Markina), went abroad. He spent 15 years operating undercover, gathering valuable information from NATO leadership structures. He was awarded the Order of the Red Banner, the Orders of the Patriotic War I and II degrees, the Order of Friendship of Peoples, two Orders of the Red Star, and many medals.



**3**  
January  
1901

Dmitry Alexandrovich Bystroletov, an outstanding intelligence officer, was born in the village of Ak-Chora, Perekop Uyezd, Taurida Governorate. From 1904 to 1913, he was raised in St. Petersburg in an aristocratic family. From 1919, he lived in emigration in Europe. In 1924, he was recruited for covert cooperation by the OGPU residency in Prague, and a year later, he began working as a deep-cover intelligence officer, skillfully transforming himself into various personas. Over 12 years, he achieved great success, proving himself a talented recruiter. In particular, he managed to obtain German and British codes and a large volume of secret documents from Hitler's Germany. A number of episodes from the intelligence officer's biography formed the basis of the 1973 feature film "The Man in Civilian Clothes," for which he wrote the screenplay.

**10**  
January  
1996

The President of Russia signed the Federal Law No. 5-FZ "On Foreign Intelligence". This regulatory legal act defines the status, organizational principles, and functioning of foreign intelligence, as well as the procedure for control and oversight of its activities.



**25**  
January  
1926

Goar Levonovna Vartanyan (née Pakhlevanyan) was born in the city of Leninakan (Gyumri), Armenian SSR. In the early 1930s, she moved with her family to Iran. In 1941, together with her future husband Gevork Andreevich Vartanyan, she voluntarily began assisting Soviet intelligence as part of the youth group "Light Cavalry." In November 1943, she participated in the operation to ensure the security of the Tehran Conference. In 1950s, the Vartanyan couple went abroad as deep-cover intelligence officers, successfully working in special conditions for over 35 years. Goar Levonovna's merits were recognized with the Orders of the Red Banner, Honour, Friendship, the Patriotic War 2nd degree, and many medals.

**5**  
February  
1926

On the Moscow-Riga train, within Latvian territory, an armed attack occurred against Soviet diplomatic couriers Theodor Nette and Johann Makhmastal. They were tasked with delivering diplomatic mail, including secret INO correspondence, to Riga, Berlin, and Copenhagen. Nette and both bandits were killed in the shootout. A severely wounded Makhmastal personally handed over the documents to the USSR Chargé d'Affaires in Latvia. The foreign intelligence established with certainty that the attack had been organized by British intelligence services. In the same year, both couriers were awarded Orders of the Red Banner, T. Nette (*in the picture*) posthumously.



**9**  
February  
1936

Alexander Titovich Golubev, a Lieutenant General of foreign intelligence, was born in the village of Pokhomlevichi, Lepel District, Vitebsk Region, Belarus. After graduating from school, he was conscripted into the Red Army and served in the Baltic Fleet. After demobilization, he worked as a milling machine operator at a factory. In 1959, he joined the security agencies and served in territorial units. In 1969, he was admitted into foreign intelligence. He went on long-term foreign assignments, rising from field officer to station chief. He participated in combat operations in Afghanistan, including the storming of Amin's Palace. He was awarded the Orders "For Military Merit," of the Red Banner, Red Star, "Badge of Honor," and other awards, including foreign ones.



**18**  
February  
1891

Artur Khristianovich Artuzov (Fraucci), a future head of foreign intelligence, was born in the village of Ustinovo, Kashin Uyezd, Tver Governorate, into the family of a Russified Swiss. In 1917, he joined the RSDWP(b), and in May 1919, he was assigned to the Cheka. In 1920, he was appointed head of the Special Department, and from August 1931 to May 1935, he led the INO. He directed and personally participated in operations "Syndicate-2" and "Trust." He was fluent in four foreign languages. Under his leadership, foreign intelligence achieved significant results. He was awarded two Orders of the Red Banner.

**26**  
February  
1941

Following the division of the USSR People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) into two People's Commissariats — the NKVD and the NKGB — on February 3, 1941, the Soviet foreign intelligence, under the leadership of Pavel Mikhailovich Fitin, was transformed from the 7th Department of the GUGB of the NKVD into the First (Intelligence) Directorate of the NKGB of the USSR. Its tasks and staff numbers were significantly expanded.

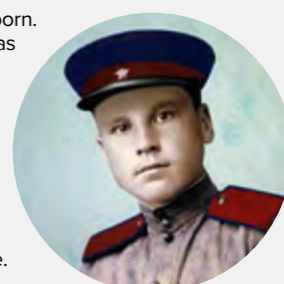


**1**  
March  
1911

Semyon Markovich Semyonov, a Soviet intelligence officer, was born in Odessa. A graduate of the Moscow Textile Institute, he was admitted to the security bodies in 1937 and sent to work in the USA a year later. In 1940, he completed postgraduate studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. During the war, he made a significant contribution to the activities of the Scientific and Technical Intelligence, maintaining contact with about 20 agents. He recruited a group of scientists through whom a large amount of material on atomic issues was obtained. Due to increased FBI attention, he left the USA in 1944. From 1946 to 1949, he was on assignment in France, where he also achieved outstanding results. He was awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour and the Order of the Red Star.

**3**  
March  
1926

In the village of Nizhnyaya Matrenka, Voronezh Region, Vasily Stepanovich Glotov was born. In 1943, he was drafted to the Red Army and sent to signalmen courses. Since 1944 he was radio operator in NKVD troops. In 1945 he entered Moscow Border School; as a cadet took part in operations against OUN in Ukraine. Since 1948 he served in the Main Directorate of Special Service under the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik), later — in the regiment of special communications of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. In 1958, he was transferred to the 8th Main Directorate of the KGB, in 1962 — to the 1st Main Directorate of the KGB. He was involved in preparations for the storming of Amin's palace in Afghanistan. In 1980-88, he was professor at the courses for advanced training of officers at the KGB Higher School. After retirement he continues to take part in socially significant work, despite his age speaks regularly at meetings with young people. Among his awards are the Order of the Patriotic War, 2nd class, and many medals.





# Order to the Army of Art

Awarding the laureates of the SVR of Russia Prize for 2025

On January 21, 2026, a solemn ceremony was held at the International Multimedia Press Center of MIA "Rossiya Segodnya" to honour the laureates of the SVR of Russia Prize named after E. M. Primakov. The awards were presented for the best works in literature and art dedicated to Russian foreign intelligence for 2025.



Opening the ceremony, Dmitry Konstantinovich Kiselyov, Director General of MIA "Rossiya Segodnya", emphasized: *"Intelligence officers are always heroes of our country, but their triumphs would remain unknown if their work was not recounted with dignity."*

Sergey Yevgenyevich Naryshkin, Director of the SVR of Russia, in his welcoming address drew the attention of those present to the outstanding merits of Primakov, whose name the Prize bears: *"Yevgeny Maximovich led the Foreign Intelligence Service during the challenging 1990s,*

*doing an incredible amount to ensure it would not lose the positions achieved in previous decades. For the current generation of intelligence officers, the establishment and existence of this Prize is a tribute to the memory and deep respect to this truly brilliant statesman."*

S.E. Naryshkin noted that the past year presented a large number of works about Russian foreign intelligence, showcased in a wide variety of genres: feature films and documentaries, literature, and monumental art. The jury highly appreciated their artistic value and professional level.

## The SVR of Russia Prize in literature and art

Was instituted on January 6, 2000. It is awarded to authors and creative teams for their works dedicated to the Russian foreign intelligence. Since 2019 it bears the name of the first Director of SVR, academician E.M.Primakov.





*"This project held immense significance for me, as its inception was fraught with challenges. The Press Bureau of the SVR provided great assistance. It was a true milestone to finally produce a document that Sergey Evgenievich would unequivocally endorse with his sacramental 'agreed.'"*

**Yuri Romanovich Novikov,**  
Advisor to the General Director  
of NTV Television Company



*"It is crucial to resonate with the audience's emotions, enabling them to grasp the profound sacrifice of those who spent years away from their homeland, not by choice, but by the call of duty."*

**Daniil Alexandrovich Strakhov,**  
actor

**The laureates of the SVR of Russia Prize for 2025 are:**

**For the creation of the documentary films "Secret Tango on a Knife's Edge" and "Illegal Intelligence Officers. Time to Declassify":** Yuri Romanovich Novikov, Project Manager and Advisor to the Director General of NTV Television Company; Taras Vladimirovich Ostrovsky, Chief Editor of the "New Russian Sensations" program; Mikhail Viktorovich Popov, Art Editor and Scriptwriter; Dmitry Konstantinovich Titorenko, Artistic Director; Andrey Vladimirovich Smirnov, Producer. The two films featured exclusive interviews with Russian deep-cover

intelligence officers Anna Valeryevna and Artyom Viktorovich Dultsev, including the first one filmed immediately after their return to their homeland, as well as Sergey Yuryevich Cherepanov, whose identity was set to be revealed in the summer of 2025.

**For the creation of the book "The Youth of Intelligence Officer Fitin. Identification of 'Alex'":** Alexander Leonidovich Vychugzhanin, writer, historian, and local historian, Doctor of Historical Sciences. The study delves into the youth of the head of foreign intelligence, Pavel Mikhailovich Fitin, uncovering many previously unknown aspects

of his biography. Based on newly discovered archival documents, it chronicles formative stages of his personality and the tempering of his character.

**For the creation of the documentary series "Beyond the Possible. An Anthology of Soviet Intelligence":** producers Elmira Rafekovna Ainulova, Olga Vitalyevna Golubeva, Maria Vsevolodovna Zhuromskaya, director Roman Vyacheslavovich Velichkin, and chief editor of the program Evgenia Vladimirovna Nikonorova. The four-part film highlights a remarkable group of brilliant Soviet deep-cover intelligence officers: Dmitry

Alexandrovich Bystrolyotov, Leonid Leonidovich Linitzky, Fyodor Karpovich Parparov, and Konon Trofimovich Molody, with a particular focus on recently declassified documents.

**For the creation of the fictional series "Berlin Heat":** Dmitry Vladimirovich Pristanskov, general producer; Pavel Sergeevich Kosov, screenwriter; Elena Vladimirovna Ivanova, director of photography; lead actors Gela Raulevich Meskhi, Anna Vladislavovna Peskova, and Daniil Alexandrovich Strakhov. Timed to coincide with the 100th anniversary of Russian domestic scientific and technical intelligence, the

80th anniversary of Victory, and the 80th anniversary of the nuclear industry, the series recounts how Soviet intelligence officers and scientists collaborated, risking their lives, to forge the country's nuclear shield.

**For the creation of the monument to Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov, unveiled on the territory of the Foreign Intelligence Academy:** monumental sculptor Denis Anatolyevich Stritovich.

Concluding the ceremony, S.E. Naryshkin addressed the laureates: *"Your creative pursuit and your work are profoundly needed. They are essential for*

*the Foreign Intelligence Service, particularly for its young officers, whom your achievements inspire to reach their own successes. And, naturally, for our entire nation. Because the people you write about, report on, and portray in films truly merit public recognition."*

He concluded his speech with lines from Vladimir Vladimirovich Mayakovsky's poem "Order to the Army of Art":

*"It's not enough to build in pairs,  
To fluff up stripes on trousers,  
All the Soviets won't move armies,  
If musicians don't give the march!"* ♪





## Unveiling of the monument to the creators of the TV series "Seventeen Moments of Spring"

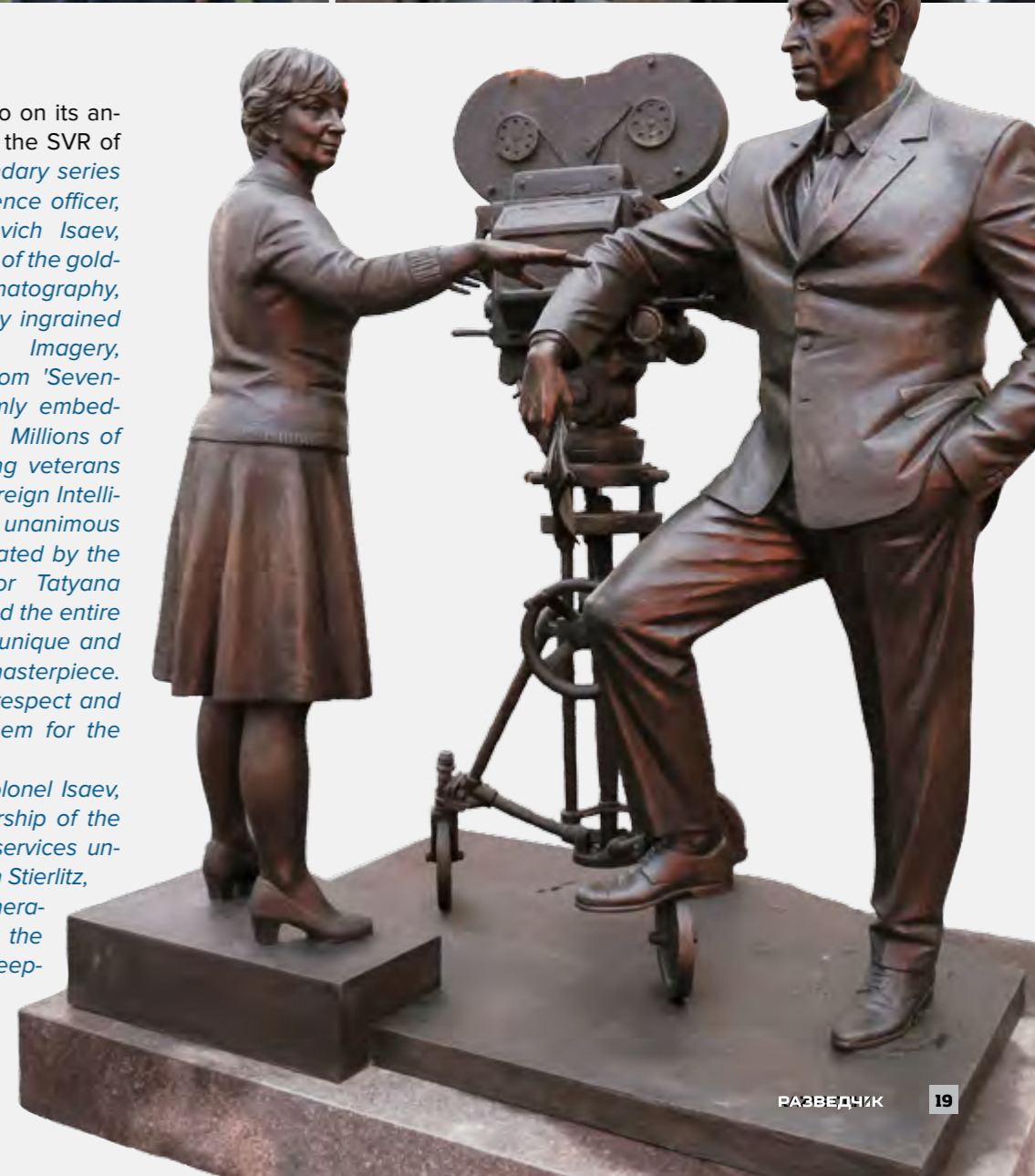
On December 18, 2025, a sculptural composition dedicated to the creators of the iconic film "Seventeen Moments of Spring" was unveiled in Moscow, in the square near the entrance to Gorky Film Studio. The event, timed to coincide with the 110th anniversary of the film studio and the 105th anniversary of Russian foreign intelligence, was attended by the Director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR), Sergey Evgenyevich Naryshkin, Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation Olga Borisovna Lyubimova, and other distinguished guests.

According to the concept of the project's author, People's Artist of Russia Andrey Nikolaevich Kovalchuk, the artwork captures the essence of the filmmaking process: the film's director Tatyana Mikhailovna Lioznova in conversation with the lead actor

Vyacheslav Vasilyevich Tikhonov during the rehearsal, with screenwriter Yulian Semyonovich Semyonov observing them from the director's chair. The concept was inspired by archival photographs from the film set.

Addressing the film studio on its anniversary, the Director of the SVR of Russia noted: *"The legendary series about the Soviet intelligence officer, Colonel Maxim Maximovich Isaev, has not only become part of the golden fund of Russian cinematography, but has also been deeply ingrained in our consciousness. Imagery, quotes, and melodies from 'Seventeen Moments...' are firmly embedded in our cultural code. Millions of grateful viewers, including veterans and employees of the Foreign Intelligence Service, share the unanimous opinion that the film, created by the outstanding film director Tatyana Mikhailovna Lioznova, and the entire creative team, is a truly unique and unsurpassed cinematic masterpiece. We extend our deepest respect and immense gratitude to them for the miracle they created."*

*"The literary image of Colonel Isaev, who infiltrated the leadership of the Nazi Germany's special services under the alias Max Otto von Stierlitz, has become for many generations of our compatriots the embodiment of a Soviet deep-cover intelligence agent."*





<...> *Vyacheslav Vasilyevich Tikhonov portrayed Colonel Isaev-Stierlitz with such conviction and authenticity that he left no room for doubt about the reality of his character and the entire narrative,*" S.E. Naryshkin added.

In turn, Olga Borisovna Lyubimova emphasized that *"new filmmakers will have the opportunity to come to the film studio, remember their unique predecessors, the creators of the film 'Seventeen Moments of Spring!'"*

Greetings to the attendees were also delivered by the Head of the Moscow City Department of Culture Alexey Anatolyevich Fursin, actress and film producer Anna Vyacheslavovna Tikhonova, cinematographer, People's Artist of Russia Igor Semenovich Klebanov, and the head of the Yulian Semyonov Cultural Foundation and the writer's house-museum, Olga Yulianovna Semyonova.

Yulian Semyonov's daughter expressed her beliefs that Russians,

more than anyone else, know how to preserve memory. She concluded: *"From the bottom of my heart, I wish to thank everyone: the creator of this magnificent sculptural composition, the initiative group of my father's admirers, the film studio, and, of course, all the guests who found the opportunity to come to pay tribute to the three great creators who lived and worked for us and their Fatherland."* 🇷🇺

### "Seventeen Moments of Spring"

A 12-episode black-and-white feature film, based on the novel of the same name by Y.S. Semenov. The premiere of the first episode aired on August 11, 1973. The plot follows Maxim Isaev, a Soviet deep-cover intelligence officer operating in Nazi Germany as Max Otto von Stierlitz, tasked with disrupting Berlin's separate negotiations with the USSR's Western allies. The film is based on real historical events – specifically "Sunrise" and "Crossword" operations during which American and British intelligence officials engaged in clandestine talks with the Nazis. The character of Isaev-Stierlitz is a composite image, embodying traits of numerous distinguished Soviet intelligence officers.

# In Memory of the Legendary Major Vikhr

On February 10, 2026, a monument dedicated to the legendary intelligence officer and Hero of Russia Alexei Nikolaevich Botyan, the prototype for the main character in the cult film "Major Vikhr" (Major Whirlwind) – was unveiled. The monument stands in Pokrovsky Park in southern Moscow, not far from the house where A. Botyan lived.

The solemn ceremony, timed to coincide with the 109th anniversary of A.N. Botyan, was attended by his daughter Irina Alekseevna Baboshkina, Deputy Head of the Presidential Administration of the Russian Federation for State Policy in the Humanitarian Sphere, Deputy Chairman of the Russian Military Historical Society Nikolai Pavlovich Ovsiyenko, Member of Moscow City Duma, Hero of Russia, pilot and cosmonaut Oleg Germanovich Artemyev, representatives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Russia, public and veteran organizations.

The ceremony participants assembled at the monument, created by a team led by sculptor Mikhail Vasilyevich Baskakov, and recalled the glorious military career of Alexei Nikolaevich, who was many times deployed behind front lines during the Great Patriotic War. In January 1945, he saved the Polish city of Krakow from destruction by the Nazi invaders, who intended to blow up the city during their retreat. After the war, he continued to serve in foreign intelligence, including as a deep-cover agent, and made an invaluable contribution to ensuring the security of our country.

*"The life he lived would be enough for 20 biographies, and each of them would be heroic. For saving Krakow, the Polish government awarded him the Order of Virtuti Military, meaning 'For Military Virtue,'"* noted Nikolai Ovsiyenko. *"Now in Poland and other*



*Western countries, it's 'trendy' to forget those who saved Europe. But we certainly won't forget!"*

*"This monument will allow the present and future generations to remember that the country had such a courageous and brave defender,"* noted retired Major General of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service Sergei Sergeevich Yakovlev, who personally knew A.N. Botyan.

The intelligence officer's daughter, Irina Alekseevna, thanked the ceremony participants: *"I believe that people, including schoolchildren and students, will come to the monument and maybe will become interested in my father's life, rich in events and entirely dedicated to the defense of our Motherland. Let the young people also cherish and defend it. That was the instruction Alexei Nikolaevich gave them."* 🇷🇺

# About aggressors and violators of sovereignty

## Reflections in the margins of documents

Text: Ivan Viktorovich Smyslov,  
Head of the Department of Legal Support of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Russia,  
Major General of Justice

**In the first days of January 2026, the entire world witnessed a flagrant violation of international law, when the head of a sovereign state was kidnapped from his own residence and, like a criminal, transported to the United States. Meanwhile, in the West, the accusations that Russia has committed aggression against Ukraine continue to be heard from every corner. Worst of all, Western politicians claim, that Russians would not stop, and NATO's eastern flank is once again under threat.**

We are used to being accused of all the deadly sins: deliberate acts of hybrid warfare, cyberattacks, disinformation campaigns and election interference, the use of energy as a weapon, arson and sabotage of critical infrastructure, jamming and spoofing global navigation systems'

signals, military provocations and air-space violations.

All of this is reminiscent of Hitler's address to the people, read by Joseph Goebbels on June 22, 1941: "During the last two decades, the leaders of Moscow have attempted to set

*not only Germany, but all of Europe aflame. It was not we who attempted to spread our National Socialist worldview to Russia, but they who relentlessly attempted to subject us and the other European peoples to their rule. They have attempted this not only intellectually, but above all through military means".*

Accusations are sown in fertile ground. A striking example is the European Parliament resolution of September 19, 2019, "On the Importance of European Remembrance for the Future of Europe". It notes that World War II began "as a result of the infamous German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact (Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) and its secret protocols, in which

The Ministry of Truth—the Center for Countering Disinformation, initiated by the President of the European Commission, which will focus on identifying and neutralizing information threats from Russia, China, and other countries—will deal with those who disagree.



two totalitarian regimes divided Europe into zones of influence". Now, all those who equipped their troops to aid Germany, supplied the Wehrmacht with weapons and equipment, food and raw materials, shift the narrative from being accomplices to being victims of the aggressor.

On 17 January 2024, the EU Parliament adopted Resolution No. 2023/2112 on European Historical Consciousness, setting the

fundamental goal to develop a common European historical memory and a transnational citizenry with a common mindset based on it. To this end, it proposes to update textbooks and teaching methods, shifting the emphasis from national to pan-European history. As if no other history exists except the one approved by the European Commissioners.

EU bureaucrats speak of hidden competition and partial incompatibility

A session of the European Parliament. Strasbourg. November 2024

between the memories of residents of Eastern and Western Europe, of Russian "historical revisionism", and the need to protect "democratic memory". And the Ministry of Truth — the Center for Countering Disinformation, initiated by the President of the European Commission, which will focus on identifying and neutralizing information threats from Russia,

“ The unity of the West in general and its intelligence community in particular is a chimera. It is based not upon the common interests of people of those countries, but upon the megalomania and the delusion of self-exclusiveness of their elites dreaming of deterring Russia and defeating us strategically.

From the interview of the Director of the SVR of Russia S.Y. Naryshkin to the TASS news agency, December 19, 2025



Full version of the interview

In general, neither the Americans' goals nor their methods have changed for decades. Only Obama and Biden's predecessors had a better understanding of history and pursued more balanced policies.

China, and other countries — will deal with those who disagree.

What should we expect from them next? Provocations, outright aggression? Perhaps that's already happening? Let's turn to the international law. It's common knowledge and established that the aggressor is the one who first violates fundamental norms. Unfortunately, identifying the aggressor isn't always easy — they can be well masked. But let's try.

UN General Assembly resolution No. 380 of November 17, 1950, "Peace

through deeds," states: *"Any aggression, whether committed openly, or by fomenting civil strife in the interests of a foreign Power, or otherwise, is the gravest of all crimes against peace and security throughout the world"*.

Article 2, Section 4 of the UN Charter protects not only the territorial integrity but also the political independence of states. This is backed up by UN General Assembly Resolution 2625, which adopted, on October 24, 1970, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly

Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It includes the following lines: *"Every State has the duty to refrain from organizing or encouraging the organization of irregular forces or armed bands including mercenaries, for incursion into the territory of another State. <...> No State may employ or encourage the use of economic, political, or any other measures to achieve the subordination of another State in the exercise of its sovereign rights or to obtain any advantage from this. No State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State"*.

Despite the above-mentioned norms and the direct ban on interference in Ukraine's internal affairs, as stipulated in the Budapest Memorandum of 1994, Westerners, seeking to sign an association agreement between Kiev and Brussels, launched a brutal attack on the Ukrainian political system in the fall and winter of 2013.

It wasn't Russian Foreign Ministry employees who handed out cookies on the Euromaidan, nor did we persuade the Ukrainian authorities to sign the above-mentioned agreement, which, among other things, provides for full convergence on security and foreign policy. And certainly not rubles were spent on weapons and rewards for the foreign snipers who shot at both the Berkut and the protesters.

Under the illusion of permissiveness, the architects of the coup don't even hide their involvement. Let's recall

Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs V.Nuland (right) on Maidan Nezalezhnosti. Kiev. Ukraine. December 11, 2013



the meeting between US Assistant Secretary of State Victoria Nuland and Ukrainian oligarch Renat Akhmetov in 2013, when the latter, under the threat of sanctions, refused to support Yanukovich, and Akhmetov-owned media started criticizing the country's leadership. Or recall Nuland's conversation with US Ambassador to Ukraine Geoffrey Pyatt, when they discussed arranging a phone call between Joseph Biden and Viktor Yanukovich. And the call actually took place: it was demanded that the Ukrainian president should immediately withdraw special forces from the streets of Kyiv and begin working with the opposition to resolve the crisis.

We can also recall the revelations of Senator John McCain, who, during a meeting with the Ukrainian president, allegedly stated that if Yanukovich attempted to stop the protests by force, he would be removed from power. Let's also keep in mind the document passed by the US Senate in January 2014 (S. Res. 319), with evocative name *"Resolution expressing support for the Ukrainian people in light of President Yanukovich's decision not to sign an Association Agreement with the European Union"*.

But let's return to historical documents. In the year marking the 80th

anniversary of the Nuremberg Tribunal, which had a profound influence on the formation of post-war international law, it's worth mentioning the verdict, which, while not classifying Germany's Anschluss (*annexation under threat — Ed.*) of Austria as a military action, did recognize it as an act of aggression.

Forty years later, on June 27, 1986, in its decision in Nicaragua v. United States, the International Court of Justice reached a remarkable conclusion, even from today's perspective, regarding control over armed gangs engaged in subversive activities. Rejecting the American side's arguments that its involvement had not been proven (the militants were, allegedly, acting independently), the court pointed out that proving the degree of control was unnecessary, since *"in the context of intervention by coercion, the State and Government concerned are responsible for the actions of their 'agents' as if they were their own, in cases of instigation, support, and justification, which do not need to be proven because they are obvious and publicly accessible"*.

In general, neither the Americans' goals nor their methods have changed for decades. Only Obama and Biden's predecessors had a

better understanding of history and pursued more balanced policies. Let's recall another document from the distant past. National Security Council Directive 20/1, "US objectives with respect to Russia", dated August 18, 1948, outlined just two strategic objectives: *"To reduce the power and influence of Moscow to limits where they will no longer constitute a threat to the peace; and to bring about a basic change in the theory and practice of international relations of Russia"*.

In the chapter "PARTITION VS. NATIONAL UNITY" of the said directive mentioned above, Ukraine is listed first. Here's another extract from the document, which we will quote almost verbatim due to its relevance: *"In the case of the Ukraine, we have a different problem. The Ukrainians are the most advanced of the peoples who have been under Russian rule in modern times. <...> It would be easy to jump to the conclusion that they should be freed, at last, from Russian rule and permitted to set themselves up as an independent state. We must be very cautious with such a conclusion. Its very simplicity condemns it in terms of eastern European realities. It is true that the Ukrainians have been unhappy under Russian rule and that something should be done to protect their*

“ During the recent two and a half – three decades, the principles of the international law have suffered sensible blows, first of all from totalitarian-liberal regimes of the West <...> The Western part of the international community have virtually trampled one of the fundamental principles secured in the UN Charter – the right of nations to self-determination, the right of people to choose their own way to the future.

From the interview of the Director of the SVR of Russia S.Y. Naryshkin to the RIA news agency. January 26, 2026



Full version of the interview

Territory of Germany before 1919 year



after 1919 year



after 1945 year



position in future. But there is a number of significant details not to be overlooked.

When the Ukrainians were an important and specific element in the Russian empire, they showed no signs of being a "nation" capable of bearing successfully the responsibilities of independence in the face of strong Russian opposition. The Ukraine is not a clearly defined ethnic or geographic concept. In general, the Ukrainian population was originally formed to a large extent out of refugees from Russian or Polish despotism and is hardly discernible in the shadow of the Russian or Polish nationalities. There is no clear dividing line between Russia and the Ukraine, and it would be difficult to establish one. Cities in the Ukrainian territory were predominantly Russian and Jewish. The real basis of "Ukrainianism" is the peculiarities of the specific peasant dialect and minor differences of custom and folklore among the country districts...

The economy of the Ukraine is inextricably intertwined with that of Russia. There has never been any economic separation since the territory was conquered from the nomadic Tatars and developed for purposes of a sedentary population. To attempt to carve it out of the Russian economy and to set it up as something separate would be as artificial and as destructive as an attempt to separate the Corn Belt, including the Great Lakes, from the economy of the United States. Furthermore, the people who speak the Ukrainian dialect, like those who speak the White Russian dialect, are split by a division which in Eastern Europe has always been the real mark of nationality: namely, religion. If any real border can be drawn in the Ukraine, it should logically be the border between the areas which traditionally give religious allegiance to the Eastern Church and those which

**give it to the Church of Rome.**

Finally, we cannot remain indifferent to the feelings of the Great Russians themselves. They were the strongest national element in the Russian Empire, and they remain so in the Soviet Union. They will continue to be the strongest national element in that area, under any status. Long-term U. S. policy must be based on their recognition and cooperation with them. The Ukrainian territory is as much part of their national heritage as the Midwest is part of ours, and they recognize this fact. A decision trying to completely separate Ukraine from the rest of Russia will be met with disapproval and resistance on its part and, as analysis shows, can only be supported by force".

And a surprisingly sober conclusion: "There is a reasonable chance that the Great Russians could be induced to tolerate the renewed independence of the Baltic states. They tolerated the freedom of those territories from Russian rule for long periods in the past; and they recognize, subconsciously if not by reason, that those peoples are capable of independence. **With respect to the Ukrainians, things are different. They are too close to the Russians to be able to set themselves up successfully as something wholly different.** For better or for worse, they will have to work out their destiny in some sort of special relationship to the Great Russian people. It seems clear that this relationship can be at best a federal one, under which the Ukraine would enjoy a considerable measure of political and cultural autonomy but would not be economically or militarily independent. Such a relationship would be entirely just to the requirements of the Great Russians themselves, and it would seem, therefore, to be along these lines that U. S. objectives with respect to the Ukraine should be framed".

A devil-may-care attitude towards international legal obligations has been developing among Westerners for years, fueled by dreams of a world order based on the rule of force rather than the force of law, as well as by the economic might of the "golden billion" in light of difficulties faced by other countries. Meanwhile, aggressors and violators of sovereignty have settled down to a course of flagrant violation not only of fundamental legal principles but also of international humanitarian law and human rights.

But how long can continue this repainting of white to black, this baseless accusation of others for one's own sins, this hunt for non-existent witches? How far is West willing to go in its goal to prolong an unjust world order and to delay the inevitable collapse of its neocolonialism? Will it take the risk of justifying and preparing another crusade? One Central European country has already twice sent troops to the East for Lebensraum. I think everyone remembers how its borders changed after that. I wonder how much it could expand as a result of this new aggression?

It's clear that the Western countries are deliberately and consciously destroying the entire post-war Eurasian security architecture based on international law. This isn't a struggle between two empires for dominance, but an attempt to maintain unipolarity. And they're fighting not against Russia, but against the entire world,

since it's not we who are laying claim to hegemony, but the West.

Despite the predictability of unpredictable Western policy, let's hope that red lines still exist for them. It depends on many factors: our measured approach and steadfastness, based on adherence to generally accepted norms and rules; the ability of independent states to unite and hold violators accountable; and, finally, on how quickly the radical elements of the Western political elite, apparently unaware of the potential of modern weapons to destroy the entire world, disappear from the scene.

Let us believe that humanity will ultimately end war and other forms of aggression, rather than war would end humanity. And we hope that the current US administration will recall the words of John F. Kennedy's inaugural address: "So let us begin anew, with both sides remembering that civility is not a sign of weakness, and that sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us not negotiate out of fear, but let us not be afraid to negotiate. Let us explore what unites us, instead of belaboring those problems that divide us. <...> Let us seek to invoke the wonders of science, instead of its terrors. Together, let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate diseases, tap the ocean depths, encourage art and commerce. All this will not be finished in the first hundred days, nor will it be finished in the first thousand days, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin".

This isn't a struggle between two empires for dominance, but an attempt to maintain unipolarity. And they're fighting not against Russia, but against the entire world, since it's not we who are laying claim to hegemony, but the West.

# Atlantic Solidarity and European Independence

## Lessons from the Past and Perspective of the Future

Text: Dmitry Aleksandrovich Danilov, Head of the European Security Department at the Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of Sciences, PhD in Economics, Professor

**The North Atlantic Alliance, formed eight decades ago as an unshakable support of the Western world, is now facing growing challenges to its internal unity. Conflicting interests are intensifying, even reaching the level of personal conflicts between heads of state. It is becoming increasingly problematic to coordinate positions on many key issues on the international agenda, and in some cases, it is impossible. Euro-Atlantic policy can no longer be viewed outside the dilemmas of disunity within NATO and the EU and the competing priorities of their national elites.**

The paradox is that security dilemmas have become more acute for the West, whose prosperity was ensured by the transatlantic bloc. The days when America and Europe tried to correct imbalances in response to new challenges of the future are over. Previously, at critical stages, when the alliance's agenda shifted significantly, each new NATO Secretary General convinced the Atlantic community that America needed Europe just as much as Europe needed America. Actually, arguments were always few, but back then, Atlantic diplomacy was structured around agreed trade-off and delicate formulations that

allowed them to mitigate internal disagreements. Washington didn't need to engage in disputes with its allies, which essentially meant debating its own strategy.

The vision of transatlantic relations as a two-way street during the bipolar era, when Western European independence was unthinkable, served as an ideological justification for NATO's indispensability. After Germany was unified, Washington closely monitored projects to integrate Central and Eastern European countries into a "democratic space of peace, freedom, and prosperity", as well as

the special role of Berlin and, more broadly, the Franco-German tandem as the center of European integration.

In the post-bipolar period, disruptions in American leadership also occurred, but more often as increased tensions with the change of US administrations, with their invariable focus on global dominance. In 2003, when Paris and Berlin did not support the invasion of Iraq, the Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld "reformatted" the White House approach: the idea was that America was not interested in "old Europe", in Germany and France, which held



different views. And Washington quickly countered this with a "new Europe", focused not on debate but on supporting the US.

The split between the "old" and the "new" on the eve of the EU's major eastward expansion in 2004 cemented the Europeans' place as the followers in the transatlantic alliance. Washington made it clear to its allies that NATO was not an indispensable mechanism. When and if obstacles to the pro-American consensus arose, the White House was quite capable of relying on other institutions and "coalitions of the willing". For the US political elite, the alliance has never been a "sacred cow"; total dominance allows the Americans to use it selectively — to push their position through decision-making at their Brussels headquarters.

Euro-Atlantic strategies and plans, focused primarily on the containment

of Russia and China (to which the fight against international terrorism has been added, "as well"), resemble more a cosmetic repairs of the "sacred Atlantic temple" than a concerted strengthening of its supporting structures. The global agenda has changed radically, but the West's conceptual and doctrinal guidelines, updated with the start of the special operation, including NATO 2022 Strategic Concept, the EU Strategic Compass (2024), and the White Paper on the Future of European Defense (2025), no longer guarantee

commitments, as they did in the 2010s, when the US and Europe abruptly changed their approach to Moscow and embarked on a course of consolidated counteraction to the "main" and then "direct" threat.

These documents, so long and arduously discussed in the corridors of Brussels, were approved "ritually" — as a kind of "paper product" rather than a joint strategic action plan. And then immediately it was set aside. It was clear that these guidelines would not serve as practical guidelines

**The vision of transatlantic relations as a two-way street during the bipolar era, when Western European independence was unthinkable, served as an ideological justification for NATO's indispensability.**

even for the medium term. With Donald Trump's re-assumption of power in the United States, centrifugal processes have shifted the Euro-Atlantic region into emergency mode for rapid response to internal divisions.

Trump of the "version 2.0" does not simply feel offended by the Europeans; he views their actions as a palace conspiracy. The head of European diplomacy, Kaja Kallas, publicly stated that the US leader wants to fight his allies. Such "realistic" statements by EU representatives (in Trump's eyes, traitors to the sacred Atlantic alliance) only highlight their lack of ideas on how to negotiate a new transatlantic deal.

Washington undoubtedly needs support points in Europe to strengthen its position. By exploiting the dependence of European allies on American guarantees, Trump made it clear that these are not unconditional: Europeans "owe" America, and now much more than before. However, this already raises questions about the recipients of this policy, which cannot be limited by Trump's "friend or foe" calculations. Europe is experiencing an internal leadership crisis.

Leading European countries are facing the problem of erosion of authority and with socio-political instability. Under these conditions, the European Union cannot rely on the previous drivers of integration, traditional tandems and triangles. Seeking to consolidate governance by controlling

European institutions, Brussels is not strengthening, but rather continuing to lose, its internal bases, particularly in the diplomatic sphere.

Unlike European officials, Donald Trump is capable of dramatically reversing American policy. Europeans, however, are trapped in the grip of anti-Russian attitudes and ideologies that they can only adjust, not eliminate. The European bureaucracy is increasing pressure on dissenters within the EU and, in some cases, is providing technical decision-making. At the same time, Brussels' creeping usurpation of EU member states' rights to sovereign foreign and defense policies, justified by the need to overcome disunity in the current crisis, conflicts with national priorities.

The Trump administration, in keeping with its hard-line realism, has demonstrably shown a disfavor toward European commissioners and prioritized targeted interstate relations with European capitals. This has only reinforced national self-interested instincts, undermining Europe's ability to act as a unified center of power. Today, Capitol Hill is extending a hand to those leaders who immediately distanced themselves from collective anti-Trumpism, meaning they were initially oriented toward constructive cooperation with the current administration. For some EU politicians, their Washington approval rating has become an important argument in making strategic

decisions that determine their future.

Thus, the ability of European bureaucrats to resist the degradation of the Atlantic alliance has significantly diminished. And if not the top three EU officials — Antonio Costa, Ursula von der Leyen, and Kaja Kallas — now severely limited in their ability to represent a united Europe in the transatlantic dialogue, then who can talk to Washington at all? Is it London? Any special relationship with it has long been out of the question. Even during his first presidency, after Brexit, Donald Trump distanced himself from the Conservatives, led by Theresa May and Boris Johnson. And now, with Labour's Keir Starmer, whose prime ministerial post is seriously shaky, the distance has only increased.

Is it the Franco-German tandem? Today, it is spinning its wheels out of sync and is no longer capable to aspire to the role of pilot for "Old Europe", which largely explains Washington's skepticism towards this tandem. The situational Paris — Berlin — London trio is also internally fragmented and unable to offer a unifying strategic perspective. German Chancellor Friedrich Merz and Defense Minister Boris Pistorius are continuing, through inertia, the policy of German leadership in the EU, declared in the Bundeswehr White Paper of 2016, but are unable to ensure it. Berlin's internal resources are clearly insufficient, and reliance on its partners is becoming increasingly problematic.

French President Emmanuel Macron has long lost his position as a responsible international partner. His initiatives and proposals, lacking sufficient tools, are no longer viewed with skepticism, but rather as irresponsible and provocative ones, especially when the French leader is "forced" to reject them. Macron's

attempts to assume the role of both pan-European leader and crisis negotiator with the US President are untenable. Donald Trump dismisses Paris's maneuvering along the principle of "both for friends and foes". For him, European "traitors" cannot a priori be considered as friends. Only those willing to play his game and be on his side are considered his friends. Even Berlin and London refer to Macron not as an equal partner, but as a weak link and a distorting mirror of European politics.

Against this backdrop, NATO remains a fundamentally important platform for Donald Trump. The current NATO Secretary General, Mark Rutte, sees his role not in implementing decisions made before him, but in navigating between the two shores of the Atlantic. As a long-serving European politician and a skilled political manager, Mr. Rutte generally suits Brussels, as he can try to reach an agreement with "Daddy" Donald Trump. Yet, there is no reason to believe

Europeans are involved in positional battles and are trying to preserve room for maneuver "post-Trump."

that the Secretary General will play a role in the interests of a common Europe from NATO's platform. The most Europeans can hope for is that the dialogue between Mr. Rutte and Trump will at least partially address the lack of strategic communications and reduce tensions in relations with Washington.

The problems of pan-European leadership, the weak positions of national political elites, and the complex relationships between them are obvious, as is the vulnerability of the European bureaucracy as a whole. Under these circumstances, relying on "their" Secretary General at NATO will not change the overall logic of a losing game with Donald Trump, in which Europe no longer has any stake. What matters now is not how

the US and its allies perceive threats, challenges, and the modalities of a common response to them, but how the American leader, in his relations with Europe, expects to ensure a secure future for Great America. Europeans are involved in positional battles and are trying to preserve room for maneuver "post-Trump." In addressing key issues of international security, their voices are barely heard, and sometimes they lose their right to vote altogether, a point Donald Trump, fully aware of the European counter play, likes to emphasize. This, in turn, means that the problem lies not in the difference in approaches to (im) balances that were previously manageable, but in the fact that Euro-Atlantic unity and NATO, as its pillar, have lost their strategic perspective.

Trump of the "version 2.0" does not simply feel offended by the Europeans but views their actions as a palace conspiracy. The head of European diplomacy, Kaja Kallas, publicly declared that the US leader wants to fight his allies.



**Europe is undoubtedly a target for the US leader's geopolitical ambitions, and its subordinate position, rather than declared equality, is what the master of the White House considers a guarantee for NATO's future.**

The internal stability of the alliance is under enormous strain. Europeans are already openly accusing Donald Trump, if not of destroying it, then of undermining its foundations. But they ignore the fact that after World War II, Western European development without the United States was fundamentally impossible, just as are the current speculative projects for a European reform of NATO without American guarantees. We say "NATO" when we mean the United States, but do we now say "the United States" when we mean NATO?

D. Trump continues to increase pressure on allies, who should, as he

demands, work diligently on a common Atlantic project integrated into the American system of coordinates. Europe is undoubtedly a target for the US leader's geopolitical ambitions, and its subordinate position, rather than declared equality, is what the master of the White House considers a guarantee for NATO's future. However, the Europeans either refuse or are unable to pay the American bills. And this is no longer about the ceiling for military spending, whether it be 2% or 5% of GDP. Brussels is busy developing business plans on who will invest in Ukraine and how, but cannot take any serious decisions without relying on Washington.

Non-European challenges, which the Trump administration identifies as fundamental, primarily the rise of China, also divide the USA and Europe. For Brussels, Washington's toughness toward Beijing is deeply problematic. Europeans are unable to influence US policy in the Middle East; there are no longer even any negotiating or consultative formats for this. The EU's foreign policy service is forced to comment on American actions in a politically correct manner, but without clearly indicating its position. Thus, the Euro-Atlantic rift is not limited to differences in approaches within the alliance's former, internal area of responsibility. The issue of seizing Greenland declared by Donald Trump as a national security priority and a test of American guarantees within NATO in response to the combined Russian-Chinese challenge, will not be consigned to the history of Trumpism under any scenario.

For Russia, this is an opportunity for a comprehensive scenario analysis

of the challenges posed by the US military-political strengthening in the northern Arctic zone, where NATO's role is no longer clear, and American presence and military activity will clearly increase, including outside the formal framework of the Washington Treaty. This indicates that Donald Trump's intention to gain control of "his" territories in the Western Hemisphere (Venezuela, Cuba, Mexico, Panama), as well as to project power in other regions, is undermining not only the Euro-Atlantic region but also the mechanisms of the multipolar world order. In this regard, one cannot rule out the escalation of territorial claims to the Kuril Islands by Japan, which considers Trump's new geography as an opportunity to revise the post-war world order.

The Peace Council, recently established by the US president, is also undermining the world order based on the UN Charter. And this imperative of American dominance will be a determining factor with any future administration in Washington, even if, as under Democrat Joe Biden, it once again announces a pivot to Europe and a return to the "Atlantic family".

Let me remind you that the principles of Trump's first presidency regarding relations with the EU were not revised when he stepped down as president. These include increasing Europe's contribution to collective defense, with a significant increase in Germany's contribution (50%) to the maintenance of NATO headquarters in Brussels; drawing allies into US Middle East projects despite resistance from Berlin and Paris; expanding the alliance's operational response to cybersecurity and space, concentrating European military planning on American navigation systems; and, of course, placing China in the list of NATO's main challenges.

Under Trump 2.0, the nature of US-EU relations has changed radically, and the Euro-Atlantic balance has become even shakier. The widely used, convenient formula of "Trump is to blame for everything" is being used by Brussels not only to shift responsibility for the escalating crisis but also to camouflage a profound conflict of interests within the bloc. This couples with the Western narrative that it is the Russians who are destroying the established world order and the entire European security system.

The pinpointing of culprits without a comprehensive analysis of the causes is a reflection of a lack of strategic vision. As China, Russia, and other significant players build new global ties aimed at creating a multipolar world, the European West, represented by Britain and the EU, is essentially attempting to carve out room for maneuver in the short term. The stated goal of gaining autonomy is vague and cannot be extended beyond the immediate planning horizon. This is especially evident in the current situation, when all plans for building European defense are tied to cooperation with the United States, Europe's autonomy in the military sphere is constructed on the basis of partnership with NATO, and the American military-industrial complex cannot be replaced even by the combined technical potential of the EU countries, which is still dreamed of in Brussels.

Emmanuel Macron's ideas for a European defense without the Americans suppose the abandonment of

the US-led NATO European Command and its replacement with an integrated European decision-making structure that would carry out planning, including for the nuclear deterrent forces possessed by France and the United Kingdom. The "Europeanization" of the nuclear capabilities of Paris and London is a critical aspect of the EU's future strategic autonomy, but progress on this issue is extremely unlikely due to the need for European nuclear powers to maintain national sovereignty in the spheres of security and defense. Furthermore, this would require a fundamental overhaul of NATO's nuclear planning system and the subsequent transformation of the entire integrated military command structure of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, thereby eliminating the main constant — the American nuclear umbrella — from the transatlantic formula of solidarity.

Today, as at the height of the Cold War, Europe understands that it has neither its own "nuclear" voice nor the corresponding influence. France and the United Kingdom continue to support nuclear programs, but their goals are undefined and do not provide protection from the main threats — Russia and China. At the same time, regardless of assessments of the current state and prospects for the development (or lack of development) of European military potential, the long-term guidelines and defense construction plans adopted by the European Union establish a persistent confrontational dynamic that will be very difficult to reverse. ▬

**Today, as at the height of the Cold War, Europe understands that it has neither its own "nuclear" voice nor the corresponding influence.**





**Hero of the Soviet Union,  
the first female cosmonaut  
Valentina Tereshkova:**

**“My mother  
is my main role  
model in life”**

**On the eve of International Women's Day, “Razvedchik” met with a living legend, Valentina Vladimirovna Tereshkova, who recounted her historic flight, discussed the prospects of conquering Mars, and shared memories of her mother — her paramount life compass and indisputable authority.**

Valentina Vladimirovna, after Yuri Gagarin's flight, you and your parachute club friends wrote a letter to the Soviet leadership asking to open the way to space for women. Did you believe in yourself and your success? How did you react to the invitation to join the cosmonaut corps?

Did I believe in myself? To be honest, yes. The girls and I thought that, besides us, hardly anyone else could be like Yura. After all, parachutists are like cosmonauts; when someone jumps with a parachute, it reveals a lot about their character. I have over 140 jumps under my belt.

We didn't have to wait long for a reply. When the invitation arrived, my feelings were indescribable! It was a mix of joy and a burning desire to start preparing as soon as possible. I remember my mother walking me to the gate, and I kept turning round, looking at her lonely figure, and my heart ached. Although I had no doubt everything would work out, I felt so uncomfortable lying to my mother, and I couldn't tell her the truth about where I was going.

Shortly before the flight, we were allowed to write home, and it so happened that mum received my letter on the day I was already at the cosmodrome. The letter was about how I was doing well, you know, alive and kicking. But my

mother, looking meaningfully at my sister and brother, said, “*Valya's up to something again.*”

What was the most difficult part of the path to your dream of flying: the rigorous selection process, the arduous training, or overcoming yourself and your inner fears?

No fears. My desire to fly into space was so strong that there was no question of any fear. I think I was ready for the launch even before joining the cosmonaut corps. The opportunity to work with Yura, next to him, to be like him — that was the main incentive. After his flight, almost everyone in our country wanted to be like Gagarin.

The fear, or rather, the excitement, came upon our return, when Valera Bykovsky (commander of the Vostok 5 spacecraft, which made its flight together with Valentina Tereshkova's Vostok 6 — Editor's note) and I were greeted by the Soviet government at Moscow's Vnukovo Airport. I remember walking down the red carpet, and my legs were shaking terribly. I whispered to Valera, “*Just don't go too far away from me.*”

No fears. My desire to fly into space was so strong that there was no question of any fear. I think I was ready for the launch even before joining the cosmonaut corps.

#### Valentina Vladimirovna Tereshkova

Was born on March 6, 1937 in the village of Bolshoye Maslennikovo, Tutayevsky District, Yaroslavl Oblast, in a peasant family. She graduated from the Yaroslavl Correspondence Technical School of Light Industry (1960) and the Air Force Engineering Academy named after N.Ye. Zhukovsky (1969). Before being invited to the cosmonaut corps, she worked at the Krasny Perekop technical fabrics plant. On June 16-19, 1963, she made a solo space flight aboard the Vostok 6 spacecraft (call sign “Chaika”). From 1968 to 1997, she was an instructor in the cosmonaut corps. She headed the Committee of Soviet Women (1968-1987), was a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1966-1989), and a people's deputy of the USSR (1989-1992). From 1987 to 2004, she headed the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, later renamed Rosstrudnichestvo. From 2004 to 2011, she served as a deputy of the Yaroslavl Regional Duma. Since 2011, she has been a deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation. She is a Hero of the Soviet Union, Lieutenant General of Aviation, Candidate of Technical Sciences.

“No fears. My desire to fly into space was so strong that there was no question of any fear. I think I was ready for the launch even before joining the cosmonaut corps.

There, at Vnukovo, standing alongside the country's leadership, was my mother. When Valera and I reported the completion of the mission, she said loudly, so everyone could hear, “*You deceived me!*” That evening, we were alone at the hotel, and she examined me thoroughly, literally feeling all over me. She was worried something might have happened to me in space. But after the examination, she breathed a sigh of relief: “*Everything is fine!*”

After your flight, you were offered roles in movies and opportunities to write books, but you decided to continue your studies and then went into science, where you also achieved great success. At the same time, you started a family and experienced the joys of motherhood. Could you share how one can manage to do it all and what the secret to a woman's happiness is?

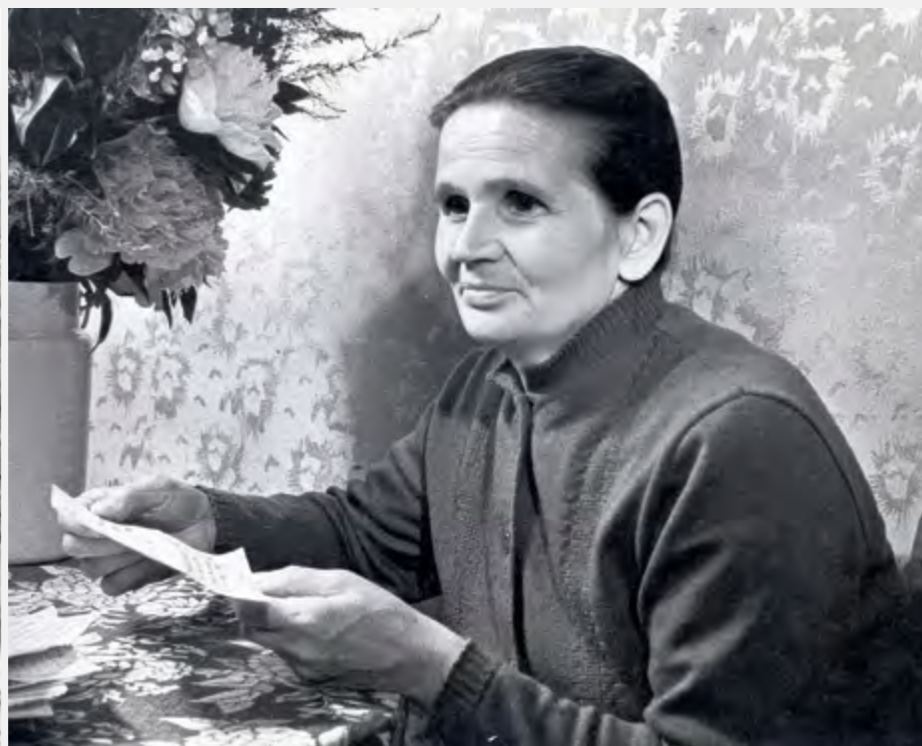
Let me put it this way: if it exists at all, it's forged by the woman herself. No one will give to you anything on a silver platter; at least, they never did to me. To achieve anything in life and manage to do everything, you need to work hard.

My mother is my main role model in life and indisputable authority. No matter the hardships she faced, she always tried to manage everything herself. She practically raised three children on her own. She loved us dearly. Sometimes, of course, she would punish us; that was part of it. I remember my younger brother, Volodya, and I would often stand in the corner. But she always protected and looked after us as best she could.

My second cherished dream, after exploring space, was to get a higher education in aviation engineering, so I enrolled in the Zhukovsky Academy. But without my mother's support, I doubt whether I could have managed to combine my studies and raising my daughter. My mother helped me with everything, letting me go to classes, even though she herself was seriously ill and had suffered three strokes. She was always interested in how I was doing. Sometimes she'd come up to me, ask me questions, and then say severely “*Take care not to miss your lectures!*”

V.V. Tereshkova after a parachute jump. 1960

V.V. Tereshkova's mother, Elena Fyodorovna, reading a letter from her daughter. 1963



Can we say that your success is due to your mother's feat?

Absolutely. I couldn't have done anything without her. For me, the defining factor in life was how my mother would view it, how she would react. Actually, I don't remember my father at all. My mother used to tell me that he often took me, when I was little, in his tractor (he worked as a tractor driver on a collective farm), then carried me home on his shoulders for lunch. By the way, it was my father who gave me my name. In those years, completely different names were popular. My mother, for example, wanted to name me Raisa, but my dad said, “*She's my daughter, she'll be Valentina.*”

My father died on January 25, 1940, in the Soviet-Finnish War, when I was only two years old. He was drafted into the tank troops. At that time, our country lost many people, but the lessons learned from those battles helped us

win the Great Patriotic War. Every year on May 9, my mother reread the telegram she kept, which announced my father's death, and quietly cried.

You're the first female cosmonaut on the planet and the only one who conquered space solo. Was it hard to get used to fame?

You know, I never thought about it. We were raised differently in the USSR. We all, including Yura, behaved modestly and didn't boast about our successes. It was simply not done.

“No one will give to you anything on a silver platter; at least, they never did to me. To achieve anything in life and manage to do everything, you need to work hard.

Preparing for flight. 1963

Greeting of V.V. Tereshkova and V.F. Bykovsky at Vnukovo. 1963

“My opinion is unequivocal: we need to move forward; we cannot rest on our laurels. Space must be explored, and its exploration should best be continued from the Moon and nearby planets – Mars and Venus.

Interviewed  
by Mikhail Pogudin

Moreover, before joining the cosmonaut corps, I gained experience in social work, and it really came in handy. I was elected Komsomol "leader" of the Krasny Perekop plant, where about 17,000 people worked in those years — predominantly women. Under my leadership were almost two thousand Komsomol members. We got so much done, and what amateur activities we organized back then!

Not long ago, you said you were ready to fly to Mars, even if it was a one-way ticket. Where does such a strong desire come from?

I was obsessed with this planet even before my flight; it's the closest to Earth, after all. I so wanted to walk on the Martian surface, to touch everything there with my own hands! And the attraction to it probably stems from literature and songs. Remember how Joseph Kobzon sang: *"Cosmonauts and dreamers assert that apple trees will bloom on Mars!"*

With mother and  
daughter Alyona.  
July 1, 1965.



Still ready to fly?

Of course, you need to be realistic about your abilities. But if a spacecraft were offered to me tomorrow — I'd fly, honestly!

What, in your opinion, are the current obstacles preventing our country from starting the exploration of Mars? Is it a lack of funding or technology?

Indeed, we have the technology, and we have talented people. I sometimes watch our President's meetings with young scientists and I am pleased to note that our country still has many gifted young people who are truly working hard. My opinion is unequivocal: we need to move forward; we cannot rest on our laurels. Space must be explored, and its exploration should best be continued from the Moon and nearby planets — Mars and Venus. It seems to me that the main challenge for us now is to build an appropriate spacecraft.

Orbital tourism and private space flights are actively being promoted today. What do you think of this?

Tourism requires completely different spacecraft, where at least minimal comfort can be created; in ordinary ones, it's too cramped. If you want my opinion, Americans' suborbital flights are far from space travel. And in general, I'm against tourists in orbit. Space isn't a joyride. All those who have gone there, all real cosmonauts, can confirm that.

We're talking on the eve of the 8th of March. What memories do you associate with this day?

On the 8th of March, I often remember Yura. On that day, he was usually one of the first to congratulate me, coming with a bouquet of carnations and saying warm words. We were true friends, close in spirit, like brother and sister. Andriyan (Andriyan Grigoryevich Nikolaev, cosmonaut no. 3, Valentina Tereshkova's husband — Editor's note) was even a little jealous, saying, *"You married the wrong man."* But all of this was in jest, of course. The whole of our first group of cosmonauts was really close-knit. We lived like one family.



On the Mausoleum tribune (from left to right):  
G.S. Titov, A.G. Nikolaev, V.V. Tereshkova, Yu.A. Gagarin  
and V.F. Bykovsky. June 22, 1963

What would you wish for the girls who dream of repeating your feat? There are those who also dream of Mars...

I won't give them Mars! *(laughs)* But seriously, we do have people who want to fly into space, and there are quite a few of them. I still get letters from girls asking me what they need to do. I advise everyone to acquire knowledge, as much knowledge as possible. To achieve your goals, in any field, not just in space, you need to constantly develop yourself. And, of course, you need unwavering self-belief.

And what will the legendary "Chaika" wish for intelligence officers?

Never doubt the profession you've chosen. Always move on firmly, confidently, and only forward! 🚀

Space pioneers Yu.A. Gagarin and V.V. Tereshkova.  
Zvyozdny gorodok (Star City). November 24, 1963.



## Dmitry Bakanov, General Director of Roscosmos State Corporation:

# “We have only taken the first step beyond the planet's door”

Dmitry Vladimirovich, in June 2025, the large-scale national project “Space”, designed to ensure Russia's technological independence and competitiveness in the space industry, was approved. For these purposes, it is planned to allocate 4.4 trillion rubles. It is a considerable sum. What will these funds be spent on? What do you see as the main areas and priorities of Roscosmos' work?

The National Project “Space”, designed to run through 2036, includes eight federal projects: “Satellite Communications and Earth Observation”, “Navigation and Time”, “Manned Spaceflight”, “Sovereign Competitive Access to Space”, “Space Science”, “Development of Russian Space Nuclear Energy”, “Manufacturing and Process System”, and “Personnel for Space”. These areas are the main priorities for the domestic rocket and space industry over the next decade.

The implementation of the national project will provide the country with a qualitatively new level of satellite navigation. Other objectives include reducing the cost of placing payloads into various Earth orbits and increasing Russia's share of the launch services market. To this end, a program has been developed to create a range of launch vehicles, from ultra-light to heavy-lift.

The development of space activities is more than just a matter of prestige; it's a national priority, guaranteeing Russia's strategic security. Space exploration is at the forefront of scientific and technological progress and is always forward-looking, so lagging behind in our work is unacceptable.

The national project addresses both internal and external challenges in the economic and social spheres, as well as national security. Key

### Dmitry Vladimirovich Bakanov

Was born on October 7, 1985, in Leninsk, Kazakh SSR (now Baikonur), in a family of test engineer. He graduated from the Saint Petersburg State University of Economics and Finance in 2007. In 2006-2008, he worked in the banking sector, and from 2008 to 2011- at the OJSC “Sitronics”. From 2011 to 2019, he headed the “Gonets’ Satellite System” company. In 2019, he transferred to the Ministry of Transport of the Russian Federation, and from 2022 to 2025, he held the position of Deputy Minister. Since 2023, he has been Chairman of the Board of Directors of GLONASS JSC. On February 6, 2025, he was appointed Head of the Roscosmos State Corporation. He holds a PhD in Economics and was awarded the Order of Friendship.





Launch of the Proton-M launch vehicle with the Elektro-L observation satellite. Baikonur, February 12, 2026

objectives include the qualitative and quantitative development of the domestic satellite constellation, the creation of a sustainable space services market, the continuation of the manned space program, the creation of new spacecraft and launch vehicles, the introduction of nuclear energy, and the exploration of outer space.

**As is well-known, the ISS will be decommissioned no later than 2030. By that time, Russia intends to put its station, the ROS, into orbit. The science and power module, which will begin its construction, will be scheduled for launch next year. Could you tell us more about the project? What will be the objectives of the ROS?**

The Russian Orbital Station, or ROS, is a key element of the national project "Space". It will address two major challenges: preserving the

national manned space program, which must not be interrupted, and testing numerous new technical solutions.

It's important to understand that manned space exploration isn't valuable in itself. Each expedition involves a significant amount of experimental scientific work, addressing a wide range of challenges: from studying the factors of long-duration spaceflight to finding innovative ways to manufacture various materials, pharmaceuticals, and many other things. This scientific research is conducted both for the benefit of space exploration itself and for the application of these technologies on Earth. Essentially, an orbital station is a flying laboratory with unique conditions for conducting experiments.

Humanity's ultimate goal in space is to learn to live and work for long periods away from Earth.



## Roscosmos

The State Space Corporation Roscosmos was established in August 2015. It implements state space policy and its regulatory framework, and places orders for the development, production, and supply of space technology and space infrastructure. Roscosmos's responsibilities also include developing international cooperation in the space sector and creating conditions for the use of space activities in the country's socioeconomic development.

This will not be soon, as space is an extremely hostile environment, but these challenges must be addressed now, for it is extremely difficult to bridge the gap.

The ROS will be a logical promotion of our competencies in the sphere of creation of long-term orbital stations. Russia's leadership in this area is undeniable, and we are obliged to develop further in this direction. We plan to launch the first module in 2028 into an orbit inclined at 51.6° from the Cosmodrome Baikonur. The universal node and gateway modules will also be launched from there later.

I'll focus separately on the reasons behind the decision to select an orbit with an inclination of 51.6°. Other options were also considered, including one with an inclination of 96.8°. The latter's advantages included the ability to monitor and observe the Northern Sea Route (NSR). However, the satellite constellation being developed under the "Space" national project for remote sensing of the NSR and adjacent Arctic regions is capable of fulfilling the tasks planned for the ROS. Furthermore, unmanned spacecraft are significantly less expensive.

Another significant factor is that deploying the ROS in a 51.6° inclination orbit – the same one utilized by major space faring nations for human spaceflight – creates more opportunities for collaborative international projects. Therefore, we analyzed all options, reviewed them at the Roscosmos Scientific and Technical Council, and submitted them to the Academy of Sciences. The RAS Council on Space Research recommended changing the ROS orbital inclination from 96.8° to 51.6°—the same inclination as the ISS currently orbits.

**Today, as in the days of Yuri Gagarin and Valentina Tereshkova, space exploration involves intense competition; it's even appropriate to talk about a new space race involving the world's leading powers. How can Russia surprise its partners?**

Of course, we live in a climate of fierce global competition, but compared to the past, space today is an area not only of scientific exploration but also of economic rivalry. Yes, we need to accelerate our development, and studying

“ We live in a climate of fierce global competition, but compared to the past, space today is an area not only of scientific exploration but also of economic rivalry.

foreign experience is a normal practice. I assure you, our foreign colleagues are still studying Russian developments, for example, in the field of manned spaceflight.

I'd like to point out that the number of rocket launches isn't a direct indicator of effectiveness. In 2025, we put approximately 70 satellites into orbit with just two launches. Last July, "Ionosfera-M" No. 3 and No. 4 launched 18 satellites into space, and in December, another 50 devices were launched for our Russian and foreign customers with the "Aist-2T" stereoscopic 3D Earth imaging satellites. Since we value quality as well as quantity, I'd like to point out that the launch of "Ionosfera-M" enabled the formation of a constellation of four

Cosmonauts S.V. Kud-Sverchkov, S.N. Mikayev and astronaut K. Williams (USA) before launch. Baikonur, November 27, 2025



“We must develop new technologies, invest in fundamental research, actively engage private businesses in space activities, support young talent, and stimulate innovation.”

satellites that became part of the “Ionozond” system. Its flight testing phase was completed in December, and the system is now being put into operation, but we've already begun receiving information about the heliogeophysical environment around Earth. This is also known as “space weather”.

Why is this important? The “Ionosfera-M” satellites enable direct measurements of the ionosphere and the creation of a global map. The satellites monitor key parameters of space plasma and ionospheric changes during solar flares and magnetic storms. Another important function is that they help make more accurate short-term earthquake forecasts, which should improve protection against their consequences.

The unique “Spektr-RG” observatory, capturing images of the universe in X-rays, continues to operate. Over the past six years a big amount of useful data for further space exploration has been acquired. Last year, we supported the flight of the “Bion-M” No. 2 spacecraft. This marked a significant stage in the long-term work of Russian scientists studying the impact of space factors on living organisms. Last year's mission collected unique radiation data that will help better prepare for manned deep-space missions.

We certainly need to develop new technologies, invest in fundamental research, actively engage private sector businesses in space activities, support young talents, and stimulate innovation. And we need to do this quickly, because the world is constantly evolving. For this reason, special attention is being paid to the collaboration between science, industry, and education. This will ensure the stable development of the industry and train a new generation of productive engineers and researchers.

Very soon, the world will celebrate the 65th anniversary of Yuri Gagarin's space flight. What events are planned by Roscosmos?

Cosmonautics Day is a special date in our country, so by a presidential decree, Space Week will be held annually in Russia from April 6 to 12, starting in 2026. The organizing committee is headed by First Deputy Prime Minister D.V. Manturov. An extensive program of events, both business and cultural, has been prepared. We want to use this opportunity not only to commemorate the achievements of our great predecessors but also to highlight our current successes and discuss current issues with a broad professional audience.

History is certainly a foundation to build on, but we strive to show people the space that surrounds us everywhere: from zippers to satellite navigation, communications, and artificial intelligence systems in orbit. We intend to attract the widest possible audience to participate in the Week, planning to hold topical lessons in schools, strategic sessions at universities, screen space films in cinemas, to collaborate closely with the theater community, and to develop online engagement formats for the younger generation.

We consider the first-ever Russian Space Forum a key event, which we hope will also become an annual event. It provides a platform for dialogue, finding solutions, and developing international partnerships. This year, the business program, in line with the core principles of the “Space” national project, emphasizes discussion of the prospects for commercial participation in the space industry. Of course, we will also pay attention to the international agenda.

Finally, in this anniversary year, the fifth open cosmonaut recruitment process has begun. This is also an important event for us, because we are demonstrating that anyone who meets the basic criteria can have the opportunity to become a cosmonaut. Of course, the selection process will be rigorous: last time, only four people became members of the corps after the first round. Nevertheless, it is possible.

Today, concerns are once again being raised about the militarization of space and its transformation into a theater of military operations. What



steps should be taken, including at the international level, to prevent such a development?

Russia, in all international forums, including the UN, advocates for the inviolability of the universally recognized principles and norms of international law governing space activities. We are convinced that outer space must remain free of weapons of any kind and type. An arms race in outer space could prove disastrous for all of humanity.

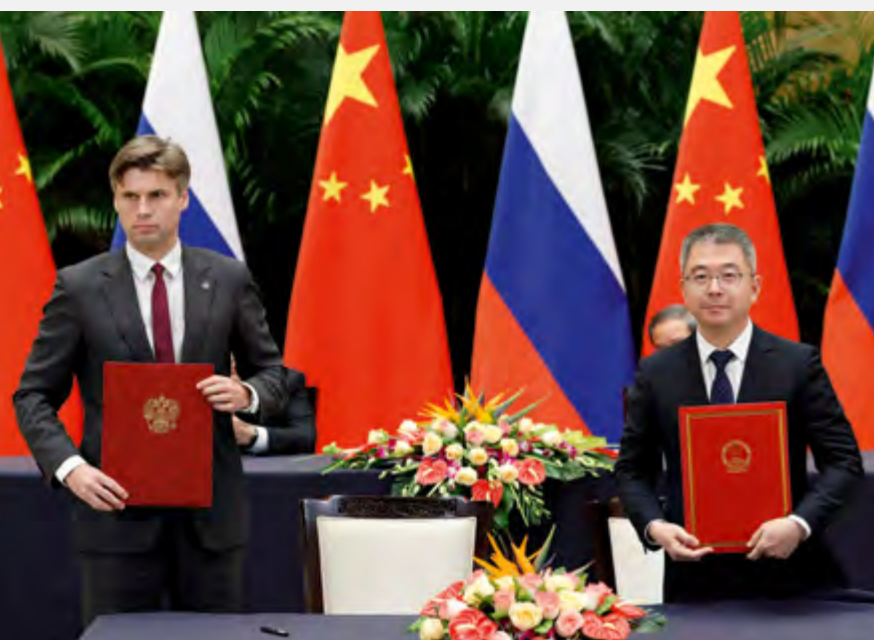
Peaceful use is confirmed in the 1967 Outer Space Treaty. Two years ago, our country called for the development of an international, legally binding mechanism to prevent an arms race in outer space, which would prohibit the placement of weapons in outer space, the use or threat of force in, from, or against outer space.

We continue to advocate for all current and potential participants in space activities to reaffirm their commitment to all existing agreements in this area. We also believe it is necessary to continue improving international legal instruments, including in light of emerging areas of space activity, such as nuclear energy.

Last April, at a meeting of the heads of space agencies of the BRICS member countries, I proposed creating a Space Council to promptly address emerging issues, align our positions, and advance joint initiatives, primarily those related to maintaining a weapons-free outer space. My colleagues supported the proposal, which I believe is very important, for the number of BRICS members is growing, as is the association's role on the global stage. As a reminder, the combined orbital constellation of BRICS comprises approximately 1,500 spacecraft, and 21 spaceports and launch sites operate in the member countries. This provides a good foundation for developing cooperation.

At the opening of the National Space Center. Moscow, September 13, 2025

“Russia, in all international forums, including the UN, advocates for the inviolability of generally recognized principles and norms of international law regulating space activities.”



Signing of the "Russian-Chinese Roadmap for cooperation in the field of satellite navigation for 2026-2030". Hangzhou (PRC). November 3, 2025

Last year, you visited the United States and met with the head of NASA, marking your first such meeting in eight years. How do you assess the Americans' willingness to deepen bilateral cooperation? What do you think are the prospects for space cooperation with China, India, and other countries friendly to Russia?

We work quite closely with our US colleagues. A new meeting with NASA leadership is planned for this year. We are primarily working on the ISS project; we still have several years of its joint exploitation. In 2028, we will begin the station's gradual deorbiting, followed by its sinking, which is scheduled for 2030.

The cross-flight program, where American astronauts make part of the crew aboard the Russian Soyuz-MS spacecraft and our cosmonauts fly to the ISS on an American spacecraft, also demonstrates its effectiveness. This

Interviewed  
by Vladislav Ilyin

“Space exploration is such a scientifically complex, labor-intensive, and expensive activity that achieving the global goals of humankind's journey beyond Earth requires a global effort.”

guarantees both countries access to their respective segments of the station, which requires a continuous presence on board for maintenance and upkeep. Cross-flights have proven their critical importance, which is why we regularly extend the relevant agreement; it is in the interests of both parties.

As for China and India, they are our long-standing partners, and we've supported both of them in developing their human spaceflight programs. Today, together with our Chinese friends and 13 other interested parties, we're implementing a project to create an International Scientific Lunar Station. This is an extremely complex and ambitious undertaking, demonstrating the importance of international cooperation. Our country plays a key role in this project—developing a nuclear power source.

In addition, we actively cooperate with countries in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America in the areas of satellite navigation, communications, and Earth remote sensing, and we note their high interest in manned space exploration.

Overall, we support the broadest and most equitable cooperation among all interested members of the global community. Space exploration is such a scientifically complex, labor-intensive, and expensive activity that achieving the global goals of humankind's journey beyond Earth requires a global effort.

Today, we've only taken the first step beyond the planet's door, learning to explore near-Earth space. On the ISS, 400 km far from Earth, we can survive for a year. On the Moon, with current technology, the safe duration of human presence will be reduced to just a few weeks. Longer-distance flights are still only a dream; the level of technological challenges and tasks there are significantly more complex. But together, all of them will undoubtedly be solved. In this regard, I recall the words of the great Russian scientist Konstantin Eduardovich Tsiolkovsky, who wrote over a century ago: *“Mankind will not forever remain on Earth, but, in pursuit of light and space, will first timidly penetrate beyond the atmosphere, and then conquer all of the near-solar space”*. I would like to believe that this prophecy will come true in our lifetime. 🚀



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СВР РОССИИ  
СНЯТИЕ КОПИЙ ВОСПРЕЩАЕТСЯ

**РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО**

СЕКРЕТНО  
ЭКЗ. № 1

Ш И Ф Р Т Е Л Е Г Р А М М А № 12/352



15.12.2025 07:20

ТОВ. СЕРГЕЕВУ

О ВОЗМОЖНЫХ ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯХ КОРРУПЦИОННОГО СКАНДАЛА В КИЕВЕ

ПО ИМЕЮЩИМСЯ ДАННЫМ, ДИПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЬСТВА ЗАПАДНЫХ СТРАН В КИЕВЕ ФИКСИРУЮТ НАРАСТАНИЕ НЕГАТИВНЫХ ПОСЛЕДСТВИЙ ДЛЯ УКРАИНЫ "ДЕЛА МИНДИЧА - ЗЕЛЕНСКОГО", В КОТОРОМ ЗАМЕШАНА ВСЯ ПРАВЯЩАЯ ВЕРХУШКА. ОДНОВРЕМЕННО ОТМЕЧАЕТСЯ РЕЗКОЕ УСИЛЕНИЕ УСТАЛОСТИ НАСЕЛЕНИЯ ОТ ЗАТЯЖНОГО КОНФЛИКТА. ЖИТЕЛИ УКРАИНЫ, МНОГИЕ ИЗ КОТОРЫХ СТОЛКНУЛИСЬ С ГИБЕЛЬЮ РОДНЫХ И БЛИЗКИХ, НАЧИНАЮТ ОСОЗНАВАТЬ, ЧТО ДЛЯ ИХ ЛИДЕРОВ ВОЙНА ДАВНО ПРЕВРАТИЛАСЬ В ИНСТРУМЕНТ ОБОГАЩЕНИЯ ЗА СЧЕТ ВОРОВСТВА ПРЕДОСТАВЛЯЕМОЙ ЗАПАДОМ ФИНАНСОВОЙ ПОМОЩИ. В ЭТОЙ СИТУАЦИИ ПРИЗНАТЬ СУВЕРЕНИТЕТ РОССИИ НАД ЗАНЯТЫМИ ТЕРРИТОРИЯМИ РАДИ ПРЕКРАЩЕНИЯ ОГНЯ ГОТОВЫ УЖЕ СЫШЕ ПОЛОВИНЫ УКРАИНЦЕВ, И ЭТО ЧИСЛО ПОСТОЯННО УВЕЛИЧИВАЕТСЯ.

КАК ОТМЕЧАЮТ В ЗАПАДНОМ ДИПКОРПУСЕ, ЕЩЕ ОДНИМ СЛЕДСТВИЕМ КОРРУПЦИОННОГО СКАНДАЛА СТАЛО РЕЗКОЕ ПАДЕНИЕ МОРАЛЬНОГО ДУХА БОЙЦОВ ВСУ. ВСЕ БОЛЬШЕ МОБИЛИЗОВАННЫХ ПОКИДАЮТ ПОЗИЦИИ, НЕ ЖЕЛАЯ ОТДАВАТЬ ЖИЗНЬ РАДИ ПОПОЛНЕНИЯ СЧЕТОВ КОМАНДЫ ЗЕЛЕНСКОГО В ЗАРУБЕЖНЫХ БАНКАХ. РОСТ СЛУЧАЕВ ДЕЗЕРТИРСТВА ВЫНУДИЛ ОФИС ГЕНПРОКУРОРА УКРАИНЫ УБРАТЬ ИЗ ПЕРЕЧНЯ ПУБЛИКУЕМЫХ ДАННЫХ СТАТИСТИКУ НОВЫХ УГОЛОВНЫХ ДЕЛ ПО ФАКТАМ САМОВОЛЬНОГО ОСТАВЛЕНИЯ ВОИНСКИХ ЧАСТЕЙ.

ЗАПАДНЫЕ ДИПЛОМАТЫ ОБРАЩАЮТ ВНИМАНИЕ И НА СТРЕМИТЕЛЬНОЕ ПАДЕНИЕ АВТОРИТЕТА ГЛАВКОМА ВСУ А. СЫРСКОГО, ИЗВЕСТНОГО ТЕСНОЙ СВЯЗЬЮ С ОКРУЖЕНИЕМ ЗЕЛЕНСКОГО. СРЕДИ ОФИЦЕРСКОГО СОСТАВА БЫТУЕТ МНЕНИЕ, ЧТО ПОРАЖЕНИЯ НА ФРОНТЕ МОГУТ СТАТЬ ДАЖЕ ПОЛЕЗНЫМИ, ЕСЛИ ПРИВЕДУТ К ОТСТАВКЕ НЫНЕШНЕГО ГЛАВКОМА.

НР 655 РЕЗИДЕНТ СВР СТОУН 14.12.25 18.50

СВР РОССИИ  
СНЯТИЕ КОПИЙ ВОСПРЕЩАЕТСЯ

**РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО**

СЕКРЕТНО  
ЭКЗ. № 1

Ш И Ф Р Т Е Л Е Г Р А М М А № 12/419



19.12.2025 04:50

ТОВ. СЕРГЕЕВУ

О ПАНИЧЕСКИХ НАСТРОЕНИЯХ УКРАИНСКОЙ ЭЛИТЫ

ПО ПОСТУПАЮЩЕЙ ИНФОРМАЦИИ, МНОГИЕ ОБОГАТИВШИЕСЯ НА ВОЙНЕ ФУНКЦИОНЕРЫ КИЕВСКОГО РЕЖИМА НАМЕРЕНЫ ПОСЛЕ ЕГО ПАДЕНИЯ СВЕЖАТЬ ЗА ГРАНИЦУ, РАССЧИТЫВАЯ СПАСТИ НАГРАВЛЕННОЕ И ИЗБЕЖАТЬ НАКАЗАНИЯ ЗА СОВЕРШЕННЫЕ ПРЕСТУПЛЕНИЯ. ЧАСТЬ ЭЛИТЫ УЖЕ ВЫВЕЗЛА СЕМЬИ ЗА РУБЕЖ И ПЕРЕВЕЛА ТУДА СВОИ ФИНАНСОВЫЕ АКТИВЫ. ПОДЧЕРКИВАЕТСЯ, ЧТО ВСЕ БОЛЬШЕ УКРАИНСКИХ ЧИНОВНИКОВ И БИЗНЕСМЕНОВ, ВЫЕХАВШИХ В СТРАНЫ ЕВРОПЫ, ОБРАЩАЮТСЯ В НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫХ ДИППРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЬСТВА ЗА СОДЕЙСТВИЕМ В ПОЛУЧЕНИИ ВИДА НА ЖИТЕЛЬСТВО.

КАК СООБЩАЮТ ИСТОЧНИКИ, СВЫШЕ 90 ПРОЦЕНТОВ РАБОТАЮЩИХ ЗА РУБЕЖОМ УКРАИНСКИХ ДИПЛОМАТОВ НЕ СОБИРАЮТСЯ ВОЗВРАЩАТЬСЯ НА РОДИНУ ПОСЛЕ ЗАВЕРШЕНИЯ КОМАНДИРОВОК. В СИЛУ ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ ОНИ ОСВЕДОМЛЕННЫ ОБ ОТСУТСТВИИ ВАРИАНТОВ ЗАВЕРШЕНИЯ КРИЗИСА ВОКРУГ УКРАИНЫ НА УСЛОВИЯХ КОМАНДЫ В. ЗЕЛЕНСКОГО. В УКРАИНСКИХ ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЬСТВАХ ТАКЖЕ ОБЕСПОКОЕНЫ НЕОДНОЗНАЧНЫМИ НАСТРОЕНИЯМИ ЗАПАДНЫХ СПОНСОРОВ КИЕВА, ОСОБЕННО С УЧЕТОМ НАМЕРЕНИЙ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА США СОКРАТИТЬ ПОДДЕРЖКУ КИЕВСКОГО РЕЖИМА, ТЕРПЯЩЕГО НЕУДАЧИ НА ФРОНТЕ И НЕСУЩЕГО РЕПУТАЦИОННЫЕ ПОТЕРИ ИЗ-ЗА КОРРУПЦИОННЫХ СКАНДАЛОВ.

НР 674 РЕЗИДЕНТ СВР МАРТ 18.12.25 16.55

СВР РОССИИ  
СНЯТИЕ КОПИЙ ВОСПРЕЩАЕТСЯ

**РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО**

СЕКРЕТНО  
ЭКЗ. № 1

Ш И Ф Р Т Е Л Е Г Р А М М А № 01/112



30.01.2026 07:15

ТОВ. СЕРГЕЕВУ

О НЕОКОЛОНИАЛЬНОЙ ПОЛИТИКЕ ФРАНЦИИ В АФРИКЕ

ПО СООБЩЕНИЯМ ИЗ БЛИЗКОГО ОКРУЖЕНИЯ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА ФРАНЦИИ, ПАРИЖ ИЩЕТ ВОЗМОЖНОСТИ ДЛЯ РЕВАНША В АФРИКЕ ПОСЛЕ ОСЛАБЛЕНИЯ СВОИХ ПОЗИЦИЙ В РЯДЕ БЫВШИХ ФРАНЦУЗСКИХ КОЛОНИЙ, ГДЕ ПРИШЛИ К ВЛАСТИ СИЛЫ, ОРИЕНТИРОВАННЫЕ НА НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ ИНТЕРЕСЫ. В СВЯЗИ С ЭТИМ Э. МАКРОН САНКЦИОНИРОВАЛ ЗАПУСК ПЛАНА ФРАНЦУЗСКИХ СПЕЦСЛУЖБ ПО ЛИКВИДАЦИИ НЕУГОДНЫХ АФРИКАНСКИХ ЛИДЕРОВ.

В ЧАСТНОСТИ, ПАРИЖ ПРИЧАСТЕН К НЕУДАВШЕЙСЯ ПОПЫТКЕ ПЕРЕВОРОТА В БУРКИНА-ФАСО 3 ЯНВАРЯ С.Г., КОГДА МЯТЕЖНИКАМ СТАВИЛАСЬ ЗАДАЧА УБИТЬ ГЛАВУ ГОСУДАРСТВА И. ТРАОРЕ - ОДНОГО ИЗ ЛИДЕРОВ БОРЬБЫ С НЕОКОЛОНИАЛИЗМОМ. ПО РАСЧЕТАМ ФРАНЦУЗОВ, ЭТО НЕ ТОЛЬКО ПРИВЕЛО БЫ К ВЛАСТИ В УГАДУТУ ЛОЯЛЬНЫХ ИМ ПОЛИТИКОВ, НО И СТАЛО ПРЕДУПРЕЖДЕНИЕМ ДРУГИМ "СТОРОННИКАМ ПАНААФРИКАНИЗМА" НА КОНТИНЕНТЕ.

ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВО Э. МАКРОНА НАМЕРЕНО И ДАЛЕЕ ДЕСТАБИЛИЗИРОВАТЬ ОБСТАНОВКУ В ВЫШЕДШИХ ИЗ-ПОД КОНТРОЛЯ ФРАНЦИИ СТРАНАХ САХАРО-САХЕЛЬСКОЙ ЗОНЫ, В ТОМ ЧИСЛЕ С ПОМОЩЬЮ МЕСТНЫХ ТЕРРОРИСТИЧЕСКИХ ГРУППИРОВОК, А ТАКЖЕ УКРАИНЫ, СНАБЖАЮЩЕЙ БОЕВИКОВ БЕСПИЛОТНИКАМИ И ИНСТРУКТОРАМИ. ГЛАВНЫЙ УДАР НАПРАВЛЯЕТСЯ ПРОТИВ МАЛИ, ГДЕ СОЗДАЮТСЯ УСЛОВИЯ ДЛЯ СВЕРЖЕНИЯ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА А. ГОИТЫ. КРОМЕ ТОГО, ПАРИЖ ПЛАНИРУЕТ ПОСЕЯТЬ ХАОС В ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОАФРИКАНСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКЕ.

ПОД ПРИЦЕЛОМ ФРАНЦУЗСКИХ СПЕЦСЛУЖБ НАХОДИТСЯ ТАКЖЕ МАДАГАСКАР, ВЛАСТИ КОТОРОГО Взяли курс на развитие отношений с БРИКС. В ПАРИЖЕ ПРОРАБАТЫВАЮТ ПУТИ СВЕРЖЕНИЯ ЛИДЕРА СТРАНЫ М. РАНДРИАНИРИНЫ И "ВОССТАНОВЛЕНИЯ ЛОЯЛЬНОГО РЕЖИМА".

НР 29 РЕЗИДЕНТ СВР БЕРГ 29.01.26 21.10

СВР РОССИИ  
СНЯТИЕ КОПИЙ ВОСПРЕЩАЕТСЯ

**РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО**

СЕКРЕТНО  
ЭКЗ. № 1

Ш И Ф Р Т Е Л Е Г Р А М М А № 02/073



07.02.2026 06:15

ТОВ. СЕРГЕЕВУ

О НОВОЙ ПОПЫТКЕ ДЕСТАБИЛИЗАЦИИ СИТУАЦИИ В БЕЛОРУССИИ

ПО ПОСТУПАЮЩЕЙ ИНФОРМАЦИИ, РЯД ЗАПАДНЫХ НПО, СРЕДИ КОТОРЫХ АГЕНТСТВА И ФОНДЫ США, ВЕЛИКОБРИТАНИИ, ФРГ, ПОЛЬШИ И ДРУГИХ СТРАН, АККУМУЛИРУЮТ СИЛЫ, ЧТОБЫ ВНОВЬ ПОПЫТАТЬСЯ РАСКАЧАТЬ СИТУАЦИЮ И ДОВИТЬСЯ СМЕНЫ КОНСТИТУЦИОННОГО СТРОЯ В БЕЛОРУССИИ. НА ЗАПАДЕ НАДЕЮТСЯ ОСЛАБИТЬ СВЯЗКУ МИНСКА И МОСКВЫ В РАМКАХ СОЮЗНОГО ГОСУДАРСТВА И ЗАТРУДНИТЬ РОССИИ ДОСТИЖЕНИЕ ЗАЯВЛЕННЫХ ЦЕЛЕЙ СВО.

ДЛЯ РЕАЛИЗАЦИИ СЦЕНАРИЯ "ЦВЕТНОЙ РЕВОЛЮЦИИ" СТАВИТСЯ ЗАДАЧА ПОДЫСКАТЬ В БЕЛОРУССКОМ ОБЩЕСТВЕ НОВЫХ ЛИБЕРАЛЬНЫХ ДЕЯТЕЛЕЙ. ПОЛУЧИВШИЕ УБЕЖИЩЕ В ЛИТВЕ И ПОЛЬШЕ ОППОЗИЦИОНЕРЫ ВО ГЛАВЕ С С. ТИХАНОВСКОЙ ЗА ПОСЛЕДНИЕ ГОДЫ ТАК И НЕ СМОГЛИ ОКАЗАТЬ ЗАМЕТНОГО ВЛИЯНИЯ НА ВНУТРИПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ ПРОЦЕССЫ В СТРАНЕ. В СВЯЗИ С ЭТИМ ЗАРУБЕЖНЫЕ КУРАТОРЫ ПЛАНИРУЮТ ПРОВЕСТИ ТЩАТЕЛЬНУЮ "ИНВЕНТАРИЗАЦИЮ" МЕСТНЫХ ДИССИДЕНТОВ НА ПРЕДМЕТ ИХ ВОЗМОЖНОГО ИСПОЛЬЗОВАНИЯ В ПОДРЫВНОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ. ПРЕДПОЛАГАЕТСЯ СФОРМИРОВАТЬ РЕСУРС "ОБОЗЛЕННЫХ НА А. ЛУКАШЕНКО" С ПРИЦЕЛОМ НА ПРЕЗИДЕНТСКИЕ ВЫБОРЫ 2030 ГОДА.

НР 46 РЕЗИДЕНТ СВР ФРЭНК 06.02.26 22.45

СВР РОССИИ  
СНЯТИЕ КОПИЙ ВОСПРЕЩАЕТСЯ

**РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО**

СЕКРЕТНО  
ЭКЗ. № 1

Ш И Ф Р Т Е Л Е Г Р А М М А № 02/312



21.02.2026 03:45

ТОВ. СЕРГЕЕВУ

О ГОТОВЯЩЕЙСЯ ПЕРЕДАЧЕ КИЕВУ КОМПЛЕКТУЮЩИХ ДЛЯ ЯДЕРНОЙ БОМБЫ

ПО ИМЕЮЩЕЙСЯ ИНФОРМАЦИИ, ВЛАСТИ ВЕЛИКОБРИТАНИИ И ФРАНЦИИ, ПРИЗНАВАЯ, ЧТО РАЗВИТИЕ СИТУАЦИИ НА УКРАИНЕ НЕ ОСТАВЛЯЕТ ШАНСОВ НА ДОСТИЖЕНИЕ ПОБЕДЫ НАД РОССИЕЙ, АКТИВНО ПРОРАБАТЫВАЮТ ВОПРОС О ПРЕДОСТАВЛЕНИИ КИЕВУ ЯДЕРНОГО ОРУЖИЯ И СРЕДСТВА ЕГО ДОСТАВКИ. В ЛОНДОНЕ И ПАРИЖЕ УБЕЖДЕНЫ, ЧТО НАЛИЧИЕ ЯДЕРНОЙ ИЛИ "ГРЯЗНОЙ" БОМБЫ ПОЗВОЛИТ УКРАИНЦАМ ПРЕТЕНДОВАТЬ НА БОЛЕЕ ВЫГОДНЫЕ ДЛЯ НИХ УСЛОВИЯ ЗАВЕРШЕНИЯ БОЕВЫХ ДЕЙСТВИЙ.

КАК СООБЩАЮТ ИСТОЧНИКИ, РУКОВОДСТВО ВЕЛИКОБРИТАНИИ И ФРАНЦИИ ДОГОВОРИЛОСЬ ОРГАНИЗОВАТЬ СКРЫТУЮ ПЕРЕДАЧУ УКРАИНЕ СООТВЕТСТВУЮЩИХ КОМПЛЕКТУЮЩИХ, ОБОРУДОВАНИЯ И ТЕХНОЛОГИЙ. В КАЧЕСТВЕ ОСНОВНОГО ВАРИАНТА РАССМАТРИВАЕТСЯ ФРАНЦУЗСКАЯ МАЛОГАБАРИТНАЯ БОЕВАЯ ЧАСТЬ TN75 ОТ БАЛЛИСТИЧЕСКОЙ РАКЕТЫ ПОДВОДНЫХ ЛОДОК M51.1.

В ТО ЖЕ ВРЕМЯ, ОСОЗНАВАЯ, ЧТО РЕЧЬ ИДЕТ О ГРУБОМ НАРУШЕНИИ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО ПРАВА, ПРЕЖДЕ ВСЕГО ДОГОВОРА О НЕРАСПРОСТРАНЕНИИ ЯДЕРНОГО ОРУЖИЯ, БРИТАНЦЫ И ФРАНЦУЗЫ СОСРЕДОТОЧИЛИ УСИЛИЯ НА ТОМ, ЧТОБЫ ПОЯВЛЕНИЕ У КИЕВА ЯДЕРНЫХ БОЕПРИПАСОВ ВЫГЛЯДЕЛО БЫ КАК РЕЗУЛЬТАТ РАЗРАБОТКИ САМИХ УКРАИНЦЕВ.

НР 61 РЕЗИДЕНТ СВР ФЕЛИКС 20.02.26 23.25



# Satellite reconnaissance

Intelligence activities have always been aimed at collecting sensitive information. As technology has advanced, the arsenal of methods and techniques to obtain it has constantly expanded. Today, satellite reconnaissance plays a leading role in the rapid acquisition of primary information.

Satellite reconnaissance is the collection of information using space assets and associated ground-based systems. It is conducted using constellations of spacecraft (SC) performing imagery and signal reconnaissance, including low- and high-orbit satellites and radio interception systems in geostationary orbits.

Since the Soviet Union set the first artificial satellite, Sputnik, into orbit on October 4, 1957, thousands of satellites have been launched into space. Some are purely civilian, used for communications, navigation, geodesy, and meteorology, while others are dual-use or military. This is justified, as satellite reconnaissance can provide armed forces with a decisive advantage both in preparation for armed conflict and during combat.

The United States was the first to recognize the potential for using space for military purposes. A group of American scientists used satellite radio signals and the Doppler effect to determine with high accuracy the spatial position of a celestial body relative to the Earth's surface. This formed the basis for the creation of the Global Positioning System (GPS), which began to be developed less than a year after the Soviet satellite's flight.

At the height of the Cold War and the nuclear arms race, Americans relied on satellite reconnaissance to identify secret Soviet facilities, primarily intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) silos. The process received a powerful boost when an American U-2 spy plane was shot down over Soviet territory on May 1, 1960. In August of

that year, US President Dwight Eisenhower ordered to create the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) within the Department of Defense.

Subsequently, the two leading space powers — the USSR and the USA — consistently expanded both their orbital constellations and the technical capabilities of their spacecraft. The first models of reconnaissance satellite took photographs in orbit, and then dropped the exposed film back to Earth, where it was studied by analysts. Today, image processing and extraction of the necessary information are carried out automatically, enabling the transmission of required data to any location on Earth in a matter of minutes.

Over the years, the constellation of space reconnaissance satellites included photographic ones (in the USSR/Russia — Oblik, Kobalt, Yenisei; in the USA — Samos and the Keyhole series: from KH-1 Corona to KH-9 Big Bird), optical-electronic (Neman, Araks, KH-11 Crystal), and radio-location spacecrafts. Their technical specifications are highly classified, but the Hubble Space Telescope, which is structurally similar to the KH-11 satellite, serves as an example. It is equipped with a mirror with a diameter of 2,4 m, which allows to take high-resolution images — approximately 20cm per pixel when they are taken from a 250 km orbital altitude. The latest models of military satellites use mirrors with even larger diameters — up to 3,6 m. These are very heavy satellites, weighing 15-20 tons, and their launching in orbit is very expensive.

Satellite reconnaissance can provide armed forces with a decisive advantage both in preparation for armed conflict and during combat.

It's worth noting that spy satellites typically don't hover over their targets, but rotate in low circular orbits (up to 300 km) — the closer to the surface, the higher the resolution. Moreover, modern radiolocation devices operate effectively regardless of weather conditions and are capable of detecting objects underground at a depth of several tens of meters and underwater at a depth up to 200 m. Geostationary and high elliptical orbits are currently occupied primarily by communications satellites and missile approach warning systems (MAWS). The task of the last ones is to detect IRBM launches, whose engine plumes produce a bright infrared flare during liftoff, visible from afar.

Besides the United States and Russia, China is undoubtedly among the world leaders in the development of space reconnaissance systems. It launches dozens of satellites for

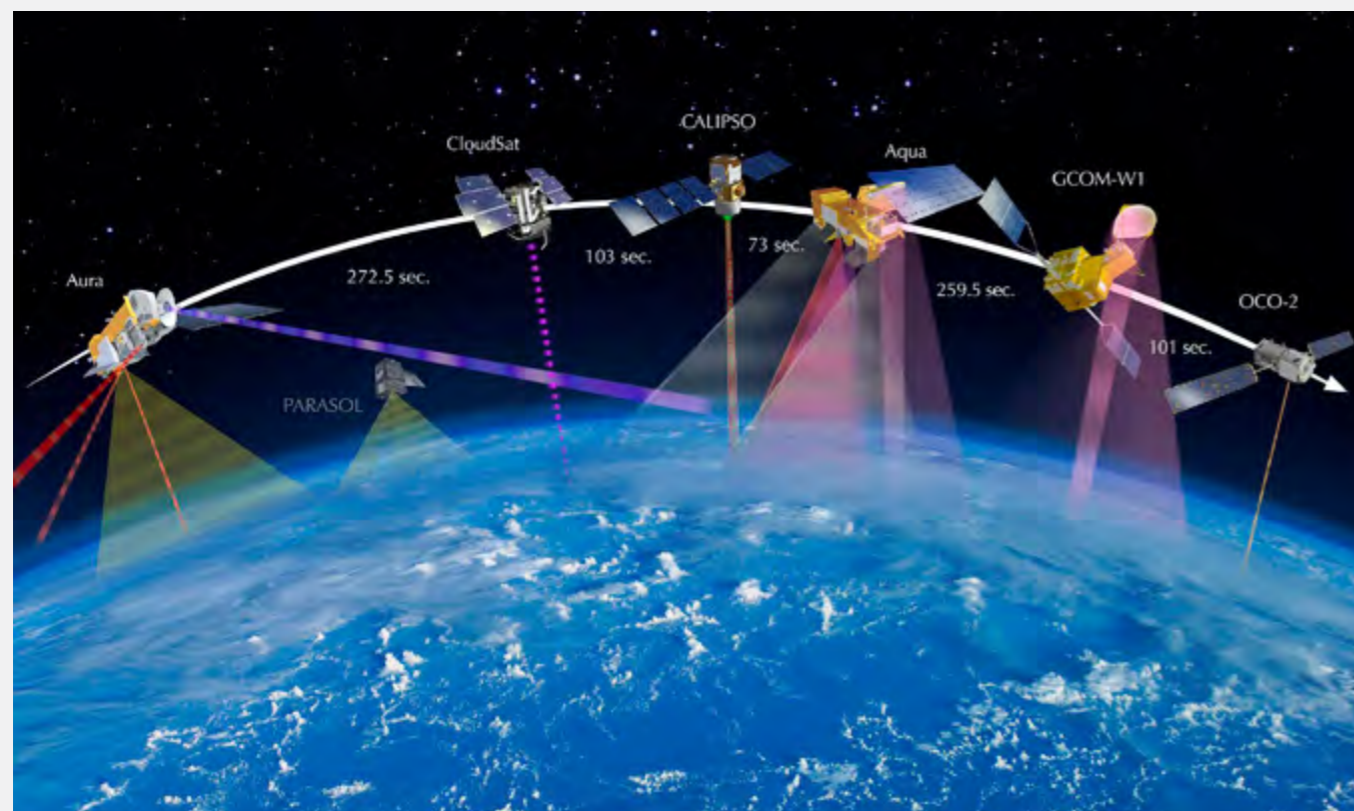
various purposes annually and plans to significantly increase its presence in space by 2030. Other countries with national satellite reconnaissance programs include the United Kingdom (3 satellites), Germany (6), the Republic of Korea (5), France (10), and Japan (approximately 10).

It's important to understand that satellite reconnaissance systems function as a single network, exchanging information and complementing each other. For example, a year ago, NATO countries launched the APSS (Allied Persistent Surveillance from Space Initiative), designed to integrate the intelligence assets of the alliance members. The corresponding agreement was signed by Belgium, Bulgaria, the United Kingdom, Hungary, Greece, Italy, Spain, Canada, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Turkey, France, and the United States. Finland and Sweden are also expected to join the APSS.

How this works can be understood using the example of the international A-train satellite constellation, which studies the Earth's atmosphere. Launched in the 2000s, it initially consisted of five satellites — Aqua (USA), CloudSat (USA-Canada), CALIPSO (USA-France), PARASOL (France), and Aura (USA) — that flew over the same point on the Earth's surface at intervals of several minutes, allowing for highly accurate 3D imaging. The constellation's composition has changed, but its operating principle remains the same.

If necessary, Western countries can mobilize virtually any resources available in orbit. For example, during the 1999 bombing of Yugoslavia as part of NATO's Operation Allied

International satellite constellation A-train



A group of 30 Starlink satellites under the fairing of the Falcon 9 launch vehicle.



Force, a constellation of 50 satellites was deployed to support coalition forces, with 8-12 satellites permanently stationed over the theater of operations. In 2003, during Operation Iraqi Freedom to overthrow Saddam Hussein, up to 60 military satellites, 28 GPS satellites, and a large number of commercial communications vehicles were involved.

In recent years, amid the significant growth in costs associated with the development, production, orbital launch, and maintenance of spacecraft, many countries are seeing a solution in attracting commercial entities to the space industry on a mutually beneficial basis. Today, the capabilities of the private sector significantly exceed the resources of individual countries. In the United States, for example, more than 5,500 companies operate in the space sector, including major companies like Amazon and SpaceX, which have their own research and industrial bases, as well as all the necessary infrastructure to launch various types of spacecraft in orbit.

Everyone has heard of SpaceX's Starlink satellite communications system, which provides broadband internet access anywhere on the planet. Less known is its improved version, Starshield. Developed for the NRO, it is based on the same technologies but has additional functionality: specialized cryptographic encryption, support for reconnaissance satellites, and the establishment of laser inter-satellite data links. Furthermore, the spacecraft is capable of carrying equipment for Earth remote sensing and other special-purpose instruments.

Further development of space technology, which is moving toward miniaturization worldwide, will obviously lead to the emergence of universal reconnaissance systems based on small satellites (mini- and microspacecraft). Some possible applications for using such satellites for information collection can already be identified.

The first is multispectral reconnaissance, where a low-resolution image is captured by an onboard telescope of minimal diameter, which is then converted into a high-quality image in real time using onboard equipment. This optical system, which does not require a large mirror, is inexpensive, compact, and offers high-speed signal processing.

The second is the development of electronic reconnaissance. With mini-satellites spaced 10-50 km apart, the resolution of a distributed space system increases hundreds of times due to the expanded measurement base. Such a system, consisting of just three or four satellites, is fully capable of meeting the needs for enemy monitoring in a local theater of military operations. Moreover, it is relatively easily scalable and can simultaneously address a host of other tasks.

Thus, there is every reason to say that over the past decades, satellite reconnaissance has become a highly sought-after tool for the rapid acquisition of information, and its role will only increase in the future. ▮

Further development of space technology, which is moving towards miniaturization worldwide, will obviously lead to the emergence of universal reconnaissance systems based on small spacecraft.

# Political Profiling

## Or the Art of "Reading" People

Text: Maria Butina, Anna Kulik, Artyom Kuritsyn

Many books, mostly fiction, have been written on the currently fashionable topic of profiling. Films and TV series have been produced, and some publishers have even released entire book series labeled as such. However, as is often the case, popular culture products lack scientific and practical rigour, and many people still don't fully understand the term. Let's take a closer look.



Profiling is an integrated method of applied risk-oriented behavioral analysis. Simply put, it's a comprehensive study of human behaviour with a specific practical purpose. Initially, this was focused on finding criminals and identifying potential malefactors in crowded places. We'll focus on the use of profiling in politics — in preparation for negotiations, to predict opponents' actions, and to potentially influence them.

Let's try to demonstrate how this method developed and was applied in practice using historical examples — behavioral portraits of Soviet leaders compiled by American intelligence agencies.

So, 1961. Preparations for the Vienna summit are underway. US President John F. Kennedy receives a "personality profile" of Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev from CIA specialists. The entire material spans 25 pages, there are some quotes:

*"Khrushchev is a man of action and decision when he can see issues clearly, as black or white, but becomes confused and hostile when confronted by shades of grey. <...>*

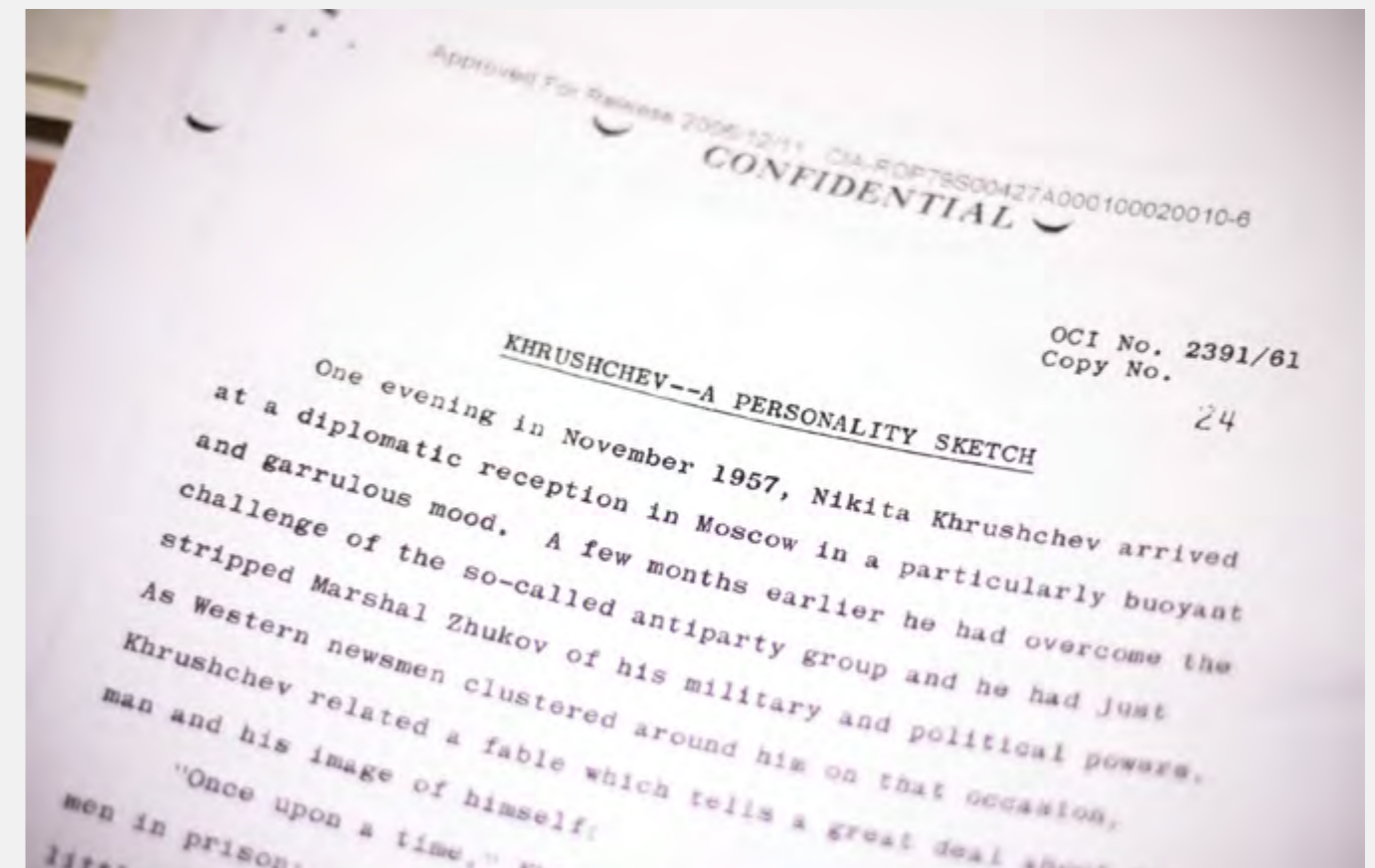
*His own colleagues probably sold him short initially, but they undoubtedly knew from experience that he could not have escaped Stalin's murderous judgement if he had been witless or foolishly impulsive. <...>*

*Westerners who have seen the Khrushchev of today close-up have come up with different ideas about what "makes him tick." Some*

*conclude that he is a pragmatic man through and through, the practical man who spouts Communist doctrine from habit rather than from conviction. Others have been shocked by the completeness of his commitment to that doctrine and see his outlook as rigidly framed by the ideas of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. <...>*

*He is, in fact, perfectly capable of tinkering with time-honored doctrines which appear to him awkward or outmoded (e.g., Lenin's doctrine of the inevitability of war), but he has, on the other hand, told Westerners repeatedly that their grandchildren will live under a Communist system."*

From the point of view of modern domestic profiling, the entire original portrait is lyrical, contains internal contradictions and overly emotional, biased assessments.



Psychological portrait of N.S.Khrushchev made up by the CIA analysts. 1961

Nowadays, documents of this kind are prepared according to strict rules that significantly reduce the influence of the analyst's cognitive biases and the possibility of double interpretation by those using the profile. Furthermore, the scientific basis for profiling has significantly improved, and the opportunities for obtaining information about a person have become much greater.

In the same year, 1961, another CIA unit was preparing a profile of Cuban leader Fidel Castro. His profile is shorter — only two pages. It contains less lyricism and ambiguity, as well as the so-called Barnum effect (*a person's subconscious desire to see oneself or the person in question in universal, rather vague terms; in everyday life, this manifests itself, for example, in belief in astrological forecasts — Ed.*).

*"Castro has a constant need to rebel, to find an adversary, and to extend his personal power by overthrowing existing authority. Whenever his self-concept is slightly disrupted by criticism, he becomes so emotionally unstable as to lose to some degree his contact with reality."*

A prognostic component also appears in this document.

*"He is quite vulnerable to certain kinds of psychological pressure <...> due to his hunger for power and his need for recognition and adulation of the masses. If the essential, vulnerable aspects of his personality are consistently attacked by those on whose approval he counts, the result may be disorganization and inefficiency — perhaps even a breakdown of the emotional-volitional sphere. This will likely manifest as depression or some variant of depression, such as hyperarousal, addiction, or increased suspiciousness to the point of complete detachment from reality."*

At the same time, reading Castro's profile, one senses that American specialists viewed their subject through the lens of ideologically charged perception, with an a priori negative attitude. Today this, of course, is a serious mistake.

After all, **the primary goal of any analytics — and profiling, as we recall, is a method of analysis — is to support decision-making. This always entails a high level of responsibility, especially when it comes to interstate relations.**

We now invite you to examine excerpts from the psychological profile of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, prepared by the CIA in 1969. Try to spot any pitfalls that could be dangerous for an analyst, such as the presence of ideologically charged statements and subjective or ambiguous assessments.

*"Brezhnev, a model organization man with a conservative bent, in these circumstances was the most logical successor <...> to restore some order after Khrushchev's 'hare-brained schemes.'*

*Brezhnev's early experience as a party official probably contributed, at least in part, to his basic conservatism. He was appointed to his first executive positions in 1937–38, when he was 30 years old. Hence, he benefited directly from the massive purge of those years, which probably coincided with the most formative period of his political development. Such an experience must have taught him to 'keep his powder dry.' He gradually climbed the ladder of the party hierarchy, not as Stalin's protégé, but as Khrushchev's client, attaining national prominence only in 1950. <...>*

*Brezhnev has displayed a high opinion of his handling of difficult political situations. In July*

*1967, he boasted about his role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, claiming he had not slept for three days and had performed an almost impossible job by personally explaining Moscow's position to all the Arab state leaders."*

We're confident you've successfully completed the task (you can check yourself using the answers and explanations at the end of the article). However, to become a true professional profiler, you need to utilize much more tools, such as rigorous analytical techniques and rules, various methods of validating information, including those designed to minimize cognitive biases and enhance the predictive value of conclusions.

Scientific profiling methodology is based on current knowledge in social psychology, linguistics, psycholinguistics, forensic science and criminology, neurobiology, and psychiatry. Furthermore, a crucial element of a modern profiler's work is situational awareness — an understanding of the circumstances (professional and personal) surrounding the subject of their analysis.

That's it, in a nutshell. We hope you found it interesting.



### Answers and explanations

Examples of ideologically charged statements include phrases like "model apparatchik" and "party hierarchy." Subjective assessments include expressions like "the most logical successor," "adventurous schemes," and "he boasted." Ambiguous conclusions include "with a conservative bent," "benefited from the mass purges," and "demonstrated a high opinion." The analyst's uncertainty about his own conclusions and a desire to hedge his statements are evident in expressions like "apparently," "at least in part," and "must have taught."



# Goar's Century

## On the 100th anniversary of intelligence officer Goar Levonovna Vartanyan

Text: Tamara Ivanovna Netyksa, deep-cover agent, retired colonel of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service

Fame rarely comes to deep-cover agents during their lifetime. The legendary Vartanyan couple are among the happy exceptions. They are a telling illustration of a family station, where husband and wife walk shoulder to shoulder along the dangerous paths of the "invisible front." On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Goar Levonovna's birth, "Razvedchik" publishes the memoirs of her colleague Tamara Ivanovna Netyksa, who personally knew this heroic woman, as well as excerpts from the couple's dossier declassified for the anniversary.

Many years separate Goar and me. This is true both in terms of age and our time in illegal intelligence. We rarely met, but we managed to become, if not friends, then at least comrade spirits sharing views on life.

My teacher of Spanish had been the legendary deep-cover agent África de las Heras. Goar reminded me of her when we first met: just as beautiful, well-groomed, elegantly dressed, educated, with a magnificent — polished and literary — Russian language. You wouldn't even dream of talking to her! But then you'd meet the kind gaze of her dark, slightly slanted eyes, a light half-smile, and you'd instantly fall under the charm of this extraordinary woman. You felt it in your heart that you wanted to be near her, talk to her, share your joys and sorrows with her — so simple and close to you she was.

Goar was two years younger than her husband Gevork. They met in Tehran when she was only 13. Her elder brother, Oganés (or Onik, as his friends called him), was a staunch



Goar's parents – Levon and Margaret

communist and collaborated with Soviet intelligence (codename "Shah"). One day, he learned of an impending search of his home. Onik quickly disposed of the evidence, even destroying some things — photos and books from the USSR — except a small bust of Stalin, which was very

dear to him. He immured it in a niche in the wall. After the police left, he had to break up the cement, which had set by then.

It was Onik who introduced his sister to Gevork. Vartanyan recalled the meeting this way: "In 1941, a very attractive schoolgirl joined us. Her elder brother, an Armenian, was a friend of mine from the Light Cavalry. I kept an eye on her for two or three years, I really liked her. She was brave and never refused any tasks. And I think it was love that brought her into intelligence..."

The Light Cavalry was a combat intelligence group formed by Gevork Vartanyan from among his peers. They helped to expose Nazi agents in Tehran and find enemies of the USSR. At first, the boys ran around the city on foot, later they changed for bicycles. That's why the foreign intelligence resident in Iran, the distinguished Soviet intelligence officer and diplomat Ivan Ivanovich Agayants, for a joke gave them this nickname — The Light Cavalry. By the way, in 1942 the

### Goar Levonovna Vartanyan

Born on January 25, 1926, in Leninakan (now Gyumri), Armenia, in the Pakhlevanyan family. In 1932, she and her family moved to Iran. At 16, she joined the anti-fascist group that her future husband and comrade, Gevork Andreevich Vartanyan, was heading. In 1943, as part of the group, she took part in the operation providing for the security of the Tehran Conference. In 1951, the Vartanyans were withdrawn to the USSR. In 1956, they graduated from the Yerevan Institute of Foreign Languages, then completed an intense course of special training. For 30 years, they worked in special conditions in many countries around the world. In 1986, they finally returned to their homeland, and in 1992 their intelligence work was made public. Goar Levonovna was awarded the Order of the Red Banner, the Order of Honour, the Order of the Great Patriotic War, 2nd Class, and many medals.



The Vartanyan couple abroad. 1960s

Film "Under the codename 'Anita'"



group received a captured German Zundap motorcycle, which everyone, including Goar, rode. Later, at the age of 20, she got behind the wheel of a car for the first time, riding an American Jeep. She later felt very proud of her excellent driving skills.

Goar recounted a curious incident from her time in the Light Cavalry. One day, she spotted two men leaning a ladder against the wall and throwing some wires onto her family's house. She followed them and even secretly entered their apartment, where she

found a transmitter and headphones, which the boys reported to their curators. But it turned out the strangers weren't enemy agents, but Soviet intelligence officers.

Of course, Goar gained fame back then, in 1943. The Light Cavalry foiled the Nazi attempt to assassinate the "Big Three" leaders — participants in the Tehran Conference. But this episode of her courageous work alongside Gevork became known only many years later.

Goar didn't seem to fit in with the aura of grandeur — she was so charming and natural. She was at home in all circumstances, communicating with people of all ranks and titles: from the president and general to schoolchildren and simple workers. The same was true for her commander and husband. From a young age, they found each other at the level of the subtle matter of sensations and the superconductivity of their nervous systems, so to say.

Goar shared her inmost feelings with me, recalling the beginning of her love story with Zhora, as she called Gevork: "Georgy had been sizing me up for about three years. At first, he gave me simple, harmless tasks, apparently testing me. Later missions became more complicated, and then I was offered to join his Light Cavalry. It felt like we were playing games, carrying out surveillance missions on German agents, unaware of the full danger of exposure and even the loss of freedom and life. We didn't use any intelligence terminology simply because we didn't know it. Even the word 'intelligence' was unknown to us. Imagine: a boy and a girl are walking down the street, young and fond of each other. Who cares about them? But we were good actors, we enjoyed acting, and we 'acted' enthusiastically, never forgetting the task at hand — surveillance of the

"Amirova" (Editor's note: Goar Vartanyan received the codename "Anita" later) made it clear that she was not satisfied with being "just 'Amir's wife'"; she herself wanted to work on our line..."

From a paper pertaining to the initial training period. January 1958

"Amir" and his wife were always active and attentive during the classes, asking lots of questions. They completed all assignments with initiative and thoughtfulness. Their actions on the test route were correct. <...> The Amirovs are a very close-knit couple who work hard to improve themselves; they prepare for their work thoroughly and with all responsibility."

From the summary report on the special course on identifying surveillance. February 1963

The wedding dance of Gevork and Goar Vartanyan. 1960s



enemy. But while pretending to be lovers, we actually fell in love with each other, and it was wonderful!"

United by a common goal, bound by romance and risk, and a secret carefully hidden from their entourage, Goar and Gevork firmly determined to go through life together. Goar said: "Gevork courted me beautifully before we got married. He always gave me flowers — roses, chrysanthemums, as well as brooches, various jewelry. I loved it. Even when he was young, he was a very serious guy, in every single thing. And he took our relationship very responsibly: he asked me to marry him in 1946. I accepted his proposal and received the most precious gift — a long and happy life together."

They had their first wedding in Tehran on June 30, 1946. Why the first? Because the Vartanyans had to marry twice more for the sake of their intelligence work. As Goar said, "I got married three times. But I always married the same man — Gevork. Just under different names and in different countries."

During our infrequent meetings, we found out how much we had in common with Goar: a single, lifelong love, ideals, hard work, devotion to the Motherland and the oath of allegiance. Moreover, Goar never did anything halfheartedly. Such was the iron will of this seemingly fragile woman.

I was always impressed by her manner of speaking, even admired it. A very trusting, soft tone, vibrant, even purring intonations, a beckoning — I wonder where? — half-smile simply captivated you! Assessing her as a professional, I wondered: "Did they

teach her all that at our training center or is it something natural, innate, something Goar consciously applies to charm her target?" I couldn't resist asking her directly. Goar, warning me in French, "entre vous et moi" (between you and me), replied with a smile: "It is our prearranged trick. Gevork was very perceptive,

and we understood each other without words, with just a glance. If we were at a meeting together, he would sometimes retreat, as if he were 'dropping out' of the conversation, and cede the 'battlefield' to me. Then I would turn on all my charm. Without false modesty, I can say that it sometimes worked."

"She is a disciplined and proactive worker, capable of coping with difficulties in extreme conditions. She possesses keen observation skills and the ability to gain people's trust. She establishes contacts easily and knows how to use them effectively. She is a good assistant for Amir. She can perform certain tasks on her own — establish operational channels, initiate and develop contacts and so on."

From an efficiency report. September 1974



In rare minutes of rest abroad. 1960s

*"By Georgy's estimates, we visited 100 countries during our 45 years abroad. And wherever we were, we spoke only the language of the host country, we even thought in it. It was an unwritten rule. One day, I went to the hairdresser's and, sitting in the chair, I must have relaxed and started humming Mikhail Boyarsky's famous song: 'We will rejoice in our lifetime...' Zhora, who was nearby, immediately disappeared, rushing to check on the situation. Luckily, no one knew the song was being performed in Russian, as I was only humming the melody..."*

What can you say! It's top-notch! Goar demonstrated her high class skills in other areas of operational work as well. It's known that she was the primary radio operator and cryptographer in the Vartanyan family station: *"I assembled the equipment, encrypted messages, and then disassembled it. Sometimes Georgy would take over, but mostly I did."*

languages. But Russian remained Goar's native language forever, and she regarded it as a symbol of her Motherland.

I'll cite one language-related incident that nearly led Goar and her husband to failure — there were such incidents over many years they worked undercover. Goar recalled:

Meetings with Goar were always substantive and informative. We are very similar in that regard as well. Sometimes I even thought we were twins, at least in spirit. Take, for example, her work with young intelligence officers, her meetings with youth at schools, universities, and public organizations. Goar's speeches were popular with young audiences, and

I also remember Goar Levonovna and I discussing languages — Russian as the native language of all Soviet illegal intelligence officers and foreign languages as the primary tool of a secret agent while working in extreme conditions abroad. Before meeting Gevorg, Goar didn't know Russian; in Tehran, they communicated in Farsi. In 1951, the Vartanyans were sent from Iran to the USSR, where they entered the Yerevan Institute of Foreign Languages. It was there that Goar learned Russian, reaching native proficiency. Then, while preparing for another trip abroad, they mastered several other



The Vartanyan couple broad. 1970s

she, too, was impressed by modern youth: *"They're smart, they have a bright future, completely different conditions for study and professional growth. They're our hope. The most important thing for them now is to study well and love their Motherland. If they love their Motherland they will succeed."*

During classes at the training center, Goar spoke about more specific things, professional skills. In particular, about how one should behave during the first contact: *"Don't rush, don't immediately jump in with questions like 'who are you and what position do you hold?'. First, you need to engage the other person, understand who they are, and only then you will see the results. You need to learn to seize the right moment to put in your key words. There's a lot of fruit in Armenia, but we say, 'The fruit must ripen.' This is also a very good rule for intelligence work."*

After 2012, when Gevorg Andreevich passed away, Goar continued working with young people: *"Without him, I follow the same principles in teaching. Thanks to calm, endurance, discipline, and the ability to analyze circumstances, Georgy and I held out so many years without being discovered. Our life together is a story of time, patience, nerves, and constant caution."*

Goar Levonovna passed away on November 25, 2019. She was buried with full military honors at Troyekurovskoye Cemetery in Moscow next to her husband. They walked hand in hand throughout life and remained together even after death... 🇷🇺

Chairman of the KGB, USSR, V.M. Chebrikov presents the Order of the Red Banner to Goar Vartanyan. 1986

During a meeting with the President of Russia. Moscow. Kremlin. 2016

"He owes much of his success to his wife 'Amirova' who provides all possible assistance to her husband in all missions and demonstrates due initiative and persistence in her work."  
From Gevorg Vartanyan's efficiency report. September 1984





**Hero of Russia, cosmonaut  
Yuri Baturin:  
“Space diplomacy  
has a bright future”**

**On the eve of Cosmonautics Day, "Razvedchik" met with a man with a unique destiny, one who is at home in both space and intelligence. Hero of Russia Yuri Mikhailovich Baturin was born in the family of a distinguished Soviet intelligence officer Mikhail Matveyevich Baturin and managed to realize his own dream of becoming a cosmonaut.**

The first question concerns your father, Mikhail Matveyevich Baturin, a rezident (resident spy) of the Soviet foreign intelligence in Ankara. He is known for his efforts in ensuring Turkey's neutrality throughout the war and keeping its million-strong army from fighting alongside Hitler. At what age did you learn your father was an intelligence officer?

Probably around five or six years old. There's a wonderful information system called "the yard." Little children always play together and talk about everything they hear, without thinking. They have a memory like a tape recorder. Everything adults say, even casual remarks, sticks in their minds. So, I must have picked up something somewhere...

My father himself told me nothing about his work in those years. Only toward the end of his life he began to share something. Back then, our conversations about intelligence were probably limited to watching the film "Seventeen Moments of Spring" together, which, incidentally, he commented with great professionalism. By the way, my father's close friend, a deep-cover intelligence officer Mikhail

Ivanovich Filonenko, served as a consultant on the set of that series. My father had once prepared him for a mission.

Mikhail Matveyevich was also offered to step in as a consultant for "Seventeen Moments..." but he declined because he had once signed a pledge not to say anyone a word about the work. And he kept that promise. Only in his later years he did sometimes sit down and try to write his memoirs. He would write something, then immediately destroy it.

I'll always remember his words: *"What I'm most proud of isn't the successes I achieved during my service in intelligence, but the fact that I never lost a single assistant."* That's how he referred to the sources he worked with. He never, ever, called them agents. He said that an intelligence officer should care for his assistants even more than he cares for himself.

Surprisingly, I actually met the son of one of Mikhail Matveyevich's assistants. Several years ago, he wrote me a letter from abroad, telling me that his mother, before passing away, had given him a note. There were just

#### Yuri Mikhailovich Baturin

He was born on June 12, 1949 in Moscow. In 1973 he graduated from the Faculty of Aerophysics and Space Research of the Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology, in 1980 from the All-Union Correspondence Institute of Law (now the Moscow State Law Academy named after O.E. Kutafin), in 1981 from the evening department of the Faculty of Journalism of Moscow State University named after M.V. Lomonosov, in 2000 from the Military Academy of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, in 2005 from the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia. From 1973 to 1980 he worked at TSKBEM (now the S.P. Korolev Rocket and Space Corporation "Energy"), from 1980 to 1993 at the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In 1993-1997 he was Aide to the President of Russia, Secretary of the Defense Council of the Russian Federation. He completed two space flights: from August 13 to 25, 1998, to the Mir orbital complex, and from April 28 to May 6, 2001, to the ISS. From 2010 to 2015, he was Director of the S.I. Vavilov Institute for the History of Natural Science and Technology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. He is the author of over 500 scientific papers and books. He is a Doctor of Law, Professor, and Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Hero of Russia (2001).

two words: "Mikhail Baklanov" (*my father worked under this name in Turkey*). And a final message: *"If things ever get really tough, find this man. You can trust him completely; he will definitely help you."*

When my book about my father, "The Intelligence Officer's Dossier," was published, excerpts from it appeared online and were translated into other languages. That's when this man saw the name "Mikhail Baklanov." He found me and asked me to look into his Russian ancestors. I helped him a little, and we even met in Moscow. Now I regularly receive holiday greetings from him. This example is very telling, as regards my father's human qualities.

#### Have you ever considered being a spy?

You know, I learned to read early, starting, of course, with my father's books. One day, I took one from the shelf, one with a beautiful spine. My mother said I disappeared for three days, unseen and unheard. It was academician S.I. Vavilov's "Isaac Newton". Then I came to my parents and started asking questions, a little strange for a four-year-old boy. At first, they didn't even believe I'd read the whole book.

Then I began reading my father's other books. Among them were memoirs of intelligence officers; there weren't many of them published at the time, and my father had them all. So, as a child, I knew a lot about intelligence, as well as other military professions. Besides, we lived in a departmental house — Leninsky Avenue, 30 (then Bolshaya Kaluzhskaya Street), near Gagarin Square, where the villages of the Moscow region began. Among our neighbors were many intelligence officers, for example, Iskhak Abdulovich Akhmerov. My father was friends with him and even asked him to tutor me in English. In short, the intelligence profession seemed quite ordinary to me back then.

#### So why did you decide to become a cosmonaut and not follow in your father's footsteps?

Honestly, I never dreamed of becoming a cosmonaut either. I was planning to become a pilot. I read everything I could get my hands on about it. I remember A.M. Markusha's book about aviation, which explained airplane design very well for children. By the age of five or six, I already knew all about it. I also read a lot about the polar pilots who took part in the rescue operation of the Chelyuskin expedition members.

#### When did you first start thinking about space?

April 12, 1961. I remember that day well. I was then living with my grandparents in the village of Verbilki in the Moscow region. I was studying in the afternoon, so I was home in the morning reading a book. The radio was playing in the kitchen. Suddenly, the call sign came on, heralding an important announcement. I wanted to listen to it, and at that very moment, my grandmother asked me to go and buy some milk. It wasn't far, but I didn't want to miss the news, so I sat and waited, but still there was no announcement. When at last I heard about Yuri Gagarin's flight, I ran joyfully, telling the news everyone I met. They, however, mostly just thought I was crazy. That's when I realized that first, as I had already decided, I would become a pilot, and then, like Gagarin, maybe I would fly into space too.

But in my ninth year at school, it turned out I was slightly nearsighted. I had to abandon my dream of the sky. I began to consider becoming an engineer. In 1966, as I was finishing my studies, the education system changed: schools switched to a 10-year curriculum. Tenth and eleventh grades graduated in the same year, and there was a double competition in the universities that made admissions significantly more difficult. Some of my classmates' parents helped them get into departmental educational institutions.

Then, I remember, I went to my father and asked if he could facilitate my application. He seated me down in front of him and had a thorough conversation with me that I remembered for the rest of my life. *"First of all,"* he said, *"I've achieved everything in life on my own, without any patronage. And you will enter the university just like that."* Then he asked a serious question: *"How do you know that intelligence needs you? And how do you know that you need intelligence?"* Then he explained that service isn't just a job, but a destiny, and you have to live it. And he concluded: *"You wanted to be an engineer — so go and become one. And believe me, if intelligence needs you, it will find you."*

I enrolled in the Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology (MIPT), majoring in Radio Engineering and Cybernetics. I'd been fascinated by radio engineering since my youth. In my



A portrait of Yu.A. Gagarin that was taken to space. Drawing by P.G. Gromushkin, an intelligence officer

third year, I read a magazine article with a photo of a cosmonaut. And he was wearing glasses! My dream of the sky was rekindled, and I immediately transferred to the Department of Aerophysics and Space Research. I graduated from MIPT with a degree in Spacecraft Control. Afterward, I was hired as an engineer at the Rocket and Space Corporation (earlier Scientific and Production Association) "Energia", where I worked for almost 10 years. Then

“I'll always remember my father's words: "What I'm most proud of isn't the successes I achieved during my service in intelligence, but the fact that I never lost a single assistant."”

Graduates of the Higher Border School of the OGPU (extreme right — M.M. Baturin), 1929

Father's photo that Y.M. Baturin took with him to the ISS





I'm not the oldest of those who made the first flight; there were others older than me. And the hardest part was getting to the launch pad. Not physically, of course, but mentally. Every cosmonaut understands how dangerous it is; anything can happen. It's hard to put these thoughts aside.

That's why cosmonauts have a multitude of superstitions and traditions, and those preparing for a flight try to observe them: follow their lead, and everything will be fine. One of them is to visit the town of Gagarin (Gzhatsk) in the Smolensk region, where Yuri Alekseyevich was born, on March 9, his birthday, and drink water from the well near his house. The superstition is: if you don't drink, you won't fly.

I drank it too, it was delicious! And on the eve of the flight, I really wanted to talk to my father. But since he was no longer alive, with the permission of the then director of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Russia, Vyacheslav Ivanovich Trubnikov, I visited the Service's headquarters and stood by the stand with Mikhail Matveyevich's photograph in the Foreign Intelligence History Hall. Then I laid flowers at the stele dedicated to the intelligence officers who gave their lives for the Motherland. Vyacheslav Ivanovich explained that this was how they send deep-cover intelligence officers abroad. Thus, before the flight, I underwent two rituals: one as a cosmonaut and the other one as an intelligence officer.

**A year ago, you donated some of Mikhail Matveyevich's personal belongings to the Service. What were they?**

Yes, I gave the medals, several documents, his pince-nez, and the map my father used while serving as chief of station in Turkey. Among the documents were two letters that I find particularly interesting. The first one is from Mikhail Matveyevich, addressed to his elder sister Vera in Leningrad during the siege. The second one is also addressed to her from my father's colleague who was visiting for work. My father respected and loved his elder sister. These letters were very precious to him (*more details in the "History of one object" section — Ed.*).

With Director of the SVR V.I.Trubnikov in front of the stele honouring Chekist intelligence officers. Yasenevo. 1998

I transferred to the Yu.A. Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center. However, I joined the cosmonaut corps only when the vision requirements for candidates were lowered.

**You ended up flying quite late — at 48. What was the most challenging part of your preparation?**

“The hardest part is getting to the launch pad. Not physically, of course, but mentally. Every cosmonaut understands how dangerous it is; anything can happen.”

**If you don't mind, let's return to your space-flight. You've been working toward this for a very long time — more than 30 years. Do you think it was worth it?**

Absolutely! I've never met anyone who returned disappointed. When you find yourself in space and see a thin blue strip of atmosphere, firstly, you realize how fragile and defenseless our Earth is. Secondly, you feel completely disconnected, as if you've been removed from this world. You return completely changed internally, with a different worldview.

And, of course, the Earth is so beautiful! On the one hand, it hasn't changed for millions of years. Millions of years more will pass, and it will remain the same. On the other hand, the Earth is always different and always incredibly attractive. It's impossible to imagine such beautiful pictures. No photo or video can convey what the human eye sees. This alone is worth flying for.

**What do you think about space tourism?**

I celebrated my 60th birthday at Everest Base Camp. My friends and I hiked there, then climbed a bit more and headed back, as we weren't prepared for a summit that was already beyond our capabilities. And nearby is a cemetery of those who went on but overestimated themselves. And it's constantly growing. There will always be people who will go to the very top, risking their lives.

It's the same with space. There will definitely be those who want to go there. So, I'll say this: space tourism is inevitable. But you can't mix it with professional work. Create a separate station for tourists, your own ships, and make money. The main thing is, don't interfere with the cosmonauts.

**Does space diplomacy have a future?**

It is an interesting question. I once taught a course on this topic at the Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This area, in my opinion, can be considered one of the most concrete and practical. And it's not even about the fact that our cosmonauts, when preparing to fly in the same crew with Americans or Japanese, should also be diplomats to

“I've never met anyone who returned disappointed. When you find yourself in space and see a thin blue strip of atmosphere, firstly, you realize how fragile and defenseless our Earth is.”

some extent. Of course, like diplomats, they should be familiar with the traditions and cultures of other countries. There is a simple example: once, an American woman arrived at the station, the Russian crew members greeted her, and one kissed her on the cheek. She immediately responded: "Harassment!". That is a small detail, but so important!

Y.M.Baturin (centre), T.A.Musabaev and D.Tito before the launch. Baikonur. April 28, 2001





Video version of the interview

Self-portrait at the orbit. 1998



But, of course, the main diplomacy takes place on Earth. I'll give you another interesting fact. The first agreement on space cooperation between the US and the USSR was signed with the consent of US President John F. Kennedy at the height of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Since then, no matter how difficult our relations with Washington may have been, the space platform for contacts has remained. And, by the way, it is still free of sanctions. We continue to train in the States, and American astronauts come to our training center. The exchange of experience and communication between specialists have never been interrupted. So, I am convinced that space diplomacy has a bright future.

Today, the space is once again becoming an arena of competition. A new space race is underway, with everyone vying to be the first to plant a flag...

I think all these stories with the flag are a thing of the past. They were probably important at the beginning of the space age. Now we need to act differently. We have many things to do on Earth that require considerable resources. And in space, I believe Russia has three priorities. In unmanned space, we need to create our own significant satellite constellation. It's expensive, but it's necessary to solve specific, practical problems on Earth, for our economy.

Secondly, science. We need unmanned space stations to the Moon, Mars, and Venus. And thirdly, manned spaceflight. We must preserve the knowledge and expertise in how to create and operate such space equipment. This line of work must not be interrupted under any circumstances. It's dangerous to think that we'll stop for now, and then in ten years, when we've earned some money, we'll start flying again in all directions. No, everything will be lost! We must continue to train people, starting

“The first agreement on space cooperation between the US and the USSR was signed at the height of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Since then, no matter how difficult our relations with Washington may have been, the space platform for contacts has remained.

with colleges and universities. And mandatory training should be at enterprises. You can't build rockets from textbooks and blueprints. In production, it's important to pass on experience, so to speak, from hand to hand; the human factor is of paramount importance there. To preserve skills and abilities, continuity is necessary. This is the most important thing.

What can you say about today's youth? Do you have any advice for them?

As the head of the Computer Law and Information Security Department at Lomonosov Moscow State University, I can say: the problem with today's graduates is that they either haven't been taught how to think, or they're afraid to. After any question, they turn to the internet for a quick answer, replacing their memory with external one. This isn't good.

“We must preserve the knowledge and expertise in how to create and operate space equipment. This line of work must not be interrupted under any circumstances.

My advice is this. It is both for those who dream of space and for those who want to become intelligence officers. If you don't put in the effort, you won't learn anything. The path to a result you can be proud of lies not only through time, but also through constant hard work. Don't outsource your development to information technology. Think for yourself. Only then will you grow over yourself, only then will you become a true professional and earn the respect of others. 🚀

Interviewed by Vladislav Ilyin

Y.M.Baturin (left), T.A.Musabaev and N.M.Budarin after the flight. August 25, 1998





# From the “invisible front” to besieged Leningrad

## Letters from intelligence officer Baturin

Text: Tatyana Ogneva

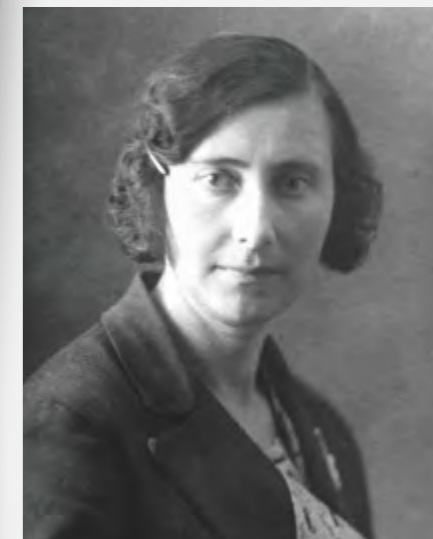
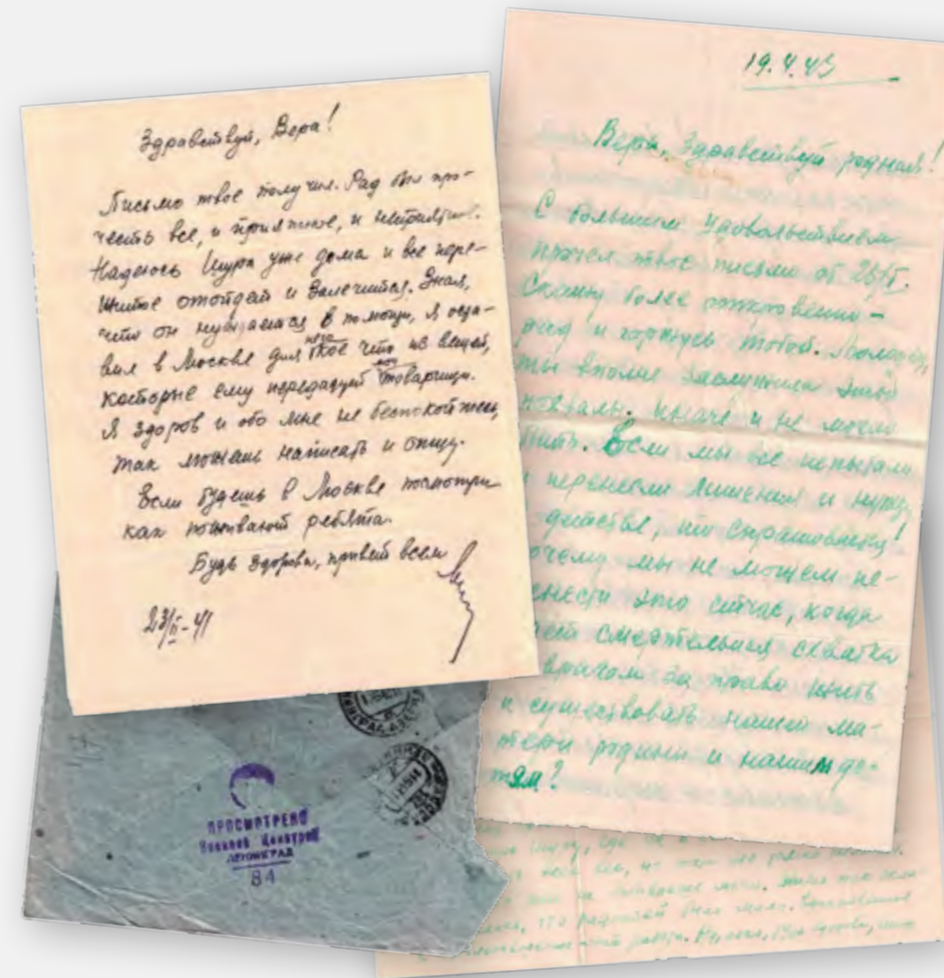
The museum collection of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR) recently acquired rare exhibits — letters from Soviet intelligence officer Mikhail Baturin, donated by his son, cosmonaut Yuri Baturin. These messages to his family from the days of the Great Patriotic War crossed several borders and fronts to reach their addressee in the besieged Leningrad from Turkey, where Mikhail Matveyevich worked at the time.

The letters are addressed to the intelligence officer's elder sister, Vera Matveyevna Baturina, whom Mikhail Matveyevich, having lost his mother at a young age, loved very much. The intelligence officer wrote to her specifically because he was sure that Vera would tell the rest of his relatives about his “goings-on” — and exactly what was needed. At the time, his sister was a junior lieutenant in the NKVD, and, as Yuri Mikhailovich Baturin notes, their father esteemed her highly and was proud of her.

Mikhail Matveyevich spent seven years in Turkey, from 1940 to 1947. Initially, he served as NKVD chief of station in Ankara, then as deputy chief of station in Istanbul, and from May 1942, as NKVD chief resident (under the codename Leonid). He achieved significant results. He personally recruited nine valuable sources, and Soviet intelligence continued to work with five of them for many years after his departure. Largely thanks to M.M. Baturin's efforts, Turkey maintained its neutrality during World War II; and its million-strong army, despite pressure from Berlin, did not engage in combat operations on the side of Nazi Germany.

At the same time, despite the very difficult and all-consuming work of obtaining secret information so vital to the Motherland (see *Comrade Leonid's reports in the “Declassified Archives” section*), the intelligence officer never forgot about his family and cared for his loved ones. He was very worried about whether his younger brother Alexander, arrested in 1938 on a false denunciation, had been released. He asked his comrades to pass on the things specially left in Moscow for the brother.

Surprisingly, this correspondence continued uninterrupted throughout the war years. Even with the onset of the siege of Leningrad, Mikhail



Vera Baturina, the intelligence officer's sister

brother “was alright in every way” and that they would soon see each other “in their native Leningrad, once again sparkling with its evening lights.”

Upon his return to his homeland, the intelligence officer met his sister, who had managed to survive the siege and kept all of her brother's letters, which had given her hope during the most difficult times. Vera Matveyevna carefully preserved them until her passing in 1971. Only recently did the intelligence officer's son deem it possible to donate the family correspondence to the headquarters of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service. ♣

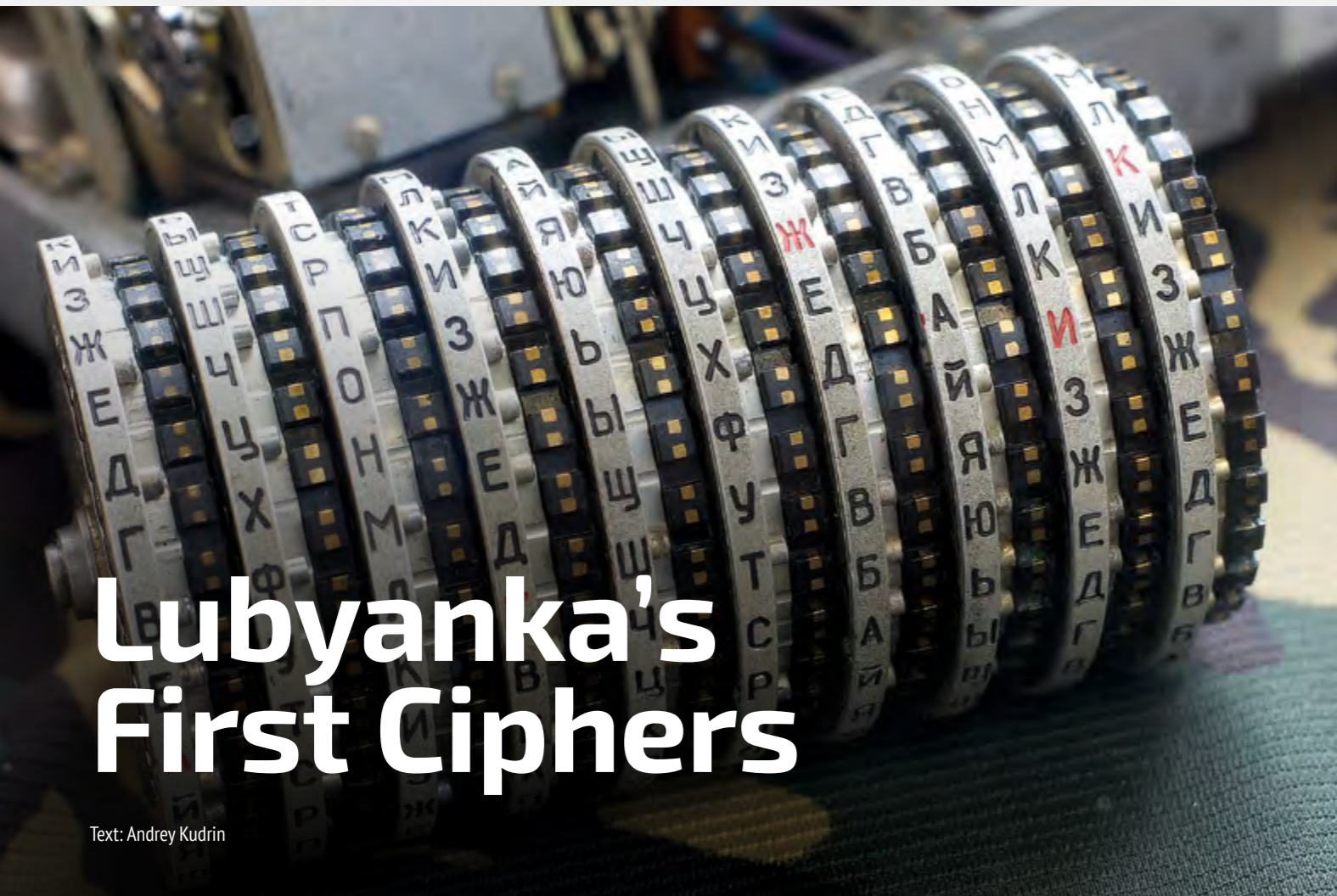
Matveyevich's colleagues managed, overcoming all obstacles, to regularly deliver his correspondence to the address. He wrote to Vera Matveyevna, trying his best to support her: “If we all experienced and endured hardship and need in our childhood, then why, really, can't we bear it now, when there is a deadly struggle with the enemy for

the right for our Motherland and our children to live and exist?”

If there were no news for a long time — sometimes the operational situation did not allow M.M. Baturin to be distracted by personal messages — his comrades would write to his sister themselves. They assured her that her

### Mikhail Matveyevich Baturin

Born on November 6, 1904, in Taganrog. His family moved to Baku in 1913. During the days of the Baku Commune, at the age of 13, he volunteered for the Red Guards and served as an aide to P.A. Dzhabaridze, the Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Baku Council of People's Commissars. In 1920, he joined the Red Army, then was transferred to the Special Department of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission attached to the 32nd Division of the 11th Army. In 1929, he graduated from the Higher Border School and was taken on the staff at the Border Troops Directorate of the Transcaucasian GPU. From 1937 to 1940, he studied Turkish and French at the N.N. Narimanov Institute of Oriental Studies. In 1939, he was transferred to foreign intelligence and, after completing his studies, was sent on a long-term foreign assignment to Turkey. Upon his return, he worked in the central office, then taught at the Higher Intelligence School (now the Academy of Foreign Intelligence). He was awarded the Order of Lenin, two Orders of the Red Banner, the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, the Order of the Patriotic War 1st Class, the Order of the Red Star, and many medals.



# Lubyanka's First Ciphers

Text: Andrey Kudrin

**October 1917. The recent revolution drastically changed Russia's fate. A radical overhaul of many pre-existing state structures and institutions became necessary. The cryptographic service was no exception, requiring its creation almost from scratch in the nascent Soviet Union.**

In the first years after the revolution, the Soviet authorities had an extremely limited arsenal of materials and human resources. In the conditions of the Civil War, it was impossible to pay due attention to the reorganization of the cryptographic service. Therefore, old codes and ciphers from tsarist Russia, such as Respublika, Moskva, Sekunda, were used. These ciphers were known to the enemy and could not be considered as an effective means of

protecting information. Most of the pre-revolutionary cryptographers were hostile to the Bolsheviks' victory and left their jobs. Those who agreed to work with the Soviets were dispersed across the field headquarters and the Red Army fronts.

According to archives, it appears that in 1918-1920, foreign, primarily British, intelligence services and, with their assistance, White Guard organizations partially deciphered the

diplomatic and military correspondence of the Soviet state. Special attention was also paid to the activities of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (Cheka). In particular, enemies learned about the Chekists' uncovering of the Ambassadors' Plot in August 1918, led by the head of the special British mission to the Soviet government, with the active participation of British intelligence officer Sidney Reilly. Sidney Reilly managed to escape abroad, but later,

as a result of a brilliant intelligence operation, he was lured back to the USSR where he met his just retribution. (For more details, see *Razvedchik* №3 (12), 2025).

In a letter to V.I. Lenin on August 20, 1920, Georgy Vasilyevich Chicherin, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), directly addressed the issue of maintaining the correspondence secrecy: "Foreign governments use more complex encryption methods than those used in the Soviet Union, and while we constantly change the key, the system itself is well known to many former tsarist officials and military personnel who are currently in the service of the White Guard abroad".

This state of affairs led the Soviet leadership to take measures to improve the security of classified communications and make them more difficult to decipher. In September 1920, the Political Bureau instructed Lev Davidovich Trotsky, People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs, to create a commission composed of representatives from the military Commissariat, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, and the People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphy to study the issue and propose solutions.

At that point, the issue had grown to an immense size. As evidence, we cite a telegram dated December 19, 1920, signed by Trotsky's future deputy, and at that time — the Commander of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and Crimea, Mikhail Vasilyevich Frunze:

*"Moscow, to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars Lenin, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council Trotsky,*

Since the 13th century, "secret writing" was used in Russia: litorea, or gibberish writing. It is known, for example, that Metropolitan Cyprian used it in correspondence with Sergius of Radonezh and Maxim the Greek.

Crypto-facts from Russian history

*Commander-in-Chief, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Chicherin, CC RCP.*

*<...> All our ciphers, due to their simplicity, get deciphered by the enemy. Our radio traffic is an excellent means of enemy's orientation as our adversary has the opportunity to read a number of our highly classified military, operational, and diplomatic ciphers. In particular, the highly classified correspondence between the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and its representative offices in Tashkent and Europe is known word for word to the British, who have organized a whole network of special-purpose stations specifically to eavesdrop on our radios. Keys for ciphers that could not be immediately deciphered were sent from London, where the British placed a Russian subject, Fetterlein, who had previously managed*

*this matter in Russia, at the head of the cipher department. The overall conclusion is that our enemies, particularly England, were constantly informed of all our military, operational, and diplomatic work."*

The task to bring order to crypto-activities was entrusted to the Cheka, within which, 105 years ago, on January 28, 1921, the Special Department was created in accordance with Order No. 22. An experienced revolutionary, former chairman of the Petrograd Cheka, and member of the Collegium of the Cheka, Gleb Ivanovich Boki, was appointed as its head.

Just a month later, the Cheka board proposed the creation of a state interdepartmental cryptographic commission under the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), headed by the same G.I. Boki, and including



## Gleb Ivanovich Boki

G.I. Boki was born in 1879 in Tiflis. He graduated from secondary school in the town of Izyum and entered the Empress Catherine II Mining Institute in St. Petersburg, but did not complete his education. At 18, he joined the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. From 1900, he became a RSDLP member. He led the Bolshevik underground in St. Petersburg (under the pseudonyms Kuzma, Dyadya, and Maxim Ivanovich) and contributed to the publication of the Pravda newspaper. He was arrested 12 times, imprisoned, and twice exiled to hard labour. In October 1917, he joined the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee and was one of the leaders of the armed uprising. He developed a number of mathematical cipher systems.

In 1549, the first cipher specialists appeared in the state service. “Diaks” and “podyachies” (clerks) of the Posolsky Prikaz (Ministry of foreign affairs of the time) created special keys (codes) for encrypting and decrypting documents.

Crypto-facts from Russian history

representatives from the People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs, Military Affairs, and Foreign Trade. Lenin supported the idea, drafting the following resolution: “Instruct the head of the Cheka's cryptographic department to take measures to supervise, control, and direct cryptographic operations in the Republic and to submit a corresponding draft resolution to the Small Council, coordinating it primarily with the most interested departments”.

On April 12, 1921, G.I. Bokiya addressed a meeting of the Small Council of People's Commissars with a draft Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars he had prepared. Here is the text of the document almost verbatim:

“Considering:  
— the Republic's absence of a center that unites and directs the activities of the encryption bodies of various departments, and the resulting lack of system and randomness in the organization of cipher work,  
— the possibility, due to this, of the deep awareness of enemies of the Workers and Peasants State of the Republic's secrets,

The Council of People's Commissars resolved:  
To establish within the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission a “Special Department”, the staff of which is approved by the Chairman of the Cheka. The head of the Special Department is appointed by the Sovnarkom

The terms of reference of the Special Department at the Cheka shall include:

#### I. Setting up an Encryption Service in the RSFSR:

1. Scientific development of cipher-related issues:

- Analysis of all existing and previously used Russian and foreign ciphers;
- Creation of new ciphers systems;
- Compilation of cipher descriptions and directives on cipher-related topics and cipher usage;
- Collection of archives and literature on cryptography to concentrate it at the Special Department;
- Compilation and publication of guides on encryption issues.

2. Examination and development of cipher systems:

- Examination of all currently active ciphers and the procedures for their use by the cryptographic services;
- Final processing of instructions on encryption and the use of ciphers,

F.E. Dzerzhinsky (centre) and G.I. Bokiya (third right) at an OGPU Board meeting, 1922



Order of the administrative office of Cheka (collage). January 28, 1921. Central archive of the FSB of Russia

development of rules for cryptography services operation;  
c) Distribution of newly developed cipher systems among all departments.

3. Organization of the educational component:

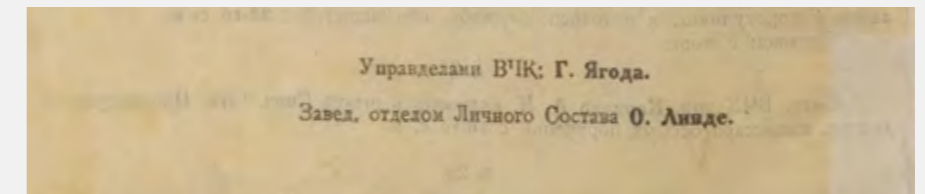
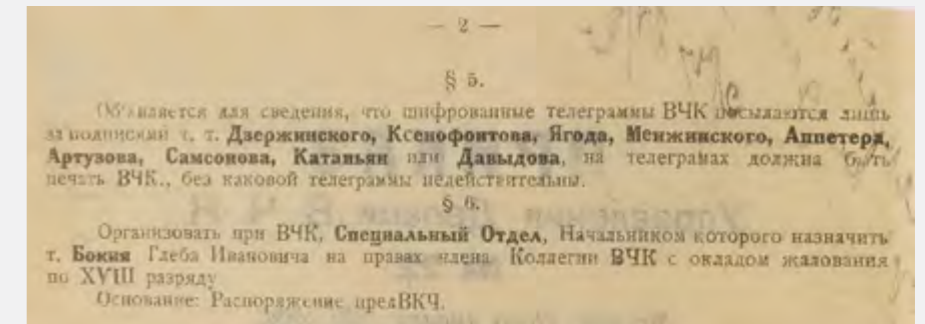
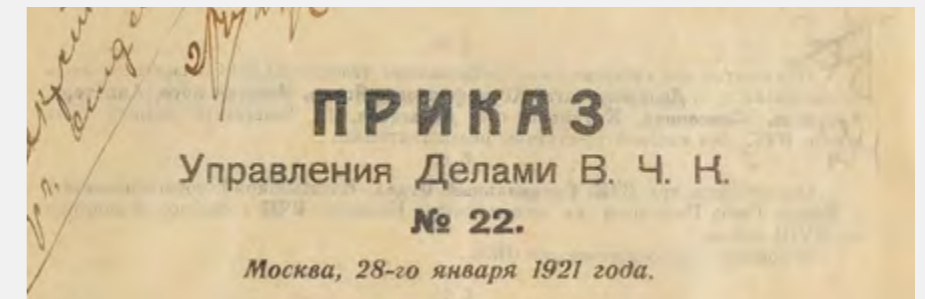
- Development of a cryptographer school curriculum;
- Establishment of a cryptographer school;
- Staffing the school with instructors and students.

4. Inventory of the staff of cryptographic bodies. Monitoring the lawful organization of cryptographic operations. Instruction and inspection of cryptographic bodies:

- Inventory and verification of all personnel of all cryptographic bodies;
- Distribution of personnel from all cryptographic bodies among them, depending on the individual qualities of each employee and the actual need for personnel in a particular cryptographic body, as well as depending on the state importance of each institution;
- Purging unreliable and incapable elements from all cryptographic bodies;
- Monitoring the lawful organization of cryptographic operations in all cryptographic bodies;
- Instructing and inspecting all cryptographic bodies and implementing the Instructions and rules for cryptographic operations.

#### II. The Establishment of Decryption Operations in the RSFSR

1. Investigating methods for comprehensive interception of all enemy, foreign, and counter-revolutionary radio, telegrams, and mail;



2. Identification of keys for hostile, foreign, and counter-revolutionary cryptographic systems;  
3. Decryption of all enemy, foreign, and counter-revolutionary radio transmissions, telegrams, and letters.

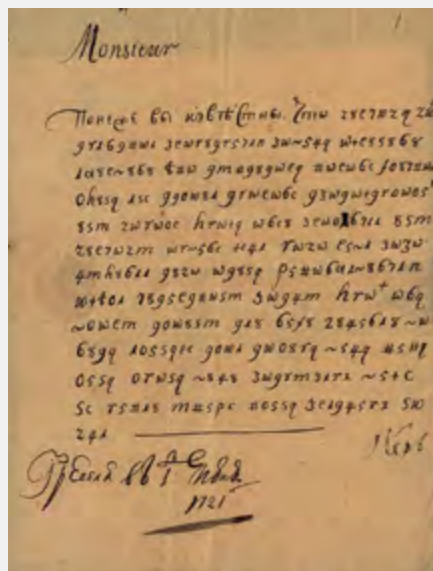
Gleb Ivanovich's proposals were approved. On May 5, 1921, the Small Council of People's Commissars issued Resolution No. 672, marking the start of creation of a unified cryptographic service in the country. Here is an excerpt from the text:

“The Council of People's Commissars, having considered the issue of encryption departments, decided:

- To establish a Special Department within the Cheka. The Head of the Special Department can only be a member of the Cheka Collegium.
- The Special Department under the Cheka unites all the cipher bodies of the RSFSR, controls and directs all the activities of such organs.
- All orders and circulars of the Special Department of the Cheka concerning all matters of cryptographic and decryption affairs are mandatory for execution by all agencies of the RSFSR”.

In 1633, Patriarch Filaret of Moscow and All Russia ordered a duma diak to “write in such an intricate letter that it would not be known in those lands.”

Crypto-facts from Russian history



An encrypted letter of Peter the Great to the Russian envoy in Berlin

Subsequently, the Soviet cryptographic service changed its name several times: the 8th Special Department of the Cheka, the Special Department of the GPU/OGPU (State Political Directorate/Joint State Political Directorate), the 9th Department of the GUGB NKVD of the USSR (Main Directorate of State Security), but it always maintained the necessary degree of autonomy, being able to transmit information directly to both the government and the Political Bureau. Other Cheka units were instructed to send to the Special Department *“all kinds of keys to ciphers, encrypted correspondence and documents found during searches and arrests, as well as those obtained through informants, agents, or by chance.”*

In 1702, Peter the Great personally participated in the creation of ciphers and organized his cryptographic service, the Embassy Office.

«Криптофакты» из русской истории

G.I. Bokiy's staff began their work by carefully studying the archives of the pre-revolutionary Russian cryptographic service: old codes, radio intercept materials, and decoded documents. The Chekists discovered that between 1913 and 1916, Russian specialists had decrypted 1,157 telegrams from Austria, 852 from Bulgaria, 231 from Germany, and 406 from Turkey. In order to supplement the information databases, copies of documents received via the Central Telegraph and delivered by diplomatic mail were continued. Part of foreign encrypted correspondence was intercepted on the instructions of the Cheka and military department at the Serpukhov radio station of the Revolutionary Military Council and other radio stations, such as Shabolovskaya. However, the imperfect and worn-out equipment did not allow for a high level of reliability in the received texts. As a result, work began on the development and introduction of their own special equipment.

The first results appeared on the external circuit: in early June 1921, the digital five — figure code used by the German envoy to Soviet Russia was hacked, which made it possible to open all his correspondence on the Moscow-Berlin line, to control communication with the German consulates in Petrograd, Kiev, Odessa and other cities. In August of the same year, Chekists began to "read" Turkish telegrams and started their work on the British. Colleagues from the Foreign Department (foreign intelligence) provided great help in this,

managing to get more than a dozen English codes.

Later on Soviet cryptologists also had significant successes. In 1924, they managed to crack the codes of the Polish Army General Staff's intelligence department for communications with military attachés in Moscow, Paris, London, Tallinn, Washington, and Tokyo. By that time, the Special Department was working over codes of approximately 15 countries. Interception of Japanese correspondence began in 1927, and American correspondence followed in 1930.

An equally important task of the Special Department was to open up "internal" encrypted correspondence, that is, secret messages from White Guard and other counterrevolutionary organizations. Archival documents confirm that Chekists were able to crack hundreds of different ciphers, keys and conventions used by activists and leaders of the White Movement, read thousands of their reports and secret documents. For example, virtually all correspondence of the Union for the Defense of the Motherland and Freedom, created in June 1921 and led by the experienced underground operative and terrorist Boris Savinkov, was deciphered. The information obtained about safe houses, secret addresses and passwords made it possible by the end of 1922 to liquidate all the cells of the said Union on the territory of the Soviet state, and in the summer of 1924 to bring B. Savinkov to the USSR and arrest him.

Later, through the operational capabilities of the INO, it was possible to obtain the ciphers of White immigrant organizations in London and Paris. And in 1936, the staff of the Special Department uncovered the ciphers of the National Socialist Party of Germany, which were used

in external correspondence (the key was to rearrange the substitution cipher based on the swastika image).

Another indisputable merit of Gleb Ivanovich and his associates should be considered the creation of reliable domestic ciphers, which significantly increased the security of secret government correspondence. In 1921 alone, 96 new codes were put into effect on various communication lines. At first, adapted foreign analogues were mainly used. Among them were Pulemet, Agitator, Stoikiy etc. And after three years of hard work, a really significant result came, as evidenced by the telegram of the Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, Avel Safronovich Yenukidze, dated September 2, 1924: *“Congratulations to Comrade G.I. Bokiy on the completion of the compilation of the “Russian Code” — this huge and complex work.”*

Besides founding the cryptographic service, G.I. Bokiy can also be considered initiator of the introduction of secrecy regime in the USSR. At

In 1744, Catherine II ordered all employees of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs working along the encryption line *“not to talk about these matters with any outsiders, nor to go to the courts of foreign ministers or have any communication or company with them.”*

Crypto-facts from Russian history

his insistence, in accordance with a circular from the Special Department dated June 11, 1923, restrictions were imposed on all individuals involved in classified correspondence, as well as their family members, regarding visits to foreign missions and contacts with their employees. On the instruction of Gleb Ivanovich, the first classification system of secret information in our country was developed. In December 1923, the “List of issues on which correspondence is classified as secret” (an equivalent to the modern “List of information classified as a state secret”) introduced three degrees of secrecy of documents: “top secret”, “secret” and “confidential.”

G.I. Bokiy headed the Special Department for over 15 years. Under him, the domestic cryptography service gained momentum laying the basis for its many successes during the war and post-war period. For example, in 1950s his followers created a Soviet analogue of the German cipher machine “Enigma” — the legendary M-125 “Fialka”. But that's quite another story... ↗

M-125-3M (“Fialka-3M”) – third version of the Soviet disk electromechanical cipher-encryption machine. © Cryptography museum





More documents on the SVR of Russia site

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**ШИФРТЕЛЕГРАММА Вх. № 4832**

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Из СТАМБУЛА

Получена „ 4 “ УП 1941 г. „ 14 “ ч. „ 10 “ м. Расшифр. „ 4 “ УП 1941 г. „ 14 “ ч. „ 55 “ м.

Для резолюций и пометок <i>н. Бульманов</i> <i>Санджик в Руг</i> <i>4/11</i>	Куда, кому <b>ВИКТОРУ</b>  <p style="text-align: center;">В Румынии вдоль дороги от Бухареста до Плоешти расположены военные аэродромы. В нескольких километрах от Брашова в Пертица и в городе Тагараше находятся замаскированные в лесу военные заводы. От югославов известно что немецкая агентура находившаяся в городах Югославии, в частности в Белграде, устанавливала световую сигнализацию для фашистской авиации в дымоходах домов. Установлено, что начиная с 20 июня из Сирии в Анкару и Стамбул прибывают большими группами в гражданском платье немецкие летчики. Всего по 1 июля прибыло около 300 человек. Партиями в 40-60 человек направляются автомашинами и железной дорогой через Эдирну в Болгарию. Надо полагать направляются в части действующие против нас.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">4/УП-41 г. № 169. ЛЕОНИД.</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 10px auto;">             1-е Управление НКГБ              Вх. № 3767              4/11 1941 г.           </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 10px auto;"> <b>*РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО*</b>              Служба внешней разведки РФ 10           </div> <p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">Снятие копий категорически воспрещается.</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">               Отп. 2 экз.                Экз. № 1             </td> <td style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;">               Экз. № 1 АДРЕГАТУ                Экз. № 2 В ДЕЛО                Экз. № 3             </td> </tr> </table> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 10px auto;">             Подлежит возврату через 48 часов во 2-ю группу 11 отделения           </div> <p style="text-align: right; font-size: small;">11-е отделение (2-я группа) <i>Вувакович</i></p>	Отп. 2 экз. Экз. № 1	Экз. № 1 АДРЕГАТУ Экз. № 2 В ДЕЛО Экз. № 3
Отп. 2 экз. Экз. № 1	Экз. № 1 АДРЕГАТУ Экз. № 2 В ДЕЛО Экз. № 3		

Document 1. Cipher telegram from Istanbul. July 4, 1941

**СОВ. СЕКРЕТНО**

**ШИФРТЕЛЕГРАММА Вх. № 4840**

ЛС 330

Из СТАМБУЛА

Получена „ 4 “ УП 1941 г. „ 17 “ ч. „ 45 “ м. Расшифр. „ 4 “ УП 1941 г. „ 23 “ ч. „ 15 “ м.

Для резолюций и пометок <i>н. Бульманов</i> <i>4/11</i>	Куда, кому <b>ВИКТОРУ</b>  <p style="text-align: center;">Французский министр прибывший от правительства Виши со специальным посланием, прибыл для переговоров о возможности покупки турецким правительством запасов снаряжения и вооружения в Сирии. В ходе переговоров турки консультировались по этому вопросу с английским послом, но окончательные результаты пока неизвестны. По другим данным приезд министра связан с переговорами об интернировании или пропуске через Турцию французских войск, в случае окончательного отхода их из Сирии под натиском англичан.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">4/УП-41 г. № 171. ЛЕОНИД.</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 10px auto;">             1-е Управление НКГБ              Вх. № 3786              2-11 1941 г.           </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 10px auto;"> <b>*РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО*</b>              Служба внешней разведки РФ 10           </div> <p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">Снятие копий категорически воспрещается.</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">               Отп. 2 экз.                Экз. № 1             </td> <td style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;">               Экз. № 1 АДРЕГАТУ                Экз. № 2 В ДЕЛО                Экз. № 3             </td> </tr> </table> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 10px auto;">             Подлежит возврату через 48 часов во 2-ю группу 11 отделения           </div> <p style="text-align: right; font-size: small;">11-е отделение (2-я группа) <i>Вувакович</i></p>	Отп. 2 экз. Экз. № 1	Экз. № 1 АДРЕГАТУ Экз. № 2 В ДЕЛО Экз. № 3
Отп. 2 экз. Экз. № 1	Экз. № 1 АДРЕГАТУ Экз. № 2 В ДЕЛО Экз. № 3		

Document 2. Cipher telegram from Istanbul. July 4, 1941

Кавказ 1411 За № 5801/м  
5-13/10/86

**СОВ. СЕКРЕТНО**

**РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО**  
**ШИФРТЕЛЕГРАММА Вх. № 5010**

483

Из АНКАРЫ

Получена 08 30 1941 г. 10/УП- " м. Расшифр. 11 УП 1941 г. 13 ч. 10 м.

Для резолюций и пометок	Куда, кому ВИКТОРУ.
<p><i>В.К. Илья</i> <i>И.К. Илья</i> <i>Самойлов</i> <i>Загоссов</i> <i>1/11</i> <i>12/11</i></p>	<p>Германия и Турция ведут переговоры военном соглашении и что считают вполне вероятным поездку в ближайшее время турецкой военной делегации в Берлин. Предметом особого обсуждения между двумя правительствами является проливы и независимость Кавказа. Немцы требуют, чтобы английские силы в случае окончательного соглашения Англии с СССР ни в коем случае не были бы пропущены через Турцию и проливы и чтобы турки приняли на себя активную роль в организации движения за независимость Кавказа и особенно Азербайджана. Исмет ищет повод и причины к тому чтобы нарушить союзный договор с Англией. Однажды в присутствии председателя Меджилиса Ренда, председателя независимой группы Рана Тархана, бывшего начальника кабинета премьер министра Ведит Узгюрена, Исмет высказал следующую мысль: "От англичан нельзя ожидать какой-либо пользы, было бы хорошо если бы они нажали на нас по какому-либо вопросу и мы расторгли бы наш договор". Как только Германия</p>
	<p>Снятие копий категорически воспрещается.</p>
<p>Отп. _____ экз. Экз. № _____</p>	<p>Экз. № 1 _____ Экз. № 2 _____ Экз. № 3 _____</p>
<p>11-е отделение (2-я группа)</p>	

Подлежит возврату через 48 часов во 2-ю группу 11 отд-ния

Document 3.  
Cipher telegram  
from Ankara.  
July 11, 1941

**СОВ. СЕКРЕТНО**

**ШИФРТЕЛЕГРАММА Вх. № \_\_\_\_\_**

484

Дата " \_\_\_\_\_ " 1941 г. " ч. " м. Расшифр. " \_\_\_\_\_ " 1941 г. " ч. " м.

Для резолюций и пометок	Куда, кому - 2 -
	<p>Совершила нападение на нас, Сараджоглу собрал у себя послов Греции, Югославии, Англии и других и намекая на советско-немецкую войну шутя спросил английского посла: "Ну как Ваше превосходительство оправдалось ли то, что я Вам говорил?". Англичанин также шутливо ответил: "Вышло очень ошибочно". Выясняется, что турки заранее заявили англичанам, что как только они подпишут договор дружбы с Германией, последняя нападет на СССР, но англичане якобы твердо не верили этому. Оценивая эти данные полагаем, что они заслуживают доверия. Считаем, что если турки решатся на посылку военной делегации, то она будет прекрыта коммерческими переговорами так как располагаем сведениями, что взамен турецких продовольственных товаров турки будут получать вооружение. Не исключено, что о посылке военной делегации добиваются сами немцы, чтобы продемонстрировать отрыв турок от Англии и наличие полного союза с Германией. Отношение турецкого правительства</p>
	<p>к нам будет определяться положением на фронтах. По тем же данным Исмет, касаясь войны высказал мнение, что Красная Армия сможет устоять перед Германией только два с половиной месяца.</p>
<p>10/УП-41г. № 21 ЛЕОНИД.</p>	

Document 3.  
Cipher telegram  
from Ankara.  
July 11, 1941

ЕС.

**СОВ. СЕКРЕТНО**

**ШИФРТЕЛЕГРАММА Вх. № 4515**

**Служба внешней разведки РФ 10**

Из **СТАМБУЛА**

Получена " 31 " УШ 1941 г. " 17 " ч. " 40 " м. Расшифр. " 31 " УШ 1941 г. " 23 " ч. " 55 " м.

Для резолюций и пометок

Куда, кому **ВИКТОРУ**

*В связи иранскими событиями полученны данные: факт ввода наших и английских войск в Иран турецким правительством встречен с явным недовольством. 26 августа газеты получили от дирекции прессы директиву писать против этого акта. Из турецких и иранских источников известно что когда были пред"явлены совместные ноты Иран обратился к турецкому правительству с запросом о его позиции в случае вооруженного давления Англии и СССР. Турки выразили сочувствие, готовность в посредничестве для урегулирования вопроса мирным путем, наметили даже посылку военной миссии во главе с генералом Наджим Беем, но в действительности Исметом было решено ни в коем случае не связываться в возможный конфликт, никаких обязательств перед Ираном на себя не брать, и всячески оттягивать время путем общих переговоров. Реагирование общественно-политических кругов на ввод войск довольно спокойное и дальнейшей позиции, которую заняла пресса не идет. Следствие копий категорически воспрещается.*

Отп. \_\_\_\_\_ экз. Экз. № 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Экз. № 2 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Экз. № 3 \_\_\_\_\_

Подлежит возврату через 48 часов во 2-ю группу 11 отд-ния

11-е отделение (2-я группа)

*В связи с иранскими событиями*

*1/2 1/2*

*В связи с иранскими событиями*

*1.1.1.1. 1/2*

*Вх. № 4515*

*1 " IX 1941 г.*

*1-я Упр. НКВД СССР*

Document 4. Cipher telegram from Istanbul. August 31. 1941

**СОВ. СЕКРЕТНО**

**ШИФРТЕЛЕГРАММА Вх. № 655**

Получена " " 1941 г. " " ч. " " м. Расшифр. " " 1941 г. " " ч. " " м.

Для резолюций и пометок

Куда, кому \_\_\_\_\_

- 2 -

дует отметить, что тон прессы хотя и подчеркивает агрессивный характер Англии и СССР но резким назвать нельзя, исключая фактически писак в "Джумхуриете" и Мухарем Фейзи Тогай, Неялис-Сафа и в "Тасфири Эфкяр".

Военные круги заранее были убеждены, что ввод войск в Иран будет неизбежен, но Турция в силу своих собственных интересов не намерена вмешиваться в конфликт.

Среднему командному составу армии сейчас настойчиво преподается, что турецкая армия должна защищать границы Турции, от того будет ли нападение со стороны СССР или Германии. Политика же Исмета оттягивать время и нормализовать до предела возможностей. В связи с вводом наших войск турки делают передвижку частей на иранской границе, из Средней Анатолии перебрасываются на усиление границы пехотные части. Состав и

Снятие копий категорически воспрещается.

Отп. \_\_\_\_\_ экз. Экз. № 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Экз. № 2 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Экз. № 3 \_\_\_\_\_

Подлежит возврату через 48 часов во 2-ю группу 11 отд-ния

11-е отделение (2-я группа)

Document 4. Cipher telegram from Istanbul. August 31. 1941

**СОВ. СЕКРЕТНО**

**ШИФРТЕЛЕГРАММА Вх. № \_\_\_\_\_**

656

На \_\_\_\_\_  
 Получена .. " 194 г. " ч. " м. Расшифр. .. " 194 г. " ч. " м.

Для резолюций и пометок	Куда, кому
	- 3 -
	<p>количество пока не известны. Послана группа офицеров для организации формирования посадочных площадок против иранской границы. Цементные заводы получили распоряжение предоставлять всю их продукцию министерству обороны. Продукция Сиваского цементного завода направляется к турецко-иранской границе. Надо полагать, что турки приступают к оборонительным сооружениям на иранской границе. Одновременно в связи с наличием на Болгаро-Турецкой границе германских войск, турки усиливают свои силы и во Фракии.</p> <p>По нашим внешним наблюдениям отмечено 26 августа прохождение через Стамбул и отправка в направлении Фракии пехотных и кавалерийских соединений в пределах двух полков.</p> <p>Правительство решило всячески избежать войны, но если будет угроза со стороны Германии то Турция будет защищаться.</p> <p>Пока о каких либо требованиях Германии в политических кругах не слышно.</p> <p>30.УИ.41г. 224. Леонид.</p>
	Снятие копий категорически воспрещается.
Отп. _____ экз. Экз. № _____	Экз. № 1 Экз. № 2 Экз. № 3
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">                     Подлежит возврату через 48 часов во 2-ю группу 11 отд-ния                 </div>	
11-е отделение (2-я группа)	

Document 4.  
Cipher telegram from Istanbul.  
August 31, 1941

**СОВ. СЕКРЕТНО**

**\*РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО\***  
 Служба внешней разведки РФ 10

ХАРАКТЕРИСТИКА

на капитана госбезопасности тов. БАТУРИНА Михаила Матвеевича.

БАТУРИН М.М., 1904 г.р., имеет незаконченное высшее образование, чл. ВКП(б) с 1928 г., в органах НКВД с 1921 г. Последняя должность - ст. оперуполномоченный 5 отдела ГУГБ НКВД СССР (ныне 1 Управление НКВД СССР). Заместитель резидента в Стамбуле. В стране находится с мая 1940 г. По прибытии в страну т. БАТУРИН в течение года выполнял обязанности самостоятельного резидента по Анкаре. Затем на протяжении нескольких месяцев оставался резидентом по всей стране, и с сентября 1941 г. является заместителем резидента по Стамбулу.

Не обладая большим опытом закордонной работы, т. БАТУРИН однако очень много работает над повышением своей чекистской квалификации в этой области и имеет большие успехи. Хорошо изучил обстановку, успешно усовершенствовался в турецком языке, свободно применяя его в работе с агентурой. Удовлетворительно знает французский язык. Как руководитель требователен к подчиненным, передает свой опыт, систематически проверяет работу сотрудников резидентуры. За время работы провел несколько удачных вербовок.

В работе отличается осторожностью, конспиративностью и скромностью. Также скромнен в быту. Политически развит. Дисциплинирован.

Занимаемой должности соответствует.

НАЧАЛЬНИК 5 ОТДЕЛА 1 УПР НКВД СССР  
КАПИТАН ГОСБЕЗОПАСНОСТИ (ОТРОШЕНКО)

"СОГЛАСЕН"

НАЧАЛЬНИК 1 УПР НКВД СССР  
СТ. МАЙОР ГОСБЕЗОПАСНОСТИ (ФИТИН)

" 4 " августа 1942 г.

Document 5.  
Efficiency report on M.M. Baturin.  
August 4, 1942

2

СОВЕРШЕННО СЕКРЕТНО

**\*РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО\***  
Служба внешней разведки РФ 10

СПРАВКА

о структуре турецких разведывательных, контрразведывательных, полицейских и жандармских органов.

Основным органом, ведущим разведывательную работу в Турции, является МАХ (Главное Управление служб национальной безопасности). Кроме того часть разведывательных функций выполняется разведывательным отделом Генштаба турецкой армии, а во внутренних вилайетах страны контрразведка осуществляется органами министерства внутренних дел: Управлением безопасности (полицией) и жандармерией.

1. МАХ (Главное управление служб национальной безопасности)

МАХ является основной разведывательной и контрразведывательной организацией Турции, строго засекреченной, которая не упоминается ни в официальных документах, ни в печати. Учреждения МАХ не имеют каких-либо вывесок. Однако в широких слоях существование МАХ известно и именуют его в народе либо МАХ, либо "Эмниет Мюфеттишлиги".

МАХ подчиняется премьер-министру и начальнику генерального штаба. (Характер подчинения МАХ точно не установлен). По бюджету канцелярии премьер-министра проходят все ассигнования, получаемые МАХом на работу.

Главное Управление МАХ <sup>Milli Emniyet Hizmeti</sup> <sub>Basbakanlık</sub> (Милли Эмниет Хизмети Башканлыгы) находится в Анкаре, начальник — полковник Генштаба — НАДЖИ ПЕРКЕЛ. Главное управление МАХ состоит из двух основных отделов: отдела "А" <sup>Şube</sup> "А" (Шуба "А") — зарубежная разведка, — который занимается сбором военной, экономической, политической и другой информации об иностранных государствах, и отдела "В" — <sup>Şube</sup> "В" (Шуба "В") — контрразведка, — который ведет работу внутри страны по борьбе с иностранным шпионажем (в том числе и среди военных), политическими партиями и наблюдает за деятельностью иностранцев, проживающих в Турции.

Главное Управление МАХ руководит деятельностью шести, так называемых, центров, которые находятся в Анкаре, Стамбуле, Измире, Адане, Диярбекире и Эрзеруме. Во всех этих центрах имеются соответственно отделы "А" и отделы "В", кроме Анкарского центра, который зарубежной разведкой не занимается и поэтому имеет только один отдел "В". В свою очередь у каждого из вышеуказанных центров в подчинении находится несколько периферийных отделений, именуемых "Юва" (<sup>Yuva</sup>).

В отдела "А" как Главного управления МАХ, так и центров, работают офицеры генерального штаба и офицеры всех родов войск. Все будущие военные и морские атташе, посылаемые за границу, предварительно проходят стажировку в отдела "А". Ни один офицер генерального штаба не назначается на должность военного атташе без того, чтобы не пройти стажировки в отдела "А" МАХ. Остальные офицеры — стажеры, работающие в отделах "А", после окончания срока стажировки передаются в распоряжение армии и работают в разведывательных отделах дивизий и корпусов. Иногда эти же офицеры также посылаются за границу для ведения разведывательной работы под прикрытием сотрудников консульств и посольств.

В отделах "В", помимо офицеров различных родов войск, работают и гражданские чиновники. Большая часть работников отделов "В" работает под прикрытием "инспекторов безопасности", но не как сотрудники МАХ.

## II. МИНИСТЕРСТВО ВНУТРЕННИХ ДЕЛ

Контрразведывательные функции министерства внутренних дел осуществляет полиция (дирекция безопасности) и жандармерия.

### а) Генеральная дирекция безопасности (полиция)

Руководство всей полицией осуществляется генеральной дирекцией безопасности, которой непосредственно подчинены дирекции безопасности, существующие в каждом из 63 вилайетов.

Полиция получает ассигнования по госбюджету и по бюджетам вилайетских муниципалитетов.

Вилайетским дирекциям безопасности подчинены полицейские комиссариаты, существующие в большинстве из 44 уездов (каза). Этим последним подчинены полицейские волостные участки, однако существующие далеко не во всех 912 волостях (нахия). Кроме того, на многих железнодорожных станциях, а также пристанях, в зависимости от их важности, существуют полицейский участок или комиссариат. Этот участок или комиссариат всегда подчинен непосредственно вилайетской дирекции безопасности.

Общее количество сотрудников полиции составляет 8.350 человек.

Прием на работу в полицию ограничивается рядом условий. Принимаются на работу только турецкие граждане и турки по национальности.

### Структура Генеральной дирекции безопасности

У генерального директора безопасности имеется два заместителя: первому заместителю подчинены 1-е и 2-е Управления, переводческое бюро и отборочная

комиссия; второму заместителю подчинены 3-е и 4-е Управления, юрисконсультский отдел и дисциплинарная комиссия.

Непосредственно генеральному директору подчиняются: инспекция по полицейским делам (особая инспекция), архив, полицейский институт в Анкаре, полицейские школы в вилайетах, отдел по особо важным делам и 63 вилайетских дирекций безопасности.

**\*РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО\*** Сов. секретно  
Служба внешней разведки РФ 10

Разведывательные и контрразведывательные органы Турции.

1. МАХ - Служба Национальной Безопасности *Milli Emniyet Hizmeti* . . . . . В переписке с не МАХ"овскими организациями употребляется *Milli Emniyet Müfettişliği* - Инспекция Национальной Безопасности.  
Управление "А" МАХ"а - *"A" amirliği* . занимается разведкой.  
Управление "Б" МАХ"а - *"B" amirliği* . занимается контрразведкой.
2. Разведывательное Управление Генерального штаба *Genelkurum May. İstihbarat Müdürlüğü* . . . . .
3. Служба сбора сведений (контрразведка в армии) . . . *Haber alma servisi* . . . . .
4. I Управление Генеральной Дирекции Безопасности (полиция) . . *Emniyet umum müdürlüğü Daire I* . . . . .
5. Информационное бюро Министерства иностранных дел - занимается внешней разведкой.

На местах работники МАХ"а прикрываются работой в полицейских комиссариатах.

23.10.46



More documents on the SVR of Russia site

March 2026 marked 220 years since the Moscow Kremlin received museum status, although it has been a treasure trove almost since its foundation. For the past quarter century, it has been headed by Elena Yurievna Gagarina. "Razvedchik" spoke with the chief treasurer of one of the world's most visited museums about its current operations and future plans.

Elena Yurievna, you've been managing the museum for 25 years now. How much has it changed during this time?

I think we should start counting from a little over 200 years ago. A quarter of a century in the life of a museum it's a very short time. In the mid-19th century, the architect Konstantin Andreyevich Thon built the Armoury Chamber — the treasury of the Romanov dynasty. It stored approximately 5,000 exhibits, but now it contains over 160,000, of which only 20% are on display. While not every museum can display such a large number, it's usually no more than 5-10%.

Two centuries ago, guided tours weren't held every day, as the Kremlin was the imperial residence. Back then, newspapers advertised when groups could visit it. The route started at the Grand Kremlin Palace, passed through the Armoury Chamber, and ended in the Tsar's Courtyard. Things are obviously different today: we welcome over three million people annually, and the tours have been developed for a wide range of target groups.

What has become more complicated today, and what, on the contrary, has become easier?

Year after year, we accumulate experience, which simplifies the solution of many problems. Our museum survived Napoleon's invasion and the Great Patriotic War. In 1812, significant damage was caused to the Kremlin churches, but they were structurally incorporated into the museum only a century later, in 1912. And we should acknowledge the effort of those involved in evacuation, because on the base of the principles established then, today we continue to guide the packing of exhibits in every museum in the country.

Modern technology also makes our work easier. The development of 3D printers, lasers, and storage systems makes it possible to protect the most fragile relics. However, the challenge of withstanding the ravages of time remains: we preserve paper historical monuments under special conditions, exhibiting them for no more than two or three months every few years. The lifespan of fabric is also limited.

#### Elena Yurievna Gagarina

Born in April 17, 1959, in township Pechenga, Murmansk Region, she is the eldest daughter of the first cosmonaut, Yuri Gagarin. She is a graduate of Lomonosov Moscow State University and holds a PhD in art history. She worked at the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts for over twenty years. In April 2001, by presidential decree, she was appointed Director General of the Moscow Kremlin Museums. She serves on the Commission of the Russian Federation for UNESCO and the Patriarchal Council for Culture. She has been awarded the Order of Friendship, the Order of Merit for the Fatherland, 3rd and 4th classes, and many other awards, including foreign ones, including the Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, of Rhodes, and of Malta and the Order of the Legion of Honour.

Director of the Moscow Kremlin Museums  
Elena Gagarina:

“Museum activities  
are a true universe”



Fragment of the exhibition "The Kremlin legends: Russian romanticism and the Armoury Chamber"

**What was the most interesting or significant event over the past 25 years?**

Again, we should start a little bit earlier. Just over 35 years ago, the museum became one of the first sites put on the UNESCO World Heritage List. My colleagues and I were then faced with the task of presenting to the world our remarkable collections of ancient Russian and European art, which are the most exceptional among those held in state collections.

In those years, many people both in Russia and abroad did not even imagine that the Kremlin was also a museum. It was seen primarily as the

residence of the head of state. Today, we have become more open. For better understanding, let us put it like this: until the 1990s, the Kremlin practically never hosted international exhibitions.

It's also worth mentioning that our museum occupies a very modest space: the Armoury Chamber is only two thousand square meters. There are also two small exhibition halls, each is 200 square meters. Despite our vastly different size, we're comparable in terms of visitor numbers to the Hermitage. However, we plan to expand. We've been working on the building at 5 Red Square for quite some time now. We hope to welcome our first visitors there soon.

**Museums of the Moscow Kremlin**

Museum Association (since March 10, 1806, in accordance with the Decree of Alexander I). From 1938 to 1960, it was a structural subdivision of the Moscow Kremlin Commandant's Office; since 1960, it was an independent institution again; since 2011, it has been the Moscow Kremlin State History and Culture Preserve. It includes the Armoury Chamber, the Ivan the Great Bell Tower complex, the Assumption, Archangel, and Annunciation Cathedrals, the Church of the Deposition of the Robe, and the Museum of 17th Century Russian Culture. It also contains a research library, archives, and restoration workshops. The collection contains over 160,000 items. It is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

**Did the special military operation in Ukraine and the sanctions that followed affect the museum's work?**

Of course, we felt it. We've maintained dialogue with museum specialists abroad, but we're not yet talking about sending exhibits back and forth. Before these events, we had many projects in Europe, America, Japan, and all over the world. Now we also have interesting opportunities. For example, South Korea is requesting some items from us, but we're not ready to offer them anything yet.

Nevertheless, we continue to promote Russian culture. Bahrain, Belarus, China, and Oman are open to cooperation. Many other countries are also willing to host us, but they lack the necessary display systems for our exhibits. Among them is India, a country with challenging climate conditions, which could mean the last trip there for our relics.

There have also been visible changes in the structure of foreign tourists. Their number has decreased, and now we are seeing more Chinese citizens and visitors from the Arab world.

**What projects are you preparing for visitors during the upcoming spring-summer season?**

More than ten exhibitions are planned for 2026. Naturally, it's impossible to cover them all in detail, so I'll just name a few.

The exhibition "Descendants of Genghis Khan: Rus' and the World" has been open since January 10th and will be open until July 19th, 2026. It contains items from state museums, including the Hermitage, and private collections. Many exhibits are being shown to the public for the first time. Furthermore, we are telling visitors a story that goes far beyond the surface.

In early May, an exhibition will open that is a rare event for us: we will be displaying a gift from collector Oleg Pavlovich Loginov — 56 masterpieces of silversmithing from the 15th to the first half of the 20th centuries, including cups, mugs, and glasses made by Russian masters and their colleagues from Nuremberg and Augsburg. The Kremlin Museums have never received such a gift.

“Many people both in Russia and abroad did not even imagine that the Kremlin was also a museum. It was seen primarily as the residence of the head of state.”

This summer, we're bringing the "Peter the Great and Catherine the Great" exhibition to China. It will be opened in Wuhan (Hubei Province) on July 1st and then will be moved to the Shanghai World Expo Museum. Key items include Peter the Great's caftan and cross, Peter II's caftan, and a pitcher and cup given by Tsarina Natalia Kirillovna to Tsarevich Alexey.

The exhibition "Looking into Heaven: Treasures of Russian Museums" is planned in the Hong Kong Palace Museum in the fall. This is a joint project with the State Tretyakov Gallery and the State History, Architecture and Art Vladimir-Suzdal Museum-Reserve. We are sending 13 objects to the exhibition.

In October, a single-piece exhibition dedicated to the icon "The Last Judgment" — the earliest example of this subject in the art of the

Exhibition «West European Silver of the 13th – 19th centuries». The Armoury Chamber



“It’s not the attractiveness of exhibitions that’s the problem. I’m deeply convinced that if adults don’t take their children to museums or the opera, where they share their experiences and tell them the history of the country, young people themselves won’t enjoy such activities.

Moscow Principality from the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries — will be opened in the Grand Vestibule of the Kremlin Armoury. The icon underwent a lengthy restoration — almost 10 years — and is little known to general public.

Projects are also planned in other Russian cities. From August “White Gold of the Kremlin” will be exhibited at the State Historical Museum branch in Tula, the exhibition “Ambassadorial gifts to the Russian tsars” will be opened in the N.I. Grodekov Khabarovsk Regional Museum in September. The State Historical Museum of the Southern Urals will host the exhibition “Heavenly Azure”.

Exhibition «Ancient state regalia and formal ceremonial items of 13th – 18th centuries». The Armoury Chamber



How do you work with young people? How do you engage them in learning history?

We’re developing new formats for presenting information to children and teenagers. For example, we offer a creative activity called “Heraldic Detective”, designed for children aged 9-11. The goal is to reconstruct the coats of arms of ancient Russian peoples. Our search game for the youngest children, “Lion Hunt” (aged 6-8), is a great hit. We also engage teenagers in more serious ways through the programs “Stories of the Tsar’s Treasury” and “From Rose to Thistle: Flower Symbolism in Art”.

But to attract a new generation, you need core values, usually instilled by parents or a dedicated teacher. Forcing children to go to museums is pointless. It’s not the attractiveness of exhibitions that’s the problem. I’m deeply convinced that if adults don’t take their children to museums or the opera, where they share their experiences and tell them the history of the country, young people themselves won’t enjoy such activities.

What’s your opinion on multimedia technology in museums? Will we ever see, for example, a robot tour guide in the Kremlin?

As for new technologies, I’m certainly positive about them, but within reasonable limits. They’re necessary and important when you need to show an exhibit from different angles, inform about the restoration work, and enlarge details that aren’t visible to the naked eye, especially through a glass case.

For example, as part of the exhibition of the icon “Last Judgment”, visitors will be able to learn about the various methods and stages of its scientific restoration using media technology. We display digital macro images of the surface, the icon’s image under ultraviolet and X-ray light, and a cartogram of its state of preservation. However, the screens should not distract visitors from the main focus.

Much more in demand in museums are technologies for preserving exhibits. For example, there used to be no such thing as a vacuum table. Now we use it to clean fabric and paper — the most difficult-to-preserve materials.

There was also no laser welding to repair a tear in metal.

I don’t think we’ll need a robot tour guide; it’s much more pleasant to communicate with our guides, who know history very well and can answer any questions.

The media has reported on archaeological excavations underway on the Kremlin grounds. So, is there still something unknown? Are they finding anything interesting?

There’s never a lull in this field. Researchers from the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences continue archaeological exploration of our territory. Excavations have been conducted in the lower part of the Taynitsky Garden at the foot of Kremlin Hill and in other locations within the Kremlin. Recently, the remains of 12th century residential buildings and over five thousand artifacts were discovered there, adding to our collection.

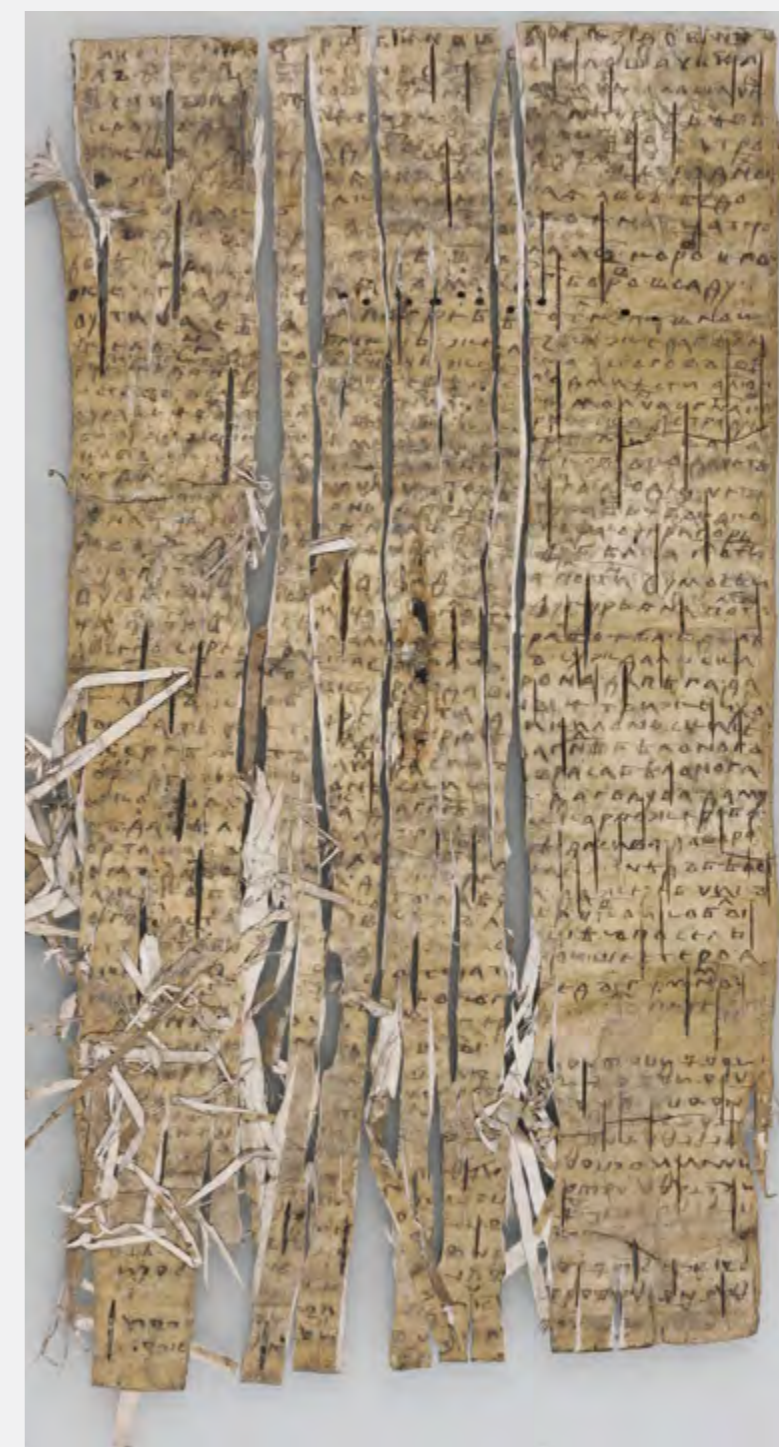
Among them is a remarkably preserved birch bark letter, written in ink. It’s an inheritance document containing nearly 400 (!) words. An extremely rare example of ancient Slavic script! Unfortunately, we cannot display such a relic widely; it would quickly perish simply from exposure to light. But we are carefully studying it, writing about it, and promoting it as much as possible.

What period of Russian history interests you most? Do you have any favorite exhibits?

Honestly, I don’t have any favorite periods in history or exhibits; in my work, absolutely everything is fascinating. For me, museum work is an entire universe. You see, the more information we gain about our exhibits or a particular historical era, the more fascinating it becomes. And new things are constantly emerging: when researchers write articles, when we compile collection catalogs, and, of course, when we arrange exhibitions.

And finally, tell me, why should everyone visit the Kremlin Museums at least once in their life?

The Kremlin is the beginning of all beginnings for anyone who loves Russian history



and desires to delve deeper into it. It houses the finest collection of Russian art, as well as striking pieces of European art that were once treasured at the Tsar’s court. The finest, most astonishing exhibits, treasures any museum in the world would covet, are housed in the Kremlin. Come to see them! 🇷🇺

Birch bark letter. Rus’, Moscow. Late 14th – early 15th centuries. The Moscow Kremlin Museums

Interviewed by Mikhail Pogudin

**“Razvedchik” has invited Russian political and public figure, State Duma Deputy Maria Butina, whose interests include the study and practical application of political profiling methods.**

**Maria Valeryevna, could you please tell us what profiling is and why this word is so popular now?**

Profiling is a professional field that uses a complex of scientific and applied methods for determining a person's profile and predicting their behavior. There are different types of profiling, such as forensic profiling, political profiling, and business profiling.

**FAQ: What is the difference between profiling and applied psychology? This topic could be the subject of a long article, but I will try to be brief. Profiling is an integrated method. It has absorbed all the essential knowledge from various sciences, not just psychology. It arose from the necessity to create a portrait of an individual when direct contact with them is either impossible or does not involve the psychologist assessing the opponent through traditional diagnostic methods.**

Political profiling, in essence, involves creating a behavioral portrait of key figures to prepare for negotiations, influence their actions and decisions, and effectively conduct information warfare. Note, a behavioral portrait. This means that profiling is more practice-oriented. After all, the goal of profiling is not just to describe the subject's personal characteristics, but to ‘read’ their intentions, predict their actions, and

reactions to our steps. Psychology alone is not enough for this.

Historically, this task has almost always been carried out by intelligence agencies and civil organizations working closely with them. Every intelligence officer should be a bit of a profiler, in fact.

Why is profiling so popular right now? Because it's easier to create illusions, fake appearances, and masks in today's high-tech world. This is where special skills for ‘decoding’ and ‘reading’ personality have come in handy.

**Speaking of modern technologies, artificial intelligence could be used to create such portraits, couldn't it? AI will quickly process large amounts of data.**

Indeed, neural networks are considered almost a symbol of the 21st century. They become smarter, provide answers quickly, and can perform many human functions. However, despite the general enthusiasm, they often make mistakes, spin tall tales and concoct things as neural networks use all the information they find, both true and false. They are not capable of deeply understanding and predicting human behavior for purely practical purposes, such as in international relations. I am confident that for now, the most reliable and effective tool for accomplishing such tasks is live intelligence, not artificial.

#### **Maria Valeryevna Butina**

Maria Valeryevna Butina was born on November 10, 1988, in Barnaul. She graduated from Altai State University in 2010, earned a master's degree from American University (USA) in 2018, and graduated from the Patrice Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University of Russia in 2024. From 2011 to 2015, she headed the all-Russian public organization Right to Bear Arms. In 2018, while in the United States, she was arrested on charges of unregistered activity as a foreign agent and sentenced to 18 months in prison. In October 2019, she was deported to Russia. She works in Russian television. In 2021, she was elected to the State Duma. Maria Butina wrote the book ‘Prison Diary’ (2020), which was adapted into a TV series of the same name.

**Maria Butina::  
“Every intelligence officer should be a profiler”**

“Human behavior analysis without high-tech solutions will be soon considered unthinkable, but they will not replace teams of qualified professional profilers in the near future

Of course, human behavior analysis without high-tech solutions will be soon considered unthinkable, but they will not replace teams of qualified professional profilers in the near future.

#### How long has political profiling existed?

One of the earliest known cases of compiling a psychological profile of a politician without direct contact with him is found in Camillo Baldi's 1622 work, “A treatise on how to recognize from a letter the nature and quality of a writer.”

Baldi based his conclusions on what we would today call psycholinguistic text analysis. He studied the correspondence of Spanish politicians — the Duke of Lerma, Francisco Gomez

de Sandoval y Rojas, and Antonio Perez. However, at the time, this had no practical value: the research was not used to get prepared for negotiations, make important decisions, or plan actions. The practical application of political profiling was only discussed in the 20th century.

According to declassified documents from American intelligence agencies, one of the first examples of preparing a comprehensive psychological profile for specific tasks was a work of Walter Langer, a famous psychoanalyst. In 1943, his team, working for the US Office of Strategic Services (*Ed. — CIA predecessor*), conducted a detailed study of the personality of the leader of the Nazi Germany. It was based on a significant amount of open-source material: books, interviews, speech recordings, and the results of prisoner interviews, including those who had personal contact with Hitler, were carefully studied. Today, we would call this OSINT (*Ed. — open-source intelligence*).

Incidentally, validating the open information being researched became a serious problem for the Americans. Everyone understood that public speeches are prepared in advance, and printed publications represent the result

of work of countless journalists, editors, and proofreaders. The challenge was precisely to develop a scientific approach that would allow for relevant conclusions to be drawn even from such extremely fragmentary and not always reliable information.

W. Langer's research was used by information warfare specialists. It can be reasonably assumed that this knowledge allowed the Americans to conduct their subsequent campaign to discredit the leader of the Nazi Germany more effectively.

#### Presumably American specialists also worked on the USSR?

Of course. From the beginning of the Cold War, the United States had a special Psychological Strategy Board, which included CIA representatives. As part of one of the programs — the psychological preparation for Stalin's removal from power — Langer's approach was used to profile all members of the Political Bureau of the USSR.

From declassified CIA archives, we also know that in June 1961, a detailed psychological profile of Nikita Khrushchev, prepared specifically for the Vienna summit, was presented and subsequently delivered to US President John F. Kennedy. The document, among other things, included an in-depth analysis of the Soviet leader's biography. According to contemporaries, Kennedy found the report informative. However, Nikita Sergeyevich dominated the negotiations so much that his counterpart was unable to fully utilize the intelligence recommendations. Nevertheless, the president liked the practice of preparing opponents' profiles for upcoming meetings, and it became common.

#### Have similar studies been conducted in our country?

Not much is known about the domestic school of psychological profiling. In the Soviet Union, such documents were prepared within the walls of specialized centers of the Academy of Sciences and secret agencies. Perhaps there is some logic to this — after all, it makes it more difficult to understand us and adapt to our negotiation strategies. A kind of counter-profiling.

Today, this area of activity is extremely in demand, primarily in large commercial structures — business profiling and corporate profiling are on the rise. I am confident that the non-governmental sector has much to offer the government agencies, including for addressing security challenges. However, there are serious organizational barriers that hinder the integration of efforts.

In the recent years, politics has become highly personalized. On the global stage we sometimes witness eccentric figures that appear to make seemingly spontaneous decisions. Can we speak of their unpredictability, or are they also quite “readable”?

Of course, everyone is different; some are more difficult to read than others. The same applies to predictability. There are complete puppets, predictably mirroring the ones who are stronger. And then there are those from whom you never know what to expect. I would say it's always a blend of unpredictability and ingrained behavioral patterns.

You mentioned counter-profiling. Are there effective techniques to shield oneself from profilers? Does it make sense to leave social media, to minimize one's digital presence?

It makes sense, and quite a lot, because social media, instant messaging apps, and personal online pages are a profiler's goldmine. This is the first source they turn to when searching for information about you, to find out what you do, which gym you go to, what food you prefer, who you follow online... However, you need to understand that social media can reveal only as much about you as you allow. Minimizing or correcting your digital footprint will make it much more difficult for someone to “read” you like an open book. 📖

Interviewed  
by Sergey Guskov

“Today, this area of activity is extremely in demand, primarily in large commercial structures — business profiling and corporate profiling are on the rise.



“A treatise on how to recognize from a letter the character and nature of the writer”.  
C. Baldi.  
1622

# Three days to live

Paying tribute to the daily heroism of our soldiers during the special military operation, "Razvedchik", in collaboration with the Russian Ministry of Defense's "Politruk" magazine, is launching a series of publications featuring living testimonies from front-line soldiers. After all, words are a powerful weapon, and when they come from eyewitnesses, they are twice as powerful.

Text: Anton Khrulyov, volunteer, UAV operator, member of the Union of Writers of Russia

Drawings: Sergey Dorozhenko

In January 2025, a young lieutenant arrived at the assault detachment. One of the veterans, code sign "Lucky", looked at him grimly and said: "Well, Comrade Lieutenant, you have three days to live. Take advantage of them while you can". Then he took a deep drag on his cigarette, gazing into the slushy distance of the Kherson horizon.

"Lucky's" words hung in the air. Lieutenant Kirill Malov didn't respond. He only nodded, as if acknowledging the receipt of a combat mission. Three days. A period for a newborn kitten. And a death sentence for the commander of a penal company.

The company he took over consisted of former prisoners, "vacation traders", deserters — in short, all those whom the war had given a chance to atone for their sins with blood, not with the prison term. They had bargained with the previous company commander — a fat captain with predatory eyes — for the right to hole up in the rear area, repairing generators and digging endless trenches far from the front. That captain now sat in the military police basement, and his "business company" had been given to Kirill.

They looked at him, a twenty-five-year-old academy graduate, with lazy hatred. He had taken away their warm swamp. He was a threat to their survival, built on betrayal.

## The first day

It passed in silent standoff. Kirill checked the posts. "Soldier, why isn't the trench deeper?" The response was drawn out, deliberately slow: "Lieutenant, the ground is frozen. The crowbar's bent". And a look that said, "You'll die soon, what's the point?"

At evening formation, he gave clear, simple orders for the following day: set up a machine-gun nest on the left flank, check communications, and tighten camouflage. The response was a dead, doomed silence.

"Lucky", a gray-haired warrant officer with an impassive face, observed from beneath his overhanging brows. His code sign was a mockery of fate — he'd been through Chechnya, Syria, on the special military operation from the very beginning, and survived. He'd seen the "three-day" lieutenants come and go.

## The second day

The morning began with an artillery strike. It was untargeted, just to cover the territory, but no less terrifying. The ground shook. Kirill, his heart pounding somewhere in his throat, ran along the trench, kicking in the back with his boot those who pressed themselves against the walls, covering their heads with their hands. "Take cover! Swarm out the perimeter, observers take their posts!" His voice, breaking into

a shriek, cut through the air. Someone obeyed him — instinctively.

After the raid, he gathered the men. Not to tell them off. He sat down on an ammunition crate, pulled out some Prima cigarettes — those cheap, soldier-issue ones — and silently held the pack out. The first man who took one was "Lucky", squatting heavily next to him. The others followed, slowly and distrustfully.

"Your previous company commander", Kirill began hoarsely, not looking at anyone, "he sold you your life. I won't sell it. I will demand it. Not for record. For the cause. Out there, "he nodded towards the roaring front line, "are our guys. Just like us. They are having a hard time. Our job is to make things at least a bit easier for them. It is not for heroism, but for conscience". He spoke quietly, but in the silence that followed the canonade, every word struck like a hammer. He spoke not as a superior, but as a man who was also afraid, but for whom fear was nothing compared to a sense of duty. "Lucky" smoked silently, looking at the lieutenant. Something other than the usual weariness flickered in his eyes. Kind of an old, nearly forgotten interest.

## The night of the second day

An enemy sabotage group attempted to penetrate through the minefield that had been badly mapped under the previous commander. They were spotted almost by accident, by the crunch of snow. It was one of the ex-jailbirds who raised the alarm — a tall, stooped man with a spider tattoo on his neck, whom everyone called "Spider". He quietly approached Kirill's dugout and, looking at the floor, said, "Lieutenant, there's rustling on the left flank. Non-friendly".

Kirill rallied the company. There was no time to waste. He divided it into two groups, sent "Lucky" around, and he and three other soldiers went head-on, creating noise. In a short, furious firefight in the darkness, lit only by gunfire, they cut off the saboteurs. One was captured alive. When all was quiet, they stood, breathing heavily, looking at each other. And there was no longer the wall in their gaze. There was bewilderment. Surprise that they had done it. They were together. Without ulterior motive.



**The third day**

It was gray and cold. According to the cynics' predictions the lieutenant's "term" had expired. In the morning, an order came: "Provide cover for the evacuation of the wounded from the adjacent sector". It was a dangerous, maneuverable mission. This company had "failed" such orders before — either communications would go dead, or a "strange" mortar attack would erupt in the most inopportune place.

Kirill set the task clearly, square by square. And he saw not dull eyes, but focused and wary ones. "Lucky" himself assigned the machine gunners. Spider volunteered to go with the radio operator to the nearest cordon. They worked. Not like members of penal company eager for a prison sentence, but like soldiers. Perhaps not perfect, perhaps with wolfish, distrustful looks — but soldiers. When the "Hurricanes" began pounding their positions, no one ran. They clung to the ground, crawled away, bandaging their comrades' wounds. Kirill, hoarse-voiced, his face blackened by soot, was coordinating the fire. He wasn't thinking about three days. He was thinking about getting his men out and completing the mission. The wounded were evacuated. Their positions held. That evening, Kirill, bandaging a shrapnel wound on the arm of a young soldier shaking with adrenaline, felt someone's gaze on him. He looked up. "Lucky" stood in the doorway of the dug-out shelter. He approached silently, placed two cans of stewed meat and a pack of that very same "Prima" on the table.

"Your three days are over, Lieutenant", the old man said hoarsely. He sighed heavily, pulled out a cigarette, but didn't light it, twirling it in his fingers instead. "Only it looks like the count-down has started all over again. For all of us".

He nodded toward the dugout, where the soldiers, talking loudly, were sharing their rations, and some were even laughing quietly. Laughing despite the war, the dirt, the fear. It was the laughter of people who once again felt not like a herd, but a part of something greater. A company that had a leader. He was not their master, but their commander.

**The fourth day**

Lieutenant Malov's fourth day began the same as the previous one: with cold, artillery fire, and the sticky mud of the trenches. But when he came out for the morning formation, the soldiers didn't greet him with silence. Some nodded, others briefly said, "Commander". And there was no mockery in that word. It was recognition.

Three days to live were over. But life, despite everything, was only just beginning.

**Demining squad**

The early spring of 2024 in Donbas was not a happy time. The day greeted them with a low, leaden sky, taut over the earth like a drum-head. The air was humid and cold, smelling of damp clay, the smoke from fires, and something metallic and sharp. The snow had melted, turning the fields and roadsides into a black, sticky mess. Somewhere beyond the horizon, beyond the hills, artillery thundered, but here, in their sector, there was a ringing, unnatural silence, the kind mine pickers hate most of all. In it, every sound — the snap of a branch, the whine of a boot being pulled from the mud — was alarming.

In this silence, their team worked. Three Siberians who had known each other for years. They were from different corners of Siberia, but here their relations become stronger than brothers had. Their code signs sounded clear and prosily on the airwaves: "Foka", "Bochan", "Barkal". Calm as rocks, they were unafraid of booby traps, tripwires, or landmines. Their war was quiet, but no less fatal.

"Barkal", the group's leader, a native of Krasnoyarsk, moved with that chilling calm that comes only with years of experience. For him, concepts like "panic" or "hour of trouble" didn't exist — every minute was a time for precision work. He squatted before a barely visible tangle of wires, artfully woven into the mud. His

face, weathered by Siberian frosts and frontline winds, expressed neither fear nor anxiety. He held a pair of tweezers, and at that moment he resembled a neurosurgeon performing a very complex operation. With the thin metal tip, he carefully, millimeter by millimeter, began to unravel the deadly knots entangled with scraps of iron. "Calm down, guys", his deep voice broke the silence. "We need to take our time here, without rushing". He spoke with the respect with which Siberians speak about harsh nature or a strong enemy.

Behind him, like an impenetrable rock shield, towered "Bochan". Hailing from Mountain Shoriya, a true bear-like strength felt in him. He was their support, their muscle. He wore not only a heavy sapper's vest, filled with tools, but also the invisible weight of responsibility for his comrades. While "Barkal" worked with pinpoint accuracy, "Bochan", wasting no time,

deftly cutting the wires running toward the remaining road with a shovel. He did it roughly, but incredibly effectively. "I don't want that rubbish breaking into anyone's house", he muttered under his breath, and those words held the simple, clear truth.

"Foka" provided the team's vigilance. Hailing from Buryatia, from the shores of Lake Baikal, he possessed an incredible, almost mystical power of observation. His narrow eyes, sharp as polished diamonds, sought out the slightest discrepancies in the ruined earth. He saw what was hidden from others: a slight sinking of the ground, an unnatural bend in a blade of grass, a tiny fragment of plastic that shouldn't have been there. He walked slightly ahead and to the side, jabbing a long probe into the ground with habitual, well-turned movements. "We have it" — his quiet but clear voice stopped everyone. "Here. You can feel the iron. They hid



it well, bastards". And it was his keen eye and sensitive hands that found what the enemy had carefully concealed in the damp earth. "Barkal" was the first to hear it — not a sound, but a high-pitched buzzing, like an enraged hornet. He turned, and his usually calm eyes widened in terror. "FPV! Take cover!" he shouted, but it was too late. From behind the skeleton of a burnt birch-tree, a small kamikaze drone emerged, rapidly gaining speed. The world exploded. Shrapnel sprayed like a swarm of enraged bees. "Foka", unable to jump away, howled in pain and sank heavily to the ground. The blast wave deafened "Bochan" and "Barkal", showering them with clods of dirt. "Foka!"- roared "Bochan", oblivious of concealment. He ran up first. "Foka", pale, with bleeding legs, his teeth clenched, tried to apply a tourniquet with trembling hands. "My legs... got cut", he hissed through his teeth. There were three kilometers to the evacuation point. Three kilometers through soggy, treacherous mud, under potential fire. "Bochan", without a word, heaved his comrade onto himself like a sack of flour. "Barkal" walked alongside, covering them up, his eyes now scanning the sky rather than the ground. With one hand, he supported "Foka" by his back. They stumbled, falling into the mud, rising again. Their breathing was as hoarse as a steam locomotive, shared between the three of them, without a word. Only a muffled, "Hold on, old man", and a hoarse groan in response. Those three kilometers seemed like a road to the end of the earth.

A few weeks later, they met in Moscow, in a white, medicine-scented hospital corridor. "Foka", noticeably haggard, but on his feet now, was leaning on a crutch. "Bochan" and "Barkal", having been permitted a few days' rest, immediately rushed to his side. They entered in the smoking room — a small glassed-in veranda overlooking the hospital garden. It was cool. "Bochan" silently pulled a trophy thermos from his bag, rumpled but reliable. "Tea" — he said shortly, unscrewing the lid, which converted into three mugs. They poured strong, scalding Siberian tea, brewed by "Bochan". They said nothing. Cigarette smoke mingled with the steam. They looked not at each other, but through the glass, at the bare branches of the trees. "You dragged me, fat as I am, for so many kilometers", — "Foka" croaked, looking into his mug. A weary, brotherly gratitude rang in his voice. "You bet we did!", — snorted "Bochan", finishing his tea. "Just be a little lighter next time, you've become a bit heavy". "You would have done the same in our place", — "Barkal" responded, and his eyes again flashed with that familiar, keen gleam. They fell silent. But in that silence, in the steam from the tea, in the simple, rough spoken words, lay the whole truth of the front. They were alive. They were together. And that meant that, as before, life had come again. Perhaps not simple, but it was life nonetheless.

## Defender

He grew up in his grandmother's arms. A quiet apartment in a suburban five-story building, the smell of cabbage pies, and an old, faded photograph of his mother and father on the chest of drawers — all that remained of that fateful day when Roma's parents died in a car accident. His grandmother became both a mother and a father to him: she raised him, taught him, and nursed him through all his childhood illnesses. And then, one quiet autumn evening, when the kitchen smelled of tea and baked apples, he told her, looking at the table rather than in her eyes: "Grandma, I'm volunteering for the SVO". The silence hung thick as jellied meat. He was afraid to look up, afraid to see in her eyes the same pain he had seen 20 years ago, when the

terrible news arrived. But he saw only a bottomless, ancient sadness and understanding. She didn't try to dissuade him. She knew his blood, remembered her husband, who had returned from that war. She simply sighed heavily. And on that cool September day when he left, she said nothing about her anxiety. She merely gripped his hands painfully with her calloused hands and thrust into them a small, time-darkened metal icon. "Take this, my boy. Your grandfather survived the war thanks to St. Nicholas. He will surely protect you, too". The small icon was warm from her hands. Not being particularly religious, he instinctively placed it in the breast pocket of his military uniform, right over his heart, crossed himself, hugged the old woman's thin shoulders, and walked away without looking back. To keep himself from crying. The front had it all: dirt, cold, hellish noise, brief moments of sleep, and endless hours of vigil. The small icon lay in his pocket, and sometimes, especially before difficult expeditions, he would feel it through the fabric with his fingers, recalling his grandmother's voice. It wasn't so much a ritual as a connection to his home — a thin thread stretching from hell to the world where his nearest and dearest person remained. Five months. It seemed like an eternity had passed. And then one instantaneous whistle, cutting through time, and everything turned upside down. A deafening blow, the sensation of falling into an abyss, a hot wave in his chest, and... silence. He woke up in a frontline hospital. Through the fog of his consciousness, the thought pierced: "I'm alive". Reality returned in fragments: the surgeon's pursed lips, the shaking in the UAZ ambulance, the searing pain. But — alive. Then was hospital. Long weeks of treatment. A doctor, bandaging him, once marveled: "The shrapnel missed your heart by a millimeter. You're lucky, man, as if someone diverted it." And then Roman remembered. He reached for the nightstand, where his combat shirt lay in a bag with his personal belongings. He found the pocket. The fabric was torn, and caught in the tangle of threads and charred material was a small icon. A fresh, deep dent gaped right in the center of St. Nicholas's chest. As if someone had taken a terrible blow. The soldier clutched the small icon in his fist,



closed his eyes, and for the first time in a long time, he couldn't hold back his tears. It was not because of pain, but from shame at his lack of faith. He was discharged. The wound was too serious; his heart, though uninjured, was failing. He returned home, still not fully recovered, using a cane, but alive. Grandmother met him at the door. She didn't say, "I told you, didn't I?". She simply hugged him, resting her gray head on his chest, where that same small icon now hung on a chain under his shirt. "Thank you, Lord", he whispered, looking somewhere above his grandmother's head, into the autumn sky. And it seemed as if in response, a quiet light, similar to the one emanating from the face on the darkened small icon, touched his wounded but living soul. He returned. To the only person who had been waiting for him. And that was the greatest miracle. 🚩



# Our truth thunders fireworks in May and lies with the bones in every inch of land!

In collaboration with the Russian Ministry of Defense's "Politrak" magazine, "Razvedchik" publishes poems written by participants of the Special Military Operation. Some of them gave their lives for the Motherland.



**SERGEY LOBANOV,**  
Guards Senior Lieutenant of the Airborne Forces,  
awarded with the Order of Courage

## On Poklonnaya Hill

How long will you talk that you are invincible?  
That the "horde" is no scarier than a puppy in a kennel?  
Well, answer then, aren't they yours,  
Those cars that stand in two rows on Poklonnaya Hill?

They've got neither agility nor inherent strength,  
Only obedience and holes in the vaunted armor.  
We already took you up with forks in the past,  
Both at Borodino and in the Great Patriotic War,

And we'll repeat it today! We have many forks in Russia.  
We have saved them for you since the old times.  
Our truth thunders fireworks in May  
And lies with the bones in every inch of land!

This truth is written on the walls of Reichstag!  
This truth brought Crimea back to the Homeland!  
And with bayonets in battles or with pens on paper,  
We speak its language in Donbass' defense.

And believe us, dear "friends", this is just the beginning,  
For when our Russian Ivan spreads his wings,  
Not only Europe will not be enough for you,  
You will understand how small the World Ocean is!

## Russia

We knew that not everyone would face Victory,  
Not everyone would find their own grave.  
But, without a greater love than for Russia,  
We moved forward not hesitating at all.

We in battalions, companies, and platoons  
Fertilized hectares of land with our flesh.  
And we killed. Sometimes we did it readily,  
But, alas! we couldn't do otherwise.

We drank the puddles with our dry mouths,  
We dreamed about baths and we smoked dry weeds.  
We tore away our youth with the bandages  
That stuck to the flesh of our bleeding wounds.

We saw God: he was of average height,  
With AK on his neck and the Psalter under his armor,  
With a worn sheet where Psalm ninety is printed.  
...That god was our brave father-commander.

They burned us with phosphorus, knocked us down  
with shrapnel,  
But we were not afraid of unequal fights.  
It is a great happiness to be born in Russia!  
It is a special honor to die for her.

## My wife

My wife is stronger than many other women,  
And as she is a military man's wife,  
The fate did not provide her with ordinary life,  
With its usual course of cares and days.

She humbly watches the clock,  
But curses their slowness in secret,  
She spends weeks, often even months  
Waiting for me without weariness.

My wife is stronger than many other women.  
When I'm on my mission, she surely can  
Plaster the walls hiding the crack pattern,  
Be on the beat in the rooms like a sentry man.

She can move the wardrobe and fix the door  
Broken off by our mischievous son.  
And at night, she draws a big heart  
From our two heart halves split away.

God willing, she won't love me less than firstly,  
Having had enough of spending time apart.  
My wife is stronger than many other women,  
But in this strength of hers, my fault resides.

## We are alive!

Look, we still remain in the ranks.  
Don't bury us! We have not fallen yet.  
The life we felt in the middle of the battle  
Is stronger than the one we used to know.

Our heavy hearts still beat in unison,  
And veins in our necks keep staying strained.  
We once again are ready to fight to the end  
In the icy-cold trenches sprinkled with blood.

Leave pity behind. Grief is not the end.  
Time won't stifle our will to live!  
We are alive! We are strong as never before!  
We've lost our arms and legs, but not our souls!

**ALEXEY POLUBOTA,**  
Secretary of the Union of Writers of Russia,  
volunteer, KIA near Sinkovka,  
awarded with the Order of Courage (posthumously)

## A house sunken in between heaven and earth

Every dusty bush here is exhaling death,  
Like a sentry frozen by the road.  
The rough air here is unbearably dense,  
And the knocked-down crosses cry for God.

A house sunken in between heaven and earth  
Looks here into eternity with his lifeless eyes...  
Death is not scary, we all will die in our time,  
More frightening is what will remain behind us.  
Let's run quickly to this creepy house,  
Where someone's childhood fell into the abyss.  
The thunder in the sky is not so scary,  
Much scarier is the scream that fades away nearby.

\*\*\*  
Why the stars here are so hot?!  
They can even burn your heart through.  
Under icy winds that provoke tears,  
It's so hard to save last sparks of hope.  
This gloomy roar from behind the waste banks  
Resembles screams of awakened demons of war.  
But bright eyes' steadfastness is still stronger  
Amid the night's silence torn to shreds.

\*\*\*  
Snowflakes fall silently  
Onto the cooling waters,  
And this doomed dance  
Stops the flow of my blood.

Why do they readily rush into the abyss?  
To be the white dissolving in the black,  
And even with their powerless death  
To strengthen the impenetrable darkness?!

I keep recalling faces of the young  
Who fell unknown in the remote steppe...  
And how their brave and selfless hearts  
Became part of the frozen thick black soil.

But the day will come, and what was utterly black,  
Will turn snow-white, once and for all.  
And the even snowy plain will shine  
With our true and immaculate glory.

\*\*\*  
On the rocky edge of the realm,  
I stay, driving my roots into the ice.  
The wind blows off clouds with a whistle,  
But it won't ever move me from my place!  
My soul will stay forever in the granite  
Of this severe and empty northern land.  
Oh, ships, please, just hoot louder in the distance,  
Dissolving in the gloomy cloudy sky!

\*\*\*  
Sun gives us golden handfuls of moments,  
Showing its love to the God's world.  
How many ups and downs we have lived through!  
No one can escape from oneself...

At forty-five, I've started to daydreaming  
That a threatening fiery sunset is very near.  
Ash grey birds cry over my fate,  
As if flying above a dark wood lake.

I have often been disingenuous before God,  
But still, standing at a ghostly line,  
I feel that my road has been clear  
In the gloom of pre-eternal spleen.

May be, as a reward for all my sorrows,  
I will meet there with all my beloved,  
And coolness will pour upon my soul  
From immaculate and imperishable wings.

**IGOR EFREMOV,**  
mobilized, nickname Kobzar

## Exam time

War brands everyone and gives them its marks,  
And distributes rewards for their labor.  
The Russian Spirit is freezing in the tent.  
Wake up and ask yourself: where are you?

And where is your son, your father, husband, brother?  
Play the oracle in the kitchen is all they can?  
When troubles come, with hordes of enemies and cowards,  
Wake up and join the ranks! It's time now to get up.

Lame and cross-eyed... Sober up and put your shoes on,  
Take an AK, a shovel and a pick.  
Sew balaclavas, do training in the field,  
There's no need to make a sour face.

Don't complain to your mom nor throw mud,  
You and I have just one Motherland.  
They weren't heroes from pictures who saved her –  
A common Russian man and his own wife.

In victorious May we'll make proper emphases,  
And we will pay off all our debts with some excess.  
Through tears we'll say compliments to our loved ones,  
And we'll refresh the fences around the graves.

Well, in the meantime, we are awaited in the line.  
It's time to fall in, following our Granddads.  
The war has come and gives us all its marks.  
My friend, it's time for us to take our exams.

December 2022

## Once again about God

The closer to the front line, the more of God  
You find inside yourself and all around you.  
And your fellow is not a drunkard Sergey,  
But a reliable friend sent to you by God.  
He hasn't drunk for a long time; he is a wall of granite:  
Wherever you have put him, there he stays.  
His armor is shattered by a dashing splinter,  
And the color of his face resembles burnt clay.  
But you're in love with him and with that face,  
And ready to pray for it every single day.  
After all, it was he who tore the skin from his palms  
Trying to prevent you from falling down dead.  
He dug the earth with his hands, half-unconscious,  
But he dug you up, he pulled you out, in time.  
And, being saved by Him, you ask by inspiration:  
"Please, honor my request and pray for Sergey.  
He has a lot of things to do there these days.  
Sergey has flown up to God this very night."

June 2024

## Donbass syndrome

I am poisoned by Donbass, crippled by him,  
Like lava from a furnace, like coal from a mine.  
The fricative "g" sounds like creaking of iron,  
I'm sentenced to remain with him and to die.

He is the madness of the brave and the abomination  
of the scum.

He is a common grave for the soldiers of my company.  
He is a spring song and a child's laughter,  
Whose soul flies away with the roar of an explosion.

He is people of steel, fragments and echoes.  
He is a killed golden minefield of grain.  
He is a bone, a splinter, a tear, and a milestone.  
He is a moment of silence in the middle of a feast.

The green of the dead Popasnaya, the remains of  
Bakhmut,  
Waste banks of sorrow, destruction, and confusion.  
Between the strange roads twisted into fetters,  
The Ghost of hope for their revival wanders.

The fatalism of Kremennaya, the groan of Lisichansk's  
forests,  
Mariupol markets and the climate of the Caucasus.  
The tin of Donetsk, the Moscow tiles of Lugansk.  
The real life here is like a scary fairy tale.

I am caught up in Donbass, crushed and suffocated.  
He is like a torn wound, a desperate pain.  
He is the anthracite dust which filled up all my soul  
And pierced my heart with the deadly love.

May 2024

## Ode to UAZ SGR

A Makhno's gun cart by appearance,  
Whose dents are as the days lived through.  
You are the bread of war, you are the mother of roads.  
Protect us, old Loaf van, and save our souls!

Drive quickly from Bakhmut to Rubezhnoye,  
From Kryunki to Avdiivka, like a horse,  
Through impassable roads and godforsaken places.  
Protect us, old Loaf van, and save our souls!

Four wheels, like those of an old cart.  
The prayer passes for the Kevlar armour.  
Stalin's photo and amulets are on the windscreen.  
Protect us, old Loaf van, and save our souls!

You carry rations, shells and half a ton of booze...  
Oh, please, deceive the drones and reach the goal.  
The belt and the cardan are moaning and groaning.  
Protect us, old Loaf van, and save our souls!

Bent over from explosions and shrapnel,  
You drag the three-hundredths, so that they may live.  
Your springs are crying, your tires have gone wild.  
Protect us, old Loaf van, and save our souls!

Made from tin, cast iron and words of flowery,  
You are the Russian basis and the point.  
You are proof against years and against fashion.  
God bless you, Loaf van, and save your soul!

January 2024



An attempt to hire dope head “Z” as a gardener has turned for the European garden old-timers a cosmic cataclyster.

Drawing by Vladimir Mochalov

# Selected moments of operational correspondence

The subject is most attentive to his health: he drinks decaffeinated coffee, still mineral water, prefers non-alcoholic beer, and is not married.

“L” uses sharp words in conversation, and in general she is a girl with a sharp outlook on life.

“K” says that his wife is dear to him first and foremost as a souvenir — a memory of their youth and the years they lived together.

“P” finally listened to us and learned not to contradict his female boss's wishes. Less than a week later, he received the promotion that we'd been long waiting for.

“S” is a lonely person. He has no close relatives or friends, except for the cat that lives in his apartment.

After the childbirth, the foreigner noticeably rounded and expanded outwardly, and clearly became kinder inwardly.

After a painful divorce process, “B” still maintains neutrality in his relationships with women.

Her ability to control herself, plus her extraordinary intelligence, are, on the one hand, positive factors, but on the other hand, this makes it difficult to look into her soul.

## In the next issue:

**General Director of the Tactical Missiles Corporation Boris Obnosov:**  
“Our motto is ‘Hit the target’”

**Co-Chair of the Russian Historical Society Konstantin Mogilevsky:**  
“Today history is once again turning into a fierce battlefield”

**Operation “Berlin Tunnel”**  
How the Soviet intelligence devalued American-British “gold”

**What the intelligence reported to Stalin**  
Declassified reports on Germany’s attack from the archive of the SVR of Russia



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