

Christopher Andrew

Born 1941. Historian.

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1. Introduction



The following introduction was archived in 2021, with acknowledgement and thanks, from Wikipedia at www.wikipedia.org.

Christopher Maurice Andrew, FRHistS (born 23 July 1941) is an Emeritus Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at the University of Cambridge with an interest in international relations and in particular the history of intelligence services.

Andrew is Professor of Modern and Contemporary History, former Chair of the History Faculty at Cambridge University, Official Historian of the Security Service (MI5), Honorary Air Commodore of 7006 (VR) Intelligence Squadron in the Royal Auxiliary Air Force, Chairman of the Cambridge Intelligence Seminar, and former Visiting Professor at Harvard, Toronto and Canberra.

Andrew served as co-editor of *Intelligence and National Security*, and a presenter of BBC radio and TV documentaries, including the Radio Four series *What If?*. His twelve previous books include a number of studies on the use and abuse of secret intelligence in modern history. He is currently a governor of Norwich School where in the 1950s he was a pupil, and has recently retired from his post as President of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Andrew studied under the historian and wartime cryptanalyst Sir Harry Hinsley, in common with fellow historian Peter Hennessy. Former students of Andrew – including Peter Jackson, Tim Edwards, David Goe, Larry Valero, and Wesley Wark – now staff the intelligence studies and

intelligence history posts in universities around the English-speaking world, while many others – such as Thomas Maguire and Christian Schlaepfer – continue to work in intelligence related positions in both government and private industry.

Andrew produced two studies in collaboration with two defectors and former KGB officers, Oleg Gordievsky and Vasili Mitrokhin. The first of these works, *KGB: The Inside Story* was a scholarly work on the history of KGB actions against Western governments produced from archival and open sources, with the critical addition of information from the KGB defector Gordievsky. His two most detailed works about the KGB were produced in collaboration with KGB defector and archivist Vassili Mitrokhin, who over the course of several years recopied vast numbers of KGB archive documents as they were being moved for long storage. Exfiltrated by the Secret Intelligence Service in 1992, Mitrokhin and his documents were made available to Andrew after an initial and thorough review by the security services. Both volumes, 1999's *The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB* and the 2005 edition *The World Was Going Our Way: The KGB and the Battle for the Third World* (both volumes simply titled *The Mitrokhin Archive* in UK publication) resulted in some public scandal as they revealed the names of former KGB agents and collaborators in government, industry and private life around the world. A revelation in 1999 was that Melita Norwood, by then long retired, had passed information about the development of nuclear weapons and other intelligence to the KGB for several decades.

The Cambridge Intelligence Seminar, chaired by Andrew (and founded by his late mentor Harry Hinsley), convenes regularly at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Active and former senior members of various intelligence services around the world participate in the discussions, with most participants made up of Andrew's graduate students, fellow historians and other academics. At these meetings, detailed analysis of various past and present intelligence affairs is discussed under the Chatham House Rule, with the confidence that it will not be attributed to a person or organisation. Andrew is on the editorial board of *Journal of Intelligence and Terrorism Studies*.

2. List of Books

Books written by Christopher Andrew are listed below in chronological order of publication:

Théophile Delcassé and the Making of the Entente Cordiale (1968)

France Overseas: The Great War and the Climax of French Overseas Expansion (1980) (with A.S. Kanya-Forstner)

The Missing Dimension: Governments and Intelligence Communities in the Twentieth Century (1984) (with David Dilks)

Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community (1985)

Her Majesty's Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community (American Edition 1986, 1987)

Codebreaking and Signals Intelligence (1986)

Intelligence and International Relations 1900–1945 (1987) (with Jeremy Noakes)

KGB: The Inside Story of its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Gorbachev (1990) (with Oleg Gordievsky)

Instructions from The Centre: Top Secret Files on KGB Foreign Operations 1975–1985 (1991) (published in the USA as: Comrade Kryuchkov's Instructions) (with Oleg Gordievsky)

More Instructions from The Centre: Top Secret Files on KGB Global Operations 1975–1985 (1992) (with Oleg Gordievsky)

Comrade Kryuchkov's Instructions: Top Secret Files on KGB Foreign Operations, 1975–1985 (1994)

For The President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush (1995)

Eternal Vigilance? Fifty Years of the CIA (1997) (with Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones)

The Mitrokhin Archive. Vol. I: The KGB in Europe and the West (1999) (with Vasili Mitrokhin)

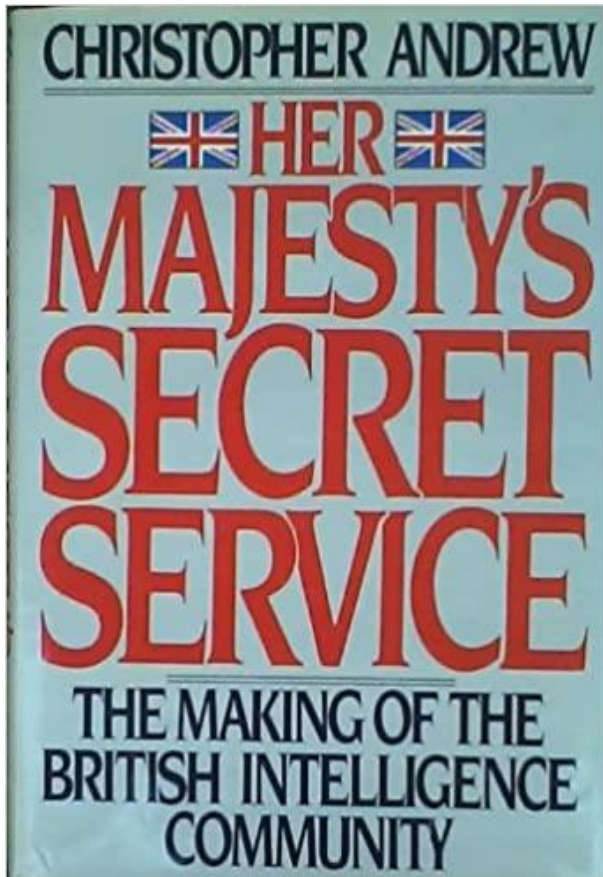
The Mitrokhin Archive. Vol. II: The KGB and the World (2005) (with Vasili Mitrokhin)

The Defence of the Realm: The Authorised History of MI5 (2009) ISBN 978-0-307-26363-6

The Secret World: A History of Intelligence (2018) ISBN 978-0-300-23844-0

Further information on some of Christopher Andrew's books is provided in the following chapters.

3. Secret Service: the Making of the British Intelligence Community



The following review was archived in 2021, with acknowledgement and thanks, from the Foreign Affairs website at www.foreignaffairs.com. It was written by Fritz Stern.

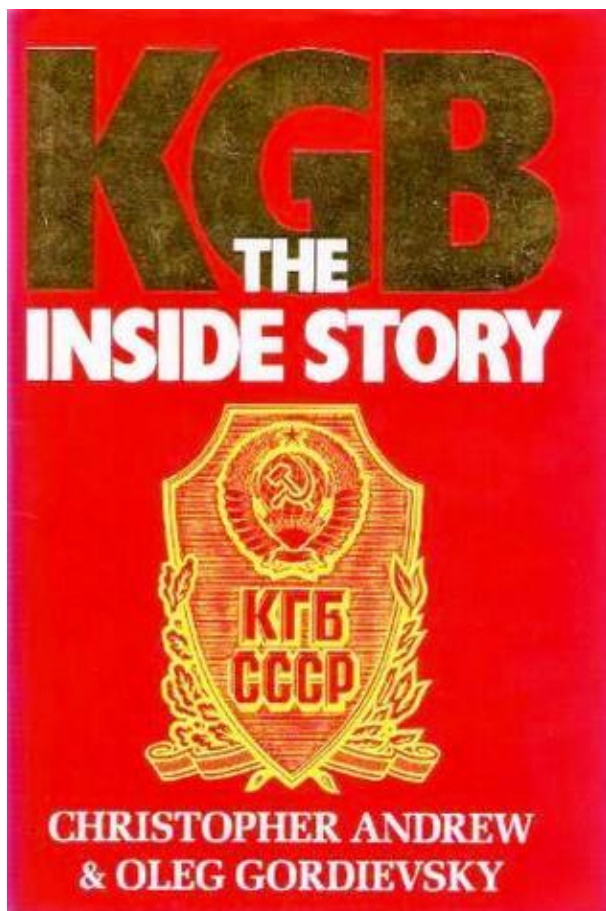
he first comprehensive history of the British Secret Service, compiled by a Cambridge scholar with a keen eye for colorful anecdotes. After complaining about "'dotty'" rules of secrecy that interfered with his research, Andrew unwinds a complex and often bizarre tale of international intrigue that speaks well for his own ability to ferret out elusive data. The British intelligence network evolved in response to foreign menace: German militarism in World Wars I and II, the specter of communist subversion during times of peace. To combat these threats, the aristocracy dispatched into espionage work some of its best and most eccentric men, including "'Dilly'" Knox, who liked to crack codes while soaking in a steamy tub; Somerset Maugham, and Mervin Minshall, the true-life prototype for James Bond. Andrew captures their exploits in gripping fashion, as well as recounting some of the Secret Service's more humorous triumphs, such as its use of a "'carrier pigeon corps'" during WW II to transmit vital information. He is less enthused about the postwar work of MI 5 (counterespionage) and MI 6 (espionage), which includes

assassinations, coups, and extensive use of satellite reconnaissance. The days of trench-coated, cloak-and-dagger skullduggery and of pipe-smoking professors sent down from Oxford to outfox the enemy are probably gone forever. Andrew's book remains as a first-rate history and a superb memorial.

The following review was archived in 2021, with acknowledgement and thanks, from the Kirkus website at www.kirkusreviews.com.

Enthralling and enticing, a great work for amateur generalists and for historians, a triumph of the master-sleuth after great and petty sleuths, a search not deterred by senseless government secrecy defended "on . . . dotty grounds." The story begins with Victorian Britain, fastens on intercepts during both wars and the interwar period, insists that historians cannot write proper history without understanding the mutual eavesdropping that went on. The hero of intelligence was Churchill, who early on understood and revelled in Ultra; the great masters were the top people at Bletchley. Andrew takes the story right down to the Falkland Islands, grappling with the rival claims of secrecy versus the need for a democracy to be informed. He has written a splendidly readable, indispensable work on one of Britain's greatest defenses: her intelligence community, warts, failures and all.

4. KGB: The Inside Story of its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Gorbachev



The following is a review of KGB: The Inside Story of its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Gorbachev (1990) by Christopher Andrew with Oleg Gordievsky. It also covers Inside the KGB: Myth and Reality by Vladimir Kuzichkin. The review was archived in 2021, with acknowledgement and thanks, from the website of the London Review of Books at www.lrb.co.uk. It was written by John Lloyd.

Most of the institutions of the Soviet state had their finest hour under Stalin. More than anyone else, Mikhail Gorbachev has made this clear: his efforts to force the Stalin period to act as a receptacle for much of the odium felt for Communist rule – with the Brezhnev ‘era of stagnation’ in support – have succeeded only in showing that effective Communism can have no dynamic outside of Stalinism. Communism is about the creation of utopia – otherwise defined as the end of history, or the full victory of the working class. If history does not know its script, it must be forced to act as if it did, dragged by the scruff of its neck towards an always glorious, but always receding climax. As W.H. Auden remarked in another context, those leaders who believe in the possibility of utopia would be shirking their civic duty if they did not terrorise their citizens into acceptance.

Stalin did not shrink from his civic duty, any more than Lenin did. He knew how much engineering utopia would require, and was willing to take on the burden of bringing it about. He fashioned Soviet State Security, already an instrument of terror under Lenin, into the largest machine of war against the citizens of the state that the world has seen. This point was made last month by the radical historian Yuri Afanasiev at a vigil outside the Lubyanka – a building in which countless murders, countless acts of torture, were perpetrated, yet which remains the KGB headquarters. Survivors of KGB terror and the sons and daughters of its victims gathered in front of the building, round the statue, still one of the most prominent in Moscow, of Felix Dzerzhinsky, the Pole who first grasped that the Revolution must put fear into the hearts of all, and whose early leadership of the Cheka went a very long way towards achieving that end.

State Security was and remains an internal empire whose rulers, at the height of its powers, were released into an arena of moral nullity. The Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopastnosti, Committee of Social Security, though renamed as such only after Stalin's death, was the direct inheritor of the past and, until Gorbachev's reformism disoriented it along with all other Soviet institutions, was the perpetuator of many of the old views and practices. The conclusion of Andrew's and Gordievsky's lucid and detailed history – that sooner or later the KGB 'will be disowned by its own citizens' – provides a necessary benchmark which Soviet reform must reach if it is to be taken seriously, most of all by Russians.

The KGB – whichever name it has gone under – has rightly been feared and hated throughout the world. Yet, as both these books show, its foreign operations, with which they are largely concerned, were continually marked by vast incompetence, despite the contributions made, mostly in the Stalin period, by agents of nerve and cunning. These included Richard Sorge, the spy who penetrated the Japanese foreign office to provide his government with the clearest possible warning of a German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941; Teodor Maly, the Hungarian-born agent who spotted Kim Philby's talents in mid-Thirties Vienna; and the Cambridge-educated 'Magnificent Five' – Philby, Blunt, Burgess, Maclean and the 'fifth man' ('revealed' with too much fanfare by Andrew/Gordievsky), John Cairncross. These men, and others, performed prodigies of courage and treachery, yet their work was more often than not ignored, misinterpreted or brutally cut short. Sorge's warnings were ignored by Stalin, clinging to his belief in Hitler's word. Maly was executed in the purges of the late Thirties along with many other KGB agents – self-blinded idealists and clear-eyed brutes alike. The Magnificent Five, who in the Forties and early Fifties provided their masters with vast quantities of material, lived to see the KGB dilute the intelligence their thousands of foreign agents pumped back with massive draughts of ideological mush; and those of them who

defected to Moscow actually helped them to do it. Increasingly, the KGB Centre (or Central Committee) insisted on an analysis of world events derived from a dogmatic application of the pseudo-science of Marxism-Leninism – and then demanded intelligence material to support it.

This, the great disability of the KGB (for which we should be grateful), was built into it from the beginning. At the creation of the Party, its ‘sword and shield’ (in a more sensitive age, it has dropped the ‘sword’), it shared the Party’s idiocies as well as its predilection for large-scale murder. The Cheka regarded its foiling of the bungling if high-spirited attempt of a few Western diplomats, led by the British Consul and agent Bruce Lockhart, to stimulate an anti-Soviet rising as ‘equivalent to victory in a major military battle’. It was then and remains today part of both dogma and folklore that Western capitalism was bound to attack the new socialist republic with limitless ferocity. Stalin tied up the foreign intelligence department in hunts for Trotskyists, and in the ultimately successful attempt to murder Trotsky in Mexico, even though it was obvious that Trotskyism held little appeal for the West, while the domestic arm of the OGPU stamped out even the suggestion of support for Trotsky at home. Zionism – that is, Jews – became a major enemy in the latter years of Stalin’s reign, and a KGB purged of its Jewish members (the prohibition remains to this day) was sent out to detect ‘the Jew squatting beneath the lot’. It was a mission which spelled the end of faithful Stalinists like Rajk in Hungary and Slansky in Czechoslovakia – both sentenced to death in trials rigged by the NKVD.

Khrushchev, one of whose first acts was to arrange the removal of the Stalinist courtier Lavrenti Beria from his post as head of the KGB and who was himself removed with its invaluable aid, sent his new KGB chairman, General Ivan Serov, to Hungary in 1956 to deliver the judgment that ‘the fascists and the imperialists are bringing their shock troops out into the streets of Budapest’ – a fantasy which he may have believed and which legitimated the bloody suppression of the Hungarian uprising. Under Brezhnev, the KGB was partly sidelined, partly corrupted. He and his entourage, Kuzichkin writes, hated and feared the KGB because that was where ‘their real face was known’. The KGB knew both the part they had played in getting rid of their competitors in the purges of the mid-to-late Thirties, when their own careers began, and, later, the depth of their corruption. In an extraordinary passage in which he attempts to excuse the long years he spent in its service, Kuzichkin maintains that the KGB remained the only uncorrupted institution in Soviet society – condemned to watch the ‘fish rotting from the head’. ‘What is now called glasnost,’ he writes, ‘began in the KGB in the mid-Seventies ... We were not afraid in the KGB, not because we were at the summit of power, but because we knew far more about all that dirt at the top than anyone else.’

The position at the top naturally allowed rising officers like Kuzichkin to plug into the hottest gossip circuits. A member of Brezhnev's KGB guard told him that Brezhnev had women all over the Soviet Union ... perhaps he would keep turning his attention to a woman in the crowd who had come to meet him. She would later be approached by a bodyguard who would invite her very politely to meet the 'highly-placed guest'. If she agreed, she and her family would be showered with favours after the encounter. If the woman refused, which very rarely occurred, nothing would happen to her. She would only be asked to sign a document of non-disclosure. We knew many well-known Moscow actresses had intimate relations with the Secretary-General, after which their careers took off.

Beria had been less circumspect: his entourage snatched women, often schoolgirls, off the streets at night and took them to the Lubyanka to be raped by their boss. In both cases, the assumption is that the citizenry are the chattels of the Party leadership: but it was clearly safer to be a Brezhnev chattel than a Stalin one.

Andrew and Gordievsky do not rehearse the view that the KGB – its morality affronted, its honesty outraged – suffered deeply at the hands of Brezhnev, which is Kuzichkin's implausible argument. Instead, they cite with approval the historian Geoffrey Hosking, who takes the view that the Brezhnev leadership did secure dominance over the KGB, but 'at the cost of absorbing much of its outlook on the world'. That outlook was set by the amalgam of dogma and insularity which has been, and still is, such a downward drag on the fecundity and strength of the Russian spirit. Though under Andropov, its longest-serving chief, the KGB probably did preserve some discipline and was relatively realistic about many things – including, initially, the outcome of the Afghan invasion – it had no means of defending itself against being made a tool of the conspiracy theorists and megalomaniacs in the Politburo and the Central Committee, if only because the KGB's own leaders agreed with each other that they were surrounded by people who wished to get rid of them – as indeed they were. But they were above all their own people.

Brezhnev in his last years and, after him, Andropov were both convinced that America was preparing for nuclear war. Many in the KGB Centre were sceptical, but nevertheless had to direct all their foreign residencies to find proof that a nuclear war was about to be launched: a classic case, Andrew and Gordievsky argue, of the conclusion dictating the evidence. The section in which these efforts are described constitutes a vivid and racy interlude in what is too often a bald recitation of successes and failures, advances and retreats. Gordievsky knows the work of the British Residency well, since he was stationed there himself and in 1985 became its head – all the while acting as an agent for the British secret service. He is thus able to provide a sharp picture of the methods adopted by his predecessor, Arkadi

Guk (portrayed as an irascible drunkard), in carrying out the Centre's orders:

The directive sent to Guk contained unintentional passages of deep black comedy which revealed terrifying gaps in the Centre's understanding of Western society in general and Britain in particular. Guk was told that an 'important sign' of British preparations for nuclear war would probably be 'increased purchases of blood and the prices paid for it' at blood donor centres ... The Directorate had failed to grasp that British blood donors are unpaid ... The Centre's bizarre conspiratorialist image of the clerical and capitalist elements which it believed dominated British society also led it to instruct Guk to explore the possibility of obtaining advance warning of a holocaust from Church leaders and major bankers ... The workload ... was staggering. The London Residency, probably like others in Western Europe and North America, was instructed to carry out a regular census of the number of cars and lighted windows both in and out of normal working hours at all government buildings and military installations involved in preparations for nuclear warfare ... All of this was too much for Guk. While paying lip service to the Centre's unrealistic demands, Guk delegated the tiresome detailed observations required from the Residency to the junior officer who ran the registry. The officer concerned did not even have the use of a car. Even had he done so, he would not have been able to travel outside of London without Foreign Office permission – an important detail which the Centre had overlooked. Under Guk's sometimes alcoholic direction, there were moments when the British end of the operation more closely resembled the Marx Brothers than Dr Strangelove.

Much of the interest for a British readership of Andrew's and Gordievsky's book will focus on the Magnificent Five. Though their stories are already well known, thanks both to themselves and to others, they continue to fascinate and to repel; Andrew and Gordievsky do not stray too far into speculation as to their motives but give prominence again to their privileged backgrounds. Cairncross, the putative 'Fifth Man' (who appeared on BBC's News-night after the book's publication to talk down his importance), was different: a bright Clyde-sider from a 'modest' family, he won a scholarship to Trinity College, Cambridge, joined the Communist Party and was recruited by Anthony Blunt; once he accepted that his duty as a Communist was to pass secrets to the NKVD, he left the Party and joined the Foreign Office – not a difficult transition apparently (all five found penetration fairly straightforward), and one no doubt made easier by his brilliance in the FO exams. According to Gordievsky's former comrades, Cairncross provided 'literally tons of documents' to his NKVD controllers. He was also, thanks to his employment as Private Secretary to Lord Hankey, a wartime minister and chairman of the Scientific Advisory Committee, a 'probable' source of the first warning to Stalin that the

British and Americans were building an atomic bomb. He was not, of course, the only source: Klaus Fuchs, the German-born scientist who fled to England and was ultimately posted to the heartland of nuclear physics at Los Alamos, provided most of the technical detail, though it is also possible that the potent warning to Stalin came from a young Soviet physicist, G.N. Flyorov, who managed to get hold of US and British scientific journals while serving at the front, noticed that the usual authors of articles on nuclear fission were no longer publishing and managed to convince the Supreme Leader of the likelihood of their all having been hauled into a concerted effort to make the bomb.

The Magnificent Five were a busted flush by the early Fifties. Burgess and Maclean defected days before an intended MI5 interrogation in 1951. Cairncross partially confessed in the same year, resigned from the Treasury where he was then a Principal and moved to the United Nations; with Blunt (publicly unmasked in 1979), he made a full (secret) confession in 1964. Philby was named as a spy by Marcus Lipton MP in the Commons in 1955, flamboyantly denied the charges at a press conference, then spent nine years as a journalist for the Observer and the Economist in Beirut until he confessed to a former colleague – and defected to Moscow. Gordievsky, who talked at length to their old case officers at the Centre, says that they were all extremely highly regarded: Yuri Modin, case officer for several of them, told him that it had been ‘an honour to run Blunt’. Each of them performed prodigies of work: photographing documents by night and holding down high-level jobs by day. They were paid little: indeed, they had to be forced to take any money at all, but NKVD/KGB rules laid down that payment was essential to tie the agents to their controller. They were believers, and probably remained so. None recanted: Philby appeared on television in Estonia at the beginning of the independence movement there in 1987, the year before his death, gravely discussing with an Estonian KGB general the ‘established fact’ that the nationalist movement had been brought into being by Western intelligence. Since they – or at least some of them – had been responsible for the deaths of many, many Western agents, they had strong motivation for clinging to the belief that their part in engineering the future would be vindicated.

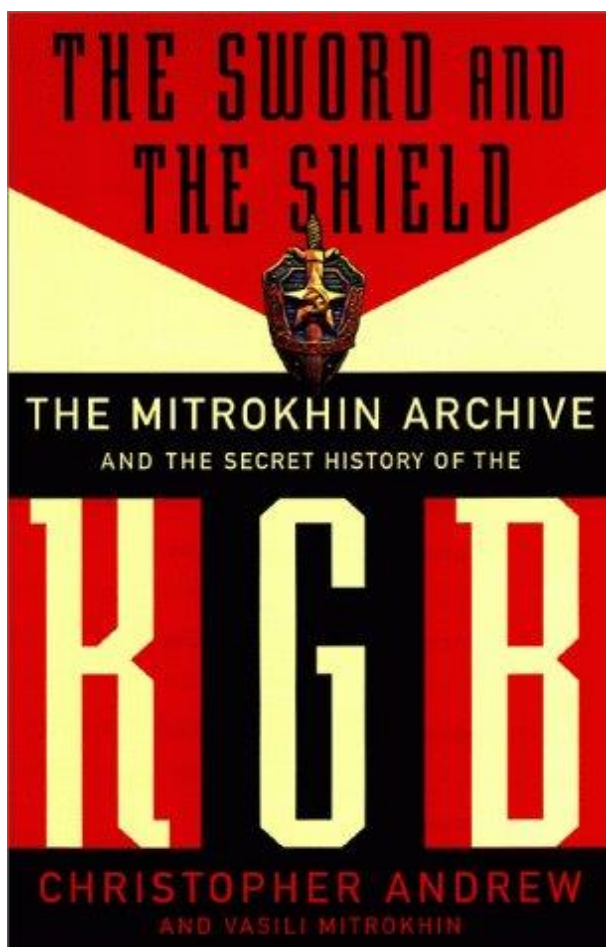
This was not, however, a belief to which either Gordievsky or Kuzichkin, the men on the inside, could hold. Kuzichkin, the heart of whose book is mainly devoted to a dramatic telling of his period as a KGB officer in Tehran during and after the fall of the Shah, is at pains to dispel the ‘myth’ that the KGB is all-powerful: he uses every opportunity to stress that the Party, not the Centre, controls. He presents his old employers as demoralised and cynical, but relatively honest: powerful because they know so much, but for the same reason hated by the Party and the Army; vulnerable to being disbanded as yet another sop to the population on the

part of an establishment desperate to preserve itself, yet incapable of mounting a coup because the Army would prevent it.

The KGB is more deprived of rights than it has ever been before. It does what it is ordered to do. Now it is ordered to take the blame for all the past sins of the regime, and it takes the blame. But the fact is that the proper place to carve the names of all of these tens of millions of murdered people is not on the walls of the Lubyanka, but every inch of the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on Staraya Square.

This is hard to swallow. At least since the mid-Fifties, it has been possible to leave the KGB and suffer nothing more than a diminution of living standards (which Kuzichkin claims were anyway not that high until you reached the very top). Few did. And very few defected. The monstrous edifice which was put in place to sustain utopia has only begun to crumble. We still know very little about the greatest repression of the 20th century: behind these books lies a vast hinterland of horrors.

5. The Sword and the Shield



*The following is a review of *The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB* by Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin. It was published by Basic Books in 2005. The review was archived in 2021, with acknowledgement and thanks, from the Books section of the New York Times website at www.nytimes.com.*

This book is based on unprecedented and unrestricted access to one of the world's most secret and closely guarded archives—that of the foreign intelligence arm of the KGB, the First Chief Directorate (FCD). Hitherto the present Russian foreign intelligence service, the SVR (Sluzhba Vneshnei Razvedki), has been supremely confident that a book such as this could not be written. When the German magazine Focus reported in December 1996 that a former KGB officer had defected to Britain with "the names of hundreds of Russian spies," Tatyana Samolis, spokeswoman for the SVR, instantly ridiculed the whole story as "absolute nonsense." "Hundreds of people! That just doesn't happen!" she declared. "Any defector could get the name of one, two, perhaps three agents—but not hundreds!"

The facts, however, are far more sensational even than the story dismissed as impossible by the SVR. The KGB defector had brought with him to

Britain details not of a few hundred but of thousands of Soviet agents and intelligence officers in all parts of the globe, some of them "illegals" living under deep cover abroad, disguised as foreign citizens. No one who spied for the Soviet Union at any period between the October Revolution and the eve of the Gorbachev era can now be confident that his or her secrets are still secure. When the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) exfiltrated the defector and his family from Russia in 1992, it also brought out six cases containing the copious notes he had taken almost daily for twelve years, before his retirement in 1984, on top secret KGB files going as far back as 1918. The contents of the cases have since been described by the American FBI as "the most complete and extensive intelligence ever received from any source."

The KGB officer who assembled this extraordinary archive, Vasili Nikitich Mitrokhin, is now a British citizen. Born in central Russia in 1922, he began his career as a Soviet foreign intelligence officer in 1948, at a time when the foreign intelligence arms of the MGB (the future KGB) and the GRU (Soviet military intelligence) were temporarily combined in the Committee of Information. By the time Mitrokhin was sent on his first foreign posting in 1952, the Committee had disintegrated and the MGB had resumed its traditional rivalry with the GRU. His first five years in intelligence were spent in the paranoid atmosphere generated by the final phase of Stalin's dictatorship, when the intelligence agencies were ordered to conduct witch-hunts throughout the Soviet Bloc against mostly imaginary Titoist and Zionist conspiracies.

In January 1953 the MGB was officially accused of "lack of vigilance" in hunting down the conspirators. The Soviet news agency Tass made the sensational announcement that for the past few years world Zionism and Western intelligence agencies had been conspiring with "a terrorist group" of Jewish doctors "to wipe out the leadership of the Soviet Union." During the final two months of Stalin's rule, the MGB struggled to demonstrate its heightened vigilance by pursuing the perpetrators of this non-existent plot. Its anti-Zionist campaign was, in reality, little more than a thinly disguised anti-Semitic pogrom. Shortly before Stalin's sudden death in March 1953, Mitrokhin was ordered to investigate the alleged Zionist connections of the Pravda correspondent in Paris, Yuri Zhukov, who had come under suspicion because of his wife's Jewish origins. Mitrokhin had the impression that Stalin's brutal security supremo, Lavrenti Pavlovich Beria, was planning to implicate Zhukov in the supposed Jewish doctors' plot. A few weeks after Stalin's funeral, however, Beria suddenly announced that the plot had never existed, and exonerated the alleged conspirators.

By the summer of 1953 most of Beria's colleagues in the Presidium were united in their fear of another conspiracy—that he might be planning a coup d'état to step into Stalin's shoes. While visiting a foreign capital in

July, Mitrokhin received a top secret telegram with instructions to decipher it himself, and was astonished to discover that Beria had been charged with "criminal anti-Party and anti-state activities." Only later did Mitrokhin learn that Beria had been arrested at a special meeting of the Presidium on June 26 after a plot organized by his chief rival, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev. From his prison cell, Beria wrote begging letters to his former colleagues, pleading pathetically for them to spare his life and "find the smallest job for me":

You will see that in two or three years I'll have straightened out fine and will still be useful to you ... I ask the comrades to forgive me for writing somewhat disjointedly and badly because of my condition, and also because of the poor lighting and not having my pince-nez.

No longer in awe of him, the comrades simply mocked his loss of nerve.

On December 24 it was announced that Beria had been executed after trial by the Supreme Court. Since neither his responsibility for mass murder in the Stalin era nor his own record as a serial rapist of under-age girls could be publicly mentioned for fear of bringing the Communist regime into disrepute, he was declared guilty instead of a surreal plot "to revive capitalism and to restore the rule of the bourgeoisie" in association with British and other Western intelligence services. Beria thus became, following Yagoda and Yezhov in the 1930s, the third Soviet security chief to be shot for crimes which included serving as an (imaginary) British secret agent. In true Stalinist tradition, subscribers to the Great Soviet Encyclopedia were advised to use "a small knife or razor blade" to remove the entry on Beria, and then to insert a replacement article on the Bering Sea.

The first official repudiation of Stalinism was Khrushchev's now-celebrated secret speech to a closed session of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in February 1956. Stalin's "cult of personality," Khrushchev declared, had been responsible for "a whole series of exceedingly serious and grave perversions of Party principles, of Party democracy, of revolutionary legality." The speech was reported to the KGB Party organization in a secret letter from the Central Committee. The section to which Mitrokhin belonged took two days to debate its contents. He still vividly recalls the conclusion of the section's chairman, Vladimir Vasilyevich Zhenikhov (later KGB resident in Finland): "Stalin was a bandit!" Some Party members were too shocked—or cautious—to say anything. Others agreed with Zhenikhov. None dared ask the question which Mitrokhin was convinced was in all their minds: "Where was Khrushchev while all these crimes were taking place?"

In the aftermath of the secret speech Mitrokhin became too outspoken for his own good. Though his criticisms of the way the KGB had been run

were mild by Western standards, late in 1956 Mitrokhin was moved from operations to the FCD archives, where his main job was answering queries from other departments and provincial KGBs. Mitrokhin discovered that Beria's personal archive had been destroyed on Khrushchev's orders so as to leave no trace of the compromising material he had collected on his former colleagues. Ivan Aleksandrovich Serov, chairman of the KGB from 1954 to 1958, dutifully reported to Khrushchev that the files had contained much "provocative and libelous" material.

Mitrokhin was an avid reader of the Russian writers who had fallen out of favor in the final years of Stalinist rule and began to be published again during the mid-1950s. The first great literary event in Moscow after Stalin's death was the publication in 1954, for the first time since 1945, of new poems by Boris Pasternak, the last leading Russian author to have begun his career before the Revolution. Published in a literary magazine under the title "Poems from the Novel Doctor Zhivago," they were accompanied by a brief description of the epic but still unfinished work in which they were to appear. However, the completed text of *Doctor Zhivago*, which followed the meandering life of its enigmatic hero from the final phase of Tsarist rule to the early years of the Soviet regime, was judged far too subversive for publication and was officially rejected in 1956. In the novel, when Zhivago hears the news of the Bolshevik Revolution, "He was shaken and overwhelmed by the greatness of the moment, and thought of its significance for the centuries to come." But Pasternak goes on to convey an unmistakable sense of the spiritual emptiness of the regime which emerged from it. Lenin is "vengeance incarnate" and Stalin a "pockmarked Caligula."

Pasternak became the first Soviet author since the 1920s to circumvent the banning of his work in Russia by publishing it abroad. As he handed the typescript of *Doctor Zhivago* to a representative of his Italian publisher, Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, he told him with a melancholy laugh: "You are hereby invited to watch me face the firing squad!" Soon afterwards, acting on official instructions, Pasternak sent a telegram to Feltrinelli insisting that his novel be withdrawn from publication; privately, however, he wrote a letter telling him to go ahead. Published first in Italian in November 1957, *Doctor Zhivago* became a bestseller in twenty-four languages. Some Western critics hailed it as the greatest Russian novel since Tolstoy's *Resurrection*, published in 1899. Official outrage in Moscow at *Doctor Zhivago*'s success was compounded by the award to Pasternak of the 1958 Nobel Prize for Literature. In a cable to the Swedish Academy, Pasternak declared himself "immensely thankful, touched, proud, astonished, abashed." The newspaper of the Soviet Writers' Union, the *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, however, denounced him as "a literary Judas who betrayed his people for thirty pieces of silver—the Nobel Prize." Under immense

official pressure, Pasternak cabled Stockholm withdrawing his acceptance of the prize "in view of the significance given to this award in the society to which I belong."

Though Pasternak was not one of his own favorite authors, Mitrokhin saw the official condemnation of Doctor Zhivago as typifying Khrushchev's cultural barbarism. "The development of literature and art in a socialist society," Khrushchev boorishly insisted, "proceeds ... as directed by the Party." Mitrokhin was so outraged by the neo-Stalinist denunciations of Pasternak by Moscow's literary establishment that in October 1958 he sent an anonymous letter of protest to the Literaturnaya Gazeta. Though he wrote the letter with his left hand in order to disguise his handwriting, he remained anxious for some time that his identity might be discovered. Mitrokhin knew from KGB files the immense resources which were frequently deployed to track down anonymous letter-writers. He was even worried that, by licking the gum on the back of the envelope before sealing it, he had made it possible for his saliva to be identified by a KGB laboratory. The whole episode strengthened his resentment at Khrushchev's failure to follow his secret speech of 1956 by a thoroughgoing program of de-Stalinization. Khrushchev, he suspected, had personally ordered Pasternak's persecution as a warning to all those inclined to challenge his authority.

As yet, however, Mitrokhin pinned his faith not on the overthrow of the Soviet regime but on the emergence of a new leader less tainted than Khrushchev by his Stalinist past. When, late in 1958, Serov was replaced as KGB chairman by one of his leading critics, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Shelepin, Mitrokhin believed that the new leader had emerged. Aged only forty, Shelepin had made his reputation as a guerrilla commander during the Second World War. As head of the Communist Youth League (Komsomol) from 1952 to 1958, he had mobilized thousands of young people from Khrushchev's "Virgin Lands" campaign to turn vast areas of steppe into arable farmland. Though many of the new collective farms were later ruined by soil erosion, in the short term the campaign seemed a spectacular success. Soviet newsreels showed endless lines of combine-harvesters as they advanced through prairies rippling with grain and stretching as far as the eye could see.

As Mitrokhin had hoped, Shelepin rapidly established himself as a new broom within the KGB, replacing many veteran Stalinists with bright young graduates from Komsomol. Mitrokhin was impressed by the way that when Shelepin gave televised speeches, he looked briefly at his notes, then spoke directly to the viewer—instead of woodenly reading from a prepared text like most Soviet leaders. Shelepin sought to give the KGB a new public image. "Violations of socialist legality," he claimed in 1961, "have been completely eliminated ... The Chekists [KGB officers] can look

the Party and the Soviet people in the eye with a clear conscience." Mitrokhin also remembers Shelepin for an act of personal kindness to a close relative.

Like Beria before him and Andropov after him, Shelepin's ambitions stretched far beyond the chairmanship of the KGB. As a twenty-year-old university student, he was once asked what he wanted to become. According to the Russian historian Roy Medvedev, he instantly replied, "A chief!" Shelepin saw the KGB as a stepping stone in a career which he intended to take him to the post of First Secretary of the CPSU. In December 1961 he left the KGB but continued to oversee its work as chairman of the powerful new Committee of Party and State Control. The new KGB chairman was Shelepin's youthful but less dynamic protégé, thirty-seven-year-old Vladimir Yefimovich Semichastny. On Khrushchev's instructions, Semichastny resumed the work of pruning the archives of material which too vividly recalled the Presidium's Stalinist past, ordering the destruction of nine volumes of files on the liquidation of Central Committee members, senior intelligence officers and foreign Communists living in Moscow during the Stalin era.

Mitrokhin continued to see Shelepin as a future First Secretary, and was not surprised when he became one of the leaders of the coup which toppled Khrushchev in 1964. Memories of Beria, however, were still too fresh in the minds of most of the Presidium for them to be prepared to accept a security chief as Party leader. For most of his colleagues, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, who had succeeded Khrushchev as First (later General) Secretary, was a far more reassuring figure—affable, lightweight and patient in reconciling opposing factions, though skillful in outmaneuvering his political rivals. By 1967 Brezhnev felt strong enough to sack the unpopular Semichastny and sideline the still-ambitious Shelepin, who was demoted from heading the Committee of Party and State Control to become chairman of the comparatively uninfluential Trade Union Council. On arriving in his spacious new office, Shelepin found that his predecessor, Viktor Grishin, had what Medvedev later euphemistically described as "a specially equipped massage parlor" in an adjoining room. Shelepin took revenge for his demotion by circulating stories about Grishin's sexual exploits around Moscow.

The main beneficiary of the downfall of Semichastny and the sidelining of Shelepin was Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov, who became chairman of the KGB. Andropov had what some of his staff called a "Hungarian complex." As Soviet ambassador in Budapest during the Hungarian Uprising in 1956, he had watched in horror from the windows of his embassy as officers of the hated Hungarian security service were strung up from lampposts. Andropov remained haunted for the rest of his life by the speed with which an apparently all-powerful Communist one-party state had begun to topple.

When other Communist regimes later seemed at risk—in Prague in 1968, in Kabul in 1979, in Warsaw in 1981—he was convinced that, as in Budapest in 1956, only armed force could ensure their survival.ⁿ Since leaving Hungary in 1957 Andropov had been head of the Central Committee Department responsible for relations with Communist parties in the Soviet Bloc. His appointment in 1967 as the first senior Party official brought in to head the KGB was intended by Brezhnev to secure political control of the security and intelligence systems. Andropov went on to become the longest-serving and most politically astute of all KGB chiefs, crowning his fifteen years as chairman by succeeding Brezhnev as General Secretary in 1982.

The first great crisis of Andropov's years at the KGB was the attempt by the Czechoslovak reformers of the Prague Spring to create what the Kremlin saw as an unacceptably unorthodox "socialism with a human face." Like Khrushchev's Secret Speech, the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the forces of the Warsaw Pact in August 1968 was an important staging post in what Mitrokhin calls his "intellectual odyssey." Stationed in East Germany during the Prague Spring, Mitrokhin was able to listen to reports from Czechoslovakia on the Russian-language services of the BBC World Service, Radio Liberty, Deutsche Welle and the Canadian Broadcasting Company, but had no one with whom he felt able to share his sympathy for the Prague reforms. One episode about a month before Soviet tanks entered Prague left a particular impression on him. An FCD Department V ("special tasks") officer, Colonel Viktor Ryabov, said to Mitrokhin that he was "just off to Sweden for a few days," but made clear by his expression that Sweden was not his real destination. A few days after Ryabov's return, he told Mitrokhin there would be an interesting article in the following day's Pravda, implying that it was connected with his mission. When Mitrokhin read the report the next day that an "imperialist arms dump" had been discovered in Czechoslovakia, he realized at once that it had been planted by Ryabov and other Department V officers to discredit the reformers.

Soon after the crushing of the Prague Spring, Mitrokhin heard a speech given by Andropov in the KGB's East German headquarters at Karlshorst in the Berlin suburbs. Like Shelepin, Andropov spoke directly to the audience, rather than—like most Soviet officials—sticking to a prepared platitudinous text. With an ascetic appearance, silver hair swept back over a large forehead, steel-rimmed glasses and an intellectual manner, Andropov seemed far removed from Stalinist thugs such as Beria and Serov. His explanation for the invasion of Czechoslovakia was far more sophisticated than that given to the Soviet public. It had, he insisted, been the only way to preserve Soviet security and the new European order which had emerged from the Great Patriotic War. That objective political necessity, Andropov

claimed, was accepted even by such unorthodox figures as the great physicist Pyotr Kapitza, who had initially shown some sympathy for the Prague revisionists. Mitrokhin drew quite different conclusions from the Warsaw Pact invasion. The destruction of Czechoslovak "socialism with a human face" proved, he believed, that the Soviet system was unreformable. He still vividly recalls a curiously mythological image, which henceforth he saw increasingly in his mind's eye, of the Russian people in thrall to "a three-headed hydra": the Communist Party, the privileged nomenklatura and the KGB.

After his return to Moscow from East Germany, Mitrokhin continued to listen to Western broadcasts, although, because of Soviet jamming, he had frequently to switch wavelengths in order to find an audible station. Often he ended up with only fragments of news stories. Among the news which made the greatest impression on him were items on the Chronicle of Current Events, a samizdat journal first produced by Soviet dissidents in 1968 to circulate news on the struggle against abuses of human rights. The Chronicle carried on its masthead the guarantee of freedom of expression in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, daily abused in the Soviet Union.

As the struggle against "ideological subversion" intensified, Mitrokhin saw numerous examples of the way in which the KGB manipulated, virtually at will, the Soviet justice system. He later copied down the sycophantic congratulations sent to Andropov by A. F. Gorkhin, chairman of the Soviet Supreme Court, on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Cheka in December 1967: The Soviet Courts and the USSR Committee of State Security [KGB] are of the same age. But this is not the main thing which brings us together; the main thing is the identity of our tasks ...

We are glad to note that the State Security agencies and the Courts solve all their complicated tasks in a spirit of mutual understanding and sound professional relations.

Mitrokhin saw mounting evidence both in the classified in-house journal, KGB Sbornik, and in FCD files of Andropov's personal obsession with the destruction of dissent in all its forms and his insistence that the struggle for human rights was part of a wide-ranging imperialist plot to undermine the foundations of the Soviet state. In 1968 Andropov issued KGB Chairman's Order No. 0051, "On the tasks of State security agencies in combating ideological sabotage by the adversary," calling for greater aggression in the struggle against both dissidents at home and their imperialist supporters. One example of this greater aggression which left Mitrokhin, as an ardent admirer of the Kirov Ballet, with a sense of personal outrage was the plan which he discovered in FCD files to maim the ballet's star defector, Rudolf Nureyev.

By the beginning of the 1970s Mitrokhin's political views were deeply influenced by the dissident struggle, which he was able to follow both in KGB records and Western broadcasts. "I was a loner," he recalls, "but I now knew that I was not alone." Though Mitrokhin never had any thought of aligning himself openly with the human rights movement, the example of the Chronicle of Current Events and other samizdat productions helped to inspire him with the idea of producing a classified variant of the dissidents' attempts to document the iniquities of the Soviet system. Gradually the project began to form in his mind of compiling his own private record of the foreign operations of the KGB.

Mitrokhin's opportunity came in June 1972 when the First Chief (Foreign Intelligence) Directorate left its overcrowded central Moscow offices in the KGB headquarters at the Lubyanka (once the pre-Revolutionary home of the Rossiya Insurance Company) and moved to a new building south-east of Moscow at Yasenevo, half a mile beyond the outer ringroad. Designed by a Finnish architect, the main Y-shaped seven-story office building was flanked on one side by an assembly hall and library, on the other by a polyclinic, sports complex and swimming pool, with pleasant views over hills covered with birch trees, green pastures, and—in summer—fields of wheat and rye. To the other KGB directorates, most of which worked in cramped conditions in central Moscow, Yasenevo was known—with more envy than condescension—as "The Woods."

For the next ten years, working from private offices both in the Lubyanka and at Yasenevo, Mitrokhin was alone responsible for checking and sealing the approximately 300,000 files in the FCD archive prior to their transfer to the new headquarters. While supervising the checking of files, the compilation of inventories and the writing of index cards, Mitrokhin was able to inspect what files he wished in one or other of his offices. Few KGB officers apart from Mitrokhin have ever spent as much time reading, let alone noting, foreign intelligence files. Outside the FCD archives, only the most senior officers shared his unrestricted access, and none had the time to read more than a fraction of the material noted by him.

Mitrokhin's usual weekly routine was to spend each Monday, Tuesday and Friday in his Yasenevo office. On Wednesdays he went to the Lubyanka to work on the FCD's most secret files, those of Directorate S which ran illegals—KGB officers and agents, most of Soviet nationality, working under deep cover abroad disguised as foreign citizens. Once reviewed by Mitrokhin, each batch of files was placed in sealed containers which were transported to Yasenevo on Thursday mornings, accompanied by Mitrokhin who checked them on arrival. Unlike the other departments, who moved to the new FCD headquarters in 1972, Directorate S remained based in the Lubyanka for a further decade.

Mitrokhin thus found himself spending more time dealing with the files of Directorate S, the most secret in the FCD, than with those of any other section of Soviet foreign intelligence. The illegals retained a curious mystique within the KGB. Before being posted abroad, every illegal officer was required to swear a solemn, if somewhat melodramatic, oath:

Deeply valuing the trust placed upon me by the Party and the fatherland, and imbued with a sense of intense gratitude for the decision to send me to the sharp edge of the struggle for the interest of my people ... as a worthy son of the homeland, I would rather perish than betray the secrets entrusted to me or put into the hand of the adversary materials which could cause political harm to the interests of the State. With every heartbeat, with every day that passes, I swear to serve the Party, the homeland, and the Soviet people.

The files showed that before the Second World War the greatest foreign successes had been achieved by a legendary group of intelligence officers, often referred to as the "Great Illegals." After the Second World War, the KGB had tried to recreate its pre-war triumphs by establishing an elaborate network of "illegal residencies" alongside the "legal residencies" which operated under diplomatic or other official cover in foreign capitals.

The records of Directorate S revealed some remarkable individual achievements. KGB illegals successfully established bogus identities as foreign nationals in a great variety of professions ranging from Costa Rican ambassador to piano tuner to the Governor of New York. Even in the Gorbachev era, KGB propaganda continued to depict the Soviet illegal as the supreme embodiment of the chivalric ideal in the service of secret intelligence. The retired British KGB agent George Blake wrote in 1990:

Only a man who believes very strongly in an ideal and serves a great cause will agree to embark on such a career, though the word "calling" is perhaps appropriate here. Only an intelligence service which works for a great cause can ask for such a sacrifice from its officers. That is why, as far as I know, at any rate in peacetime, only the Soviet intelligence service has "illegal residents."

The SVR continues the KGB tradition of illegal hagiography. In July 1995, a month after the death of the best-known American-born illegal, Morris Cohen, President Yeltsin conferred on him the posthumous title of Hero of the Russian Federation.

The files of Directorate S noted by Mitrokhin reveal a quite different kind of illegal. Alongside the committed FCD officers who maintained their cover and professional discipline throughout their postings, there were others who could not cope when confronted by the contrast between the Soviet propaganda image of capitalist exploitation and the reality of life in

the West. An even darker secret of the Directorate S records was that one of the principal uses of the illegals during the last quarter of a century of the Soviet Union was to search out and compromise dissidents in the other countries of the Warsaw Pact. The squalid struggle against "ideological subversion" was as much a responsibility of Directorate S as of the rest of the FCD.

Mitrokhin was understandably cautious as he set out in 1972 to compile his forbidden FCD archive. For a few weeks he tried to commit names, codenames and key facts from the files to memory and transcribe them each evening when he returned home. Abandoning that process as too slow and cumbersome, he began to take notes in minuscule handwriting on scraps of paper which he crumpled up and threw into his wastepaper basket. Each evening, he retrieved his notes from the wastepaper and smuggled them out of Yasenevo concealed in his shoes. Gradually Mitrokhin became more confident as he satisfied himself that the Yasenevo security guards confined themselves to occasional inspections of bags and briefcases without attempting body searches. After a few months he started taking notes on ordinary sheets of office paper which he took out of his office in his jacket and trouser pockets.

Not once in the twelve years which Mitrokhin spent noting the FCD archives was he stopped and searched. There were, however, some desperately anxious moments. From time to time he realized that, like other FCD officers, he was being tailed—probably by teams from the Seventh (Surveillance) or Second Chief (Counterintelligence) Directorates. On one occasion while he was being followed, he visited the Dynamo Football Club sports shop and, to his horror, found himself standing next to two English visitors whom his watchers might suspect were spies with whom he had arranged a rendezvous. If he was searched, his notes on top secret files would be instantly discovered. Mitrokhin quickly moved on to other sports shops, hoping to convince his watchers that he was on a genuine shopping expedition. As he approached his apartment block, however, he noticed two men standing near the door to his ninth-floor flat. By the time he arrived, they had disappeared. FCD officers had standing instructions to report suspicious incidents such as this, but Mitrokhin did not do so for fear of prompting an investigation which would draw attention to the fact that he had been seen standing next to English visitors.

Each night when he returned to his Moscow flat, Mitrokhin hid his notes beneath his mattress. On weekends he took them to a family dacha thirty-six kilometers from Moscow and typed up as many as possible, though the notes became so numerous that Mitrokhin was forced to leave some of them in handwritten form. He hid the first batches of typescripts and notes in a milk-churn which he buried below the floor. The dacha was built on raised foundations, leaving just enough room for Mitrokhin to crawl

beneath the floorboards and dig a hole with a short-handled spade. He frequently found himself crawling through dog and cat feces and sometimes disturbed rats while he was digging, but he consoled himself with the thought that burglars were unlikely to follow him. When the milk-churn was full, he began concealing his notes and typescripts in a tin clothes-boiler. Eventually his archive also filled two tin trunks and two aluminum cases, all of them buried beneath the dacha.

Mitrokhin's most anxious moment came when he arrived at his weekend dacha to find a stranger hiding in the attic. He was instantly reminded of the incident a few years earlier, in August 1971, when a friend of the writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn had called unexpectedly at his dacha while Solzhenitsyn was away and surprised two KGB officers in the attic who were probably searching for subversive manuscripts. Other KGB men had quickly arrived on the scene and Solzhenitsyn's friend had been badly beaten. Andropov cynically ordered Solzhenitsyn to be "informed that the participation of the KGB in this incident is a figment of his imagination." The incident was still fresh in Mitrokhin's mind when he arrived at the dacha because he had recently noted files which recorded minutely detailed plans for the persecution of Solzhenitsyn and the "active measures" by which the KGB hoped to discredit him in the Western press. To his immense relief, however, the intruder in the attic turned out to be a homeless squatter.

During summer holidays Mitrokhin worked on batches of his notes at a second family dacha near Penza, carrying them in an old haversack and dressing in peasant clothes in order not to attract attention. In the summer of 1918 Penza, 630 kilometers southeast of Moscow, had been the site of one of the first peasant risings against Bolshevik rule. Lenin blamed the revolt on the kulaks (better-off peasants) and furiously instructed the local Party leaders to hang in public at least one hundred of them so that "for hundreds of kilometers around the people may see and tremble ..." By the 1970s, however, Penza's counter-revolutionary past was long forgotten, and Lenin's bloodthirsty orders for mass executions were kept from public view in the secret section of the Lenin archive.

One of the most striking characteristics of the best literature produced under the Soviet regime is how much of it was written in secret. "To plunge underground," wrote Solzhenitsyn, "to make it your concern not to win the world's recognition— Heaven forbid!—but on the contrary to shun it: this variant of the writer's lot is peculiarly our own, purely Russian, Russian and Soviet!" Between the wars Mikhail Bulgakov had spent twelve years writing *The Master and Margarita*, one of the greatest novels of the twentieth century, knowing that it could not be published in his lifetime and fearing that it might never appear at all. His widow later recalled how, just before his death in 1940, Bulgakov "made me get out of bed and then,

leaning on my arm, he walked through all the rooms, barefoot and in his dressing gown, to make sure that the manuscript of *The Master* was still there" in its hiding place. Though Bulgakov's great work survived, it was not published until a quarter of a century after his death. As late as 1978, it was denounced in a KGB memorandum to Andropov as "a dangerous weapon in the hands of [Western] ideological centers engaged in ideological sabotage against the Soviet Union."

When Solzhenitsyn began writing in the 1950s, he told himself he had "entered into the inheritance of every modern writer intent on the truth":

I must write simply to ensure that it was not forgotten, that posterity might some day come to know of it. Publication in my own lifetime I must shut out of my mind, out of my dreams.

Just as Mitrokhin's first notes were hidden in a milk-churn beneath his dacha, so Solzhenitsyn's earliest writings, in minuscule handwriting, were squeezed into an empty champagne bottle and buried in his garden. After the brief thaw in the early years of "de-Stalinization" which made possible the publication of Solzhenitsyn's story of life in the gulag, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, he waged a time-consuming struggle to try to prevent the KGB from seizing his other manuscripts until he was finally forced into exile in 1974. It did not occur to Mitrokhin to compare himself with such literary giants as Bulgakov and Solzhenitsyn. But, like them, he began assembling his archive "to ensure that the truth was not forgotten, that posterity might some day come to know of it."

The KGB files which had the greatest emotional impact on Mitrokhin were those on the war in Afghanistan. On December 28, 1979 Babrak Karmal, the new Afghan leader chosen by Moscow to request "fraternal assistance" by the Red Army which had already invaded his country, announced over Kabul Radio that his predecessor, Hafizullah Amin, an "agent of American imperialism," had been tried by a "revolutionary tribunal" and sentenced to death. Mitrokhin quickly discovered from the files on the war which flooded into the archives that Amin had in reality been assassinated, together with his family and entourage, in an assault on the Kabul presidential palace by KGB special forces disguised in Afghan uniforms.

The female clerks who filed KGB reports on the war in the archives after they had been circulated to the Politburo and other sections of the Soviet hierarchy had so much material to deal with that they sometimes submitted to Mitrokhin thirty files at a time for his approval. The horrors recorded in the files were carefully concealed from the Soviet people. The Soviet media preserved a conspiracy of silence about the systematic destruction of thousands of Afghan villages, reduced to forlorn groups of uninhabited, roofless mud-brick houses; the flight of four million refugees; and the death of a million Afghans in a war which Gorbachev later described as a

"mistake." The coffins of the 15,000 Red Army troops killed in the conflict were unloaded silently at Soviet airfields, with none of the military pomp and solemn music which traditionally awaited fallen heroes returning to the Motherland. Funerals were held in secret, and families told simply that their loved ones had died "fulfilling their internationalist duty." Some were buried in plots near the graves of Mitrokhin's parents in the cemetery at Kuzminsky Monastery. No reference to Afghanistan was allowed on their tombstones. During the Afghan War Mitrokhin heard the first open criticism of Soviet policy by his more outspoken colleagues at Yasenevo. "Doesn't the war make you ashamed to be Russian?" an FCD colonel asked him one day. "Ashamed to be Soviet, you mean!" Mitrokhin blurted out.

When Mitrokhin retired in 1984, he was still preoccupied with the Afghan War. He spent the first year and a half of his retirement sorting through his notes, extracting the material on Afghanistan, and assembling it in a large volume with a linking narrative. Despite Gorbachev's call for glasnost after he became Party leader in 1985, Mitrokhin did not believe the Soviet system would ever allow the truth about the war to be told. Increasingly, however, he began to think of ways of transporting his archive to the West and publishing it there.

One novel method suggested itself on May 28, 1987, when a single-engine Cessna piloted by a nineteen-year-old West German, Matthias Rust, crossed the Finnish border into Soviet airspace and flew undetected for 450 miles before landing in Red Square. After an hour of confusion, during which Kremlin security guards wondered whether Rust was an actor in a film, he was taken away to the KGB's Lefortovo Prison. Mitrokhin briefly considered but quickly abandoned the idea of using a microlite from a KGB sports club to fly with his archive in the opposite direction to Finland.

The most practical of the various schemes considered by Mitrokhin before the collapse of the Soviet Union was to get a position on the local Party committee which issued permits for foreign travel, obtain permits for himself and his family, then book reservations on a cruise from Leningrad to Odessa in the Black Sea. At one of the cruise's West European ports of call, Mitrokhin would make contact with the authorities and arrange to leave his archive in a dead letter-box near Moscow for collection by a Western intelligence agency. He eventually abandoned the idea because of the difficulty of separating himself from the Soviet tour group and the ever-watchful group leaders for long enough to tell his story and arrange the hand-over.

As the Berlin Wall came down in November 1989 and the Soviet Bloc began to disintegrate, Mitrokhin told himself to be patient and wait for his opportunity. In the meantime he carried on typing up his handwritten notes in his Moscow flat and at the two family dachas, assembling some of them

in volumes covering the FCD's chief target countries—first and foremost the United States, known in KGB jargon as the "Main Adversary." He shared the relief of most Muscovites at the failure of the hardline coup in August 1991 to depose Gorbachev and reestablish the one-party Soviet state. It came as no surprise to Mitrokhin that the chief ringleader in the failed coup was Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov, head of the FCD from 1974 to 1988 and chairman of the KGB from 1988 until the coup.

Though Kryuchkov proved better at public relations than most previous KGB chairmen, he had long represented much of what Mitrokhin most detested in the FCD. As a young diplomat at the Soviet embassy in Budapest, Kryuchkov had caught the eye of the ambassador, Yuri Andropov, by his uncompromising opposition to the "counter-revolutionary" Hungarian Uprising of 1956. When Andropov became KGB chairman in 1967, Kryuchkov became head of his personal secretariat and a loyal supporter of his obsessive campaign against "ideological subversion" in all its forms. The files seen by Mitrokhin showed that, as head of the FCD, Kryuchkov collaborated closely with the KGB Fifth (Ideological Subversion) Directorate in the war against dissidents at home and abroad. He had made a senior member of the Fifth Directorate, I. A. Markelov, one of the deputy heads of the FCD with responsibility for coordinating the struggle against ideological subversion. The failed coup of August 1991 marked an appropriately discreditable end to Kryuchkov's KGB career. Instead of shoring up the Soviet Union and the one-party state, it served only to hasten their collapse.

On October 11, 1991, the State Council of the disintegrating Soviet Union abolished the KGB in its existing form. The former FCD was reconstituted as the SVR, the foreign intelligence service of the Russian Federation, independent of the internal security service. Instead of repudiating its Soviet past, however, the SVR saw itself as the heir of the old FCD. Mitrokhin had seen the FCD file on the SVR's newly appointed head, Academician Yevgeni Maksimovich Primakov, previously Director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations and one of Gorbachev's leading foreign policy advisers. The file identified Primakov as a KGB co-optee, codenamed MAKSIM, who had been sent on frequent intelligence missions to the United States and the Middle East. Primakov went on to become Boris Yeltsin's Foreign Minister in 1996 and Prime Minister in 1998.

In the final months of 1991, the breakup of the Soviet Union and the relative weakness of frontier controls at the new borders of the Russian Federation at last opened the way to the West for Mitrokhin and his archive. In March 1992 he boarded an overnight train in Moscow bound for the capital of one of the newly independent Baltic republics. With him he took a case on wheels, containing bread, sausages and drink for his journey

on top, clothes underneath, and—at the bottom—samples of his notes. The next day he arrived unannounced at the British embassy in the Baltic capital and asked to speak to "someone in authority." Hitherto Mitrokhin had had an image of the British as rather formal and "a bit of a mystery." But the young female diplomat who received him at the embassy struck him as "young, attractive and sympathetic," as well as fluent in Russian. Mitrokhin told her he had brought with him important material from KGB files. While he rummaged at the bottom of his bag to extract his notes from beneath the sausages and clothes, the diplomat ordered tea. As Mitrokhin drank his first cup of English tea, she read some of his notes, then questioned him about them. Mitrokhin told her they were only part of a large personal archive which included material on KGB operations in Britain. He agreed to return to the embassy a month later to meet representatives from the Secret Intelligence Service.

Emboldened by the ease with which he had crossed the Russian frontier in March, Mitrokhin brought with him on his next trip to the Baltic capital 2,000 typed pages which he had removed from the hiding place beneath his dacha near Moscow. Arriving at the British embassy on the morning of April 9, he identified himself to the SIS officers by producing his passport, Communist Party card and KGB pension certificate, handed over his bulky typescript and spent a day answering questions about himself, his archive and how he had compiled it. Mitrokhin accepted an invitation to return to the embassy about two months later to discuss arrangements for a visit to Britain. Early in May the SIS Moscow station reported to London that Mitrokhin planned to leave Moscow on an overnight train on June 10. On June 11 he arrived in the Baltic capital carrying a rucksack containing more material from his archive. Most of his meeting with SIS officers was spent discussing plans for him to be debriefed in Britain during the following autumn.

On September 7, escorted by SIS, Mitrokhin arrived in England for the first time. After the near chaos of post-Communist Moscow, London made an extraordinary impression on him—"the model of what a capital city should be." At the time, even the heavy traffic, dotted with the black cabs and red doubledecker buses he had seen only in photographs, seemed but proof of the capital's prosperity. While being debriefed at anonymous safe houses in London and the countryside, Mitrokhin took the final decision to leave Russia for Britain, and agreed with SIS on arrangements to exfiltrate himself, his family and his archive. On October 13 he was infiltrated back into Russia to make final arrangements for his departure.

On November 7, 1992, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, Mitrokhin arrived with his family in the Baltic capital where he had first made contact with SIS. A few days later they arrived in London to begin a new life in Britain. It was a bittersweet moment. Mitrokhin was

safe and secure for the first time since he had begun assembling his secret archive eighteen years previously, but at the same time he felt a sense of bereavement at separation from a homeland he knew he would probably never see again. The bereavement has passed, though his attachment to Russia remains. Mitrokhin is now a British citizen. Using his senior citizen's railcard to travel the length and breadth of the country, he has seen more of Britain than most who were born here. Since 1992 he has spent several days a week working on his archive, typing up the remaining handwritten notes, and responding to questions about his archive from intelligence services from five continents. Late in 1995 he had his first meeting with Christopher Andrew to discuss the preparation of this book. Though *The Sword and the Shield* could not have been written in Russia, Mitrokhin remains as convinced as he was in 1972 that the secret history of the KGB is a central part of the Soviet past which the Russian people have the right to know. He also believes that the KGB's worldwide foreign operations form an essential, though often neglected, part of the history of twentieth-century international relations.

No word leaked out in the British media about either Mitrokhin or his archive. Because material from the archive was passed to so many other intelligence and security services, however, there were, unsurprisingly, some partial leaks abroad. The first, slightly garbled reference to Mitrokhin's archive occurred in the United States nine months after his defection. In August 1993 the well-known Washington investigative journalist Ronald Kessler published a bestselling book on the FBI based in part on sources inside the Bureau. Among his revelations was a brief reference to a sensational "probe by the FBI into information from a former KGB employee who had had access to KGB files":

According to his account, the KGB had had many hundreds of Americans and possibly more than a thousand spying for them in recent years. So specific was the information that the FBI was quickly able to establish the source's credibility ... By the summer of 1993, the FBI had mobilized agents in most major cities to pursue the cases. A top secret meeting was called at Quantico [the FBI National Academy] to plot strategy.

Kessler did not name any of the "many hundreds of Americans" identified by the defector. An unnamed "US intelligence official" interviewed by the *Washington Post* "confirmed that the FBI had received specific information that has led to a `significant' ongoing investigation into past KGB activities in the United States," but declined to be drawn in on "how many people are implicated." *Time* reported that "sources familiar with the case" of the KGB defector had identified him as a former employee of the First Chief Directorate, but had described Kessler's figures for the number of "recent" Soviet spies in the United States as "highly exaggerated."

Mitrokhin's notes do indeed contain the names of "many hundreds" of KGB officers, agents and contacts in the United States active at various periods since the 1920s. Kessler, however, wrongly suggested that this number applied to "recent years" rather than to the whole history of Soviet espionage in the United States. Though his figures were publicly disputed, the suggestion that the KGB defector had gone to the United States rather than to Britain went unchallenged. When no further information on the unidentified defector was forthcoming, media interest in the story quickly died away.

There was no further leak from Mitrokhin's archive for over three years. In October 1996, however, reports in the French press alleged that Charles Hernu, Defence Minister from 1981 to 1985, had worked for Soviet Bloc intelligence services from 1953 until at least 1963, and that, when informed by the French security service, the DST, President François Mitterrand had hushed the scandal up. Le Monde reported that from 1993 onwards British intelligence had passed on to the DST "a list of about 300 names of diplomats and officials of the Quai d'Orsay alleged to have worked for Soviet Bloc intelligence." In reality, French diplomats and Foreign Ministry officials made up only a minority of the names in Mitrokhin's notes supplied by the SIS to the DST. Charles Hernu was not among them. None of the media reports on either side of the Channel related the SIS lists of Soviet agents in France to Kessler's earlier story of a defector with extensive access to KGB files.

In December 1996 the German weekly Focus reported that, according to "reliable sources," SIS had also provided the BfV, the German security service, with the names of several hundred German politicians, businessmen, lawyers and police officers who had been involved with the KGB. On this occasion the SIS source was identified as a Russian defector who had had extensive access to the KGB archives. A later article in Focus reported:

The Federal Prosecutor has been examining numerous detailed new leads to a hitherto undiscovered agent network of the former Soviet secret service, the KGB, in Germany. The researchers in Karlsruhe are primarily concentrating on Moscow sources who were taken on by the successors to the KGB and have probably been reactivated since the end of the Cold War.

The basis for the research is extensive information on agents which a Russian defector smuggled into London from the Moscow secret service. After intensive analysis, the British secret service passed all information on KGB connections in Germany to the BfV in Cologne in early 1996.

In July 1997 another leak from Mitrokhin's archive occurred in Austria. Press reports quoted a KGB document giving directions for locating a

secret arms dump of mines, explosives and detonators, codenamed GROT, hidden in a dead letter-box near Salzburg in 1963, which had been intended for use in sabotage operations:

Leave the town of Salzburg by the Schallmoser Hauptstrasse leading to Highway No. 158. At a distance of 8 km from the town limit, in the direction of Bad Ischl-Graz, there is a large stone bridge across a narrow valley. Before reaching this bridge, leave the federal highway by turning right on to a local road which follows the valley in the direction of Ebenau; then go on 200 meters to the end of the metal parapet, which stands on the left-hand side of the road. On reaching the end of the parapet, turn left at once and follow a village road leading in the opposite direction. The DLB is located about 50 meters (60 paces) from the turn-off point leading from the main road on to the village road ...

Though the Austrian press did not mention it, the document came from Mitrokhin's archive, which also revealed that in 1964 road repair works had covered the entrance to the DLB, raised the ground level, and changed the layout of the surrounding area. The KGB had decided not to try to recover and relocate the GROT arms dump. Attempts by the Austrian authorities to find the dump in 1997 also failed. Mitrokhin's notes reveal that similar KGB arms and radio caches, some of them booby-trapped, are scattered around much of Europe and North America.

The press leak which came closest to revealing the existence of Mitrokhin's archive was a further article in the German weekly Focus, in June 1998. Focus reported that a colonel in the FCD registry with access to "all the files on Moscow's agents" had smuggled handwritten copies of them out of KGB headquarters to his dacha near Moscow. In 1992 he had defected to Britain and, according to Focus, SIS agents had brought the "explosive" notes hidden in the dacha back to London. Four years later, in an operation codenamed WEEKEND, SIS had allegedly briefed the BfV on the German material in the archive. According to Focus, "The defector has presented the BfV with hundreds of leads to Moscow's spy network in the Federal Republic of Germany." A "high-ranking BfV official" was said to have commented, "We were quite shocked at how much [the defector] knew. Moscow clearly possesses tons of blackmail material." The BfV was reported to have received new leads on fifty espionage cases and to have begun twelve new investigations.

The Focus article, however, inspired widespread skepticism—partly because the story of a top secret KGB archive exfiltrated from a Russian dacha seemed inherently improbable, partly because the only detailed example given by Focus of the intelligence it contained was the sensational allegation that the former Chancellor, Willy Brandt, "the icon of Germany's Social Democrats," had been a Soviet spy during the Second World War.

The Brandt story was instantly dismissed as "completely absurd" by Yuri Kobaladze, head of the SVR press bureau. When asked why in this instance the SVR was abandoning its usual practice of not commenting on individuals alleged to be Russian spies, Kobaladze replied:

It would naturally be very flattering to have such a high-ranking politician on our list of credits, but in the interests of preserving historical truth we felt it necessary to reject this fiction, which could be misused for political purposes.

Kobaladze also dismissed the story of the secret archive in a KGB colonel's dacha as a myth. The source of the Brandt story, he insisted, could only be a former KGB major in the Oslo residency, Mikhail Butkov, who had defected to Britain in 1991.

Though wrong about the secret archive, Kobaladze was right to reject the allegation that Brandt had been a Soviet spy. Mitrokhin's notes reveal that the KGB archives do indeed contain a file on Brandt (codenamed POLYARNIK), which shows that while in Stockholm during the Second World War he passed on information to the NKVD residency. But, as the file makes clear, Brandt was also in touch with British and American intelligence officers—as well as with the Norwegian former secretary of Leon Trotsky, regarded by the NKVD as the greatest traitor in Soviet history. Brandt's overriding motive was to provide any information to all three members of the wartime Grand Alliance which might hasten the defeat of Adolf Hitler. In the case of the Soviet Union, he calculated—accurately—that his best channel of communication with Moscow was via the Stockholm residency. The real embarrassment in the POLYARNIK file concerns the role not of Brandt but of the KGB. In 1962, almost certainly with Khrushchev's personal approval, the KGB embarked on an operation to blackmail Brandt by threatening to use the evidence of his wartime dealings with the Stockholm residency to "cause unpleasantness" unless he agreed to cooperate. The attempted blackmail failed.

Like the BfV and Austrian counter intelligence, a number of other security services and intelligence agencies around the world from Scandinavia to Japan have been pursuing leads from Mitrokhin's archive for several years—usually unnoticed by the media. Most of the leads have been used for counterintelligence purposes—to help resolve unsolved cases and neutralize SVR operations begun in the KGB era—rather than to mount prosecutions. There have, however, been a number of convictions which derive from Mitrokhin's evidence.

On one occasion, Mitrokhin himself was almost called to give evidence in court. The case concerned Robert Lipka, an army clerk assigned in the mid-1960s to the National Security Agency (NSA, the US SIGINT service), whom Mitrokhin had identified as a KGB agent. In May 1993 FBI agent

Dmitri Droujinsky contacted Lipka, posing as "Sergei Nikitin," a GRU officer based in Washington. Lipka complained that he was still owed money for his espionage over a quarter of a century earlier, and was given a total of \$10,000 by "Nikitin" over the next few months. He appeared confident that he could no longer be prosecuted. "The statute of limitations," he told "Nikitin," "has run out." "Nikitin" corrected him: "In American law the statute of limitations for espionage never runs out." Lipka replied that, whatever the legal position, he "would never admit to anything." After a lengthy FBI investigation, Lipka was arrested in February 1996 at his home in Millersville, Pennsylvania, and charged with handing classified documents to the Soviet Union.

Since Lipka denied all charges against him, Mitrokhin expected to give evidence at his trial in the U.S. District Court, Philadelphia, in May 1997. But, in what the Philadelphia Inquirer termed "a surprising turnaround" in the courtroom, Lipka "exploded into tears as he confessed that he had handed over classified information to KGB agents." Lipka had been persuaded by his lawyer, Ronald F. Kidd, to accept a prosecution offer of a plea bargain which would limit his sentence to eighteen years' imprisonment with time off for good behavior, rather than continue to plead not guilty and face the prospect of spending the rest of his life in jail. Though Mitrokhin's name was never mentioned in court, it was the evidence he had obtained from KGB files which seems to have prompted Lipka's change of heart. "We saw how significant the evidence was," his lawyer told reporters. "But the government also realized they couldn't go through a full trial and not have the mystery witness exposed." The "mystery witness" was Mitrokhin. After Lipka's confession, U.S. Assistant Attorney Barbara J. Cohan admitted, "We had a very sensitive witness who, if he had had to testify, would have had to testify behind a screen and under an assumed name, and now we don't have to surface him at all." "I feel like Rip Van Spy," said Lipka when he was sentenced in September 1997. "I thought I had put this to bed many years ago and I never dreamed it would turn out like this." As well as being sentenced to eighteen years' imprisonment and fined 10,000 dollars, Lipka was ordered to repay the further 10,000 dollars from FBI funds given him by "Nikitin."

There are many other "Rip Van Spies" whose memories of Cold War espionage are likely to be reawakened by Mitrokhin's archive. Some will recognize themselves in the pages which follow. About a dozen important cases which are still being actively pursued—including several in leading NATO countries—cannot be referred to for legal reasons until they come to court. Only a small minority of the Soviet agents whose codenames appear in this volume, however, are likely to be prosecuted. But, as the SVR embarks on the biggest and most complex damage assessment in Russian

intelligence history, it has to face the unsettling possibility that some of the spies identified by Mitrokhin have since been turned into double agents.

After each of the revelations from Mitrokhin's archive mentioned above, the SVR undoubtedly conducted the usual damage assessment exercise in an attempt to determine the source and seriousness of the leak. Its official statement in 1996 (effectively reaffirmed as recently as June 1998), which dismissed as "absolute nonsense" the suggestion that the names of several hundred Soviet agents could possibly have been given by a defector to any Western intelligence agency, demonstrates that the conclusions of these exercises were very wide of the mark. Not until the publication of this book was announced in 1999 did the SVR seem to begin to grasp the massive hemorrhage of intelligence which had occurred.

Some of the files noted by Mitrokhin give a vivid indication of the ferocity with which the Centre (KGB headquarters) has traditionally responded to intelligence leaks about its past foreign operations. The publication in 1974 of John Barron's *KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents*, based on information from Soviet defectors and Western intelligence agencies, generated no fewer than 370 KGB damage assessments and other reports. The resident in Washington, Mikhail Korneyevich Polonik (codenamed ARDOV), was instructed to obtain all available information on Barron, then a senior editor at Reader's Digest, and to suggest ways "to compromise him." Most of the "active measures" used by the KGB in its attempts to discredit Barton made much of his Jewish origins, but its fabricated claims that he was part of a Zionist conspiracy (a favorite theme in Soviet disinformation) appear to have had little resonance outside the Middle East.

The active measures employed against some of the journalists who wrote articles based on Barron's book were more imaginative. Doctored versions of blank "information cards" from the Austrian Stapo (security police) registry previously obtained by KGB agents were used to compromise Austrian journalists judged to have used material from *KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents* to undermine the "peace-loving" policies of the USSR. Fabricated entries on the cards prepared by Service A, the FCD active measures specialists, purported to show that the Stapo believed the journalists concerned to be hand-in-glove with the CIA. Photocopies of the cards were then circulated among the Austrian media. The files noted by Mitrokhin list other KGB countermeasures against Barron's book in countries as far afield as Turkey, Cyprus, Libya, Lebanon, Egypt, Iran, Kuwait, Somalia, Uganda, India, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan.

The other study of the KGB which did the most to arouse the ire of the Centre was the history published in 1990 by Christopher Andrew and Oleg Gordievsky, *KGB: The Inside Story of Its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Gorbachev*, which drew on KGB documents and other information

obtained by Gordievsky while working as a British agent inside the KGB from 1974 to 1985. The Centre predictably responded with active measures against both the book and its authors. (Some indication of its continuing hostility to Gordievsky is provided by the fact that, at the time of this writing, he is still under sentence of death in Moscow.) There was, however, one important new element in the reaction of the KGB, and of its chairman Kryuchkov in particular, to the publication of the history by Andrew and Gordievsky. In a top secret "Chairman's Order" of September 1990 emphasizing the importance of influence operations and other active measures ("one of the most important functions of the KGB's foreign intelligence service"), Kryuchkov instructed that "wider use should be made of archive material" to publicize a "positive" image of the KGB and "its more celebrated cases."

The first approach to a Western writer offering material from KGB archives intended to create this "positive" image was to the mercurial John Costello, a freelance British historian who combined flair for research with a penchant for conspiracy theory. In 1991 Costello published a book on the mysterious flight to Britain fifty years previously of Hitler's deputy Führer, Rudolf Hess, which drew on KGB records selected by the SVR as well as Western sources, and argued (implausibly, in the view of most experts on the period) that the key to the whole affair was a plot by British intelligence. Two years later, in collaboration with the SVR consultant (and former FCD officer) Oleg Tsarev, Costello published a somewhat less controversial biography of the inter-war Soviet intelligence officer Aleksandr Orlov which was described on the dustjacket as "The first book from the KGB archives—the KGB secrets the British government doesn't want you to read." The book began with tributes to the disgraced former chairman of the KGB, Vladimir Kryuchkov, and the last head of the FCD, Leonid Vladimirovich Shebarshin, for initiating the project. Costello added a note of "personal gratitude" to the SVR "for the ongoing support that they have given to this project which has established a new precedent for openness and objectivity in the study of intelligence history, not only in Russia, but the rest of the world."

The Costello-Tsarev combination set the pattern for other collaborations between Russian authors selected or approved by the SVR and Western writers (who have included both well-known historians and a senior retired CIA officer): a project initially sponsored, but later abandoned, by Crown Books in the United States. For each volume in the series, which covers topics from the inter-war period to the early Cold War, the SVR has given the authors exclusive access to copies of previously top secret documents selected by it from KGB archives. All the books published so far have contained interesting and sometimes important new material; several are also impressive for the quality of their historical analysis. Their main

weakness, for which the authors cannot be blamed, is that the choice of KGB documents on which they are based has been made not by them but by the SVR.

The choice is sometimes highly selective. During the 1990s, for example, the SVR has made available to Russian and Western authors four successive tranches from the bulky file of the KGB's most famous British agent, Kim Philby. In order to preserve both Philby's heroic image and the reputation of Russian foreign intelligence, however, the SVR has been careful not to release the record of Philby's final weeks as head of the SIS station in the United States (the climax of his career as a Soviet spy), when money and instructions intended for Philby were mislaid, and he fell out with his incompetent controller who was subsequently recalled to Moscow in disgrace. Mitrokhin's notes on those parts of the Philby file still considered by the SVR unsuitable for public consumption reveal this farcical episode for the first time.

The SVR has publicly denied even the existence of some of the files which it finds embarrassing. While writing a history of KGB-CIA rivalry in Berlin before the construction of the Wall, based partly on documents selected by the SVR, the Russian and American authors (one of them a former deputy head of the FCD) asked to see the file of the KGB agent Aleksandr Grigoryevich Kopatzky (alias Igor Orlov). The SVR replied that it had no record of any agent of that name. Its only record of "Igor Orlov" was, it claimed, of a visit made by him to the Soviet embassy in Washington in 1965, when he complained of FBI harassment and enquired about asylum in the USSR. Though still officially an unperson in the SVR version of Russian intelligence history, Kopatzky was in reality one of the KGB's most highly rated agents. His supposedly non-existent KGB file, noted by Mitrokhin, reveals that he had no fewer than twenty-three controllers.

As well as initiating an unprecedented series of collaborative histories for publication in the West, the SVR has produced a number of less sophisticated works for the Russian market. In 1995, to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet foreign intelligence service, of which it sees itself as the heir, the SVR published a volume on the careers of seventy-five intelligence officers—all, it appears, sans peur et sans reproche—which differs little from the uncritical hagiographies of the KGB era. In 1995 the SVR also began the publication of a multi-volume official history of KGB foreign operations which by 1997 had reached the beginning of the Great Patriotic War. Though a mine of mostly reliable factual information, it too presents a selective and sanitized view of Soviet intelligence history. It also preserves, in a mercifully diluted form, some of the traditional conspiracy theories of the KGB. The literary editor of the official history, Lolly Zamovsky, was formerly a senior FCD analyst,

well known within the Centre and foreign residencies for his belief in a global Masonic-Zionist plot. In 1989 he published a volume grandly entitled *Behind the Façade of the Masonic Temple*, which blamed the Freemasons for, inter alia, the outbreak of the Cold War.

The underlying rationale for the SVR's selection of topics and documents for histories of past operations is to present Soviet foreign intelligence as a dedicated and highly professional service, performing much the same functions as its Western counterparts but, more often than not, winning the contest against them. Even under Stalin, foreign intelligence is presented as the victim rather than the perpetrator of the Terror—despite the fact that during the later 1930s hunting down "enemies of the people" abroad became its main priority. Similarly, the SVR seeks to distance the foreign intelligence operations of the FCD during the Cold War from the abuse of human rights by the domestic KGB. In reality, however, the struggle against "ideological subversion" both at home and abroad was carefully coordinated. The KGB took a central role in the suppression of the Hungarian Uprising in 1956, the crushing of the Prague Spring in 1968, the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, and the pressure on the Polish regime to destroy Solidarity in 1981. Closely linked to the persecution of dissidents within the Soviet Union were the FCD's PROGRESS operations against dissidents in the rest of the Soviet Bloc and its constant harassment of those who had taken refuge in the West. By the mid-1970s the FCD's war against ideological subversion extended even to operations against Western Communist leaders who were judged to have deviated from Moscow's rigid Party line.

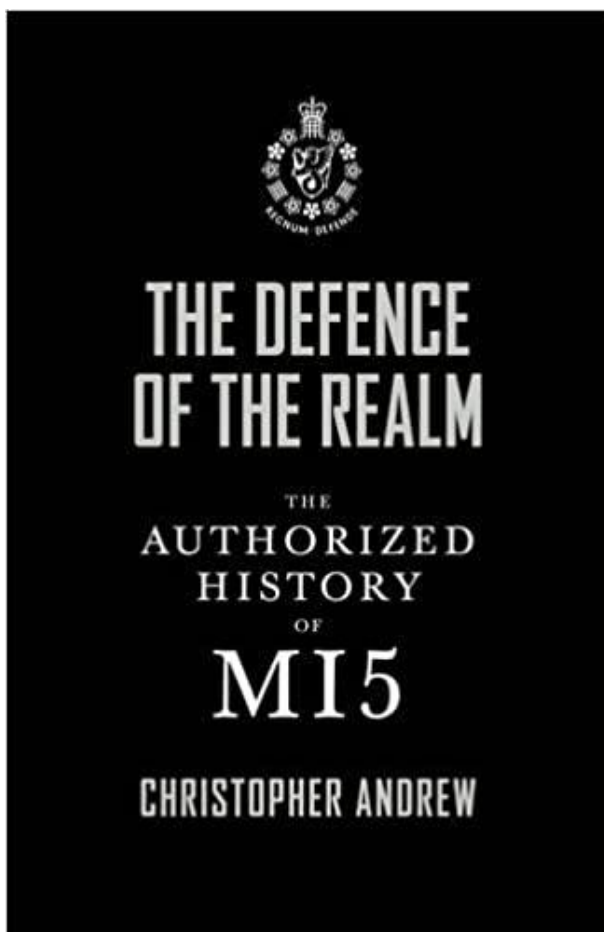
On these and many other operations, Mitrokhin's archive contains much material from KGB files which the SVR is still anxious to keep from public view. Unlike the documents selected for declassification by the SVR, none of which are more recent than the early 1960s, his archive covers almost the whole of the Cold War. Most of it is still highly classified in Moscow. The originals of some of the most important documents noted or transcribed by Mitrokhin may no longer exist. In 1989 most of the huge multi-volume file on the dissident Andrei Sakharov, earlier branded "Public Enemy Number One" by Andropov, was destroyed. Soon afterwards, Kryuchkov announced that all files on other dissidents charged under the infamous Article 70 of the criminal code (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda) were being shredded. In a number of cases, Mitrokhin's notes on them may now be all that survives.

Vasili Mitrokhin has thus made it possible to extend what John Costello praised in 1993 as the "new precedent for openness and objectivity in the study of intelligence history" set by Kryuchkov and his SVR successors far beyond the limits any of them could have envisaged.

The following is an extract from Chapter 1 of the book:

"By the beginning of the 1970s Mitrokhin's political views were deeply influenced by the dissident struggle, which he was able to follow both in KGB records and Western broadcasts. 'I was a loner,' he recalls, 'but I now knew that I was not alone.' Though Mitrokhin never had any thought of aligning himself openly with the human rights movement, the example of the Chronicle of Current Events and other samizdat productions helped to inspire him with the idea of producing a classified variant of the dissidents' attempts to document the iniquities of the Soviet system. Gradually the project began to form in his mind of compiling his own private record of the foreign operations of the KGB."

X. The Defence of the Realm



*The following was archived in 2021, with acknowledgement and thanks, from the Cspan website at www.c-span.org. It is a transcribed extract of a talk given by Christopher Andrew at the International Spy Museum in Washington DC. He spoke about his book *The Defence of the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5*, published in 2009.*

Anyone who writes about British intelligence is deeply conscious of the fact that intelligence is the only profession in the history of the world in which a fictional character who never lived is at least a hundred times better known than anyone who ever lived. Of course it's James Bond.

We Brits may look a bit buttoned up but we have secret fantasies of global appeal that I think very few other nationalities have. The idea that a couple of years ago the number one best seller in France would be a book called Harry Potter. Even school children in Britain are brought up to have secret fantasies of a kind which your friends in the European Union will never come close to.

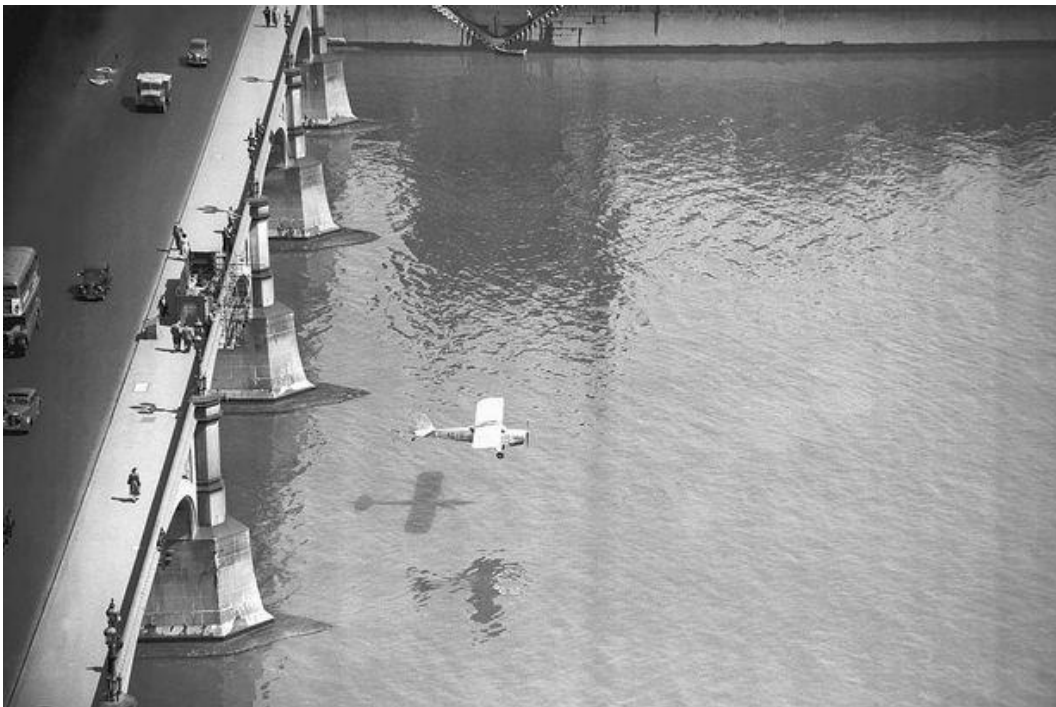
One of the things that surprised me when I went through the hundreds of thousands of wonderful wonderful MI5 files in Thames House was that I

actually came across one or two people who did things that even Bond would not have done.



Sean Connery as James Bond.

One was Christopher Draper, who flew an aircraft under Westminster Bridge. He was known as the Mad Major for two reasons. He was indeed a bit mad. And he was a Major. He had been a fighter pilot ace during the First World War, and he flew under every bridge in London. Britain has always esteemed eccentrics, and he was not even prosecuted until after the Second World War.



The Mad Major flies under Westminster Bridge, London.

Adolf Hitler heard about Draper's exploits and invited him over to Germany, and met with him for a couple of hours at a Munich air show. As soon as he got back to England, Draper was asked if he would kindly spy for German intelligence and he said absolutely fine, stopping only to ask

MI5 if it would be absolutely fine. MI5 said it would be absolutely fine and he just needed to do two things. Firstly to pass on the information which they gave to him, and secondly to provide all the contact details that he was given as to how to make contact with German intelligence.

That actually is the hitherto unknown origins of the double cross system. There were lots of advances thereafter but it was through Christopher Draper than MI5 learned how existing spies, real spies, not the double agents, made contact with German intelligence. I won't go into the details we discovered about the double agent codenamed Snow. But the rest is the most successful deception in the entire history of warfare, and I don't think that is an exaggeration.

You don't just suddenly learn deception overnight. At the beginning of the First World War MI5 only had seventeen staff members and that included the caretaker. So there was a very rapid expansion which increased the numbers in London to 854 by the end of the First World War.

One of the things during both World Wars that distinguishes British intelligence is the willingness to recruit bright and also very young talented people. One of the first joiners during the First World War was William Hensley Cook. He was only twenty. He was recruited in August 1914. He had been educated in Germany, his father being British and his mother German. The problem was that he spoke with a very strong German accent. And in August 1914 you were suspected just for owning a Dachshund. The only way he could be allowed into MI5, which was in the War Office, was using a pass signed by the head of MI5 saying he was an Englishman.

I am not clear that anybody has had a more successful career in deception than Cook. There wasn't a single German prisoner of war who suspected he was not in fact himself a German prisoner of war. I think this man at the age of 21 had deceived more people than any other 21 year old in British history.

Vernon Kell (below), the founder of MI5, lasted far too long as head of MI5 - from the First World War to 1940. It's rather odd isn't it that the two people who stayed in the same senior government job the longest in the 20th century, both in the USA and UK, were the heads of internal security - J Edgar Hoover and Vernon Kell.

Kell had extraordinary linguistic qualifications. He had translator's qualifications in Chinese - and it was not easy getting to China in 1909. He also had translator's qualifications in Russian. And he spoke several European languages.



Vernon Kell, centre of front row, with the heads of MI5 branches in 1918.

Our best inter-war agent was Wolfgang Putlitz, whose UK passport photograph is shown on the right. The reason that MI5 understood Nazi Germany better than anyone else in Britain was that it had penetrated the German embassy. He had an interestingly bizarre career after the Second World War, but before the Second World War it was more straightforward.

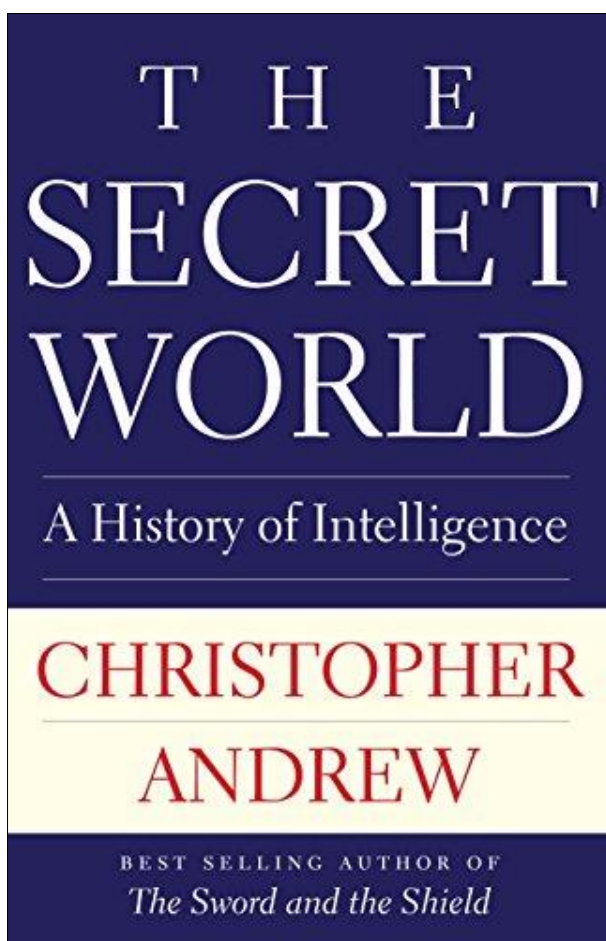
He explained to MI5 that if you appease the Fuhrer you would make him more likely to start the Second World War than calm him down. He passed this on to Kell who passed it on to the intellectually challenged British Prime Minister, whose name was Neville Chamberlain. Neville Chamberlain didn't listen to a word that MI5 said. But one technique for getting through to a policy maker who will not listen otherwise is to tell the policy maker that his or her major opponent is insulting him or her. There is no policy maker in the history of the world who will not listen to that advice.

Kell was a really retiring individual. The most extrovert thing he ever did was to write an article about the lapwing for a birding magazine because he was so shocked by coming out of his secret life that he never did that again. So at the end of 1938, after Munich, the most shameful moment in British foreign policy, with the possible exception of the crazy Suez episode, Kell decided to tell Neville Chamberlain that the Fuhrer characteristically referred to him with an eight letter word the first letter of which was a and the last was e. So he passed it by the Foreign Office, where the extremely well brought up Lord Halifax, who was British Foreign Secretary, who had never seen that word



written before, underlined it three times in red. This is the first and last time in British history that that word, particularly underlined three times in red, has been passed by the head of an intelligence agency to the Prime Minister to try to get his attention. Talk about speaking truth to power; I think this is the ultimate example.

7. The Secret World



*In November 2018 Christopher Andrew gave three lectures at Yale University as that year's Stimson Lectures on World Affairs. They were based on his recently published book *The Secret World: a History of Intelligence*. The following summary of the lectures was archived in 2021, with acknowledgement and thanks, from the website of the Yale Macmillan Center at www.macmillan.yale.edu. It was written by Julia Ding.*

Christopher Andrew, Emeritus Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at the University of Cambridge and former Official Historian of British Security Service MI5, delivered this year's Stimson Lectures on World Affairs, a series of three lectures that took place over the course of the first week in November at the MacMillan Center. Known for his scholarship on the history of intelligence, he addressed the topic "The Lost History of Global Intelligence—and Why It Matters."

Throughout the three lectures, Andrew stressed a few overarching themes. He noted that although the strategic importance of signal intelligence (SIGINT) is commonly accepted, there is a surprisingly poor understanding of its history. "No WWII or post-WWII profession was as ignorant of its own history as the intelligence community," he said, attributing this

ignorance to the inherently clandestine nature of espionage operations. Because of its ignorance of its history, the intelligence community is unable to learn from past mistakes. Andrew said, “intelligence history is not linear... it sometimes goes backwards.” He also expressed frustration at how modern SIGINT is commonly seen as more advanced than SIGINT in history, using as an example the code-breaking superiority under Queen Elizabeth I compared to that of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In the first lecture, titled “How the Lead Role in Strategic Intelligence Passed from Asia to the West,” Andrew told the story of SIGINT’s decline during Ottoman rule, its importance in the East India Company, and the influences of Sun Tzu on SIGINT to this day. In early modern Europe, European intelligence was far behind that of its Asian counterparts. For example, Venetian codebreakers in the 16th century “had no idea their crucial break-through—the frequency principle—had been made six hundred years before in the Baghdad House of Wisdom in the 9th century.” Andrew noted that though the Ottoman Empire was a great power, it “despised intellectual innovation” and allowed neither Arabic printing presses nor embassies abroad until the 18th century, which greatly outdated their intelligence system and contributed to their eventual decline.

Andrew then observed that “18th-century British Intelligence acquired a major Asian dimension—due less to the government than to the East India Company.” As a result, in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, “the best practitioners [of intelligence] had actually learned their trade in India.” Andrew estimated the 20th century as when the West finally caught up with Asia. Andrew called SIGINT “an area in which it takes the West two millennia to catch up with some of the key work of the Confucian era,” referring to the works of Sun Tzu. He noted that the man who eventually helped the West “catch up” is Sir Vernon Kell, who also happens to be the first Western intelligence officer to read *The Art of War*.

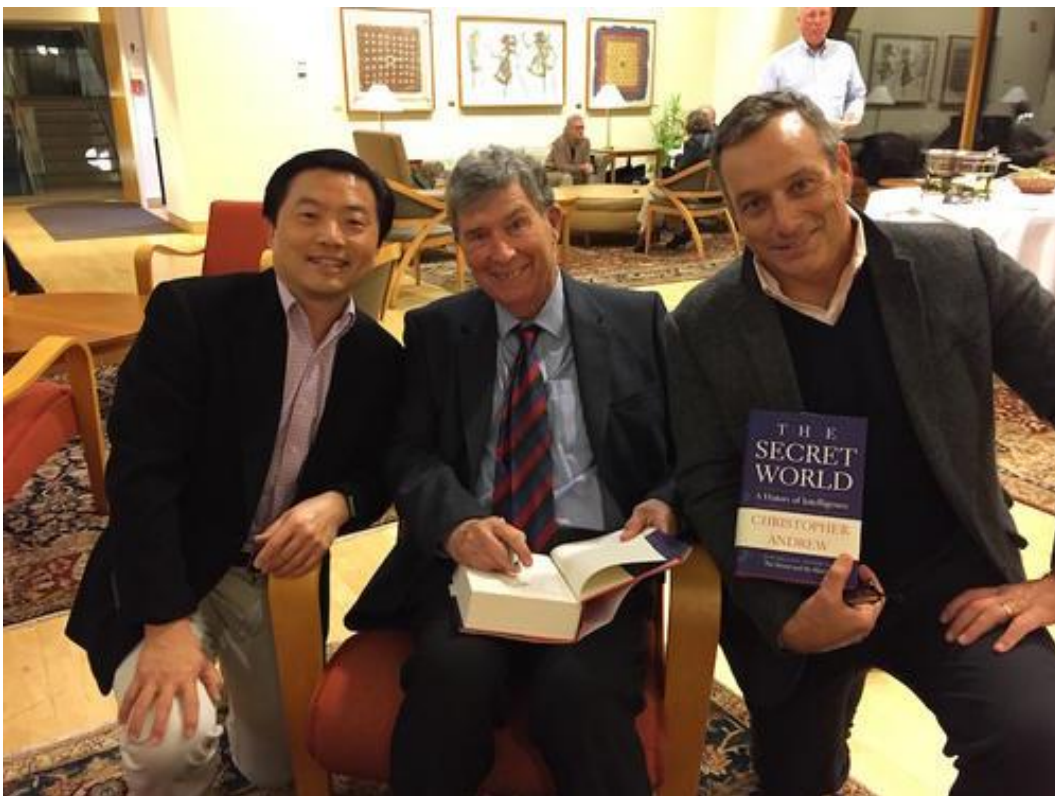
In the second lecture titled “The Strange History of American-British Intelligence Relations: from George Washington to Donald J. Trump,” Andrew described the special relationship between American and British intelligence agencies, which became especially close during the Second World War. During the war, Churchill commanded British intelligence to give Americans unprecedented access to intelligence information. The special relationship endured even after the war, through the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Cold War.

Andrew called the 1946 UK-USA Agreement on Signal intelligence “the most important alliance in the history of intelligence” since the Second World War. Regarding the current intelligence relationship under the Trump administration, Andrew said it was a “short-term deviation which was unimaginable a few years ago.”

The third and final lecture focused on “Russian Intelligence Operations and the West: from Tsar Nicholas II to Vladimir Putin.” Andrew described Russia’s superior SIGINT under Tzar Nicholas II, the failures of Lenin’s Cheka, the “culture of assassination” under Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, and Putin’s “obsession with Russian intelligence history.”

He also discussed Russian espionage operations abroad, including the “Magnificent Five,” a group of young University of Cambridge graduates recruited in the mid-1930s. During the same period, all 23 of the Russian students who attended MIT in Cambridge, Massachusetts, were reporting to Russian intelligence.

Andrew noted that Putin “likes to take us by surprise,” which sometimes includes information about Russian agents that was previously unknown. For example, in 2007 Putin posthumously gave the title of “Hero of Russia” to Zhorzh Koval, a Russian military intelligence agent that infiltrated the Manhattan project, a research and development undertaking during World War II that produced the first nuclear weapons. It was led by the United States with the support of the United Kingdom and Canada. Until then, Western scholars had no idea about the extent of Russian penetration into the project.



Christopher Andrew (middle) signing copies of his book "The Secret World: A History of Intelligence" on which his Stimson lectures were based.

Regarding the possibility of Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. elections, Andrew said “broadly speaking, the KGB never saw an election

it didn't want to influence." He pointed out that while Russian forgeries during the Reagan era had little impact on elections, the difference is now the presence of a "combination of a traditional Russian intelligence obsession combined with social media."

Sponsored by the Whitney and Betty MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies at Yale, the Stimson lectures are funded by an anonymous donor in honor of Henry L. Stimson, a Yale College alumnus and U.S. statesman who served as Secretary of War during World World II.

8. What If ?

Christopher Andrew presented for several years the BBC Radio 4 discussion programme What If? in which, with guests, he considered what might have happened if important moments in history had taken a different course. Examples of the programmes are described below:

D-Day Special. What If D-Day had Failed? 5/6/2004

A special edition of Radio 4's long-running counterfactual history series, What If..? imagines the consequences had the D Day landings failed on 6 June 1944. As General Dwight Eisenhower knew only too well, the Normandy landings were an enormous gamble.

Nazi Occupation 5/4/2004

What If Hitler had successfully implemented his plan for the occupation of Britain in 1940. Would we really have fought them on the beaches? Would there have been an English resistance movement? What would have happened to Britain's Jewish population and how would the Nazis have dealt with the Royal Family and the BBC? With Mark Seaman, Madeleine Bunting and Terry Charman.

Elizabeth I had married 12/4/2004

What If Elizabeth I had married? Professor Christopher Andrew and his guests, Lady Antonia Fraser, John Guy and Derek Wilson discuss what might have happened if the Virgin Queen had taken a husband. Would a Catholic bridegroom have plunged England into a religious civil war ? Would a foreign match have robbed England of Gloriana and the Golden Age over which she reigned ? With Lady Antonia Fraser, John Guy and Derek Wilson.

Tiananmen Square 19/4/2004

What if the Chinese authorities had not sent tanks into Tiananmen Square in June 1989 ? Would the pro-democracy demonstrators have won the day and set China on the road to political reform ? Or would any loosening of central control have seen the country spiral into violent chaos ? In this week's edition of the programme that rewrites history, Professor Christopher Andrew and his guests - Jonathan Mirsky, Steve Tsang and Humphrey Hawksley - imagine how the People's Republic might look today if the students' demands for change had been met, not with gunfire, but with concessions. With Jonathan Mirsky, Steve Tsang and Humphrey Hawksley.

Rorke's Drift 26/4/2004

What If the Zulus had defeated the British in 1879? In this week's edition of the programme which rewrites history, Professor Christopher Andrew and his guests imagine the consequences for the British Empire and for Southern Africa of a Zulu victory. With Saul David, Ian Knight and Joanna Lewis.
