



Defectors & Spies



The affairs that shook the Soviet
Union to its core...

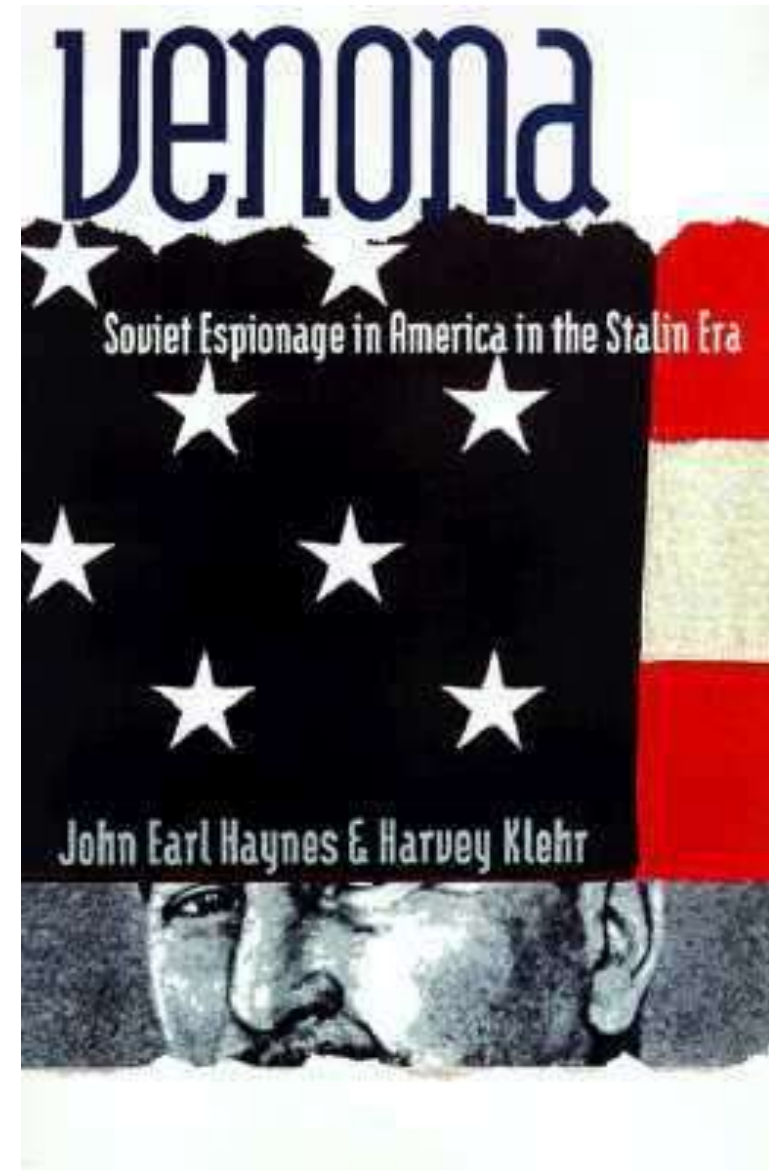
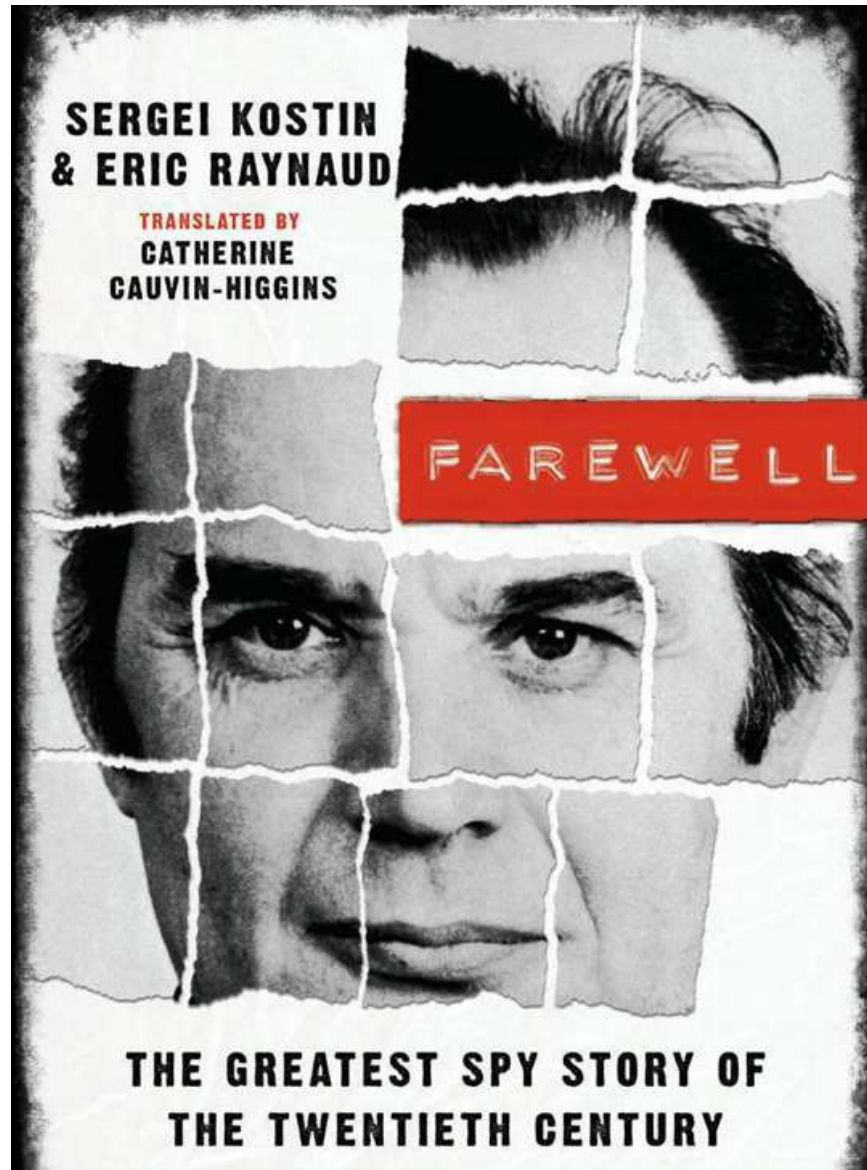


WEBSITE

www.oliviercourteaux.com

Click on **Life Institute**

Password to access the PowerPoint
presentations: **lifeinstitute**



A black and white photograph of a man, Viktor Kravchenko, wearing a suit and tie. He is pointing his right index finger upwards and looking in the same direction. The background is dark and indistinct.

A defector named Viktor Kravchenko

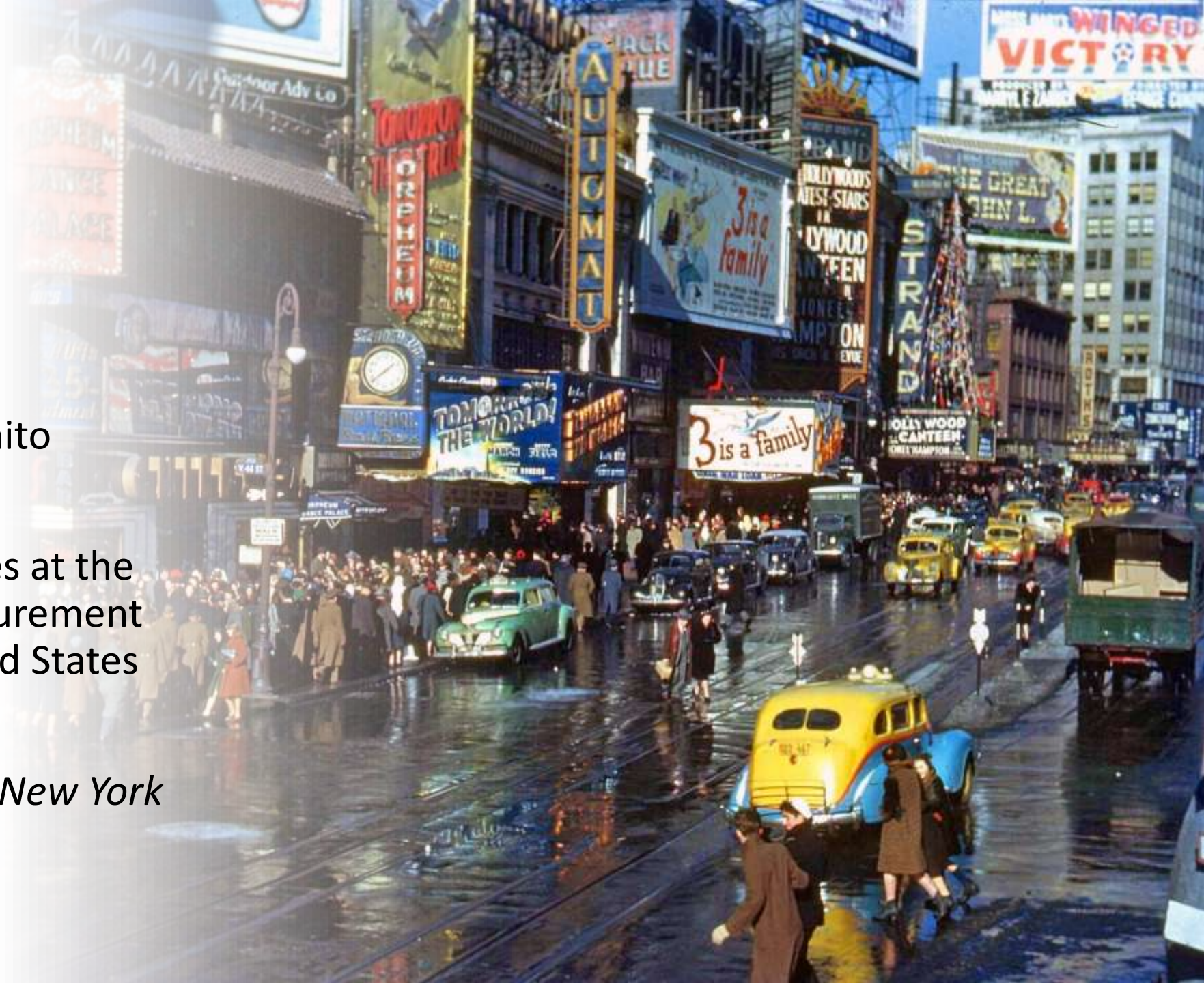
How a Soviet engineer shattered the image of the Soviet Union in the world

2 April 1944

A trip to NYC incognito

No warning to colleagues at the
Soviet Government Procurement
Commission in the United States

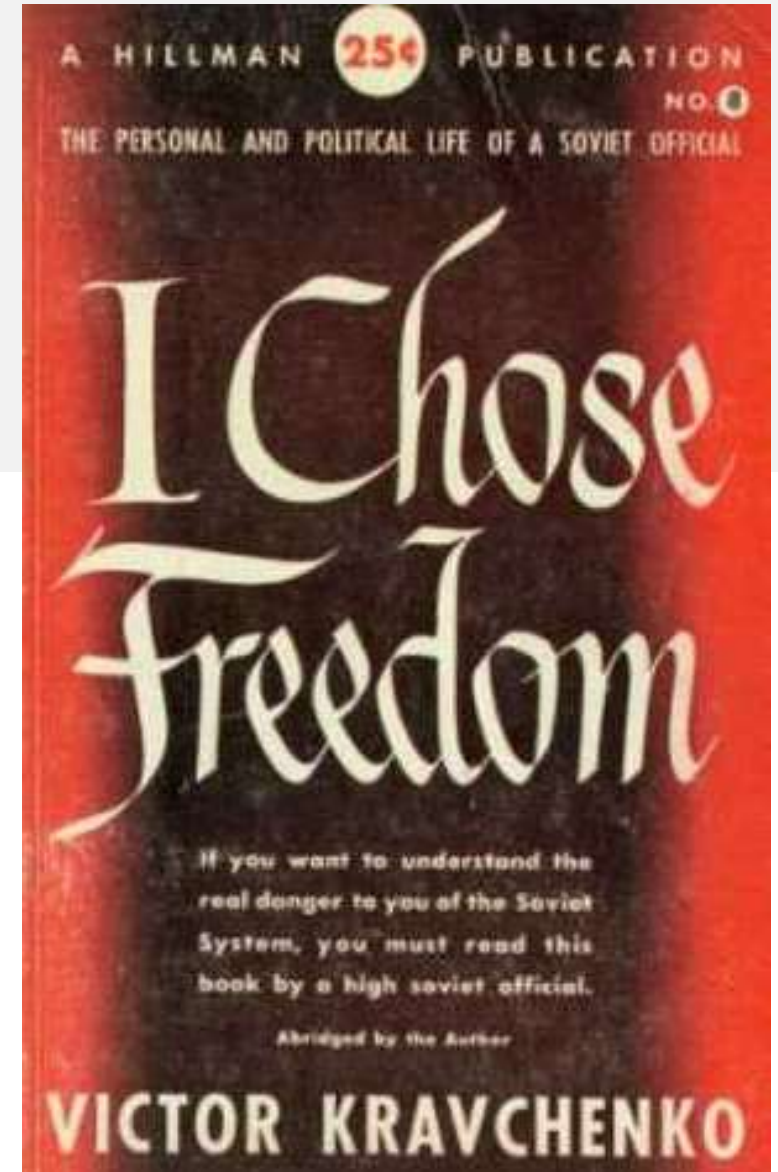
A statement to the press (*New York
Times*)





The life of a fugitive

Publishing his story
(February 1946)





Who was Viktor Kravchenko?

Born in Eastern Ukraine
(1905)

1917: his father embraced
the February Revolution

The October Revolution &
the Civil War



1922

Joined the **youth division**
of the Communist Party of
the Soviet Union (CPSU):
Komsomol

His ideal: To build a better
society



1928

Joined the Communist Party led by
Joseph Stalin

Engineering studies at the
Technology Institute of Kharkov
The “*vanguard of the working
class*”



Noticed by a leading member of
the CPSU

Grigory Ordzhonikidze: one of Stalin's
close friend and associate

1932: Kravchenko involved in the
process of collectivization of agriculture
& repression against the *Kulaks* ("rich
peasants")

Violence, deportations, murders,
spoliations: **disillusion**





Doubts

Kravchenko torn between
his brilliant career and his
knowledge of the Soviet
system

Stalin's terror system and
fear of political purges



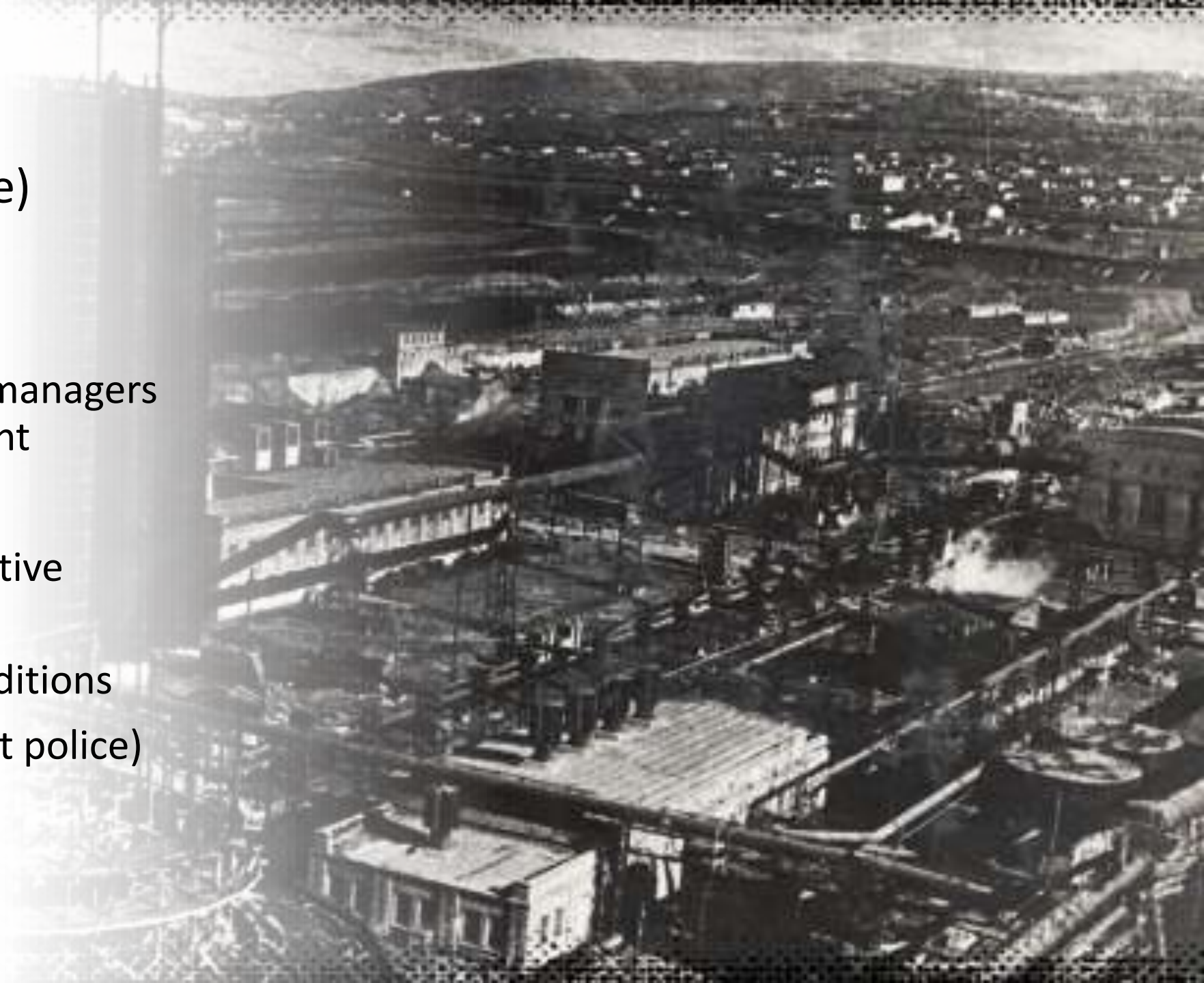
Nikopol (Ukraine)

Appointed one of the top managers
of Nikopol steel plant

Cumbersome, ineffective
bureaucracy

Deplorable working conditions

The constant NKVD (secret police)
surveillance



The Great Purge (1937-1938)

February 1937: Kravchenko
lost his protector (execution
or suicide?)

February 1938: appointed
top engineer in Ural

A new discovery: the *Gulag*

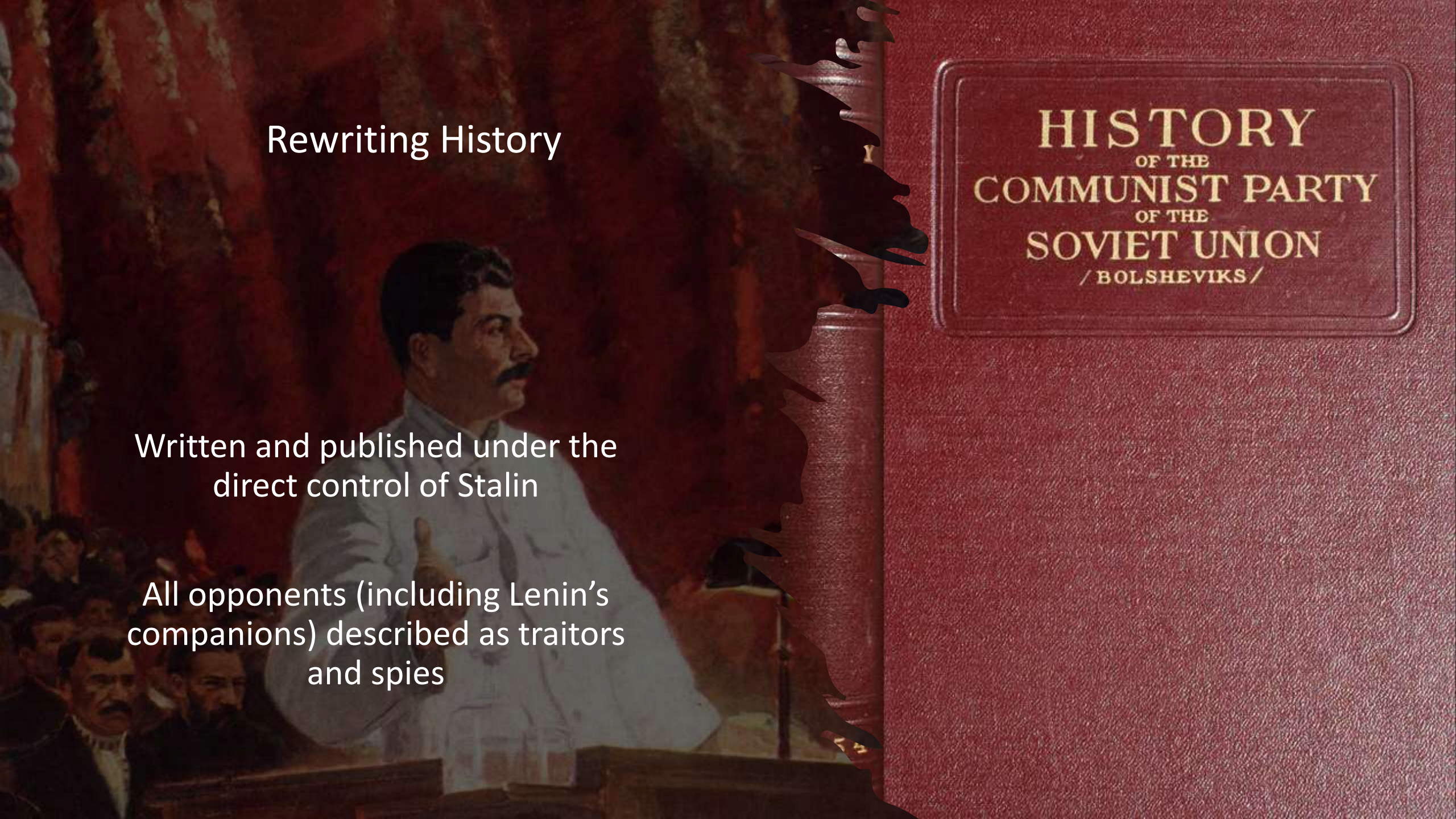




Rewriting History

Written and published under the
direct control of Stalin

All opponents (including Lenin's
companions) described as traitors
and spies



HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION / BOLSHEVIKS /



21 June 1941: Operation
Barbarossa

The German invasion of the Soviet
Union

The Soviet Union utterly
unprepared





Further disillusion

Appointment at the **Council of People's Commissars** (Soviet Union highest executive authorities)

Large-scale forced labor
Forced labor for children (14-17)
generalized in 1940



U.S. Lend-Lease program

January 1943: Kravchenko
sent in a mission to the U.S.

Gruelling 5 months of
interviews (NKVD)

Kravchenko's decision: to
defect and tell his story



August 1943:
Washington D.C.

Member of the **Soviet Government
Purchasing Commission in the U.S.**
("Section Metals")

His mission: to verify & control steel
materials to be sent to Soviet Union

Constant NKVD surveillance:
ideological "conferences", police
interviews, warnings, threats...



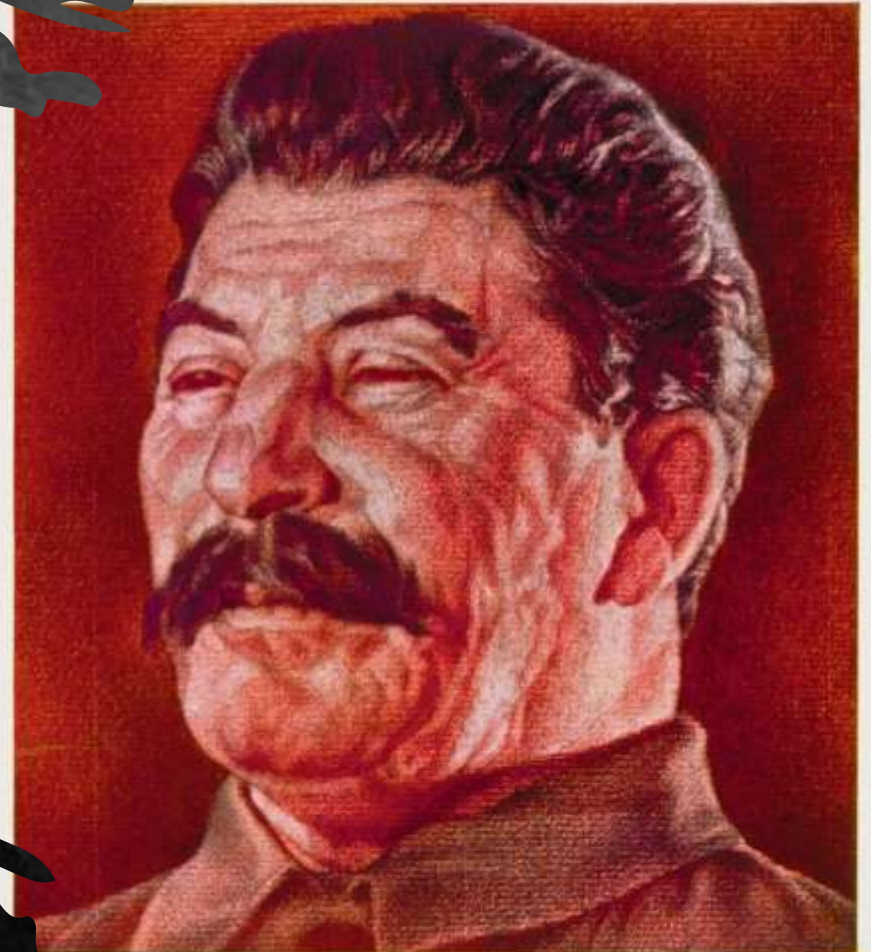
Soviet victory at Stalingrad
(2 February 1943)

Stalin's popularity in the U.S.
A very positive image

Kravchenko: to tell his truth

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE



MAN OF THE YEAR

Ernest Haseltin Baker



4 April 1944

New York Times: the defection of an
“important Soviet bureaucrat”

Excerpts of Kravchenko’s statement

Soviet embassy in Washington:
negative reaction

Kravchenko portrayed as a traitor a
deserter and a crook



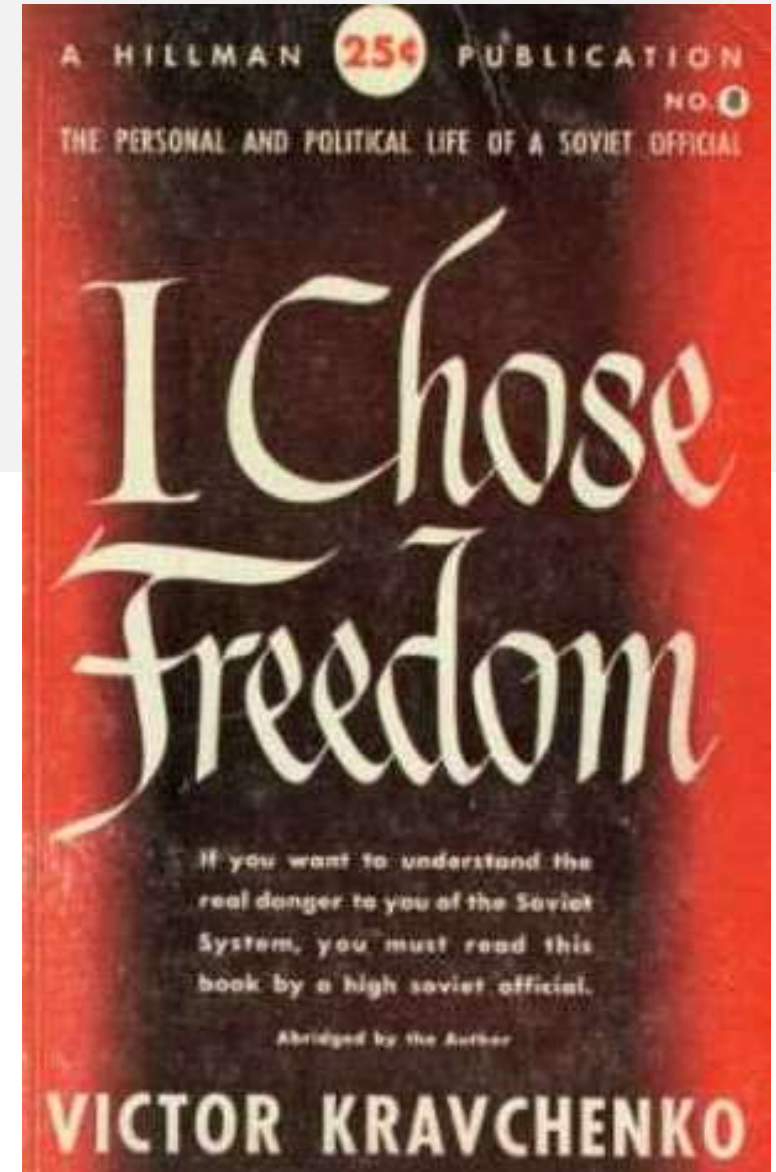


February 1946

The release in the U.S. of *"I Chose Freedom"*

Spectacular success (2 million copies sold)

June 1946: the book to be translated in French



1 May 1947: the release of the French
version

A literary bombshell
Powerful French Communist Party
A bestseller

J'AI CHOISI LA LIBERTÉ!

PAR

V.-A. KRAVCHENKO

ÉDITIONS SELF

Les Lettres francaises

Weekly newspaper supported financially by the Communist Party

Article accusing Kravchenko of **disinformation** and of being a U.S. agent and a crook accused of embezzlement

Kravchenko paid by the Americans to denounce the "so-called Stalin dictatorship"



HERMAPHRODISME, UNE ERREUR DE LA NATURE

LES LETTRES

RIX 10 FRANCS
7^e Année. — Numéro 142

Rédaction, Administration : 86, rue de Courcelles, Paris, C.B. 18-11, 18-12
Service de la Publicité : 11, rue de Louvois, Paris (2^e). Tél. 10-00

Journaliste
Artistique et Politique

10 Janvier 1942.

Directeur : CLAUDE MORGAN — Rédacteur en Chef : LOYS MASSON

AVIRANIENNES



UNE INTERVIEW DE L'ÉCRIVAIN RICHARD WRIGHT

L'Amérique n'est pas le nouveau monde

par Michel GORDEY

RICHARD WRIGHT, qui vient d'être traduit en français par Michel Gordey, est un des plus grands écrivains américains. Son roman, "Le sang d'Amérique", a été traduit en français par Michel Gordey. Il est l'auteur de plusieurs romans et nouvelles. Son dernier roman, "Le sang d'Amérique", a été traduit en français par Michel Gordey.



RICHARD WRIGHT

Richard Wright, qui vient d'être traduit en français par Michel Gordey, est un des plus grands écrivains américains. Son roman, "Le sang d'Amérique", a été traduit en français par Michel Gordey.

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LA GLANDE DE L'ÂME

Herbert Spencer, qui a été traduit en français par Michel Gordey, est un des plus grands écrivains anglais. Son roman, "Le sang d'Amérique", a été traduit en français par Michel Gordey.

La baguette magique et la réalité
par Claude MORGAN

ANNÉE 1942. L'Amérique, qui a été traduit en français par Michel Gordey, est un des plus grands écrivains américains. Son roman, "Le sang d'Amérique", a été traduit en français par Michel Gordey.

NUITS DE LA COLÈRE
par Richard Wright
traduit par Michel Gordey



The “*Trial of the century*”

Kravchenko sued *Les Lettres
françaises* for libel

Greater publicity in France
(powerful communist party)



The response

An action for libel initiated in the
U.S. (Kravchenko necessarily
manipulated by the CIA)

Big names as witnesses

From an action for libel to an
operation of **political propaganda**

Claude Morgan
Director of *Lettres francaises*



Cold War

The Prague Coup
The Berlin Blockade

Towards WW3?



24 January 1949

The opening of the trial in
Paris

A 9-day turned 2-month trial
Massive French &
international media coverage

Tensions & insults



The **defense team**

An individual criticizing the Soviet
Union can only be a Nazi
accomplice & a traitor

Testimony of Kravchenko's ex wife
General Leonid Rudenko
(Stalingrad)

Kravchenko's team

Witnesses: modest background

Refugees

Confirmed critics of
collectivization, Ukraine famine,
terror system & gulags

Margarete Buber-Neumann's testimony

German communist refugee in
Moscow in 1933

Her husband's disappearance in
1937

2-year internment in a gulag
“Liberated” by Stalin and
transferred to Nazi Germany in
1939



Ravensbruck
concentration camp for
women



5-year internment as
communist agent

Parallel between Communist
and Nazi camps

How can it be possible?

Margarete
Buber-
Neumann

Milena

TÉMOIGNAGE



The Soviet Union on trial

An irrational fascination for the Soviet
system amongst French intellectuals

Fanaticism

Formidable **pro-Communist
propaganda**

Russia's "victory over fascism"



The Soviet Union on trial

Pro-Communist camp: articles, street demonstrations, public gatherings...

Any critic towards the Soviet Union

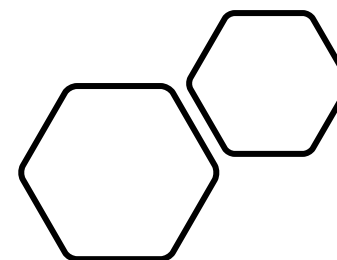
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a rallying cry to fascism

Insult to the French Resistance

An act of treason





4 April 1949

The verdict: the accusation of libel stands

Defense witness unable to prove Kravchenko was a liar, a drunk and a deserter

Lettres francaises condemned to pay damages and publish the verdict in their columns



4 April 1949

Reality of Soviet system exposed for the first time to the public

I Chose Freedom (500 000 copies sold in France)

The image of the Soviet Union shattered in the West



Kravchenko's legacy

Any Soviet citizen dissenting
will have "chosen freedom"



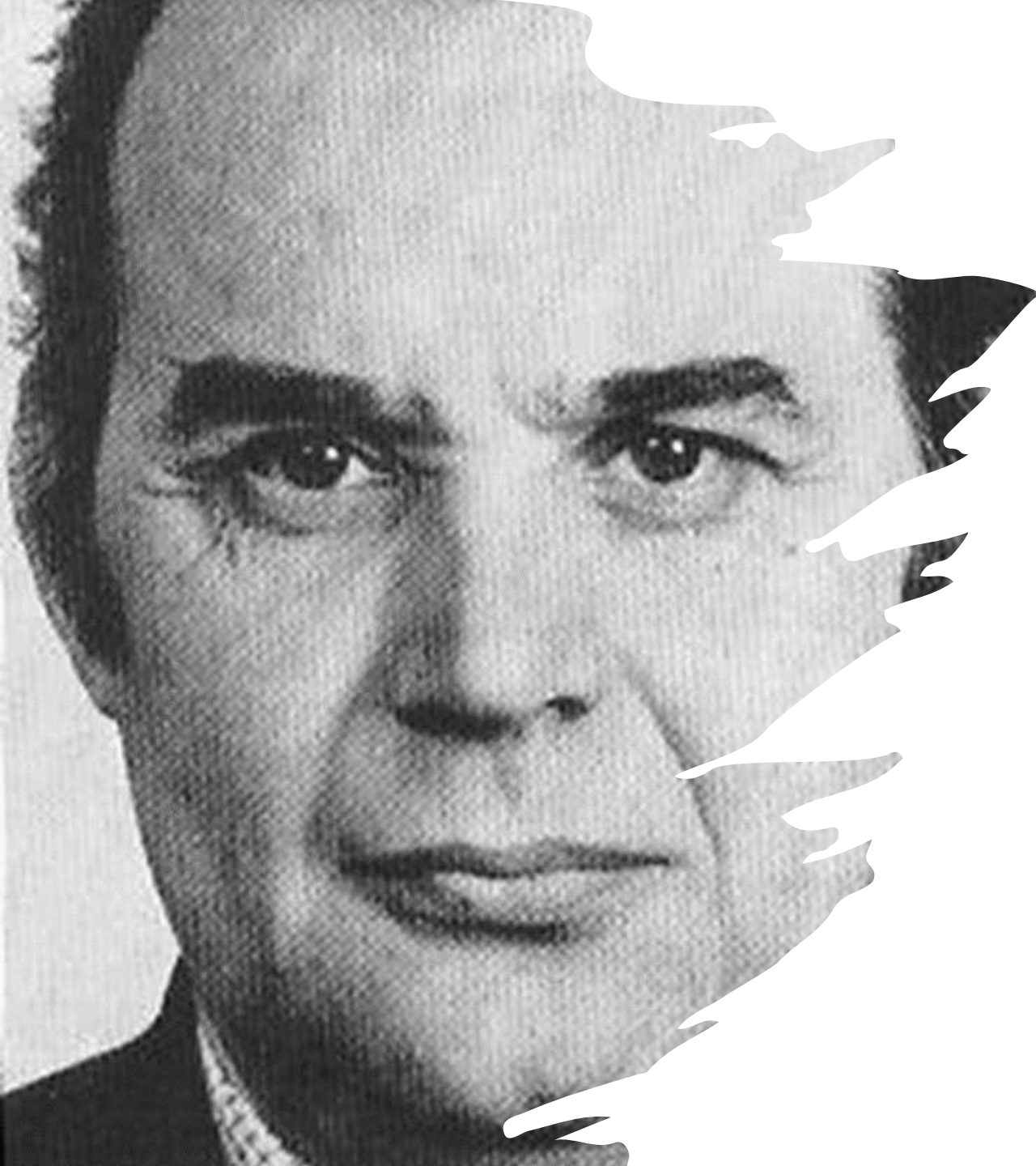


Defectors & Spies



The affairs that shook the Soviet Union to its core...





The “Farewell” Affair

How the KGB secrets fell into the hands of the French secret services

Ronald Reagan: *“one of the 20th century greatest espionage coup”*



The Cold War

A war between the **KGB** (which replaced the NKVD in 1954) & the **CIA** (1947)

The Hungarian Revolution (1956)

The key Soviet bureaucrat behind
the bloody repression in Budapest:
Yuri Andropov





His mission

To modernize the KGB destabilized
by Khrushchev's "Secret Speech"
(1956)

Key word: efficiency

1964-1980: a silent war against
"dissidents" hostiles to the Soviet
system

A photograph of a military parade in Moscow. In the foreground, several T-14 Armata tanks are moving in formation on a paved street. The tanks are dark green and have a distinctive angular, turretless design. In the background, the red brick walls and white-tiled domes of the Moscow Kremlin are visible, including the Spasskaya Tower. The sky is clear and blue.

Dealing with **Soviet paradox**


The Soviet Union: a military, political and nuclear superpower

The Soviet Union: **NOT** an economic superpower



The Soviet economic model unable to match the West

1960s: the Soviet Union technology sector far behind

A photograph of Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet Premier, speaking at a wooden podium. He is wearing a dark suit, a white shirt, and a patterned tie. He has several medals on his left chest. His right hand is raised in a gesture. In the background, other people in suits are visible, some of whom are clapping. The image is partially obscured by a white semi-transparent overlay on the right side, which contains text.

Early 1970s: growing concerns

A drastic decline in economic growth

Reduced productivity

Leonid Brezhnev: insufficient technological know-how



The solution:
intensifying industrial
espionage

The **KGB** (political police and security)

The **GRU** (military intelligence
organization)

Their mission: to steal scientific &
technological information from the
West

Was the West aware?

YES!

BUT the extent of Soviet economic espionage only revealed in the early 1980s by... a KGB spy!

The most intricate system of scientific, economic & technological espionage in history!



Vladimir Ippolitovitch Vetrov

A **KGB operative**
Codename “Farewell”

The **source** to French secret
services



Directorate T (KGB)

Focus on scientific and
technological intelligence

Numerous agents (“assets”)
assigned to Western countries
(diplomatic immunity)

25 000 to 40 000 documents yearly
& 13 000 “samples”

TOP SECRET

A major breakthrough

4 000 confidential documents

The list of 250 **Soviet spies** acting under legal cover in embassies

The **entire Soviet system** of espionage in the West revealed



Exceptional quality of the information

U.S. intelligence: Vetrov as one of the greatest
(and most effective) moles within the Soviet
apparatus







July 1981

7th G7 Summit (Ottawa)

French President **Francois Mitterrand**: a curiosity

Elected president in May 1981

His first major global summit

A Socialist

Bush in Paris to voice concerns

The U.S. concerned over the inclusion of 4 Communists in France's new government

Bush: *"The position of the U.S. on the subject of Communist participation in the governments of our allies is well known. This participation is bound to cause concern"*



France “a faithful ally”

Mitterrand: *“France’s policy is that of France and will remain that of France”*

BUT

“France is a faithful and loyal ally of the U.S. and on that basis we have many, many things to discuss”





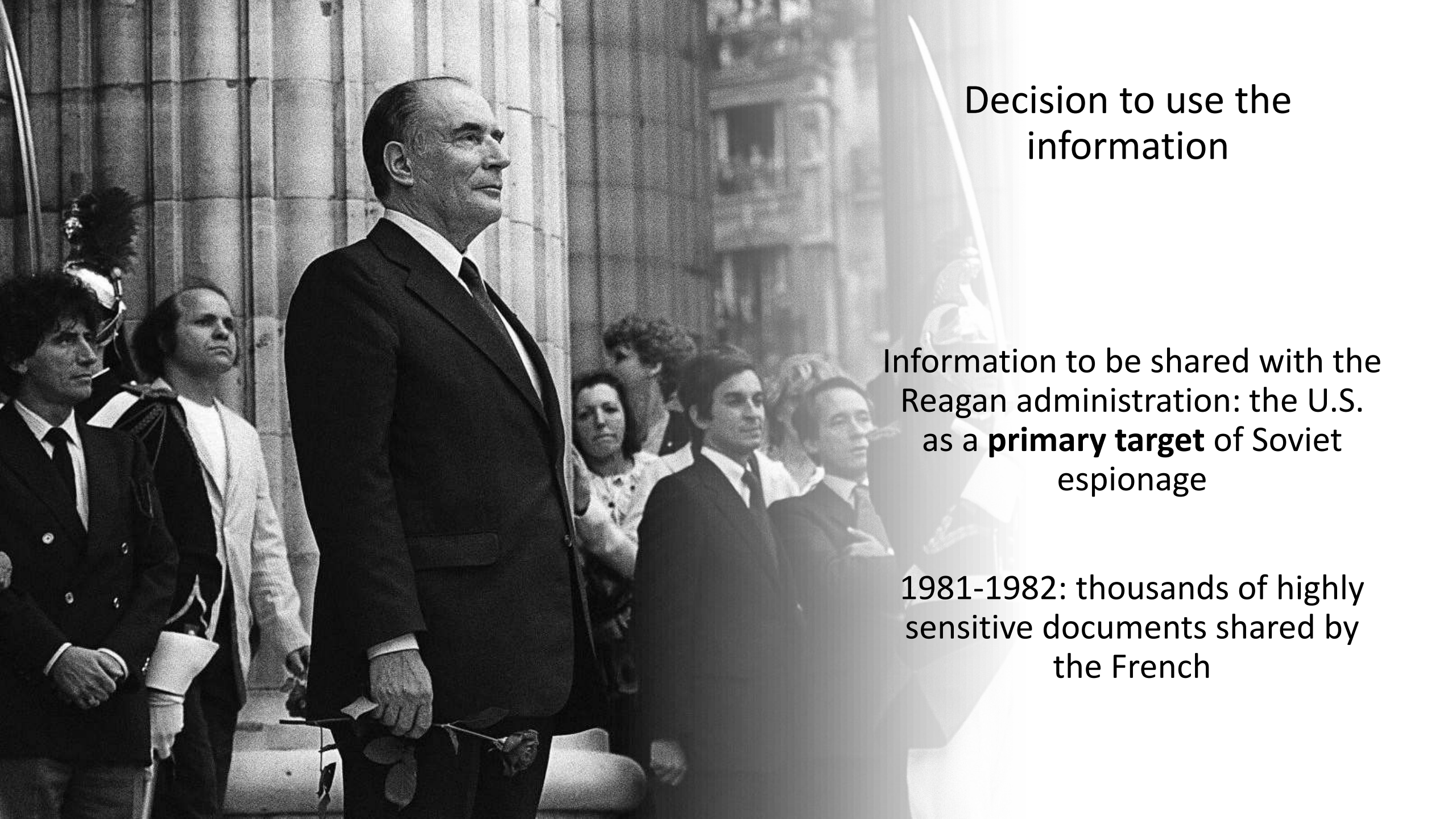
14 July 1981

Traditional “Bastille Day” garden party (Paris)

Director of French DST (**Directorate of Territorial Surveillance**): an urgent message to the President

A mole within the KGB

Information pertaining to Soviet industrial espionage



Decision to use the
information

Information to be shared with the
Reagan administration: the U.S.
as a **primary target** of Soviet
espionage

1981-1982: thousands of highly
sensitive documents shared by
the French

An excellent opportunity

G7 Summit: meeting Mitterrand-
Reagan

Mitterrand: French services have
access to crucial KGB documents

Soviet Union stealing key U.S. secrets
from within



DST Director in Washington

Proofs: Moscow has the plans of the U.S.
Saturn V rocket (used in the 1960s and 1970s
Apollo program)

Plans U.S. radar system

Franco-U.S. relations: trust



What was Vetrov's role?

To supervise and develop a method **to inventory** all sensitive information stolen from the West

The list of what the Soviet Union and its allies needed

What the KGB spied on and planned on stealing



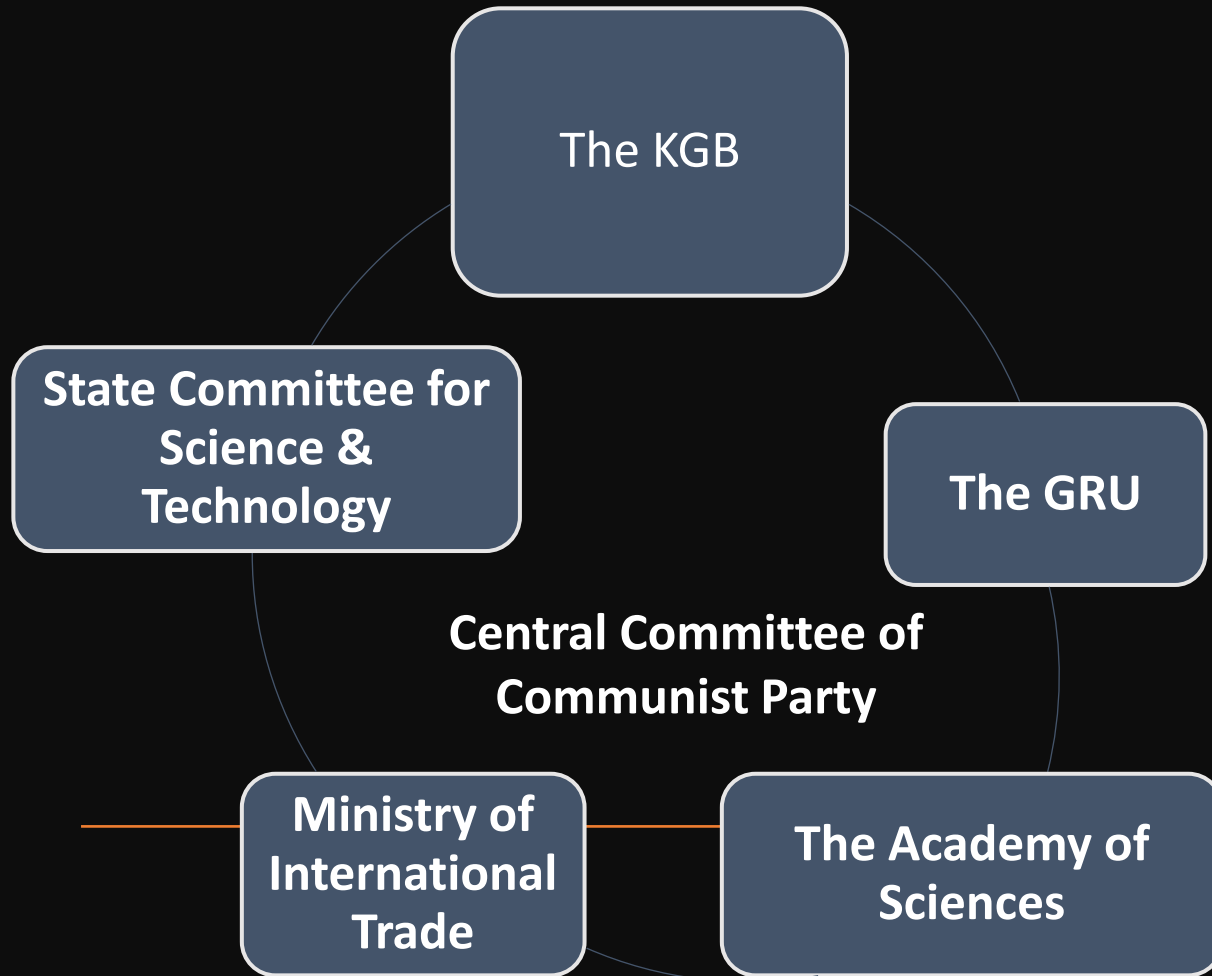


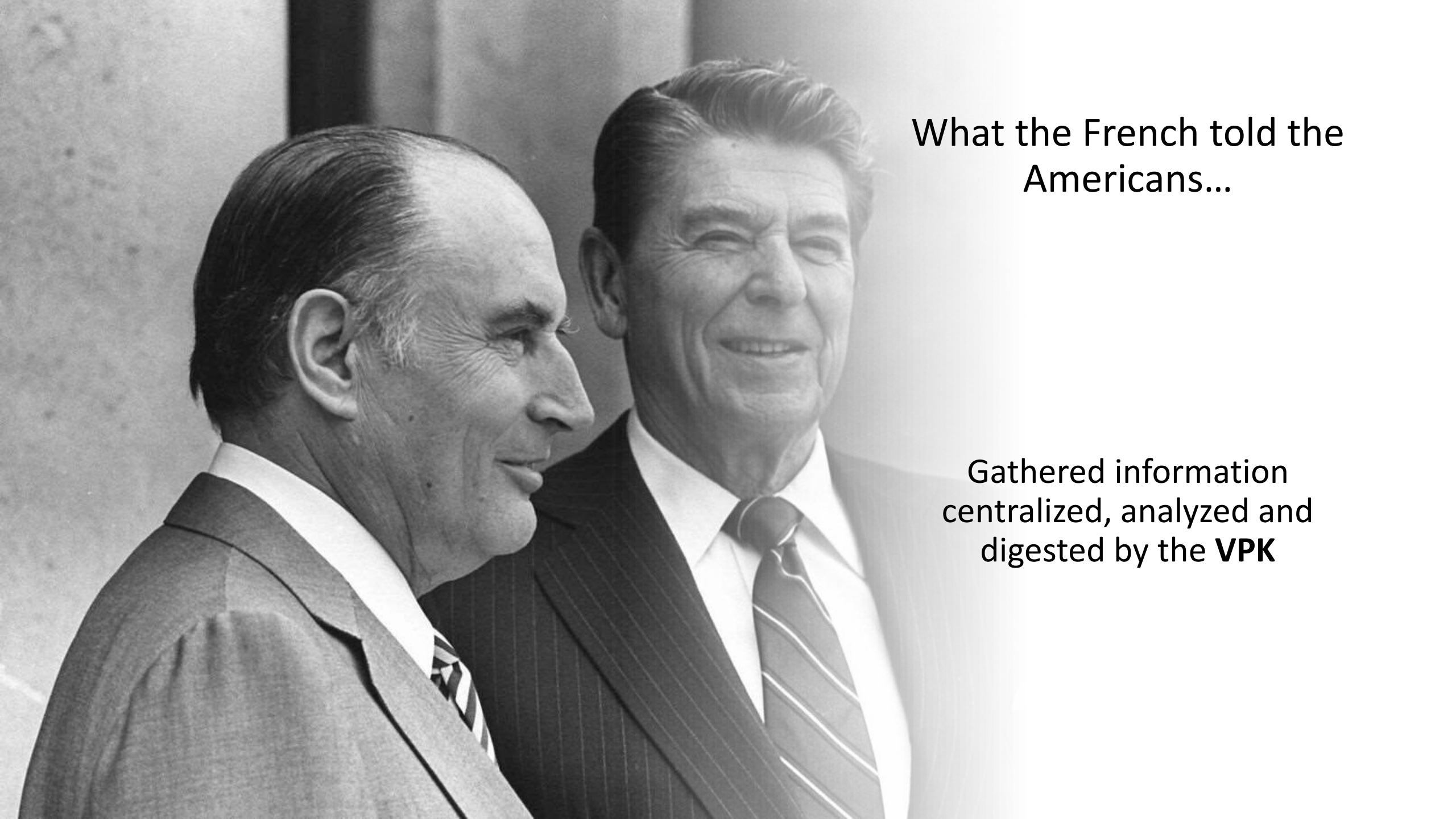
What the French told the
Americans...

Global Soviet espionage: the
system

KGB, State companies,
Scientific academies involved

The Soviet system of industrial espionage





What the French told the
Americans...

Gathered information
centralized, analyzed and
digested by the **VPK**

The VPK

The Soviet **Military Industrial Commission**

Industrial, scientific & technological needs identified

The planning of espionage operations
(to steal innovations, inventions,
patents, prototypes...)

Fact: the Soviet Union invested far
more in **espionage** operations than in
their own research

40% of Soviet research budget



A silver paperclip is positioned vertically on the left side of a light-colored document. A red rectangular stamp with the words 'TOP SECRET' in a bold, serif font is visible in the background. The stamp is partially obscured by the paperclip and has a slightly faded, translucent appearance.

**A cumbersome, yet highly
effective bureaucracy**

Tremendous financial savings
(reinvested in military
programmes)

Soviet Union able to catch up
with the West in some sectors

A clear idea of NATO technical
strength



The U.S. surveillance aircraft AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) copied

A black and white photograph showing two men in suits walking from left to right. The man on the left is Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the President of France, and the man on the right is Ronald Reagan, the President of the United States. They are both smiling and looking towards the right. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

What the French told the
Americans...

A list of **250 Soviet agents (Line X)**:
engineers, technicians, scientists
operating in the West under cover
and gathering as much information
as possible

Who was Vetrov?

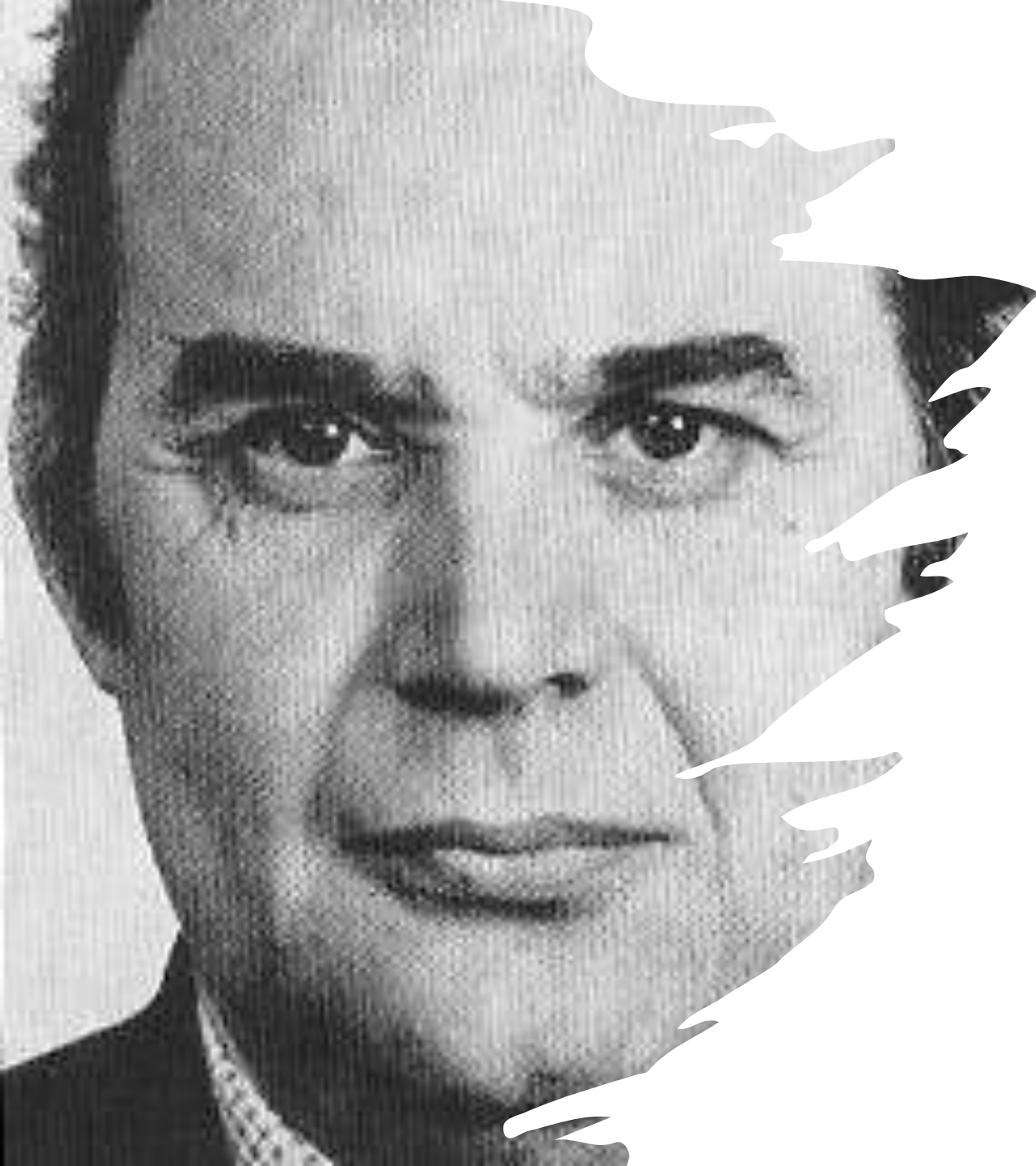
Modest roots but brilliant career in
engineering (microchips)

An athlete

A job in a company specialised in
calculators: first disappointment

KGB recruiting campaign





Why a spy should never be left disappointed!

1965: Vetrov appointed at the Soviet embassy in Paris

His mission: to build solid relations with prominent French industrialists



First foreign posting: Paris (1965)

Soviet trade mission (Soviet embassy)

His mission: to establish relations with prominent French industrialists

Friendship with **Jacques Prévost**: manager at Thomson CSF ((specialized in the development and manufacture of electronics – **aerospace** and **defence** sectors) and member of French counter-espionage

A fateful car accident

Vetrov drunk

Help from **Prévost**

Embassy car repaired within
2 days



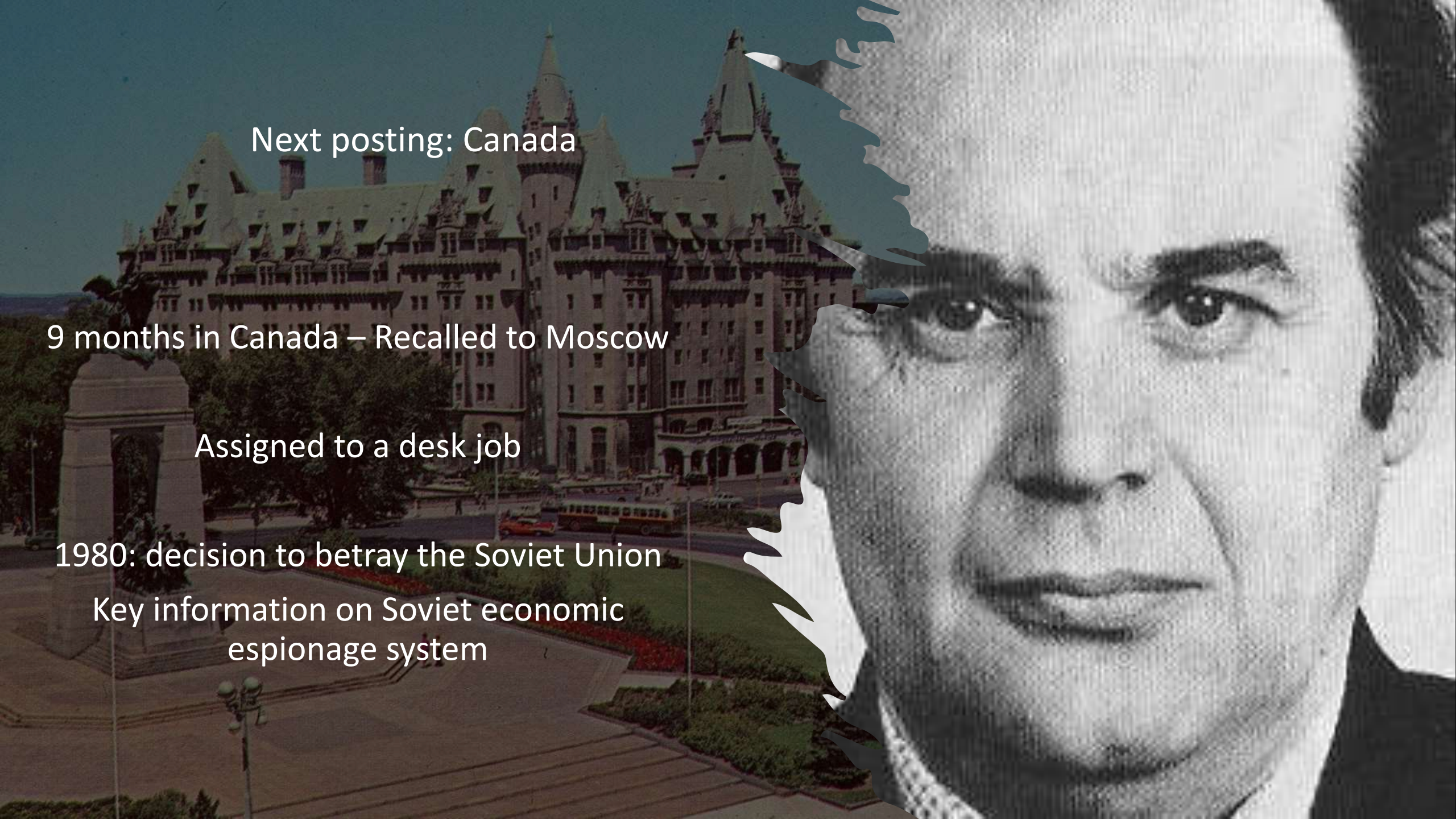


1970: Vetrov recalled to Moscow

The end of the good life in Paris

Vetrov disillusioned: growing
hostility towards industrial
espionage

Cumbersome Soviet bureaucracy



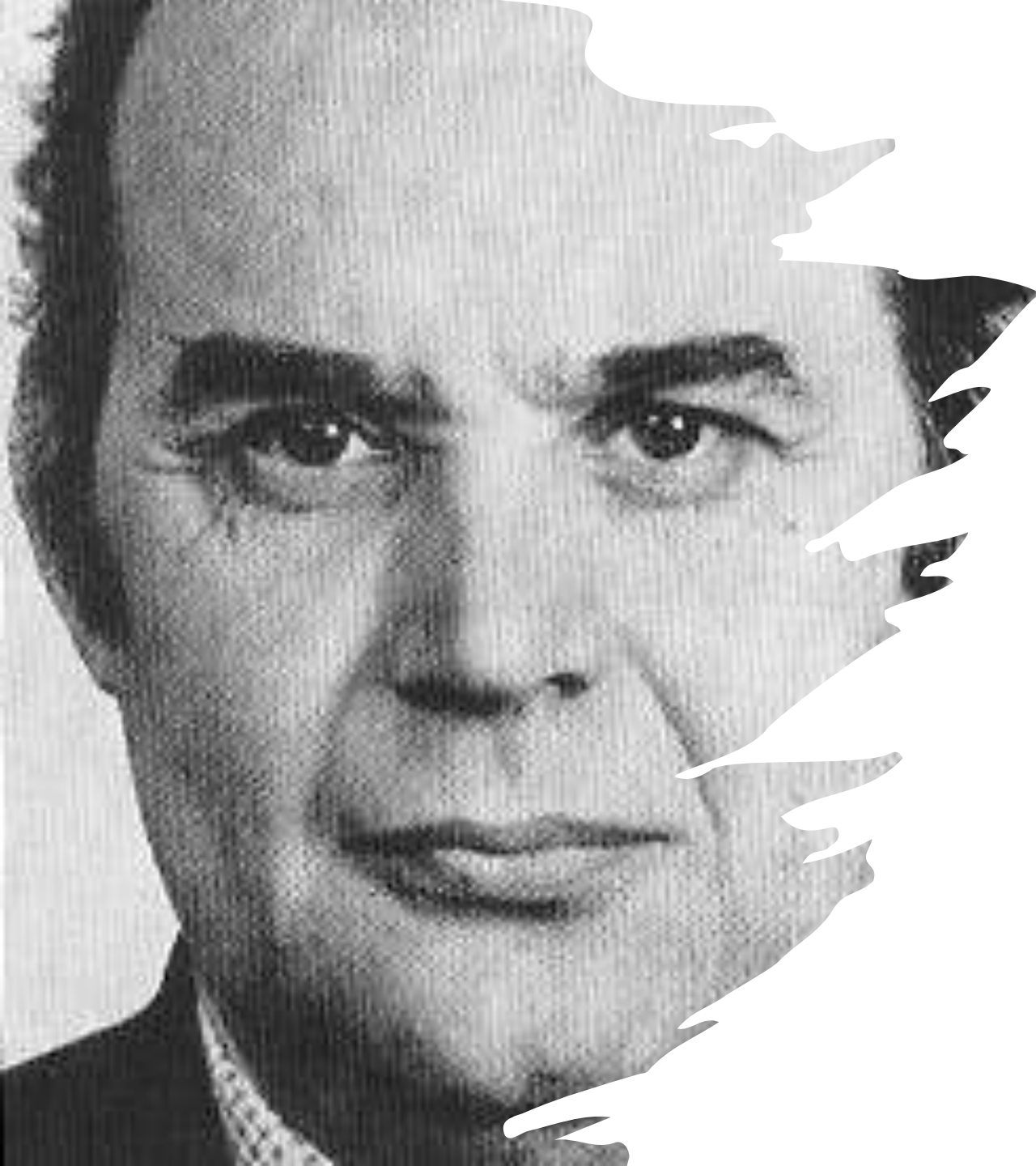
Next posting: Canada

9 months in Canada – Recalled to Moscow

Assigned to a desk job

1980: decision to betray the Soviet Union

Key information on Soviet economic
espionage system



A promotion

Deputy Head of **Directorate T**

A tumultuous personal life (drinking,
a mistress...)

November 1980: renewed contacts
with **Jacques Prévost**

A postcard sent via Hungary: "*a
matter of life and death*"

Moscow (February 1981)

French director of Thompson
in Moscow to make contact
with Vetrov

Vetrov to dissent?

NO

“To work” with the DST until
his retirement



January 1982: what happened to Vetrov?

23 February: "Farewell" missed his next secret meeting

Vetrov in prison

For espionage?

NO!

Accused of murder



What about treason?

Vetrov: a KGB officer

His mistress: a translator working for
Directorate T

She “borrowed” top secret documents
photographed by Vetrov

No knowledge of “Farewell” but doubts
about Vetrov

Blackmail?



5 April 1983

47 Soviet diplomats (names on the list)
expelled from France on spying charges

Moscow: “an arbitrary action”

France’s first action following “*Operation
Farewell*”



A silver paperclip is positioned vertically on the left side of a light-colored document. The document has a prominent red rectangular stamp in the center that reads 'TOP SECRET' in a bold, serif font. The stamp is slightly faded and has a textured appearance. The background of the document is a light, off-white color.

When the Soviet system backfired... badly!

Vetrov's revelations: list of sectors
of interest to Soviet espionage

A clear picture of Soviet
technological weaknesses

Activities of **deception**

To mislead the adversary so that
he makes preparations which are
going to be a **waste of his
resources**



Gus Weiss' "trap"

White House Policy Advisor
(national security)

The trap: to allow Soviet
spies to get their hands on
modified software & tools

More consequences...

Numerous Soviet agents deported
(April 1983): 150 KGB agents from
25 Western countries

The list of technologies not allowed
to be sold to the Soviet bloc
updated

Transfers of technologies restricted



A photograph of President Ronald Reagan sitting at his desk in the Oval Office. He is wearing a dark suit and a patterned tie, looking down at a document in his hands. To his left, a map is displayed on an easel, showing the Western Hemisphere with labels for 'SOVIET MIGs' and 'WESTERN CUBA'. The map also shows the locations of 'MIG-21' and 'MIG-23' aircraft. The background features large windows with curtains and an American flag.

1983: Reagan's **Star Wars Initiative**

To slow down Soviet economic growth by restricting access to technologies
To asphyxiate the Soviet Union by forcing its government to finance a new arms race

The SDI: a gigantic bluff



Vladimir Vetrov did contribute to the collapse of the Soviet Union

His revelations helped the West win the economic war against Moscow