



THE BEGINNINGS OF ILLEGAL SOVIET RESIDENTURA IN THE INTERWAR ERA

FIODOR PARPAROV

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ABSTRACT

Foreign intelligence services have always played a key role in the foreign affairs of the Soviet Union. Fiodor Parparov, who went down in history as one of the most important Soviet intelligence officers, was specialized in recruiting many valuable assets, especially of the fairer sex, and succeeded in infiltrating an agent in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the years prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. Handsome and with a remarkable intellect, Parparov became well-known in German society, where he was sent on an undercover espionage assignment. The most outstanding agent was “Marta”, the wife of a high-ranked official in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who provided him access to the records of Hitler’s conversations with his inner circle and with the British Ambassador, where the Führer stated his political intentions towards the Soviet Union and the designs for Eastern Europe.

Keywords: Soviet Union residentura, intelligence officer, undercover, espionage.

Introduction

The Great October 1917 Socialist Revolution¹ and the civil war that followed quickly led to widespread socio-political disorder in Soviet Russia, marked by the collapse of the imperial autocracy in March 1917 and the coming to power of the Bolsheviks², led by Lenin³, on November 7, 1917 (Haslam, 2016). This is the period when an Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage⁴, more commonly known as the CEKA, was established on December 20, 1917. The establishment of the CEKA marks the beginnings of the Soviet secret services. CEKA operates as the secret police of the revolution (Haslam, 2016) and later becomes a crucial instrument of power for those who fought to assert themselves as Lenin’s successors (Haslam, 2016).

The structure of CEKA changed repeatedly, but the most important departments remained: The Counter-Intelligence Department (KRO – *Russian Kontrarazvedivatel'niy Otdel*), The Special Department of Military Counter-Intelligence, and the Foreign Intelligence Department (INO – *Russian Inostrannij Otdel*) – established on December 20, 1920⁵, by Dzerjinski⁶’s decree, which established as an absolute priority of the organization the exposure of counter-revolutionary organizations in the territories of foreign states involved in subversive activities against Russia⁷. Later on, INO was given more precise tasks, namely to

unmask, in all states, the counter-revolutionary groups involved in both active and passive activities directed against the interests of RSFSR (Soviet Union), as well as against the international revolutionary movement. The main beneficiaries of the information obtained by INO were diplomats (Haslam, 2016).

Vladimir Tismăneanu (2012) in his article *Who was Felix Edmundovici Dzerjinski? Enlightened, ascetic, torturer*, makes clear that Dzerjinski insisted, immediately after the Bolshevik coup d’etats, on the establishment of the Extraordinary Commission against the Counter-Revolution.

In the early 1930s, the most important INO priority was the introduction of spies into the governments of other countries that may have been opposed to Russia in a future war, first and foremost Germany and Japan. Also, during this period, a decree was issued on increasing illegal activity and preparing residenturas⁸ (Russian: *резидентура*) to conduct activities through illegal methods.⁹

Initially, the so-called INO residenturas were constantly using Soviet embassies and commercial missions (Haslam, 2016), but since August 1927, measures were taken to start the movement of these undercover residenturas according to the Political Bureau Directive (Haslam, 2016). Due to his inspirational innovating reputation, Artur Artuzov¹⁰ was promoted to deputy head of INO, having as a main task the implementation of the Political Bureau Directive of January 30, 1930, which

was supposed to mask the so-called residenturas. Being promoted as head of INO on August 1, 1931 and given the worsening political situation in Germany (Antonov, 2013), Artuzov has made a priority the coordination of illegal residents and agents (Haslam, 2016).

Vladimir Sergheevici Antonov¹¹ (2013), in his book *Life according to the “legend”*¹² mentions that an officer of an illegal resident is a person who is abroad with a foreign passport, who has no connection with his country’s official representations, which he doesn’t even visit, in order not to draw the attention of the local intelligence services and not be exposed¹³.

A Spy among Germans

It was in this context that Parparov successfully began to carry out his intelligence activity, going down in history as one of the most important soviet intelligence officers, and as a skilled recruiter, especially of female agents, who managed to infiltrate an agent into the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Fiodor Parparov, by real name Faivel Kalmanovici, was born on November 23, 1893, in the town of Velij, Vitebsk Governorate, in a Jewish family. At the age of 14, Parparov started working as an apprentice to a timber exporter in Riga, and after high school graduation, he worked as a bank clerk in Petrograd, joining the Red Army in 1919. In 1924, he graduated from the Faculty of Law at the Moscow State University, and since 1925, he worked at People’s Commissariat for Foreign Trade, where he learned German very well (Haslam, 2016), which allowed him to be sent to the Berlin Commercial Office for undercover espionage¹⁴.

Parparov, however, drew the attention of special services since university: as a party member and a connoisseur of several foreign languages – English, Spanish, French, and German. The knowledge of foreign languages was a prerequisite for being sent as illegal intelligence officers to other countries.

Mark Steinberg (2008) mentioned in his article “A Soviet James Bond”¹⁵ in *Chaika* magazine, the

following: upon his arrival in Berlin, Fiodor Parparov was 32 years old and, as his colleagues remembered, he was a man in his prime, who had a kind of a magical attraction for women. He dressed very elegantly, behaved very confidently in any society, and was an interesting companion, due to his excellent mastery of four European languages.¹⁶

Possessing an attractive appearance and an outstanding intelligence, Parparov was successful in German society, being able to recruit several highly promising female agents, who provided him with information of both political and economic nature. But Parparov did not stop here: through his mistress, he also recruited men. According to the INO certificate at that time, during his service in Germany, he managed to recruit two young officers, a military engineer, the wife of major in the German General Staff, the mistress of an important businessman and the secretary of the military attaché of one of the Scandinavian countries. Essentially, the circle of people recruited by Parparov for illegal activities made possible to create a residentura which was taken into consideration in Moscow.

In an interview with Maria Maksimova, Fiodor Parparov’s granddaughter, to Aleksandr Bondarenko of *Krasnaya Zvezda*, she confirmed that, in 1925, her grandfather left in 1925 with his wife and not even a year-old son for Berlin. Officially, this was a foreign trade line business trip, and unofficially a spy line trip (Bondarenko, 2010).

According to Maria Maksimova, in 1929, an industrial espionage section was set up at INO OGPU¹⁷. Its task was to get, by illegal means, what the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Trade - whose official employee Fiodor Parparov was – could not get by legal contracts or economic licensing. Therefore, by 1929, Parparov’s activities among the high-level German society began to draw an increased attention of the German intelligence services. Moscow decided to recall Parparov for training as an intelligence officer and resend him to Germany as an illegal officer.

According to Haslam (2016), Parparov returned to Berlin in 1930, with his wife and son, Lev, where,

¹ The Bolshevik Revolution or October Russian Revolution on 6 and 7 November 1917, led to the overthrow of the autocracy and its replacement by a totalitarian regime, based on punishment, until extermination, of all persons suspected of being part of the bourgeoisie. The revolution was led by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, a politician and a revolutionary who reached Russia with the help of Imperial Germany from Switzerland. In Russia, he led the population to rebel against the Tsarist regime (Rador, 2022).

² The Bolsheviks represent the radical faction of the Russian Democratic Labor Party from which they were detached at the famous congress held in Belgium, in 1903. Although a minority among Russian Marxists, they called themselves Bolsheviks, after the Russian word that means “majority”. As their main objective, they had proposed the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, but they distrusted the workers’ class consciousness and wanted the revolution to be led by a small group of fanatical professionals. The leadership was intended to be “democratic centralism”, a concept that camouflages their view of an authoritarian government, assured by a revolutionary elite, whose leader was the revolutionary Vladimir Ilich Lenin (Jitea, n.d.).

³ Vladimir Lenin, also referred as Vladimir Ilich Lenin, on his original name Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov (10 April 1870, Simbirsk, Russia - 21 January 1924, Gorki, nearby Moscow), is the founder of the Russian Communist Party, leader of the Bolshevik Revolution (1917) and the architect, constructor, and first head (1917–1924) of the Soviet State. He was the founder of an organization called Comintern (Communist International) and the posthumous source of the Leninism, a doctrine codified and combined with Karl Marx’s works by Lenin’s followers to form the Marxism-Leninism, that became the communist worldwide view (Resis, 2023).

⁴ “The Russian Extraordinary Commission of Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage” (Russian: Vserossiyskaya chrezvychaynaya komissiya, abbreviated ChK or CEKA.). Over time, the Soviet Union had a large number of secret service agencies. Therefore, the first agency founded by Lenin after the Bolshevik Revolution was the CEKA(ЧК), established on December 20, 1917. This police organization’s officers were called Chekists, a name used, unofficially, even today, for the employees of the Russian Federal Security Services, successor of the Soviet KGB (Chronological table of the Soviet Secret Police Agencies, n.d.).

⁵ In detail in The all-Russian Extraordinary Commission (VCheka) Founded (Boris Yeltsin Presidential Library, n.d.).

⁶ Felix Edmundovici Dzerjinski (in polish: Feliks Dzierżyński, russian: Феликс Эдмундович Дзержинский, in Belarusian Фелікс Эдмундавіч Дзяржынскі, September 11th, 1877 – July 20th, 1926) was a communist revolutionary, known as the founder and the first leader of the Bolshevik political police, CEKA (Felix Dzerjinski, n.d.).

⁷ Originally: “Выявление на территории иностранных государств контрреволюционных организаций, ведущих подрывную деятельность против нашей страны” (Antonov, 2012).

⁸ In Soviet espionage, residentura (Russian: резидентура - rezidentura) is a secret branch outside the country, led by a resident. The residenturas are legal and illegal. While legal residenturas are under the cover of official Russian missions abroad (in addition to embassies, consulates, trade missions), illegal residenturas are autonomous structures, with strong coverage, without any connection with Russian foreign missions, which collect information through “illegal” agents (Резидентура, n.d.).

⁹ Originally: “издано распоряжение об усилении нелегальной работы и о готовности легальных резидентур к переходу на нелегальные условия работы” (Haustov, n.d.).

¹⁰ Artur Artuzov was an Italian of Swiss origin. He graduated from the Polytechnic Institute in Petrograd (1917) and took part in the establishment of Soviet power in the north. In 1918 he was a supply inspector of the northeast sector of the eastern front and, also, chief commissar of the counterintelligence structures of the revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic. From 1919, he held positions with great responsibility in the central apparatus of CEKA and GPU and was a member of their college. As one of the prominent directors of Soviet counterintelligence, Artuzov participated in the liquidation of the large counter revolutionary and espionage organizations in Russia and abroad (The free dictionary, n.d.).

¹¹ Vladimir Sergheevici Antonov was a writer, journalist, editor, military historian, biographer of famous soviet intelligence officers and colonel in the Foreign Intelligence Service (Russian SVR). He was the author of over 50 books and articles about the Russian foreign intelligence history (Livelib, n.d.).

¹² Originally: “Жизнь по "легенде", Jizni po “leghende” (Antonov, 2013).

¹³ Originally: “Что же касается сотрудника нелегальной резидентуры, то он находится за рубежом с паспортом иностранного гражданина, никак не связан с официальными представительствами своей страны и даже не посещает их, чтобы не вызвать к себе внимания со стороны местных спецслужб и не расшифровать себя” (Antonov, 2013).

¹⁴ Originally: “для шпионажа "под прикрытием" (Steinberg, 2008).

¹⁵ Originally: “Советский Джеймс Бонд” (Sovetskij Djeims Bond).

¹⁶ Originally: “К моменту приезда в Берлин Федору Парпарову исполнилось 32 года и по воспоминаниям его сотрудников, это был мужчина в полном расцвете сил, обладавший какой-то магической притягательностью для женщин. Одевался он весьма элегантно, в любом обществе вел себя очень уверенно, собеседником был интереснейшим, чему способствовало великолепное владение четырьмя европейскими языками” (Steinberg, 2008).

¹⁷ State Political Directorate, Obedinenje Gosudarstvennoe politiceskoe upravlenie, russian: Объединённое государственное политическое управление, predecessor of KGB.

according to a legend developed at the Centre, he declared himself an *emigrant*¹⁸, announcing his break with the Soviet Government. To further mislead, he formally gave up his Russian citizenship, becoming temporarily stateless, and then he managed to obtain a Romanian passport. He set up an export company in Berlin in order to legalize his activity. Later on, he opened branches of the company in several European countries, as well as in North Africa, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, thus being able to create, as a commissioner, a veritable official coverage for his travels in regions of interest to Moscow, in order to carry out reconnaissance missions. After some time, he filled in the necessary formalities to obtain documents from Costa Rica, both for himself and for the other family members.

Parparov's pursuits included journalism as well as seeking for valuable information about diplomats, an activity which he carried out among his cronies, especially women.

“Marta”

As Haslam (2016) mentioned in *A New History of the Soviet Secret Services*, Parparov tried to make useful connections by publishing an advertisement in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* newspaper in Berlin, in 1931: *Young entrepreneur, seeking a lady partner to spend time with and help me in journalistic activities. I guarantee absolute confidentiality* (Haslam, 2016). The result exceeded his boldest expectations. A week later, Parparov received a reply to his ad: *I would love to meet you, if you are as modest as you promise. I am part of the Berlin high-level society among which I am willing to introduce you after we get to know each other. I am married, but I am often alone because I am too honest. You decide if you want to meet me. As soon as you answer, you will find out who I am. Naturally, confidentiality is essential* (Haslam, 2016).

Incidentally, he had come across a source he would never have encountered by any other means (Haslam, 2016). Parparov did not reply immediately, but

only after requesting approval from the Center¹⁹, where he received the recommendation to continue developing the relationship, and recruitment to be carried out only after the verification measures were carried out. The Center, however, gave her the codename “Marta”, suggesting to Parparov the following: *Give “Marta” the impression that you are interested in her, first as a woman, and also as a possible assistant in your journalistic activities*²⁰. Her identity is yet to be discovered. The meeting took place at a café, Parparov discovering in “Marta” an attractive 30-year-old woman, unhappy with her insensitive and boring husband, but devoted to his work as a senior official at the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Haslam, 2016).

Following orders, Parparov began to meet cautiously with “Marta”: at first, he himself did not trust his new acquaintance, but checks proved that she was not a supporter of fascism and that she had no links with the German special services. “Marta” was lured by the fascinating Parparov, feeling attracted by his opinions, which differed from his husband's and, at the same time, being confident that she is appreciated for her journalistic talent.

Soon, it was obvious to the agent that the young woman might become a serious source of political information and that she would agree to the transfer of materials obtained from her husband (Antonov, 2013).

In one of the operative letters sent to the Center, Parparov wrote: *Family life burdens “Marta”, and therefore she seeks satisfaction in any activity. The husband is stingy, and the lack of his own funds is indisputable, often talking about it. One day, she asked for money to buy a coat. She was given 150 marks. The achieved level of the relationship now makes it possible to raise the issue of gradually engaging her into the work necessary to our interests. I asked her to find out the economics we are interested in. She related the content of an unofficial report on the subject, seen from one of the well-known journalists*²¹. Sometime later, the Center authorized the recruitment of the German woman under the name of another country (Haslam, 2016), Parparov

implying it was Japan. She readily accepted Parparov's offer to earn extra money by selling her husband's documents to a foreign state. In a report to the Center, the agent wrote: *Without any resistance from her side, we agreed that “Marta” would withdraw the documents from her husband's file or rewrite them (...) She was given 400 marks for treatment*²².

With “Marta”'s help, Parparov had access to transcripts of talks between German foreign ministry employees and counterparts from England and France. Under the pretext that she was interested in photography, “Marta” also received a camera, with which, in reality, she was taking photographs of original documents, which allowed Moscow to break German one-time pad diplomacy ciphers²³. Between 1935-1936, “Marta” gave Parparov recordings of Hitler's conversations with people in his circle and with the British ambassador, in which the Führer expressed his intentions regarding policy towards the Soviet Union and projections for Eastern Europe.

Often, finding out about “Marta”'s husband's journeys, in which “Marta” accompanied him, Parparov traveled in advance to that country. On one of the trips, with “Marta”'s help and a duplicate of a key to the safe in the room she shared with her husband, Parparov obtained access to the secret documents of the German delegation. Subsequently, when she discovered that Parparov was working for Soviet intelligence services, this novelty had no noticeable impact²⁴ on “Marta”.

Meanwhile, the Nazis came to power in Germany and launched massive preparations for the war. Information from “Marta” certified unequivocally that the Soviet Union would become the primary target of German aggression in Europe. In this respect, the documentary materials received from her became increasingly important.

In 1937, “Marta”'s husband was appointed German Ambassador in one of the European countries. After moving to a new residentura, “Marta” categorically refused to cooperate with other residents and transferred

all the information she collected personally to Parparov during his brief visits to Berlin (Komissarova, 2021).

Identity Disclosure and Subsequent Consequences

At the end of February 1938, Parparov's identity was revealed by Soviet intelligence officer Walter Krivitsky²⁵, who had defected to the West and knew him. Parparov was recalled to Moscow, however, managing to contact “Marta” and communicate her the reason for his disappearance. In response, “Marta” assured him she would wait for a new meeting, but that was their last conversation.

In Moscow, Parparov was arrested on charges of collaborating with German intelligence, imprisoned and savagely beaten, accused of being the one recruited by “Marta”. After a year, resisting torture and without any confession, he was released from prison but dismissed from the NKVD²⁶.

His release was also due to “Marta”'s letters to him, as well as the fact that she continued to collaborate with INO. Allegations of working with “Marta” under the Gestapo also went unfounded²⁷.

Instead of him, Elizaveta Zarubina was sent to Germany to meet “Marta”, give her the password and hand a letter from Parparov. Although “Marta” insisted on communicating only with Parparov, in the end, the dialog was restored and “Marta” began to transmit very valuable information, from which it was indisputably that Hitler would start an invasion of the USSR in the spring or early summer of 1941. But, as it has been mentioned several times, the Kremlin did not believe this information²⁸. In the summer of 1941, a difficult period followed for “Marta”, her husband being seriously wounded by bombing. She ended up in a psychiatric hospital, where she was killed by the Nazis.

¹⁸ Emigrant is a colloquial name for citizens of the socialist camp countries, as well as for the subjects of the Russian Empire or other states who refused to return to the country from legal or business trips abroad, for various reasons. The official name of the phenomenon in the Soviet Union in the 1930s was “Emigration abroad”. Nonreturn is a form of flight, that is, emigration from a country with a totalitarian or “permissive” migratory regime which defines such an action as presumed illegal, but usually defiant of official support for human rights at the level of the constitution and international agreements (Невозвращенцы (trad. Emigrantii), n.d.).

¹⁹ With reference to the headquarters of OGPU (State Political Directorate), Obedinenje Gosudarstvennoe politiceskoe upravlenie, russian: Объединённое государственное политическое управление, predecessor of KGB (GPU, n.d.).

²⁰ Originally: “Создавайте у Марты впечатление что она интересуется вас прежде всего как женщина, а также как возможный помощник в вашей журналистской деятельности” (Komissarova, 2021).

²¹ Originally: “Семейная жизнь тяготит Марту, и поэтому она ищет удовлетворения в какой-либо деятельности. Муж скуп, и недостаточность личных средств несомненна, о чем она часто говорит. Однажды она обратилась с просьбой дать ей денег на покупку пальто. Выдано 150 марок. Достигнутый уровень отношений позволяет уже сейчас ставить вопрос о постепенном втягивании ее в работу в наших интересах. Попросил ее выяснить интересующие нас сведения экономического характера. Она сообщила содержание неофициального доклада по данной проблеме, увиденного у одного из знакомых журналистов” (Antonov, 2013).

²² Originally: “Без сопротивления с ее стороны договорились о том, что Марта будет изымать документы из досье мужа или переписывать их... Ей передано 400 марок на лечение” (Antonov, 2013).

²³ In cryptography, a unique cipher is a system in which a randomly generated private key is used only once to encrypt a message that is then decrypted by the receiver using a unique cipher and key (Froehlich, 2022).

²⁴ Originally: “Марта совершенно спокойно отреагировала на его признание о работе на советскую разведку” (Antonov, 2013).

²⁵ Walter Germanovich Krivitsky was a Soviet intelligence officer who unveiled plans to sign the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, after deserting in the West. Krivitsky worked as an illegally resident spy with false names and papers in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy and Hungary. He is credited with organizing industrial sabotage, stealing plans for submarines and aircraft, intercepting correspondence between the Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, and recruiting many agents, including Magda Lupescu (“Madame Lupescu”) and Noel Field). The assassination of his childhood friend and companion, Ignace Reiss, in September 1937, caused Krivitsky's immediate breakdown (Walter Krivitsky, n.d.).

²⁶ The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, *Narodnii komissariat vnutrennih del* – NKVD, was the Ministry of Interior of the Soviet Union (NKVD, n.d.).

²⁷ Originally: “Обвинения в том, что Федор работал с Мартой под колпаком гестапо, также отпали как беспочвенные” (Antonov, 2013).

²⁸ *О Любимце женщин и гениальном разведчике – майоре госбезопасности Федоре Парпарове* - Lyubimecz-zhenshin-i-genialnyj-razvedchik-major-gosbezopasnosti-fedor-parparov (A woman's favorite and a brilliant intelligence officer – State Security major Fiodor Parparov - Любимец женщин и гениальный разведчик – майор госбезопасности Федор Парпаров n.d.). In original: “Связь была восстановлена, Марта стала передавать весьма ценную информацию, которая неопровержимо свидетельствовала, что Гитлер начнет вторжение в СССР весной или в начале лета 1941 года. Но, как уже не раз упоминалось, в Кремле этой информации не верили.”

Subsequently, at the initiative of the new INO head, Pavel Fitin²⁹, who managed to convince Lavrenti Beria³⁰, Parparov was brought back to the service and handed the medal rewards for his earlier work, as well as the orders of the Red Flag and Red Star. Furthermore, he was awarded the rank of Major of the State Security Service, corresponding to the rank of Army Colonel (Steinberg, 2008). Returning to INO, Parparov repeatedly tried to reconnect with “Marta”, insisting on the need to travel to Berlin. His persistence on traveling to Germany, though it would have been dangerous³¹, for him, implied that he probably had some feelings for her.

After the Soviet victory in the Second World War, Parparov was appointed in charge of the security of the participants of the Postdam Conference of the Heads of State winning the war, prepared materials for the Nürenberg trials and attended meetings as an interpreter.

During a visit to Germany, Parparov met his son, whom he had not seen since the beginning of the war. Lev Fiodorovici Parparov had fought on the front and arrived in Berlin, where he remained to continue his life (Komissarova, 2021). Searching for traces of “Marta” in the hope of meeting her, Parparov received in 1946 accurate information about her life in his absence, the circumstances of her death and the place where she was cremated (Ioffe, 2018).

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²⁹ Pavel Mikhailovici Fitin was a Soviet intelligence officer, the director of Soviet Intelligence during the Second World War (Pavel Fitin, n.d.).

³⁰ Lavrenti Pavlovici Beria was a politician and marshal, minister of Internal Affairs, in charge of the security and repression services of the Soviet regime, one of the main perpetrators of Stalinist purges of the fourth decade in its final phases (Lavrenti Pavlovici Beria, n.d.).

³¹ Любимец женщин и гениальный разведчик – майор госбезопасности Федор Парпаров- Lyubimecz-zhenshhin-i-genialnyj-razvedchik-major-gosbezopasnosti-fedor-parparov, A woman's favorite and a brilliant intelligence officer – State Security major Fiodor Parparov (A woman's favorite and a brilliant intelligence officer – State Security major Fiodor Parparov, n.d.).

Conclusions

Major Fiodor Parparov retired in 1950, later coordinating the Military Department of the Moscow State University. He was only one of the many intelligence officers that Soviet Russia used to collect intelligence on the territories of the states of interest, in a period dominated by the global economic crisis between 1929 – 1937, which showed the fragility of the existing order in the world.

Intending to publish a book of memoirs about his father, Lev Fiodorovici Parparov collected material related to his father's activities, met his father's colleagues and friends. However, he failed to complete the work he had begun due to his premature death in 2001 (Antonov, 2013).

Many authors have excelled in accurately rendering the realities of those times, but the activities of the intelligence officers, legal or illegal, have always been surrounded by mystery. The Soviet foreign secret services had always played an important role in foreign policy of the Soviet Union, long before its establishment and had many achievements, especially in the interwar period, due to people motivated by the communist ideology.

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