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The NKVD/KGB Activities and its Cooperation with other Secret Services in Central and Eastern Europe 1945 – 1989

Anthology of the international conference

Bratislava 14. – 16. 11. 2007

Edited by Alexandra Grúňová

Nation's Memory Institute

BRATISLAVA 2008

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14 – 16 November, 2007, Bratislava, Slovakia

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Contents

DECLARATION on a conference NKVD/KGB Activities and its Cooperation with other Secret Services in Central and Eastern Europe 1945 – 1989	9
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Conference opening	
František Mikloško	13
Jiří Liška	15
Ivan A. Petranský	17

Panel I (14 November 2007)

Security Archives as Sources of NKVD/KGB Activities

Stefan Karner (Austria) – Panel moderator	21
Ladislav Bukovszky (Slovakia): The Archives of the Nation's Memory Institute in the Capacity of Resources for KGB Activities	24
Petr Blažek (Czechia)	32
Gergő Bendegúz Cseh (Hungary): Documents of the Historical Archives ..	36
Nikita V. Petrov (Russia)	41
Ralf Blum (Germany): References to the Soviet Secret Service in the Archives of the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the Former GDR (BStU)	45

Panel II (14 November 2007)

From Soviet Advisors in Satellite States to Soviet Security Schools

János Rainer (Hungary) – Panel moderator	53
Rafał Wnuk (Poland): Soviet Supporters of the Polish Communist Security Apparatus. The Role of NKVD in Fighting Against the Anti-Communist Underground in Poland (1944 – 1945)	54
Radek Schovánek (Czechia): Soviet Ears in Communist Prague	73
Ladislau – Antoniu Csendes (Romania): NKVD/ KGB Approaches and Party Control in Romanian Secret Services and Army between 1948 – 1964	79
Magdolna Baráth (Hungary): Soviet Counsellors at the Hungarian State Security Organs	87

Jan Kalous (Czechia): Štěpán Plaček – His Vision for the Czechoslovak Security and the Soviet Intelligence Service Agents (1945 – 1948) – the Arrival of Soviet Advisors into Czechoslovakia – Background and Circumstances	100
--	-----

Panel III (15 November 2007)

Central and Eastern Europe as a Base for Espionage against the West

Petr Kopal (Czechia) – Panel moderator	121
Christopher Adam (Canada): Eyes across the Atlantic – Hungary's State Security and Canada's Hungarians, 1956 – 1989	122
Arvydas Anušauskas (Lithuania): Economic Restructuring Period (Perestroika) and Technological Intelligence. The Lithuanian Factor	142
Stefano Bottoni (Italy): A Special Relationship. Hungarian Intelligence and the Vatican, 1961 – 1978	147
Andrzej Grajewski (Poland): Security Services of the Polish People's Republic against the Vatican in 1956 – 1978.....	177
Śławomir Łukasiewicz (Poland): Polish Communist Intelligence Service against the European Economic Community (EEC)	198
Walter Süß (Germany): KBSE as Seen by State Security of the German Democratic Republic in the 70s	210
Peter Rendek (Slovakia): Operation ALAN – Mutual Cooperation of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service and the Soviet KGB as Given in One of the Largest Leakage Cases of NATO Security Data in the Years 1982 – 1986	223

Panel IV (15 November 2007)

NKVD/KGB's Co-operation with Satellite State Security Services

Władysław Bulhak (Poland) – Panel moderator	247
László Ritter (Hungary): The Soviet – Hungarian Intelligence Co-operation in the Early Cold War Period (abstract)	248
Petr Blažek (Czechia): Residency of the Federal Ministry of the Interior in the Soviet Union. Position, Activities and Staffing in 1989	250
Prokop Tomek (Czechia): SOUD and its Utilization in Czechoslovak Conditions	275

Bernd-Rainer Barth (Germany): Noel Field Affair (abstract)	286
Georg Herbstritt (Germany): Refused Cooperation: The Relation Stasi – Securitate and Romania’s Aspirations to Independence	287

Panel V (16 November 2007)

NKVD/KGB Activities in Occupied East Germany and Austria

Roger Engelmann (Germany) – Panel moderator	301
Jörg Morré (Germany): The Creation of a Hostile Picture. Arrests Made by the NKVD as an Example Set to Carry Out Political Police Operations in the Soviet Occupation Zone – GDR	302
Barbara Stelzl–Marx (Austria): Soviet Espionage in Austria. Arrests, Sentences and Executions in 1950 – 1953	316
Dieter Bacher (Austria): Communist „Intelligence Internationale”? Contacts Between KGB and the KPÖ at the Beginning of the Cold War	335
Jan Foitzik (Germany) – Nikita V. Petrov (Russia): The Soviet Security Apparatus in the Soviet Occupation Zone of the GDR (1945 – 1953). Structure, Tasks, and Cooperation with the East-Germany Authorities	350

Panel VI (16 November 2007)

Final conclusions

Miroslav Lehký (Czechia)	377
Walter Süß (Germany)	381
Nikita V. Petrov (Russia)	383
Łukasz Kamiński (Poland)	384

An accompanying events of the conference

Ondrej Krajňák, Radoslav Ragač	386
Information about Conference Partners and Donors	395

Afterword

Alexandra Grůňová	402
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DECLARATION on a conference

NKVD/KGB ACTIVITIES AND ITS COOPERATION WITH OTHER SECRET SERVICES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE 1945 – 1989

Our common awareness of the importance of dealing with the communist dictatorship – on the one hand, in the context of the number of victims of communism, and, on the other hand, as a warning for the present and the future – brings us to joint efforts for cooperation. Fully dealing with communism overruns the possibilities of every individual former communist state. The aims that arise out of communism's ideology were global – infiltration, subversion, and domination of the free and democratic parts of the world. Communist states' intelligence services, first and foremost the Soviet KGB, played a significant role in meeting this target. The aforementioned founded, dominated, and managed the intelligence services of the communist bloc states, following its own role model.

Unfortunately, 17 years after the fall of communism, the former Soviet archives are still inaccessible in contemporary Russia. But to understand the events in present-day Russia and the situation in Central and Eastern Europe, it is necessary to analyze communism in the leading communist power, the former Soviet Union. We are led by the common aim to shed light on the whole truth about communism. On the basis of the sources that are now at our disposal after long efforts, we have arranged to realize an international conference about

„NKVD/KGB Activities and its Cooperation with other Secret Services in Central and Eastern Europe 1945 – 1989“

for a scholarly public, from 14 to 16 November 2007 in Bratislava, Slovak Republic.

This conference represents the next step in our cooperation and the first step in arranging common enterprises in connection with the aforementioned topic.

In accordance with the resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe 1481/2006 „Need for international condemnation of crimes of totalitarian communist regimes,“ we regard our cooperation to be a contri-

bution to the research and the presentation of objective facts on a European level.

The signatories

The names of institutions and the statutors who signed the Declaration follow:

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Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of
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Havelkova 2, 130 00 Praha 3, Czechia

CONFERENCE OPENING

František Mikloško

Vice chair of the National Slovak Assembly Board for human rights, minorities and the status of women

Mr. Chairman of the Board of Directors at the Nation's Memory Institute; Mr. Deputy Chairman of the Senate of the Czech parliament; His Excellency, the Ambassador of Bulgaria; esteemed former political prisoners; distinctively former minister of the interior and director of Slovak Information Service, Mr. Ladislav Pittner; esteemed members of the Nation's Memory Institute, its employees, scientific employees, and dear guests for all the countries present in this assembly.

I am very pleased to have the opportunity to greet you in person in the name of the Board I represent. It supports the Nation's Memory Institute (NMI), which hosts this significant event. I was a life-long friend with the first Chairman of the NMI, the charismatic Ján Langoš, who founded the Institute when we were both members of parliament. He succeeded in establishing the significance of its existence and operation in parliament using his strong will. He will forever be remembered in our minds as the initiator of the process that established and ran the Institute. I take the liberty to say I am also a friend of the current Chair of the Institute, Mr. Petranský, who was appointed to the office under rather precarious circumstances, when the former dissident and the founder of the Institute suddenly and tragically passed away. It was up to him to start navigating into the new uncharted waters of his own generation. This generation will include a not so completely new line of publications, which are integral to future generations, because nation's memory evolves by materializing all that had passed.

I am delighted the conference is taking place in Bratislava in collaboration with V4 countries and the German federative republic. It is a significant event in significant times – in terms of getting acquainted with our Czechoslovak, or Slovak communist past- we commemorate the 90TH anniversary of the Great October Revolution, and yet, we are just starting on our journey of unraveling our own experience in a period characterized as a rule of evil. I wish the best of luck to this conference. I hope that all participants to leave inspired. Most of all,

I wish great patience to all parties when they expose all the problems our past has left us and about which we, and generations after us, must learn.

Thank you very much for the invitation to participate in this event. I say this in the name of the Slovak parliament, and in the name of the high public officials.

Jiří Liška

Vice-Chair of the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic

Ladies and gentlemen; Mr. Vice-Chair; Mr. Chair; thank you for your invitation. I am glad to greet you on behalf on the Senate of the Czech Republic.

I am very glad we have been able to organize this conference. I feel personal gratification as well because I was able to help by extending a recommendation to organize it to the International Visegrad Fund. When I talked to the former Chair of the Board of Directors of the Nation's Memory Institute, the tragically deceased Ján Langoš, last year, we organized a day of the Nation's Memory Institute in the Czech Senate that day. It was a presentation and promotion of the new law inspired by the Slovak model. It was also an opportunity to hold a work meeting on preparations necessary to organize the conference. As a result, thanks to the Slovak Nation's Memory Institute and a tremendous support of Ján Langoš, the Czech Republic passed a bill concerning the Research Institute for Totalitarian Regimes. I am very glad we succeeded in fulfilling the second task of our previous meeting. Now that I have discussed personal recollections, let me proceed with the theme of the conference itself.

The process by which we come to terms with our communist past must acquire an international dimension. It arises from the nature of the Soviet bloc itself because it transcended borders of states and continents. The individual countries of Central and Eastern Europe were merely satellite states to the Russian empire, which determined and directed their politics to a considerable extent. The more we explore the secrets of the former regime, the more often we encounter white spots occupied by the activities of the Soviet advisors and the assignments appointed by the former Soviet Russia. Until we expose the role the Soviet Union at the time, our knowledge will not be complete, and we will not be able to comprehend who played what roles. We will not be able to understand what ideas originated with the local functionaries and what commands came in a directive manner from abroad. We will not be able to grasp whose interests were taken into consideration – we may merely try to make a guess. For this reason the European Parliament ought to exert focused pressure to bring Russia to declassify and disclose materials of the KGB which are in direct con-

nection with the events in Central and Eastern Europe. If I am not mistaken, the European Union has not raised an official requisition of this sort so far.

I would like to mention Ján Langoš once again – a man of extraordinary qualities who followed his vision so far as to establish common virtual archives that would promote knowledge of our past in an international dimension and would clarify mutual influence between the states. This presents us and Europe with a great challenge. I am afraid that this topic is more relevant nowadays than we want to admit.

Your—or rather our—international conference embodies one of the ways to shape the challenge into real form. Let us not forget that we must bear witness and we must warn. If there is anything the post-communist Europe can bring to its Western allies, it is first and foremost our experience with totalitarianism and occupation, for which we paid a high price. To stress this idea even more strongly: it is up to us to convince the West and the democratic world as a whole that it is in its best interests to listen to us when we speak of our experiences. Communism as we knew it might be dead but the desire to change the world and reform it regardless of the price is not. This ambition is the very basis of many movements, not just the communist ones. We found out for ourselves where an ideology raised to the status of a state religion leads, and we should protest strongly when we see the beginning of something similar. We also carry an unfortunate awareness of how much a totalitarian regime, and again probably not just a communist one, is tied to bureaucracy, political directive mannerism and centralism. These typical features are warning signs of danger to us. We also get chills when we see the mounting ambitions of Russia to once again make decisions about us without us.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to thank you one last time for holding this conference and I wish you all the very best. Thank you.

Ivan A. Petranský

Chair of the Board of Directors at the Nation's Memory Institute

Mr. Chair of the Senate of Parliament of the Czech Republic; Mr. Deputy Chair of the National Council Committee of the SR; Excellency; ladies and gentlemen.

I am truly glad I have the honor to welcome you at this conference, which the Nation's Memory Institute has organized with the intention of contributing to the effort of clarifying the background of events of the last four decades of the communist totalitarian system. Because the former East Bloc countries underwent a more or less identical development directed from Moscow, mutual exchange of experience is even more necessary to examine and assess it. I hope the conference will promote further cooperation of the Nation's Memory Institute and its partner institutions, not only in Germany, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, but also in Romania, Bulgaria, and the Ukraine. 18 years will have passed from the fall of the Iron Wall in the next few days. Dealing with our past will however take us much longer. Countries that initially delayed dealing with these issues are at an even greater disadvantage. The Nation's Memory Institute has already been a part of Slovakia's history for five years. Its founder, Ján Langoš, was able to accomplish a great thing as a member of the Slovak parliament. As the Chair of the Board of Directors, I can see that consistent assessment of the time of oppression is a truly laborious and often very time consuming task. Historians and archivists are naturally well aware of it, but the public is not as aware, which to be sure is not and exclusively Slovak trait. Results of our activity are often viewed with a lack of enthusiasm. From time to time, we must deal with critical reservations regarding the methods we use to assess our history, but I am sure all our partners share a very similar experience. For this very reason it is necessary that we present bullet-proof facts on which the people can rely. Casualties, damage to health, or persecutions may no longer register with the public to a large extent, but in any case these events and their consequences should never remain buried. It is our primary obligation to engage in documenting crimes of the communist state on its citizens. It needs to be mentioned that particular persons stand accountable for these crimes. In this respect I find the verdict of Czech courts in a law suit with the prosecutor in

the staged law suit against Milada Horáková and Company in the 1950s highly valuable, and I think that we, working in the Nations's Memory Institute, find it tremendously motivating. The period of totalitarian rule ceases to evoke critical responses more and more with the passing of time. Yet, to ensure the development of our countries remains sound, it is imperative that these events are not forgotten. Many might find it unpleasant that discussions revolve around their personal accountability; it is however the only way to achieve success in the process of coming to terms with the period of oppression.

I would like to specifically thank our partner institutions, which participated in the preparatory work of the conference, namely the Institute of National Remembrance in Poland, the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the Former GDR, the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State security, and the newly established Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes in the Czech Republic. I would also like to thank the benefactors of this event – the International Visegrad Fund and the Konrad Adenauer Association. I wish this conference success, I wish the representatives of the media to find the conference inspiring, and I wish all of you a pleasant time but even more a time spent usefully. Thank you very much.

PANEL I

**SECURITY ARCHIVES AS SOURCES
OF NKVD/KGB ACTIVITIES**

Stefan Karner – Panel moderator

*Ludwig Boltzman Institute for Research on War Consequences
Austria*

University professor, Doctor and Director of the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Research on War Consequences, Graz, Vienna. Currently Deputy Director of the Department of Economic, Social and Business History at the University of Graz; Austrian representative on the ECRI Commission of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg; Head of the Media Studies Course at the University of Graz; Chairman of the Austrian-Slovene Commission of Historians. Since 1990/91 continuous research in Soviet/Russian archives concerning questions of war captivity of Germans, Austrians, French, Luxembourgers, Italians, Americans; furthermore, investigation into the Austrian-Soviet relationship after 1945. „Österreichischer Wissenschaftler des Jahres“ („Austrian Academic of the Year“, 1995); Vice President of the „Austrian Black Cross“, Vienna; Vice President of the „Modern Policy Academy“, Vienna. Awarded the German Federal Cross of Merit of the German Republic, First Class Honour (1996), awarded the Austrian Cross of Honour for Scholarship and Art, First Class Honour, the „Alois Mock-Europaring“ (Alois Mock Ring of Europe) (2004) and many other national and international honours.

*Author of more than 20 books and (co-)editor of many individual publications (recent one: *The Red Army in Austria 1945 – 1955*); (co-)editor of many academic monographs (recently: *Kärnten und die Nationale Frage im 20. Jahrhundert* (Carinthia and the Question of Nationality in the 20th century), 5 vols; *Österreichisches Jahrbuch für Politik 2004* (Austrian Yearbook for Politics 2004)); author of more than 200 essays and articles.*

Born 1952 in Carinthia, 1975 – Marriage to Ernelinde, 2 children, 1976 – PhD., Since 1978 – Member of diverse academic associations, as follows: Board member of the Austrian Mountain Historical Society, academic adviser of the Austrian Society for Business History, Austrian member of the German Economic Archivist Association, 1978 – 1985 – Stays for the purpose of research and archival study in Amsterdam, Freiburg, Koblenz, Laibach/Ljubljana, Marburg/Maribor, Washington, Since 1982- Continuous involvement in and organisation of symposia in the course of the Alps-Adriatic Programme of the

Departments of Economy in Trieste, Marburg/Maribor and Graz in the field: history of the Alps-Adriatic area, 1985 -Habilitation on the topic „Neueste Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte und Österreichische Zeitgeschichte“ („Recent Economic and Social History and Austrian Contemporary History“) at the University of Graz. Publication of the habilitation: „Styria in the Third Reich“ (Graz 1986, 3rd edition), Since 1985 – Academic supervisor in 7 large exhibitions in the field of contemporary history: 1985 (Burgenland), 1988 (Graz), 1995 (Schallaburg), 1995 (Bonn/FRG), 1998 (Graz), 2004 (Riga/Latvia), 2005 (Schallaburg). Currently the Republic Exhibition, opened in 2008 in the Austrian Parliament and Lower Austria (opened 2009), Since 1986 – Examination supervisor of the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences for „Economic and Social History“ and „Contemporary History“. Participation in the US Historian Congress in Cincinnati/USA on the topic „Waldheim“, 1987 – An extended research stay at the University of Essex/UK. Here his research interest in the history of entrepreneurs („Unternehmergeschichte“) began, Since 1993 – Director of the newly founded „Ludwig Boltzmann-Institut für Kriegsfolgen-Forschung“, Graz/Vienna/Klagenfurt. Academic co-operation with institutes such as the Russian Academy of Science, Moscow; Eisenhower Center in New Orleans, the RGGU, Moscow, the MGU-Moscow, the Russian State Archives Agency in Moscow, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Defence (international questions of security), International Law Office of the Austrian Foreign Ministry (humanitarian international law) and others, Since 1995 – Author of TV documentaries in the field of history, such as „Lost Years: War Captivity in the Soviet Union“. Participation in the 18th World Congress of Historians in Montreal/Canada. Main preparation of the panel discussion of „Sequels and Consequences of War“, Since 1995 – Representative of Austria in the „European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)“ of the European Council in Strasbourg, 1995 – Elected „The Austrian Academic of the Year 1995“ – Academic advisor to the Austrian Foreign Office and the Foreign Minister concerning the topic of war and post-war effects in the Balkans. 1997 – 2004 – Representation of Austria in the EUMC in Vienna, 1998 – 1999 – Supervision of the research project on the topic of forced labour in connection with foreign workers 1938 – 1945, including Soviet citizens, 1998 – 2000 – Adviser of Chancellor Klima and Vice Chancellor Schüssel in questions of restitution

and forced labour, Since 2002 – Member of the committee to the Austrian government to establish a „House of History of the Republic of Austria” and exhibitions on the State Treaty (2005) and the 90th anniversary of the Republic of Austria (2008), 2004 – 2006 – Director of the Department of Economic, Social and Business History at the University of Graz, Since 2004 – Head of the Media Studies Course at the University of Graz, Since 2005 – Mediator in the Carinthian road sign controversy, Since 2006 – Member of the academic board of the „Jahrbuch für Historische Kommunismusforschung” („Annual for Historical Research into Communism”), Berlin.

Ladislav Bukovszky*Nation's Memory Institute**Slovakia***The Archive of the Nation's Memory Institute in the Capacity of Resources for KGB Activities**

What makes this discussion paradoxical is the fact that those of us sitting here and seeking the answers to the options for the archival research at the establishments in this country into the activities and co-operation conducted by and between the KGB and the former security services operating in other socialist countries, have not yet had the opportunity to see the primary KGB security collections. The sceptics enquire about the possibility to prove and support by facts the effective co-operation between the KGB and the Czechoslovak State Security without consulting the respective Russian archives. These doubts are truly well founded. I suppose, however, it is certainly possible to prove and support by facts and even make evidence for various forms of co-operation conducted by the two referred-to repressive services, the KGB and the State Security. This should not even require any great exploratory exertion to produce as archive collections of several security establishments within the Soviet domain do afford various facilities to this end.¹

The Nation's Memory Institute in Bratislava has assumed several responsibilities from the State related to the disclosure of documents of the State Security services dated between 1939 and 1989.² Among other jobs performed by the Institute there is keeping records, acquisition, disclosure and utilisation of documents of the security bodies in the Third Reich and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We are, however, aware that such a mission, owing to the barred access to the Russian archives, is hard to accomplish. Nevertheless, the activities conducted by and between the KGB and the State Security in former Czechoslovakia may be proved by evidence gathered from several security

1 For details refer to e.g. ŽÁČEK, Pavel: KGB na cestě ke komunismu (KGB on the Road to Communism). In: *Pamät' národa (Nation's Memory)*, no. 1/2005, pp. 42 – 57.

2 Act No. 553/2002 Coll. providing for the nation's memory.

collections of the Czechoslovak communist State Security, which the Nation's Memory Institute Archive has taken over since its founding.³

I have no intention to go back to the very beginnings of the founding of the Nation's Memory Institute Archive. Yet, in brief, I would like to point out some options for research into the referenced issues. The Nation's Memory Institute Archive has now taken over almost all documents left behind by the former repressive establishments managed by the respective public bodies which had an obligation to hand over all the documents of concern to the Nation's Memory Institute.⁴ The documents include operative files of intelligence and counterintelligence, investigations, archive funds of all the State Security services, military counterintelligence and border guard. A separate collection is made up of personal records of the former members of the State Security. The archive now administers 638 archive funds filed in a structured classification scheme according to their hierarchy, reference and chronological perspective within 13 subject groups.

Almost all referenced files of the archive documents and funds contain, in the primary or secondary lines, information on co-operation between the State Security and the KGB. From an archival perspective, these are true priorities.

Let me now, briefly, show the real connection between the activities of the Soviet KGB and the State Security, which may be evidenced through the archival sources provided by this collection, and give a specific example of such co-operation.

General Directorate of Intelligence Service – the 1st Directorate of the National Security Force

After 1948, post-war Czechoslovak intelligence was becoming influenced by the KGB.⁵ In 1950, when intelligence began building up its executive ad-

3 For a list of archive funds of Nation's Memory Institute Archive refer to www.upn.gov.sk/archivne-fondy

4 Refer to BUKOVSKÝ, Ladislav: Archív Ústavu pamäti národa (Nation's Memory Institute Archive). In: *Pamäť národa (Nation's Memory)*, No. 1/2005, pp. 58 – 63.; BUKOVSKÝ, László: A Nemzeti Emlékezet Intézete Levéltára. In: BILKEI, Irén (ed.): *Magyar Levéltárosok Egyesülete 2005. évi vándorgyűlése*. Budapest 2006. pp. 63 – 101.

5 ŽÁČEK, Pavel – KOŠICKÝ, Patrik: Analýza československého defektora o čin-

ministrative agencies inside the country and abroad, the first Soviet advisory officers turned up.⁶ Using their own methods and experience the Soviet KGB advisors begun to define objectives and forms of co-operation to be conducted by Czechoslovak Intelligence, namely by the Ist Directorate (assumed name). Under the concept of the 'Struggle for Peace and Socialism' the two intelligence services coordinated their activities first on a yearly basis, and later, on the basis of five-year operational plans. The plans referred to the activities conducted by the Centre and by the individual Residencies. The final forms of the operational plans were specified by Moscow after negotiations with the Chief of the Ist Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (later, the Federal Ministry of Interior). Such a dependent subordinate position required that the activities of Czechoslovak Intelligence were, in practice, conducted against all former capitalist countries around the world. The focus of their activities was to obtain classified documents, resources and secret information of political, military, economic, scientific, technological and state-security-related contents. The operational activity of the intelligence was documented in the agency and operative files.

Intelligence kept its own register and operative records.⁷ The operative records were to collect all operational resources – closed files, which were upon receipt transposed onto films and microfiches. The operative files except for the TS personal files and financial sub-files, were destroyed.⁸ After November

nosti satelitných služieb (Czechoslovak Defector Analysis of Satellite Services Activity). In: *Pamäť národa* (Nation's Memory), no. 2/2005, pp. 33 – 39.

- 6 In the early September 1949 in connection to the László Rajka's process, Rákosi labelled the Czechoslovak security bodies as underexperienced, and he advised Gottwald and Slansky to ask for allocation of Soviet advisory officers. The first Soviet advisors, Lichatchov and Makarov, arrived on September 23, 1949. Their arrival was first kept secret even from Vaclav Nosek, the Minister of Interior.
- 7 The method of registration and keeping of files practiced at Ist Directorate was last amended by Order of Chief of Ist Directorate no. 2 of January 06, 1988.
- 8 ŽÁČEK, Pavel: Registrace, vedení a archivace svázku ve směrnících čsl. komunistické rozvědky (Registration, Files and Archives of the Czechoslovak Intelligence as per Directives). In: *Pamäť národa* (Nation's Memory), no. 2/2006, s. 57 – 68.; RENDEK, Peter: Agentúro-no-operatívne zväzky v informačnom systéme československej rozvědky (Agency and Operative Files in the Information System of the Czechoslovak Intelligence). In: *Pamäť národa* (Nation's Memory), no. 2/2006, pp. 68 – 73; KESZELI, Tomáš: Záujmové osoby v evidencii I. správy ZNB (Persons

1989, the Intelligence operational records came to be managed by the Federal Ministry of the Interior and, after the republic break-down, the Slovak Republic received copies of the formed records of the 1st Directorate. The referenced records were in Slovakia administered by the Slovak Information Service, which pursuant to Act 553/2002 providing for the Nation's Memory, identified the type of material concerned to the Institute's archive. Under this delimitation, several thousand operative files of Czechoslovak intelligence were transferred. It is not the intention of this paper to go into the details of some specific cases of co-operation between the KGB and the 1st Directorate of the National Security Force. Nevertheless, these issues will be dealt with later in the papers by P. Blazek, or tomorrow by P. Rendek.⁹

System of collective register of records on the enemy (SSEP) (*Sistema objediněnnovo učeta danyh o protivnike (SOUND)*)

In terms of operational activities, or co-operation among the intelligence services in satellite countries, Moscow constituted a special resource base, entitled SOUND records (*Sistema objediñonnogo uchota danyh o protivnike – System of collective register of records on the enemy (SSEP)*). In 1977, the intelligence services in the Moscow satellite countries agreed to establish a joint automated information system. The system was supposed to be instrumental in the collection and mutual supply of information on hostilities carried out by persons and organizations of the member states of the Agreement under the direction of the KGB in Moscow, which would maintain the system.¹⁰

The SOUND records were in terms of State Security referred to as 'System of Collective Register of Records on the Enemy' (SSEP). In May 1978, Jaromir Obzina, the Minister of Interior, established in Czechoslovakia by order Sub-department of Collective Register of Records of the Department of Information

of Interest on File of Ist Directorate National Security Force). In: Pamäť národa (Nation's Memory), no. 2/2006, pp.73 – 77.

9 See the papers by P. Blažek and P. Rendek.

10 For details on the SOUND records in terms of the German and Hungarian security forces refer to TANTZSCHER, Monika – WEGMANN, Bodo: *SOUND – Das geheimdienstliche Datennetz des östlichen Bündnispartnersystems*. Berlin 1996; BACZONI, Gábor – BIKKI, István: *Egyesített Állambiztonsági Adattár – a SZOUD*. In: *Trezor 3*. Budapest 2004, pp. 217 – 235.

and Analysis at the Federal Ministry of Interior to serve as a unit for relations with SSEP.¹¹ The referenced unit was in charge of the centralisation of records on hostilities carried out by the imperialistic intelligence services and provided for communication between the system users and Moscow. The intelligence activities conducted by the State Security for more than ten years in order to build the information system resulted in a collection of more than 2,000 pieces of preserved microfiches (of which 1,914 contained baseline information and 274 contained supplementary information). Before 1995, over 120,000 questionnaires were entered into the SOUD records from Czechoslovakia to include data on approximately 30,000 thousand persons.¹²

Personal Files of Members of the State Security

The position of the Soviet advisory officers – analogous to the 1st Directorate of the National Security Force (Intelligence) – became strengthened also in other central units of the State Security in Prague and Bratislava. The communication between the advisors, and later the members of KGB, and the individual units of the State Security was arranged by the managerial staff who graduated from F. E. Dzerzhinsky University KGB of the USSR in Moscow.¹³ In addition to the communication support, the university graduates would safeguard the influence of the KGB on the operations of the State Security. This intent grew even

11 For details on the origin and creation of SSEP in terms of the State Security, refer to RENDEK, Peter: Systém zjednotenej evidencie poznatkov o nepriateľovi (System of Collective Register of Records on the Enemy). In: *Pamäť národa (Nation's Memory)*, No. 2/2005, pp. 62 – 74.; TOMEK, Prokop: Ambiciózní, ale neúspěšný pokus. Systém sjednocené evidence poznatku o nepříteli (Ambitious yet unsuccessful experiment. System of Collective Register of Records on the Enemy). In: BLAŽEK, Petr et al.: *Opozice a odpor proti komunistickému režimu v Československu 1968 – 1989 (Opposition and Resistance against the Communist Regime in Czechoslovakia 1968-1989)*. Praha 2005, pp. 223 – 243; CHURAŇ, Milan et al.: *Encyklopedie špionáže. Ze zákulisí tajných služeb, zejména Státní bezpečnosti (Encyclopaedia of Espionage. From the Backstage of the Secret Service, esp. State security)*. Praha 2000, pp. 347 – 348.

12 RENDEK, Peter: c. d., p. 71.

13 Having analysed the preserved personal files of the managerial personnel working in regions early in 1980's we may conclude that the chiefs at 1st and 2nd departments had mostly graduated from the referred-to university.

stronger after August 1968 when, following the plans of joint action, the presence of the members of the KGB was ensured as far down as the district level.

The members of the State Security attended either a long-term study or three-month courses at the aforementioned university in Moscow, which prepared staff for communist intelligence. Ranging from the head of general directorate to the deputy chiefs of the units at the regional state security directorates (intelligence and counterintelligence), they all were supposed to be graduates from the Moscow academy. The personnel eligible for the study were proposed by the regional committees of the Communist Party. The State Security management were also in charge of the “creation” of personnel reserves in individual units.

The Nation’s Memory Institute Archive can prove the activities of the ... members by evidence of the preserved personal files. The files of the former graduates from F. E. Dzerzinsky University contain recommendations, decisions by respective bodies on the study, plus certificates of final examinations and completion of the study.¹⁴

Object Files – Protection of Soviet Military Forces and Facilities

The well-known events of the spring of 1968 in Czechoslovakia were on August 20, 1968 followed by a military intervention of five armies of the Warsaw Pact member states. A temporary stay of the Soviet army in the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic became legal by an agreement made by the governments of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSSR) and the USSR, which was signed on October 16, 1968 in Prague.¹⁵ According to the agreement a part of the Soviet troops stayed in the CSSR *‘in order to ensure the security of the socialist community countries against the increasing revanchist efforts of the*

14 No in-depth analysis has been carried out so far in respect of the personnel records of the former members of State Security who had graduated from the Moscow studies. Refer to RAGAČ, Radoslav: *Kolektívny portrét vedenia správy ŠtB v období normalizácie* (Collective Portrait of the State Security Directorate Management in the Period of Normalization.). In: *Pamäť národa* (Nation’s Memory), No. 4/2005, pp. 67 – 68.

15 By regulation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the agreement was enacted as Act no. 11/1969 Coll. (regulating conditions of temporary stay of the Soviet army in the territory of the CSSR)

Western European militarist forces'. In fewer than four months, another agreement was signed in Prague by and between the two governments to regulate provision of mutual legal aid regarding the temporary stay of the Soviet troops in the territory of the CSSR. The agreement also underlay some specific assignments to involve the bodies of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, i.e. the State Security units.¹⁶ Primarily, those were measures to ensure external protection by the Soviet troops in the territory of Czechoslovakia, mainly with respect to the discovery of intelligence and other criminal activity aimed against the Soviet army and its facilities, and mutual use of agency and operative resources. On taking these measures the State Security establishments cooperated with the new KGB organisational units in Czechoslovakia.

Common assignments of the State Security and the KGB units regarding 'Protection of the Soviet military forces and facilities' were handled by so-called plans for joint actions. At the central level in Prague, these issues were handled by the IInd Directorate of the National Security Force in co-operation with a Special Department of the KGB based in Milovice. In Slovakia, the performance of the organisational measures was at the national level affected by the respective regional directorates of the State Security and the Special Department of the KGB based in Zvolen, while at the district level, it was the responsibility of the KGB representatives to put the measures into practice.

To cover the activities conducted at the central levels – the IInd Directorate of National Security Force – and regional levels since halfway through 1968, there were established asset files, incl. sub-files, on specific military facilities of the Soviet army.¹⁷

Some specific units of the State Security – 2nd and 1st departments of regional directorates, and the officers in charge of the issues at the district level

16 Order of Ministry of Interior of the CSSR No. 8/1969 of March 3, 1969

17 First files on the said issues: IInd Directorate of National Security Force – OB OB-RANA, reg. no. 1387, entered into register on July 28, 1969; Regional Directorate of National Security Force at State Security Directorate Bratislava – OB KARTÚZA, reg. no. 11 130, entered into register on December 12, 1969; Regional Directorate of National Security Force at State Security Directorate Banská Bystrica – OB OCHRANA, reg. no. 573, entered into register on August 22, 1969; Regional Directorate of National Security Force at State Security Directorate Košice – OB OBRANA, reg. no. 8068, entered into register on January 13, 1970.

– ensured that the Soviet army be protected against the increased interest of the Western intelligence services (esp. the Austrian ABWEHR, and the intelligence in the Federal Republic of Germany), foreign tourists and even the domestic population.

Ladislav Bukovszky (1966) graduated from Comenius University in Bratislava with a degree in archival science; Doctor of philosophy. He is director of the Archives at Nation's Memory Institute. He pursues research in organisation structure of the State Security Directorates in Slovakia, reverbarations of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 and forced migration of the population in the 20th century. He conducted several studies in this field in Slovakia and abroad.

Petr Blažek¹*Division of the Archives of the Security Forces**Czechia*

Thank you very much for this opportunity to speak. I am here today on behalf of Dr. Pavel Žáčka, who sends his deepest apologies for not being able to take part in the panel. He has to attend an important meeting in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Czech Republic on the budget for a new institution that he is planning to establish in August 2008 as a government commissioner.

Act no.181/2007 Coll. did not stipulate just the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, but also the Archive of the Security Forces, which will gradually accumulate all archival documents of primary significance originating from the security apparatus of the communist regime. It will also include documents of the border guard force, military intelligence and documents that report on the work of correctional facilities.

Pursuant to the Act, the Archive of the Security Forces has already started taking over documents into its administration. The majority of the documents on the cooperation of the Czechoslovak security apparatus and the Soviet KGB have been administered by the Archive of the Security Forces at the Ministry of the Interior. The volume of written documents stored there is approximately 17,000 square meters; there are also kilometers of documents on microfiches, various archival aids and protocols, which to a large extent originated before 1989, and the archive is free to use.

Documents produced by the Communist intelligence comprise another large archival source that is especially significant in the context of the State Security activities abroad. These documents are currently being handed over to the Institute by the Czech Services of Foreign Affairs (The Office for Foreign Relations and Information). The Slovak Nation's Memory Institute, in comparison, administers 40,000 microfiche file copies documenting the operative activity of the Communist intelligence. The newly established archive should take over several times as many documents of this type.

1 Professional curriculum vitae of Mr. Petr Blažek is at disposal with his study in Panel IV.

The fact that the security service, which created the vast majority of these documents, reported to the Soviet KGB – by various means during its entire existence – makes it a rich source of researching the history of the whole Soviet empire. The Archive of the Security Forces will also administer documents that will virtually become a symbolic key to open the previously classified space of the Communist regime, documents such as registries and databases without which the archival research would be problematic. Contrary to the opinion of some Western colleagues, I believe it is important to also use the registry generated by the Communist Secret Service itself. Naturally, it is essential to understand the original purpose the registry served, and to use it subsequently for historical research, official use and high quality document classification.

Another significant group of archival documents from the original source of military counterintelligence have been provided by the military secret service. They had been created in the early 1950's by State Security, which incorporated the military counterintelligence unit. The military intelligence, however, followed the Soviet example and was an organization in its own right. Archival documents of the military intelligence (The Intelligence Service of the General Staff of the ČSLA, The Czechoslovak People's Army) constitute yet another group the Institute will administer. They will certainly offer a completely new view of many historical topics, as they are entirely unknown to the majority of historians.

In my opinion, the establishment of both institutions presents a significant shift in the opportunities for historical research on the Communist regime. Moreover, it allows for high quality digitization by modern technology, which makes superb classification of the researched funds possible for the first time. These documents reflect on the fate of hundreds of thousands, if not millions of people. From the standpoint of historical research, they require speedy disclosure for scientific research and digitization, as they need to be compared to the reminiscences of commemorators. I was a bit surprised by the Hungarian colleagues who said they had digitized half a million documents in several years, which seems a somewhat small amount in my opinion, since one common meter of archival documents is equivalent to roughly ten thousand typed pages placed next to each other. You can then imagine how many pages are included in several dozen kilometers of documents. Besides digitization, the In-

stitute must perform extensive indexing, work out summaries, create a superior database, and begin the reconstruction of damaged documents that underwent massive obliteration in Czechoslovakia in the late 1980's and thus met with the same fate as similar documents in several other socialist countries. The operative documents can be reconstructed by various means. I really like the process the Nation's Memory Institute has developed to reconstruct the file agenda of the StB counterintelligence, which is listed in the latest issue of the Nation's Memory magazine.²

Another subject matter of first significance is the legal framework for archival law enactments. I was very glad we had an opportunity to hear our Russian colleague's opinion of the archival laws in his country. He pointed out the irony that although the archival laws are on the one hand rather liberal, the state clerks often lack the will to carry them out and to accommodate people's needs. We were experiencing something very similar in the Czech Republic not so long ago, even though the circumstances in both countries do not really stand on an equal footing. The key to high quality archival administration and a democratic approach to open disclosure to common citizens lies in establishing a state institution, which for one would be not be a secret, for two should be as independent from executive power as possible, and for three should be under effective control of a democratic parliament. That is the general model of such institutions in several countries in Central Europe, which naturally feature specific divergences. Similar institutions have also been established in some states of the former Soviet Union. Here, it is crucial that they be supported by as liberal archival standards as possible.

In the early 1990's, Czech society was concerned that the disclosure of the State Security documents might cause great human tragedies, including suicides. None of these speculations proved valid. For two years, the Czech Republic has had the most liberal act among all countries of the former Soviet Bloc, one that allows minimal limitations on disclosing documents from the Communist era. Some limits, however, have not been clarified here – e.g. protection of personal data, and of course security aspects. Every state has its own interests in terms of security, which must be respected; nonetheless, I believe

2 Compare. ĎURINA, Eubomír – RAGAČ, Radoslav: Reconstruction of files in the ÚPN Archive, In: *Nation's Memory*, vol. 3, č. 3 (2007), pp. 77 – 84.

these should never apply to entire collections, let alone archives. The latest archival act of 2004 enabled the opening of the majority of collections in full, to eliminate the maligning of state institutions, which often was a hobby of bureaucrats, rather than following the law; and it was often done by people who knew very little about it. This act, in my opinion, will enable the development of much better communication channels with the public, the digitization of documents, and the clarification of historical events, which kept their classified status as late as the 1990's.

Gergő Bendegúz Cseh

Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security

Hungary

Ladies and Gentlemen, Dear Colleagues,

The problem of the archival sources of the activity of NKVD/KGB in the Soviet satellite states and in Hungary is one of the most current and relevant archival questions in our institution. For lack of original Soviet sources we need to compile the fragments of information using indirect indications in our records, or secondary sources as memoirs, interviews, or other kind of oral history sources.

Regarding archival sources of the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security let me say a few words about our archival material.

Documents of the Historical Archives

The collection area of the Historical Archives was regulated by Act III./ 1b /.§ of 2003 renewed. According to the act

- documents of the Division III of the Ministry of the Interior, its territorial and local organs, as well as their predecessors;
- documents of the Personnel Division of the Ministry of the Interior in connection with the employees of the Office Division III of the Ministry of the Interior, as well as with its “secret” and “strictly secret” staff members;
- and the documents of the committees observing certain persons performing important, public confidence and public opinion forming positions belong to the Historical Archives.

The documents kept by the archives are classified into the following sections:

Section 1. Documents of State Security / State Defence and its operations – This section includes the functional documents of organizational unity formed by the former state security organizations and which are maintained separately.

Section 2. State security documents that do not belong to any organizational entity – Documents created and treated by other or different organizations and organizational entities and documents treated in different ways belong here.

Section 3. Operative files and documents of investigation – Most documents of the archives can be found here. Documents like investigative, operative, work-, enlisting, flat and informative etc. files.

Section 4. Collections – This is the section of different background documents and collections used by state security organizations.

Section 5. Documents created after the year of 1990 – This is the section of documents guided to the collection area of the archives by the Parliamentary act and which was established after 1990.- the documents of the so-called *observing committees*.

According to the act, the documents that should belong to the archives but are treated in other institutions have to be observed and the ones that lost classification have to be given over to the archives. According to the above mentioned conditions the archives acquire and processing gradually the documents from other outer institutions. After the necessary archival processing the documents are provided for citizens and researchers taking the rules of act into consideration.

The quantity of the documents of the Historical Archives is 3 843 linear meters presently. Two thirds were documents classified in different typed files or dossiers. The remainder of the documents belonged to functional documents of the former state security organizations, the collections and background documents created and used by the organizations.

Most documents of the archives are paper based but we also maintain a great quantity of security microfilm copies about investigative and operative files and about Daily Operative Informative Reports / NOIJ in Hungarian.

Archival processing of the documents of Historical Archives are different at several points from the practice of traditional archives because of their character, and because of the nearly total lack of contemporary finding aids and the special obligation to supply data. In the central data base of the in-

stitution each important data of the files that can help in research are saved. The data of people occurring in the documents are also registered with the help of computer index and besides these we digitalize the most often used or ruined documents. These three steps of archival processing ensure that the institution is able to meet the requirements of our time despite the fragmented documents and the lack of finding aids and the obligation to supply and to fulfill the requirements of special research.

Let me point out some important characteristics of our archival material.

The Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security and its predecessor took over the documents of the former state security authorities in a very fragmentary state. Approximately two thirds of all the remained archival material are files or dossiers created by these authorities during their investigative processes. We have inherited just fragments of the original functional documents of state security organs.

I mean functional documents as correspondence, minutes of meetings, monthly or yearly reports of certain organizations or organizational units and so on. Let me give an example of this: the so called State Defence Authority (Államvédelmi Hatóság in Hungarian) existed between 1950 and 1953 as the central organ of the intelligence, counter-intelligence, inner-intelligence, and the military intelligence but it has left just 1 linear meter of functional documents in connection with it's activity. Later, upon the decision of the state party the State Defence Authority was integrated into the Ministry of the Interior. Although this unified Ministry existed between 1953 and 1956 our archives inherited just 0.1 linear meter of functional documents from it's activity. Most probably the main reason of this deficit is the mass destruction of the documents during and after the 1956 revolution and in the late 80's carried out by state security officers, employees and policemen. Regarding the documents of post-revolution state security organs of the Ministry of the Interior the situation is more favourable but these collections are fragmented and mainly unprocessed also.

The major obstacle in processing of our archival material is the almost total lack of original finding aids and above all the lack of the computerized state security database of the 80's called Unified Computerized Controlling System or EGPR in Hungarian acronym.

I would like to highlight four areas of our archival material containing information on the activity of NKVD or KGB officers despite the lack of original Soviet sources.

1. The documents of the Department of the International Relations of the Ministry of Home Affairs contain reports on collaboration between Hungarian and Soviet state security organs, agreements of these authorities, minutes of meetings, official visits and working conferences and other evidences of close co-operation between Hungarian political police and the KGB. The quantity of this archival material is more than 74 linear meters but most of these documents are less interesting reports on the programs of formal visits of politicians, officers and their families, and informational matters from international affairs.
2. Our archives have inherited about 4.4 linear meters (37 archival boxes) of documents of the late mutual information gathering system of the Soviet Block called Soud. I suppose that this acronym is not unknown for you. Great majority of these boxes contain personal data sheets of people who were considered enemies of the state and the socialist regime, but we have 3 boxes of records dealing with organization, running and applying the Soud-system.
3. The role of Soviet counsellors or “helpers” in the establishing and working of state security organs in the Soviet Block is a well-known but less documented fact. We have just secondary sources in connection with their role and activity. Let me give just one example of this: during the show trial of Interior Minister László Rajk Soviet advisors took active part in questioning of the accused persons. László Rajk was questioned by Lieutenant General Fjodor Bjelkin – commander of Soviet security officers in Hungary – himself though the name of the Soviet questioner was never put down on any of the minutes. Although we do not have exact data about the number of Soviet counsellors worked for Hungarian political police indirect sources show that their number could be somewhere between 20 and 50 in certain periods. Certainly their influence on the political processes in Hungary is not represented by these numbers.

4. Last but not least I would like to mention the role of Soviet state security officers in the reprisal after the 1956 Revolution. In November-December 1956 mainly Soviet officers carried out arrests and investigation of arrested revolutionaries, many times even the minutes of questioning were taken in Russian. According to the report of General Serov of 27th November 1956 altogether 1473 people were arrested and 768 were detained in the Soviet Union by Soviet state security organs.

Gergő Bendegúz Cseh; *Head of department Department for Computerizing, Data Processing and Preservation. I have been collaborating with a research group organized by the Contemporary Historical Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 1994 to collect minutes and other documents of the activity of the Allied Control Commission for Hungary. In connection with this project I spent four month in Washinton DC in 1996 and succeeded to get together copies of minutes of ACC meetings. The collected and selected documents of the ACC for Hungary were published in 2000.*

The topic of my Ph.D. dissertation is in close connection with this publication since I'm dealing with the activity of American and British military missions in the Allied Control Commission for Hungary. Lately I am dealing with electronic data processing and digitization in the archives and keeping and handling of electronic records. I am member of the committee of the Association of the Hungarian Archivists and member of the editorial board of the archival periodical called Levéltári Szemle (Archival Review).

Nikita V. Petrov¹*Memorial, Moscow**Russia*

First of all, I would like to thank the organizers for inviting me to the conference, and for providing me with an opportunity to speak here today. My colleague – Professor Stefan Karner – has already talked in detail on the individual stages of accessing archives in Moscow, and on the modification of Russian legal enactments which amend the declassification of historical materials between 1991 and 2007. I can merely add that the situation has been getting worse recently and no improvement is in sight. We do not foresee any liberalization of declassifying archival documents as long as the power in Russia remains in the hands of the pupils of secret services (the KGB and others). There is an explanation for it. Making the rules stricter (in conflict with valid laws) corresponds to the „tightening the bolts” of power connected to the efforts of the Russian official leadership to build a new model of history in the country.

Nowadays, the Kremlin does not wish to see its history reflected back at it in the mirror, as it reveals too many facts concerning the monstrous crimes of the Soviet regime, such as the „Red Terror” in early 1918; the obliteration of peasantry in 1930; „The Great Terror” in 1937; the criminal agreement between Stalin and Hitler in 1939, which laid the grounds for war; and finally the Gulags and forced labor, which was an integrated part of the Soviet regime throughout its existence. We can witness current efforts to „retouch” the country’s history, and make it more attractive to the young generation with the intent, as the ideologists of the Kremlin administration say, to shape their „patriotic consciousness”. It is, however, done to the detriment of truth, and paves a road to nowhere. It is obvious that sooner or later all the lies will be exposed, and the embellishment of the history of the Soviet regime will bring results quite the opposite of the intended effect, just like in the end of 1980s.

1 * Professional curriculum vitae of Mr. Nikita V. Petrov is at disposal with his study in Panel V. Russian text of Mr. Nikita V. Petrov was translated into Slovak language by Mgr. Patrik Košícký.

I am sure that the Soviet system of governance from Lenin to the early Gorbachev era, which would translate into the period of 1917 to 1987, will eventually receive the legal qualification of being an absolutely criminal apparatus. Only since the Gorbachev era has the Soviet Union been experiencing the divergence from those criminal and inhuman laws and standards.

I will attempt to present a brief overview of the Moscow archives that store materials on the cooperation of the Soviet secret police and the MGB-KGB intelligence with the state security authorities of Central and Eastern Europe, or the countries of the former Warsaw bloc.

The Russian State Archive of the Socio-Political History (РГАСПИ) stores documents of the ВКП(б)-КПСС (All-Union Communist Party – The Communist Party of the Soviet Union), which were established in 1952. It also includes master copies of the Politburo resolutions concerning the organization and provisions of the Soviet MGB-KGB advisors in the countries of Eastern Europe. Documents relating to this topic can also be found in special funds of Stalin, Molotov, Zhdanov, etc. These documents are accessible to researchers only in part (almost 70 %). Unfortunately, their full access is not feasible, and a whole range of them remain classified – which is in conflict with Russian law.

The Russian State Archive of Modern History (РГАН) stores the documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1952 – 1991. It also includes document files of the Politburo and reports of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (ЦК КПСС), which deal with the mutual relations of the KGB with the state security authorities of its satellites. Access to these documents is very limited (only up to 10 %). We can only count on a very small collection of declassified documents from fund no. 89.

The Central Archive of the Federal Security Services (ЦА ФСБ) stores significant documents referring to all the details of preparing the show trials of László Rajk² (Hungary 1949), Trajco Kostov³ (Bulgaria 1949), Rudolf Slánský⁴ (Czechoslovakia 1952), and others. Access to these materials is completely limited, and they remain classified despite declarations of the Federal Security Services to make the archival sources available and accessible to historical researchers.

The Archive of the Intelligence Service (CBP) accumulates materials on the contacts of intelligence in the Soviet Union, as well as Central and Eastern Europe. The I. KGB Directorate, namely its 11th Department was the main intelligence division responsible for these contacts between 1954 and 1991. The Archive of the Intelligence Service is not accessible to researchers, which keeps all materials relating to the activity of this department completely unavailable.

The Archive of the President of the Russian Federation (АП РФ – AP RF) stores work files recording the meetings of the Politburo since 1965, which refer to the mutual relations with the communist and workers' parties in other socialist countries. Unfortunately, this collection of documents is inaccessible as well.

In conclusion, one can merely note that even though in theory the current Russian legislation on archival science and classified information enables researchers to call for declassification and copies of documents, in practice it involves such complicated and extensive procedures that it is virtually impos-

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- 2 László Rajk Rajka (8. 5. 1909 – 15. 10. 1949) – The Ministry of the Interior; The Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1948. The fabricated trial where he was accused of teaming up with an imperialist agent, the Yugoslavian leader Tito, lasted for less than a month. It is interesting that Rajk had participated in fabricating trials that facilitated usurpation of power in the country before falling victim to one of them. (P. Košícký's note)
 - 3 Trajco Kostov Dzunev (17. 6. 1897 – 16. 12. 1949)– Deputy Prime Minister and the General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Kostov was accused with ten other party members in a fabricated trial for an anti-Soviet propaganda and disloyalty to the Bulgarian Communist Party. He was the only of the accused to receive a death sentence. (P. Košícký's note)
 - 4 Rudolf Slánský (31. 7. 1901 – 3. 12. 1952) General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party between 1945 and 1951. He was accused of an anti-state conspiracy in a show trial and sentenced to death.

sible to actually produce any results. At the same time, we have been observing a remarkable indifference and passivity on the part of Russian historians who have become accustomed to this state of affairs. As it is known, the law works for those who justify it.

Ralf Blum

*Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the Former GDR
Germany*

References to the Soviet Secret Service in the Archives of the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the Former GDR (BStU)

Introduction

The most extensive operation for eradicating files on German ground after the end of WWII started in the autumn of 1989. Employees at the Ministry of the State Security (MSS) were very alarmed by the mass flights of the East German population across the Hungarian borders, mass protests in almost every large city of the GDR, and finally the change of Honecker's government.

Over 90 000 workers focused primarily on the eradication of a substantial amount of existing material at the MSS, which comprised over a hundred square kilometers of paper from the headquarters in Berlin, regional Stasi offices and district Stasi offices. Thousands of preserved bags with both historic and mundane Stasi documentation in the cellars indicate that the initial plan of file screening turned into a chaotic operation of eradication without prior specification of what was to be destroyed.

At the end, the Stasi simply was left with no time to complete its destructive mission. Bold citizens, men and women alike, seized regional, then district Stasi offices, and on January 15, 1990 dared to enter the premises of the Central Stasi Headquarters in Berlin-Lichtenberg, and brought the forty-year Stasi activity to a sudden and unexpected end.

We might consider it lucky that the eager destruction of files focused mainly on the cases that were still open, in other words those which were still literally on the desks. Documents that the Stasi had archived for the past 40 years thus escaped destruction. So did the central registers, which belonged to the MSS archival reserves, and were at the disposal of the Stasi Documents' Office established in 1991.

Knowledge of those names that are significant to the researcher's issues is a prerequisite to a successful utilization of such archival reserves. For this reason, they have not been considered when disclosing the archival reserves. Since 1991, the archivists of the Office have been directing their full attention to the documents that the Stasi had not transferred to the archives, such as incomplete cases, individual correspondence and documents issued in fragments that had often been filed outside of their historical context.

These documents comprise the latter group of preserved materials, mainly from the 1970s and 1980s. The BStU has completed researching two thirds of them and the link to the Stasi service unit that produced them has been kept. Archived and non-archived Stasi documents at the Federal Commissioner for Stasi Records of the Former GDR, considered together, constitute approximately 44% of all disclosed archival Stasi documents.

KGB references in MSS interpretation

Instructors of the Soviet Secret Service assumed operative leadership in the MSS service units at their locations, and they worked on important cases themselves. In the 1950s, the accountability of the Stasi increased. Although after Stalin's death, the number of the Soviet Secret Service agents in the GDR decreased dramatically, the national uprising in June 1953 did not change the status quo either.

After the replacement of the Minister of State Security Wollweber by Erich Mielke in 1957, the influence of the Soviet advisors continued to decline. SED leadership took over MSS operations.

Consequently, in November 1958, the number of advisors decreased from 76 to 32 officers, and these were then demoted to contact officers.¹

1 Compare: ENGELMANN, Roger: Aufbau und Anleitung der ostdeutschen Staatssicherheit durch sowjetische Organe 1949 – 1959 (Composition and Leadership of the East German State Security Service by the Soviet Authorities 1949 -1959), In: HILGER, A. – SCHMEITZNER, M. – SCHMIDT, U. (publish.): *Diktaturdurchsetzung. Instrumente und Methoden der kommunistischen Machtsicherung in der SBZ/DDR 1945 -1955* (Enforcement of Dictatorship. Instruments and Methods of the Communist Power Enforcement in the SBZ/GDR 1945 – 1955), Reports and Studies no.35. Issued by Hanna-Arendt-Institut für Totalitarismusforschung e. V. at Univerzite Technische Universität Dresden, Dresden 2001, pp. 55 – 64.

How was the activity of the Soviet Secret Service portrayed in the files? Due to time limits, only a few focal points in the preserved materials can be presented. Depositions are based on the results the BStU archivists disclosed and are tendentially concerned with the documents from the 1970s and 1980s.

References in the documents of the Central department IX

References to the contacts between the KGB and the MSS exist in almost all MSS service units at variable frequency. First, I would like to touch upon the documents of the Central department IX. It was a so-called state investigation authority elaborating investigation procedures in such instances as high treason or other political criminal acts.

Many files bear witness to the exchange of experience with the KGB Investigation Department, or the Soviet counterpart of the investigation authority. They are complemented by annual reports on collaboration not only with pertinent Soviet structures of the Secret Service, but also with structures of other Eastern European security services.

The documents point out that joint investigations were conducted among others against foreign currency and customs offices. Other investigations focused their attention on impeding or spying on Western secret services, emigration organizations, groups selling religious literature and groups smuggling antiques. They cooperated with the investigation of crimes directed at the Soviet military personnel located in the GDR. The records contain information on the feedback provided by the East German citizens that were arrested in a foreign socialist country, and documents that the Stasi used for such training purposes as, for example, KGB interrogation practices.

Mutual exchange between the counterpart authorities also included congratulations between heads of service units and references to mutual visits during business trips and vacations. Some documents are linked to sharing common traditions, such as the anniversaries of establishing the first Communist secret service, Čeka, and celebrations to honor its founder Felix Dzierzynski.

The documents reflect arising political putsches in the Soviet Union. They include the KGB information on anti-Soviet dissidents, such as A. Sacharov and his wife.

Files of the Central Department IX/11, which was responsible for investigating national-socialist and war crimes, are especially unique. In the 1950s, many documents that were seized by the Soviet army towards the end of the war were transported back to the GDR by train. These documents, related to the Third Reich, which were secured by the Soviet Secret Service, were largely handed over to the MSS.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the MSS employees viewed files on national-socialist and war criminals at the KGB in Moscow, which were to be submitted to the West German criminal law authorities. They evaluated documents on interrogations of war prisoners.² These “pillaged files” were located in the MSS archives and the German provenance in the 1950s. They contain information on negotiations of the SS reserve units in occupied territories, on trials before the People’s Tribunal and on concentration and prison camps.

Documents of the Main Department IX/11 support cooperation between the MSS and the KGB at interrogations of national-political and war criminals, and they cover the resistance movement during WWII and the rehabilitation of victims of Stalin’s repressions in the late 1980s.

References in the documents of the Main Department and other service units

As mentioned previously, the majority of materials that existed in the Main Directorate of Agitation (MDA), which was accountable for foreign agitation of the MSS, was destroyed at the dissolution of the MSS in 1989/90. The remaining documents refer to the exchange of information with the KGB. Database system SIRA, which first and foremost stored records produced by the MDA’s agents, mainly contains information on foreign espionage. In the late 1990s, BStU succeeded in performing a partial reconstruction of the destroyed SIRA database, which stored approximately 560 000 files, primarily formal copies of

2 LEIDE, Henry: NS-Verbrecher und Staatssicherheit. Die geheime Vergangenheitspolitik der DDR (National-Social Criminals and the State Security. Secret politics of the GDR history), Analyses and documents, vol. 28, Scientific series of BStU works. Göttingen 2005, pp. 154 and on, pp. 185 and on.

documents that were concerned with foreign agitation since the late 1960s, and whose original documents were destroyed in 1989/90.³

The MD A evidently forwarded at least 120 000 pieces of information to the KGB. The amount of mediated information is definitely higher since the evidence is not complete. It is notable that information coming from the very sources of foreign agitation was unprocessed to a great part, and forwarded to the Soviet secret service.

MDA received approximately 25 000 pieces of information from the KGB in the same period.

Further key sources of KGB references were contained in the existing Stasi materials of the Main Departments I, II, III, XX, Secretariat of the Minister (SM), Directorate of Reciprocal Services (VRD) and Central Analysis and Information Unit (ZAIG).

MD I was responsible for military defense. Documents support close ties to its Soviet counterpart, III, Directorate of the KGB, and also list minutes of joint meetings. The work of Western allies' military attachés also comprised shared key targets of observation.

Files of the MD II, which accounted for counter-espionage, reveal intensive cooperation in such operations as monitoring Western military intelligence missions, and providing joint security for the Soviet apparatus in the GDR for protection from the secret services of the enemy. Documents of the MD XX, which accounted for monitoring of the GDR state apparatus, church, culture, and opposition, support cooperation with the KGB Directorate V. There are numerous cases of optimization in surveillance activities of personalities active in the spheres of religion, the peace movement, sports, university education and others. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty constituted other key targets of surveillance. Documents of the SM with references to the KGB reveal exchange of agents within the Western secret services, and forwarding the espionage records concerning enemy weapon systems and footholds.

Documents of the VRD contain files produced by the Coordination Department Office in Karlshorst. They concentrate on a report of the so-called special

3 Compare: HERBSTTRITT: Bundesbürger im Dienst der DDR-Spionage. Eine analytische Studie. Analyses and documents, vol. 29, Scientific series of BstU works. Göttingen 2007, pp. 54 – 57.

territory Berlin-Karlshorst; they contain reviews on apartments and land plots used by the personnel of the Soviet Secret Service. They also include records of rent payments the Soviet authorities made, and reference to building repairs, vehicles, sport utility vehicles and shooting ranges.

It is obvious that such insufficient investigation can merely bring approximate comprehensive results. Nonetheless, one more reference to numerous pieces of evidence offers itself to presentation:

Paper documents and database records aside, there are numerous instances of records on other types of media. A multitude of photographs supports mutual visits of executive officials enjoying traditional sights or celebrations.

Tape records bear witness to steadfast friendship between the secret services. They include an account of a meeting between Erich Mielke; Markusom Wolfom, head of the foreign espionage; and other Stasi officials with the Chief Official of the I Directorate of the KGB, Alexandr Michajlovič Sacharowski, in a castle in Brandenburg, where they joined to celebrate a successful hunt in December of 1970. The festive mood is reflected in one toast after another. When Mielke wanted to toast Stalin, other guests hesitated, which evidently led him to drink to honor the long-deceased Soviet leader all by himself.

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PANEL II

**FROM SOVIET ADVISORS
IN SATELLITE STATES
TO SOVIET SECURITY SCHOOLS**

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Soviet Supporters of the Polish Communist Security Apparatus. The Role of NKVD in Fighting Against the Anti -Communist Underground in Poland (1944 – 1945)

Polish Anti-Communist Underground

Since the Germans were defeated in the Battle of Stalingrad, the AK (Home Army) Chief Command seriously considered the possibility that the Red Army was to take over the territory of the Second Republic of Poland. As the front line was approaching the pre-war borders of Poland and the communists penetrated the existing underground structures, the AK commanders got the idea to create an elite underground network parallel to the AK and to prepare operating in the conditions of the Soviet occupation. In the second half of 1943, a small group of experienced AK conspirator officers started to establish a new organization called 'Niepodległość' (Independence) operating under the codename 'NIE'.¹ The outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising and the arrests in the territory occupied by the Soviets disrupted the communication between the 'NIE' units and disorganized the network.

The beginning of 1945 was a turning point. As a result of January offensive almost whole territory of pre-war Poland was on the Soviet side of frontline. The Home Army was built as Anti-German organization. Further existence of Home Army under the Soviet rule may have been treated by Stalin as Anti-Soviet and Pro-German activity. It was the last thing that the Polish 'London' Government in Exile wanted. It was 19th January 1945 when the Home Army was officially dissolved. Since that moment the AK was in the state of liquidation. 'NIE' organization did not develop its operations and there was no all-Polish

1 FIELDORF, M. – ZACHUTA, L.: *Gen. „Nil” August Emil Fieldorf. Fakty, dokumenty, relacje* (Gen. 'Nile' August Emil Fieldorf. Facts, Documents, Accounts), Warsaw 1993, pp. 123 – 124; KORBONSKI, S.: *Polskie Państwo Podziemne. Przewodnik po Podziemiu z lat 1939 – 1945* (Polish Secret State. A Guidebook to the Underground in 1939 – 1945), Lublin 1986, pp. 216.

structure which would continue the fight. The Red Army entered the territory of Eastern post-war Poland in July 1944. Before the dissolution of AK Home Army soldiers experienced six months of Soviet power. They treated liquidation of Home Army as a tactical step and continued underground activities.

On the West bank of the Vistula River the order of the AK liquidation was nearly completely carried out. In the face of the 'NIE' fiasco, the commanders of dissolved AK had to answer the question what should be done with the possessed organizational potential. Among various scenarios they also took into consideration the possibility of the outbreak of a new world war as well as the normalization of the international situation on the basis of Yalta Agreement.

In April 1945 post-Home Army structures were reorganized. 'NIE' networks were liquidated and absorbed by a new organization, which from mid-May 1945 operated under the name of the Armed Forces Delegate's Office at Home (DSZ) (Delegatura Sił Zbrojnych na Kraj).² At the same time leaders of post Home Army underground realized that the international position of the 'London' Government in Exile was becoming weaker and weaker with every single day and thus in a short time it would be marginalised. They assumed that in the case of the establishment of political executive power center they would subordinate themselves to it. The DSZ operated solely in the territory of post-war Poland.³

The capitulation of Germans was not accompanied by any signs that a subsequent conflict might break out between the so-far Allies. The underground leaders perceived the activities of the Prime Minister of the 'London' Government in Exile, Stanisław Mikołajczyk, as a chance of overcoming grate difficulties. In June 1945 he took part in the Moscow Conference when the establishment of the Provisional Government of National Unity (TRJN) (Tymczasowy Rząd Jedności Narodowej) was agreed upon. On 28 June 1945 the government was set up. Seventeen ministerial posts were taken by communists or members of parties subordinated to the Polish Workers' Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza) out of the total of twenty one. Mikołajczyk received the position of a deputy

2 7 May 1945. Chief Commander Gen. Władysław Anders issued an order establishing the DSZ, which reached Poland as late as 15 May 1945.

3 CHMIELARZ, A.: Delegatura Sił Zbrojnych na Kraj (Armed Forces Delegate's Office at Home). In: *Armia Krajowa: dramatyczny epilog (The Home Army: A Dramatic Epilogue)*, K. Komorowski (ed.), Warsaw 1994, pp. 12 – 31.

prime minister, and the Peasants' Party members took three second-rate positions. TRJN was acknowledged by the USA and Great Britain at the beginning of July, which deprived the 'London' Government in Exile of its mandate to operate in the international arena. Thus, the underground agencies of that Government lost their international legitimacy.

DSZ leaders arrived at conclusion that in those circumstances the attitude sometimes described as steadfast, and amounting to keeping allegiance to the 'London' Government in Exile – deprived of any influence in the world and with decreasing support of society after the arrival of Mikołajczyk to Poland – had no sense and did not serve the interest of Poland. On 6th August the Armed Forces Delegate's Office at Home ceased to exist.

The decision concerning the DSZ dissolution did not mean giving up the efforts aiming to regain independence by Poland but it was result of accepting the fact that adopted measures were incompatible with the situation. In August 1945 the group of the closest collaborators of Col. Jan Rzepecki, the DSZ commander, prepared a project of a new organization. The 'Freedom and Independence' Resistance Movement without War and Diversion (*Ruch Oporu bez Wojny i Dywersji* – „*Wolność i Niezawisłość*”) known as the Freedom and Independence (WiN) (*Zrzeszenie „Wolność i Niezawisłość*”) was established in Warsaw on 2nd September 1945. Its founders decided that political measures should be adopted for the future fight, and the operation should be directed by people who were in the country. Especially important was the fact they assumed that Poland might regain sovereignty solely by following the Yalta Agreement provisions and the Polish affairs should be settled in a peaceful manner and in consultation with the Soviet Union, the USA and Great Britain.

The civil and political underground model was implemented solely in the southern part of Poland (Southern Area of WiN).⁴ In the East of Poland (the

4 Out of the monographs devoted to the history of Southern Area of WiN one should list: ZBLEWSKI, Z.: *Okręg Zrzeszenia „Wolność i Niezawisłość” Geneza, struktury, działalność* (WiN Area. Genesis, Structures, Operations), Kraków 2005; BALUBS, T.: *O Polskę Wolną i Niezawisłą (1945 – 1948). WiN w południowo-zachodniej Polsce (geneza – struktury – działalność – likwidacja – represje)* (For Sovereign and Independent Poland (1945 – 1948). WiN in South-Western Poland (Genesis – Structures – Operations – Liquidation – Reprisals), Kraków – Wrocław 2004; OSTASZ, G.: *Zrzeszenie Wolność i Niezawisłość. Okręg Rzeszów* (Freedom and Independence, Rzeszów District), Rzeszów 2000.

Provinces of Białystok, Lublin, Podlasie, and the North and East of Mazowsze), despite the orders the organization still had a character of armed forces. Strong partisan units still operated there, and WiN members still used the military nomenclature.⁵ In the West and North of Poland the attempts to create concise territorial structures of WiN failed. WiN insular units depending on the centre with which they were connected, had a civil or military character.

Another route was chosen by the leaders of national camps. In November 1944 the leaders of the underground National Party decided that the soldiers who were earlier the members of armed forces subordinated to that organization that is the National Military Organization (Narodowej Organizacji Wojskowej) and the NSZ (National Armed Forces) – were no longer bound by the integration agreement with the AK and they established the National Military Union (Narodowe Zjednoczenie Wojskowe) affiliated by the National Party. The leaders of the National Party assumed that the defeat of Germans would not lead to the stabilization of the situation in the international arena and the conflict between the West and Soviets was highly probable. They perceived that confrontation as a chance for Poland to regain independence.⁶

In the SN-NZW platform documents Poland seems to be a bulwark of western Latin civilization. Due to its geographical location it had a special mission – to spread Catholicism and Western culture to the East. The SN political

- 5 Out of the monographs devoted to the history of Central Area of WiN one should list: GAWRYSZCZAK, P.: *Podziemie polityczno-wojskowe w Inspektoracie Lublin w latach 1944 – 1956* (Political and Military Underground in the Lublin Inspectorate in 1944 – 1956), Lublin 1998; KOPIŃSKI, J.: *Konspiracja akowska i poakowska na terenie Inspektoratu Rejonowego AK-WiN „Radzyń Podlaski” w latach 1944 – 1956* (The AK and Ex-AK Conspiracy in the Territory of the AK-WiN ‘Radzyń Podlaski’ Regional Inspectorate in 1944 – 1956), Biała Podlaska 1998; POLESZAK, S.: *Podziemie antykomunistyczne w Łomżyńskim i Grajewskim w latach (1945 – 1957)* (The Anti-Communist Underground in the Region of Łomża and Grajewo in 1945 – 1957), Warsaw 2004; ŚMIETANKA-KRUSZELNICKI, M.: *Podziemie poakowskie na Kielecczyźnie 1945 – 1948* (The Ex-AK Underground in the Kielce Province in 1945 – 1948), Kraków 2002; WNUK, R.: *Lubelski Okręg AK-DSZ-WiN 1944 – 1947* (The AK-DSZ-WiN Lublin Area in 1944 – 1947), Warsaw 2000.
- 6 As early as 15 July 1944 in a journal published by the Kielce SN ‘Chrobry Szlak’ an article on the inevitability of the Anglo-Saxon-Soviet war was published. That thesis was repeated on numerous occasions later on (*Kiedy trzecia wojna światowa?* (*When The Third World War?*), ‘Chrobry Szlak’, 15 July 1944, pp. 1 – 2).

system project anticipated that Poland would be a democratic corporate state with very strong central executive organs. Open democratic procedures were to protect the country against the creation of 'cliques' or attempts of takeover by an individual.⁷ The authors of SN platform premises were also a definite supporters of state interventionism⁸.

On the map of the Polish underground there was a radical right-wing organization deriving from the National Radical Camp that is ABC (ONR-ABC). During the Second World War the Polish Organization (OP) ONR (Organizacja Polska ONR) established its own armed formation that is the Lizard Union (Związek Jaszczurczy), which later joined the NSZ. The OP activists did not agree upon the concept of the armed organization, the National Military Association. After a failed assassination attempt on the NSZ command they cut off from that initiative. They rejected the SN supervision, did not let their soldiers join the NZW and kept the name of the NSZ. In practice in that period the OP became an integral part of the NSZ.

The leaders of the national radical movement defined being a Pole in a solely ethnic way – it could have been inherited only by blood which excluded the possibility of assimilation of ethnic groups considered non-Polish. Jews in particular were perceived negatively – because of both cultural and religious reasons as well as of the place they occupied in the job market before the war.⁹ The vision of the state proposed by national radicals was very similar to the fascist model. In practice the state was to be a part of the party, and no political party would have a right to exist apart from the OP.¹⁰ During the occupation

7 Wytyczne programowe ruchu narodowego w Polsce. Program Stronnictwa Narodowego..., p. 52; Stronnictwo Narodowe. Podłoże ideowe. Wytyczne programowe (National Party. Ideological Foundations. Platform Guidelines) In: KULIŃSKA, L. – ORŁOWSKI, M. – SIERCHUŁA, R.: *Narodowcy...*, pp. 63.

8 Wytyczna programu agrarnego (Agricultural Policy Guideline). In: KULIŃSKA, L. – ORŁOWSKI, M. – SIERCHUŁA, R.: *Narodowcy...*, pp. 70 – 124.

9 SIERCHUŁA, R.: *Wizja Polski w koncepcjach ideologów Organizacji Polskiej w latach 1944 – 1947* (The Vision of Poland in Ideological Concepts of the Polish Organization in 1944 – 1947). In: KULIŃSKA, L. – ORŁOWSKI, M. – SIERCHUŁA, R.: *Narodowcy...*, pp. 134.

10 SIEMASZKO, Z. S.: *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne* (National Armed Forces), London 1982, pp. 69 – 89; BĘBENEK, S.: *Wizja przyszłej Polski w programie „Grupy Szanica”* (The Vision of Future Poland in the Policy of ‘Szaniec (Rampart)

the OP and military organizations subordinated to it considered both the Nazi (Germans) and communists their enemies.¹¹

In the first half of 1944 the only way leading to independence, accepted by the NSZ-OP leaders, was the outbreak of the Third World War. In July 1945 the NSZ-OP leaders reviewed radically their current concept of operation. They decided that the international situation was so stable that there was no possibility of the outbreak of the Third World War. They gave orders to liquidate armed troops of NSZ and encouraged guerrilla soldiers to join the legal political life in accordance with the NSZ-OP ideals. Officers commanding partisan units got orders to dissolve them. The NSZ-OP soldiers who nevertheless decided to fight subordinated themselves to the NZW.¹² The OP at Home played rather a role of an intelligence and redeployment network than a political center.

Apart from nation-wide underground organizations mentioned above there were also several post-AK groups of regional or over-regional character. Due to ideological reasons or communication break-down they did not subordinate themselves to the Chief Directorate of WiN.

In early spring 1945, in the Wielkopolska Region, regional post Home Army military organization arose. It operated as Independent Voluntary Group of Wielkopolska 'Warta' (Wielkopolska Samodzielna Grupa Ochotnicza „Warta”) from May 1945.

A military organization Conspiratorial Polish Army (KWP) (Konspiracyjne Wojsko Polskie) (based on the AK staff, firstly operating as the Maneuver Group (Grupa „Manewr”)) functioned from April 1945 in the Łódź province. Until the end of 1945 the KWP structures operated in Upper Silesia and in some territories of the provinces of Poznań and Kielce.¹³

Group”), ‘Przegląd Historyczny’ 1973, no 1, pp. 43 – 46.

11 ‘Wielka Polska’ 1943, no 29.

12 *Ibidem*, pp. 135 – 141.

13 TOBOREK, T.: Likwidacja Konspiracyjnego Wojska Polskiego w Łódzkiem w latach 1945 – 1951 (*The Liquidation of the Conspiratorial Polish Army in the Łódź Province in 1945 – 1951*), *Ibidem*, pp. 82 – 84; Wprowadzenie (Introduction) In: *Teki edukacyjne IPN. Konspiracyjne Wojsko Polskie w latach 1945 – 1948* (IPN Educational Files. Conspiratorial Polish Army in 1945 – 1948), Łódź 2002, pp. 5 – 6.

The necessity to organize themselves in order to defend against the security apparatus reprisals was also a reason for establishing the Home Army Resistance Movement (ROAK) (Ruch Oporu Armii Krajowej), operating mainly in Masovia (Mazowsze). Independently from WiN, part of the Vilnius AK staff, evacuated from the territories incorporated to the Soviet Union, and continued its organizational work as the Exterritorial Vilnius AK Military District (Eksterytorialny Wileński Okręg AK).¹⁴ All mentioned organizations had at their disposal an elaborate field network and their own partisan units. One must not forget about the local independence militia, groups and armed units – often not connected with any organizations. Among the most famous partisan groups there were: a unit of over 500 partisans commanded by Maj. Józef Kuraś ‘Ogień’¹⁵ and the Independent Operational Battalion (Samodzielny Batalion Operacyjny) of Antoni Żubryd ‘Zuch’ of 200 people.

As it has been estimated recently, in late spring Polish underground numbered 150,000-200,000 members out of which about 20,000 – 25,000 people were in forest units.

Despite all the platform differences between particular underground organizations there was one unifying theme – the attitude to armed combat. None of the organizations assumed that Poland would be able to regain independence on its own, as a result of one nation-wide uprising. The implications of such assumptions were the limitation of the armed operations to self-defense, reducing the communist administration influence, elimination of security apparatus officers and agents as well as party activists. With the exception of the operations of breaking into prisons and police stations (MO stations) (which were considered self-defence actions) no offensive operations were carried out. The vast majority of battle field fights were the actions organized in response to security apparatus operations resulting from the necessity to avoid the UB, KBW, NKVD, militia and WP raids, hunts and operations rather than events organized and initiated by underground units.

14 NIWIŃSKI, P.: *Okręg Wileński AK w latach 1944 – 1948* (AK Vilnius Military District in 1944 – 1948), Warsaw 1999.

15 DEREŃ, B.: *Józef Kuraś „Ogień” – partyzant Podhala* (Józef Kuraś ‘Ogień’ (‘the Fire’) – Podhale Partisan), Warszawa 2000; KORKUĆ, M.: *Zostańcie wierni tylko Polsce...*, pp. 516 – 587.

Polish Communist Security Apparatus

The first Polish Communist quasi government – Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) (Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego) – was appointed by Josef Stalin on 21st July 1944. Among 13 departments of this body there was Department of Public Security (RBP) (Resort Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego). On 31 December 1944 PKWN was transformed into Provisional Government (Rząd Tymczasowy). Simultaneously RBP was transformed into Ministry of Public Security (MBP) (Ministerstwo Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego). During second half of 1944 Citizen's Militia (MO) (Milicja Obywatelska), prisons, camps and Internal Army (WW) (Wojska Wewnętrzne) were subordinated to the RBP. In May 1945 the Internal Army was changed into the Internal Security Corps (KBW) (Korpus Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego).¹⁶ Consequently, there were the foundations of three security apparatus divisions. The main aim of KBW was a fight against 'the internal enemy'. In 1946 the Volunteer Reserves of the Citizens Militia (ORMO) (Ochotnicza Rezerwa Milicji Obywatelskiej) were established. This formation was subordinated to the MO and played the role of 'civil assistance' of regular security apparatus. MO and WW-KBW had a substantial autonomy being operationally dependent on RBP-MBP.

At the beginning the Department of Public Security, unofficially called 'Bezpieka' and, half- officially 'Bezpieczeństwo', was composed of following divisions: counter-intelligence, personal, finances, censorship (control of correspondence), penitentiaries, government (and highest Polish Workers' party (PPR) (Polska Partia Robotnicza) functionaries) protection, the Legal Bureau and Headquarters. A special School of Security Officers was opened in December of 1944. The process of building territorial structures of 'Bezpieka' started in August 1944. Network of Provincial (wojewódzkie) (WUBP), District (powiatowe) (PUBP) and Municipal (miejskie) (MUBP) Public Security Offices was fully subordinated to the RBP-MBP headquarters and exempted from the jurisdiction of the local administration.¹⁷

16 JAWORSKI, M.: *Korpus Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego 1945 – 1956* (Internal Security Corps in 1945 – 1956), Warsaw 1984, pp. 23 – 24, 32 – 33.

17 DUDEK, A. – PACZKOWSKI, A.: Poland. In: *A Handbook of the Communist*

The formation process of security apparatus was continued in 1945. Counter-intelligence Department was transformed to Department I. Specialized units were separated from it: Independent Section II (foreign intelligence), Department II (operational technology and files), Functionaries' Matters, Combating Banditry (later Department III – the term 'banditry' in security apparatus language term 'banditry' was reserved for anti-communist conspiracy), Department IV (national economy affairs), Department V (legal political parties and associations), Section III (later Bureau 'A' – surveillance), Section IV (later Department VI – investigation).¹⁸

The picture would not be complete without security apparatus of communist Polish Army called 'Information' (Informacja). The base of the structure was Information Department of 1 Infantry Division (Oddział Informacji 1 Dywizji Piechoty) appointed on 14 May 1943. In September 1944 Information Directorate Headquarters of Polish Army (Główny Zarząd Informacji Wojska Polskiego) (GZI) was established. In 1945 GZI numbered 1 244 peoples (including 770 officers). Main Information Directorate was composed of following cells: Unit I – headquarters protection, Unit II – counterespionage, Unit III – control and instruction of GZI territorial sells, Unit IV conducting of investigations against officers and clerks of Ministry of National Defense, Unit V- special undertakings (surveillance, ambushes, searches, arrests), Units VI – surveillance of soviet officers in Polish Army and the highest officers of Polish Army, Unit VII – archive, Unit VIII – cryptology and code braking and Bureau of Studies – reporting and "studying methods of the enemy"¹⁹. Theoretically "Informacja" played role of military counterespionage, practically it was political police of communist army.²⁰

The system of security apparatus complemented fully dependent on the 'bezpieka' commanders law courts. On the basis of agreement of 26-th April

Security Apparatus in East Central Europe 1944 – 1989. Warsaw 2005, pp. 221.

- 18 DUDEK, A. – PACZKOWSKI, A.: Poland. In: *A Handbook of the Communist Security Apparatus in East Central Europe 1944 – 1989.* Warsaw 2005, pp. 222.
- 19 PALSKI, Z.: *Infomracj Wojska Polskiego w latach 1943 – 1957*, maszynopis, pp. 2 – 7.
- 20 PALSKI, Z.: *Informacja Wojskowa w latach 1943 – 1957. Kontrwywiad wojskowy czy policja polityczna*, (Information of the Army. Military counterespionage or political police). Warszawa 2001.

1944 between PKWN and Soviet authorities the territory of the Polish State was given into the Soviet jurisdiction. Polish communists received time to build a special criminal law system. Chronologically, the first step was the “August decree” published 31 August 1944 ‘*Concerning penalties for Fascist – Hitlerian criminals guilty of murderers and persecution of the civilian population and prisoners as well as traitors of the Polish Nation*’.²¹ On 12th September decree ‘*Concerning special criminal courts for fascist-hitlerite crimes*’ was declared and later on two important acts of military law: ‘*Criminal Code of the Polish Army*’ and ‘*Law concerning the military court system an military prosecutor*’. As a result of the whole process civilians were within the jurisdiction of military court.²²

Polish Communist law theoreticians wrote: ‘*In accordance with these regulations, not only cases concerning crimes committed by military personnel but also cases concerning counterrevolutionary crimes committed by civilians have been placed into the jurisdiction of the military courts. In this manner the military courts have been entrusted with the protection of the people’s state against the crimes of espionage, sabotage, subversion, with the struggle against the activities of armed gangs, etc. The military courts have at the same time become the main factor in the penal aspect of the administration of justice system fulfilling the function of silencing resistance from class enemy.*’²³ In conformity with the regulations of the law system built in this way, both a Home Army soldier and SS member were guilty of fascist-hitlerian crimes. I have to stress

21 *Dziennik Ustaw* nr 4, poz. 16, Dekret z 31 VIII 1944 r. O wymiarze kary dla faszystowsko-hitlerowskich zbrodniarzy wojennych winnych zabójstw i znęcania się nad ludnością cywilną i jeńcami oraz dla zdrajców Narodu Polskiego. (Low Journal, no. 4 item 16, Decree of 31st August 1944, Concerning penalties for fascist – hitlerite criminals guilty of murderers and persecution of the civilian population and prisoners as well as traitors of the Polish Nation’).

22 LITYŃSKI, Adam: Ustawodawstwo karne w pierwszych latach Polski Ludowej (Criminal Law legislation during the first years of the People’s Republic of Poland), In: *Wojna domowa czy nowa okupacja. Polska po roku 1944* (A Civil War or A New Occupation. Poland after 1944), Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1998, pp. 147 – 148.

23 CZAJKOWSKI, K. – SCHAFF, L. – SIEDLECKI, W.: Prawo Sądowe, In: *Dziesięciolecie prawa Polski Ludowej 1944 – 1954, Zbiór Studiów*, ed. L. Kurowski, Warszawa 1955, pp. 321 – 322.

that the accused was deprived of human rights and at the same time the strength of prosecutor increased.

The *sensu stricto* security apparatus was composed of the MBP, provincial as well as district public security offices and GZI. MO, KBW, ORMO and from time to time also the units of the Polish Army exercised auxiliary functions. I have to stress that between 1944 and 1945 was the snowballing increase of the apparatus. In December 1944 about 2 500 security officers, 12 000–13 000 policemen and 4 000 soldiers of the Internal Army operated in the Lublin Poland (Polska Lubelska).²⁴ At the end of 1945, after the Polish communists had gained the control over all territories incorporated to Poland, there were approximately as many as 24 000 security officers, 29 000 thousand KBW officers and soldiers and 56 000 policemen.²⁵ We can say that in the autumn 1945 the process or building the security apparatus was completed.

Interesting result gives the comparison between ‘political police’ of II Republic of Poland – Inspectorate of Political Defense (called “Defa” or “Defensywa”) existed in the years 1919-1926 and Ministry of Public Security made by A. Paczkowski. He wrote: ‘In a country of about 30 million people, where a significant part was destabilised by Ukrainian irredentists and sabotage units were flowing across the eastern border and illegal communist party was operating over almost all of its territory, the famous “Defa” of that time never numbered more then between 900 and 950 officers. It was about three time less than the Lublin Polish “bezpieka” needed in only three voivodeships, where almost as many soldiers stationed as civilians lived.’²⁶ I can add that Defa numbered twenty five times functionaries less than Ministry of Public Security in 1945.

24 Lublin Poland – territory governed by Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) the from July 1944 to January 1945 (Lublin, Białystok, Rzeszów regions).

25 PACZKOWSKI, A.: Aparat bezpieczeństwa wobec niepodległościowego podziemia w latach 1944 – 1948 (Security Apparatus in the Face of the Independence Underground in 1944 – 1948). In: *Wojna domowa czy nowa okupacja. Polska po roku 1944* (A Civil War or A New Occupation. Poland after 1944), Wrocław – Warsaw – Kraków 1998, pp. 103.

26 PACZKOWSKI, Andrzej: Aparat bezpieczeństwa wobec niepodległościowego podziemia w latach 1944 – 1948 (Security Apparatus in the Face of the Independence Underground in 1944 – 1948). In: *Wojna domowa czy nowa okupacja. Polska po roku 1944* (A Civil War or A New Occupation. Poland after 1944), Wrocław

It has to be said that Polish independence underground and its armed formations were the first opponent against whom the communist security apparatus started the fight.

Soviet assistance

Raising the problem of Soviet supporters of the Polish communist security apparatus in the fight against the Anticomunist Underground we have to distinguish four types of assistance:

- participation of Red Army and NKVD units and SMERSH
- soviet human resources in the Polish security apparatus
- professional training
- coping of Soviet security apparatus model

Lets begin with the first point. In the second half of 1944 about 3,5 million Red Army soldiers garrisoned in Lublin Poland. As it was mentioned, on the base of agreement of 26-th April 1944 territory of Lublin Poland was treated as a Red Army 'sphere of war operation'. As a result Polish citizens were given into the Soviet jurisdiction. Soviet army headquarters were the actual territory administrator²⁷. The total control under the repressive apparatus had: First Deputy People's Commissar of the State Security of the USSR (Ukraine) Ivan Serov (Iwan Sierow), First Deputy People's Commissar of the State Security of the BSSR (Belarus) Lavrenti Tsanava (Ławrentij Canawa) and head of SMERSH (trans. note: Spieczalnyje Metody Razoblaczenija Szpionov, smiert' szpionam, abbr.: SMERSH – Special Methods for Exposing Spies – more commonly short for *SMERt' SHpionam* (СМЕРТЬ Шпионам), or 'Death to Spies' – counter-intelligence department (USSR)) General Colonel Viktor Abakumov (Wiktor Abakumow).

– Warszawa – Kraków 1998, pp. 103.

27 PACZKOWSKI, A.: Aparat bezpieczeństwa w walce z podziemiem w Polsce w latach 1944 – 1956. Struktury organizacyjne i kierunki działań (Security Apparatus in Fight against the Underground in Poland in 1944 – 1956. Organizational Structures and Operational Objectives) In: *Aparat represji a opór społeczny wobec systemu komunistycznego w Polsce i na Litwie w latach 1944 – 1956* (Reprisal Apparatus in Poland and Lithuania in 1944 – 1956), P. Niwiński (ed.), Warsaw 2005, pp. 61 – 62.

The NKVD units which had their own arrests and filter camps, undertook pacification and ‘cleansing’ operation, sent the hunt groups into the field. The SMERSH counterintelligence outposts established agent networks and carried out numerous operations.

In January 1945, as the result of the winter offensive, the main forces of Red Army left Polish territory. Also SMERSH departed with the Soviet Army to Germany. But not NKVD units. NKVD units combated the underground, guarded Polish borders, NKVD functionaries dealt with the protection of top state offices, and even the personal protection of Bolesław Bierut.

In mid-1945 15 NKVD Internal Army regiments of about 35 000 soldiers,²⁸ that is 43 per cent of all the NKVD forces in Eastern Europe, garrisoned in the territories of ‘independent’ Poland – a member of anti-German coalition. In comparison, there were only 10 NKVD Internal Army regiments in the Soviet occupation zone in Germany.²⁹

In the spring and early autumn of 1944 Soviets interned and exiled into the depth of the USSR 12 000 – 15 000 thousand AK soldiers from Lublin Poland.³⁰ From October to the end of 1944 the NKVD and UB officers arrested over 15 000 people including over 9 000 AK members.³¹ On the basis of incomplete data of the PKWN Department of Public Security the number of arrested between July and December 1944 ranged from 12 000 to 14 000 people, including about 4 000 – 5 000 Polish conspirators.³² It is impossible to establish the exact num-

28 In Poland were stationed three NKVD Internal Army Divisions designated by numbers 62, 63 and 64.

29 CHMIELARZ, A.: *Działania 64 Dywizji Wojsk Wewnętrznych NKWD przeciwko polskiemu podziemi* (The Operations of 64 NKVD Internal Army Division against the Polish Underground). In: *Wojna domowa...*, pp. 72 – 76.

30 CIESIELSKI, S. – MATERSKI, W. – PACZKOWSKI, A.: *Represje wobec Polaków i obywateli polskich* (Reprisals against Poles and Polish Citizens), Warsaw 2000, pp. 18 – 20.

31 *Teczka specjalna J.W. Stalina. Raporty NKWD z Polski 1944 – 1946* (Special File of J.V. Stalin. NKVD Reports from Poland of 1944 – 1946), prepared by T. Cariwskaja (et al.), Warsaw 1998, p. 160 (Report of I. Sierov for L. Beria on the NKVD army operational groups’ actions against the AK and other underground organizations in the territory of Poland, 11 Jan 1945).

32 Data on the basis of: *Rok pierwszy. Powstanie i działalność aparatu bezpieczeństwa publicznego na Lubelszczyźnie...*, pp. 156 – 162 (The Lublin WUBP Report for the

ber of the detained underground members as part of the arrested obtained the statutes of the interned, and the PKWN bodies often passed the arrested to its Soviet counterparts on the basis of that data. According to careful assessments it may be assumed that by the end of 1944 20 000 – 25 000 thousand people got into the hands of the Department of Public Security and the NKVD in Lublin Poland, and about 80 per cent of them were arrested by the Soviet services. In the years 1944-1945 39,000-41,000 thousands Poles were exiled into the depth of the USSR. More than 50 per cent of them were members of Polish underground.

The principal NKVD achievement of Soviet Security Apparatus in Poland was a catching leaders of Polish Underground State.³³ In February 1945 a representative of Marshal Yuri Zhukov managed to establish contact with representatives of the commander of the Home Army General Commander-in-Chief Leopold Okulicki and Government Delegate at Home and simultaneously Undersecretary of State Jan Stanisław Jankowski. Using the secret intelligence canals the Marshal invited the leaders for negotiations. Poles accepted it and 27th of March 1945 sixteen leaders of Polish Underground State arrived to Pruszków, to the NKVD house. During the negotiations Soviets captured the Polish representatives, transported them to Moscow, and imprisoned in the NKVD (Lubianka) prison³⁴. Then USSR authorities put them on trial and found guilty of collaboration with German occupying forces³⁵.

period to 31 Dec 1944); NAWROCKI, Z.: *Zamiast wolności...*, pp. 92 – 93.

- 33 The Polish Underground State functioned during the Second World War. The beginning of Polish Underground State was creation of underground political-military organization Polish Victory Service (SZP) in September 1939. With e time it developed to underground state. In 1943 it consisted of the Government Delegate at Home (with the vice-premier us a the head of this body), the underground parliament, the underground judiciary, and Home Army. According to many opinion, the democratic Polich Underground State was an unique phenomenon in the history of European Resistance movements.
- 34 The Soviets authorities arrested: Home Army General Commander-in-Chief Leopold Okulicki, sentenced for 8 years, murdered in the prison, vice Prime Minister and president of KRM (Krajowa Rada Ministrów – *Home Council of Ministers*) – Jan Stanisław Jankowski, sentenced for 10 years, murdered in the prison, president of RJN (Rada Jedności Narodowej – *Council of National Unity*, RJN was a underground parliament) and 14 leaders of uderground political parties.
- 35 STRZEMBOSZ, Tomasz: *Rzeczpospolita podziemna. Społeczeństwo polskie*

The biggest military success of NKVD Internal Army was the liquidation of concentration of troops of National Armed Forces of Lubelszczyzna region in Huta village. During one day operation about 200 partisans were killed³⁶. Enormous operations like those did not determined about the importance of NKVD activity. Thousands of local arrests made by NKVD functionaries and solders terrorized citizens of Poland. That made the situation of Polish underground extremely difficult.

From 1944 to the end of 1945 the main burden of the fight against the underground was on the Soviets troops. In this period Polish security apparatus was fully dependent on NKVD. UB did not carry out successfully even one important operation against anticommunist underground. It was the middle on 1946 when Polish security apparatus started to work more independently. But the role of NKVD troops was still very important. When in October 1946 adviser to Polish Ministry of Public Security General Kruglov proposed withdrawal NKVD Divisions from Poland, communist President of Poland Bolesław Bierut requested him to remain them until 1st of March 1947.³⁷

As for the second type of assistance, namely Soviet human resources in the Polish security apparatus we have not enough information. There were two types of Soviet ‘helpers’: official NKVD advisors on MBP unofficially called ‘Sovietnicy’ and NKVD workers – Soviet citizens, often of Polish descent – delegated to Polish Security Apparatus.

As early as in mid-October 1944 the NKVD General Ivan Sierov postulated that the SMERSH employees and 15 ‘highly-qualified NKVD workers’ should

a państwo podziemne 1939 – 1945 (in Polish), Warszawa 2000, pp. 347 – 358.

- 36 ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, M.: Spór o Wierchowiny. Działalność oddziałów Akcji Specjalnej (Pogotowia Akcji Specjalnej) NSZ w powiatach Chełm, Hrubieszów, Krasnystaw i Lubartów na tle konfliktu polsko-ukraińskiego (sierpień 1944-czerwiec 1945) (The dispute about Wierchowiny. The activity of the troops of Special Actions (Emergency of Special Action) National Armed Forces (NSZ) in the Chełm, Hrubieszów, Krasnystaw and Lubartów districts in light Polish – Ukrainian conflict (August 1944 – June 1945) In: *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość*, 9/2005, pp. 300 – 306.
- 37 *NKWD i polskie podpolje 1944 – 1945. Po osobnom papkom J.W. Stalina* (NKVD and Polish underground 1949. Special file of J.V Stalin) Moscow 1994, pp. 291 – 292. (Report of I. Sierov for L. Beria, 16 Oct 1944).

be delegated to the Department of Public Security.³⁸ At this stage of research we can only carefully estimate the number of NKVD functionaries who worked as a MBP-UB workers. It was probably between 200 and 400 people. They performed key functions in the UB network, for example: heads of personnel, operational technology, communications, weapons and finances departments.

In February 1945, when the WW II in Europe was about to come to the end, Soviet authorities made a proposal to the head of PPR to create advisors' (sovietniki) apparatus. Of course Polish communists fully accepted it. Its head and at the same time the advisor of the Minister of Public Security was gen. Ivan Serov. In every District and Municipal Public Security Office was no less than one NKVD advisor, in Provincial Public Security Office were a few of them, in MBP a dozen or so. According to Andrzej Paczkowski and Antoni Dudek estimates this apparatus must have exceeded 1.000 functionaries. They claim *'Even tough we can speak of Bezpieka's operational independence in principle as of the second half of 1945, it must be stressed that Soviet presence meant control of all its operations.'*³⁹ Most of NKVD advisors were withdrawn in 1947. It means, that it happened after collapse of mass, nationwide anticommunist conspiracy.

Until the end of the WW II Chief Information Directorate of Polish Army personnel was made up exclusively of Soviet officers and was subordinated directly to SMIERSH headquarters. It was in the summer of 1945 when the first Polish citizens were employed there. Between 1945 and 1948 out of 121 chiefs and deputy chiefs of the key *'Informacja'* units were Soviet functionaries. Of course the first Chief o *'Informacja'* Colonel Piotr Kożuszko was Soviet officer. Russian language was used in official GZI WP documents⁴⁰. In the years 1944-45 functionaries of *'Informacja'* arrested 328 solders and 140 officers as well as non commissioned officers accused of 'political offence'.⁴¹ Probably,

38 *Ibidem.* pp. 38 – 39.

39 DUDEK, A. – PACZKOWSKI, A.: Poland. In: *A Handbook of the Communist Security Apparatus in East Central Europe 1944 – 1989*. Warsaw 2005, p. 223.

40 *Ibidem*, pp. 225.

41 PALSKI, Z.: *Organa Informacji Wojskowej w systemie represji w Wojsku Polskim* (Organs of Military Information and the reprisal system of Polish Army). In: *Przegląd Historyczno – Wojskowy*, 1/2005, pp. 82.

most of them were accused of ‘cooperation with bandits and anti-state organizations’.

Numerous groups of NKVD advisors and Soviet workers delegated to Polish Security Apparatus exerted fundamental influence on the organization and work methods of the Polish security apparatus. The head of the WUBP investigation division in Rzeszow Boleslaw Martiuk-Marthak (Bolesław Martiuk Marczak) described it in the following way: ‘*Soviet advisors provided us with great professional help. [...] They did not move away in the most difficult times for us; they were helping and advising us.*’⁴² The same tone we find in memories of UB officer J. Jasynski [Jasiński], who wrote: ‘*Advisors, in this period, played a very important role, because they supported spirit of our workers. ‘We will smash bands and then our work become much easier’, they assured us.*’⁴³

The third type of assistance – training help, started in spring 1944 when a carefully selected group of 200 people, mainly soldiers of Kościuszko Division (Dywizja Kościuszkowska) and some Soviet soldiers and officers who knew Polish. They were sent to the NKVD training center in Kuybyshev (the centre was known as a Political School or Special School) and thoroughly trained in operational technology, investigation methods, espionage and counterespionage. Students of the Kuybyshev school had military training (topography, drill, training with weapon) and lessons in politic, ideology of communism, history of workers’ movement.⁴⁴ One of the students of the school wrote, that the main aim of the training was: ‘*learning methods and forms of revealing anti-state activity and effective methods of fighting against it.*’⁴⁵ Graduates of the school held main posts in Polish Communist Security Apparatus. They became a kind of praetorians of new authorities. Unofficially they were called *kujbysze-wiacy* (*Kuybysheviacs*). It is important to stress that it was only Poland where the special group of functionaries of security apparatus trained by NKVD of-

42 Cited in: NAWROCKI, Z.: *Zamiast wolności...*, pp. 73.

43 AIPN BI 045/2103, J. Jasiński, *Wspomnienia*, k. 7.

44 KORKUĆ, M.: Kujbyszewiacy -awanguardia UB, (Kuybysheviacs – UB avant-garde). In: ‘*Arcana*’, 46-47(2002), pp.74 – 89.

45 Wspomnienia Bolesława Martiuka (Marczaka), (Memories of Boleslaw Martiuk (Marczak)). In: NAWROCKI, Z.: *Zamiast wolności...*, pp. 25.

ficers were built. We will not find this kind of group in other countries of Central Europe.

In December 1944 School of Security Officers (Szkoła Oficerów Bezpieczeństwa) was opened. In 1945 its name was changed to Central School of Ministry of Public Security (Centralna Szkoła Ministerstwa Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego). The syllabus of the school was a copy of NKVD school syllabus. In 1945 School of Information (Szkoła Informacji) started to work. It was a part of *Informacja* structures. At the beginning all lecturers were NKVD or SMERSH officers. In the course of time Polish functionaries graduated from NKVD schools started to work there. As the result the education of Polish security officers was a copy of Soviet training system.

And last, but not least, comparing Polish a Soviet security apparatus models it should be stated that ‘Bezpieka’ played the role of NKVD territorial network. KBW had the same tasks and methods as NKVD troops. ‘Informacja’ was a Polish equivalent of SMERSH. Reforms of Polish law system made in the years 1944 – 1945 copied the Soviet pattern. At the beginning of 1946 the Volunteer Reserves of the Citizens Militia (ORMO) (Ochotnicza Rezerwa Milicji Obywatelskiej) was established. It was a kind of organization of armed volunteers. Its members helped UB and MO functionaries during their operations. ORMO was a copy of Annihilation Battalions (Istrebitelnyje Bataliony) unofficially called ‘istriebki’. This comparison shows us that it was not just a copy of some elements of the Soviet model. Polish security apparatus, as a whole was a copy of Soviet system.

Polish independence underground and its armed formations were the first opponent against whom the communist security apparatus started the fight. Having analyzed the files produced by that apparatus it may be assumed that it was the underground which was considered the most serious danger for new authorities, and the majority of its forces were directed to fight against it till the end of 1945. In 1946 there was a shift as the PSL was considered ‘equally dangerous’. The security apparatus offensive in the second half of 1946 which ended in the amnesty of 1947, led to such deep underground destruction that it stopped to be a real threat. The destruction of the centrally-coordinated underground ended the first, and definitely most bloody period of communist fight for

power. It was the liquidation of the underground which enabled the fight against other 'class enemies'.

According to very earnest opinion of communist Major General Włodzimierz Muś: *'we, communist were supported by the Red Army, otherwise the other side (Anti-Communist Underground) would have beaten us. They were organized in a better way, they were better trained and more effective, they had better tactics fighting both in the forest and in the towns, they had common support.'*⁴⁶ There are no doubts that the success of Polish Communist Security Apparatus would be impossible without Soviet help.

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46 KOWALSKI, Lech: *Generalowie* (Generals), Warszawa 1992, pp. 114.

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Ladies and Gentlemen, Dear Guests!

Let me point out that this presentation deliberately omits data on the attacks of the StB and the KGB against the representative offices of some African countries, as well as representative offices and assets in the countries of the Middle East.

The State Security was abolished in February 1990, or, more precisely, a part of its members were reclassified as “reserves for temporarily unassigned members,” which, as illogical as it might sound, meant that another part remained active even after February 16th. The newly established government was not familiar with the structure of the Ministry of the Interior, and therefore was swayed to believe it was necessary to keep certain departments in place. Here is the difficulty surrounding the future development of the newly emerging intelligence forces. In the last 17 years all the directors of the secret services have had us convinced that there were no former StB members in their offices. The truth, however, was nowhere to be found. If it was difficult to localize the structure and influence of the StB, it was virtually impossible to do so within the KGB forces. Positions in the Ministry of the Interior were filled by people who originally had had to leave it when purging was conducted in the early 1970s, and even though they knew at least something about the ties and relationships with the KGB, they had many reasons to stay quiet about it. Another group of the „informed” consisted of the StB members who gambled on their serviceability if they proved during the screening process that they had not participated in the intimidation of dissidents, and offered attractive information to the new government. The most sought-after information regarded the activity of the KGB in the territory of Czechoslovakia. A picture of how both totalitarian services were intertwined became increasingly clearer. Fortunately it was not too horrifying. Most information pointed to the KGB’s distrust of the members of the State Security, which apart from the SNB Directorate I (intelligence), Special

Directorate SNB (cryptology) and the Directorate of intelligence (technology), was not popular with the Soviet KGB.

My paper will focus on some cases in which the State Security infiltrated the representative offices of Western European countries. Several sources are available. First, there are archival documents describing activities of the StB, which recorded information on the representative offices of Western countries. These do not merely relate to the counterintelligence sections, but also to the technological sections which participated in the operations. Interviews and recollections of the individual participants represent another source of information. Summaries of newspaper accounts during that time period, especially during exile and the post-November era, provide further information on well-known cases of tapping into devices at the foreign representative offices, about which the media was often informed.

As early as the 1950s, the Czechoslovak StB used atypical techniques when they installed audio surveillance equipment and when they conducted undercover inspections. Most of the intelligence services used plastic tubes for sound conduits, which led the security technicians who looked for audio surveillance equipment to hidden microphones once they detected an opening in a wall. The Czechoslovak StB used very slim glass sound conduits, which shattered at even the slightest pressure and made it impossible to identify the exact spot where the microphone was hidden. These conduits measured as much as a meter long in the old buildings. Moreover, after 1953 it was possible to install the audio surveillance equipment without entering the area, by breaking the roof insulation and scraping out a miniature opening in the ceiling. This technique was first detected in 1956. A year later, the technicians built 12 microphones into a building that was to become the Japanese representative office. First lieutenant Otakar Jirout, member of the Directorate II, submitted a requisition form, addressed to the Deputy Minister of the Interior Josef Kudrna, to install audio surveillance equipment. It was first reviewed by the Chief Commander of the Directorate II who added that *„the issue was discussed and authorized by comrade Bokr (Chief Commander of the Directorate of Intelligence Technology) to be performed with minimal possible detection.”* Deputy Minister Kudrna signed the proposal in red pencil and added a note in this wording: *„Comrade Bokr is personally accountable for performing the task without being discov-*

ered.” American microphones with engraved Third Reich eagles were used in this task, and the openings resulting from installation were stuffed with the protectorate newspaper. These precautionary measures were to point to the German authorities, which operated in the building between 1942 and 1945, in case of the equipment’s discovery. Available documents show that 10 microphones were fully functional in 1989. Preserved documentation states, „*The StB collaborated with other countries of the Soviet Bloc to use the equipment, but primarily with the Soviet services.*” Jan Bodr could retire in peace in 1981, knowing the requirements of the Deputy Minister, later Minister of the Interior, Josef Kudrna were followed to the letter.

Installations of audio surveillance equipment in buildings intended for use by foreign diplomats were routine operations. The walls were drilled, sound conduits installed, and microphones built either in the housing case of the building or deep in the walls. Wire installations were masked by placing them deep in the walls or in housing cases underneath the rain gutters or drainpipes. 73 microphones with outlets into 43 rooms were installed in a similar manner in the Lobkovicky Palace in the autumn of 1971. Even though the technicians of the SRN embassy assumed the building was bugged, they were not able to detect a single microphone until the end of 1989.

The technique was unsuccessful in the American, British and Canadian embassies. StB conducted several operations to correct the situation in the 1960’s. Perhaps the most successful was the operation with the code name Atom, in which an agent, Ludvík Rozkurz, with the code name Batler, was to carry an audio surveillance device into the office of the American ambassador at this residence in Dejvice. A similar operation intended to infiltrate the Canadian Embassy used the name Klaudius – Zora – 1. In both cases, the audio surveillance transmitters were installed in bookshelves in the libraries and were switched on a regular basis. 16 representative offices and 35 diplomatic apartments were bugged in Prague in 1963. The results, however, were unsatisfactory. Western diplomats expected surveillance attempts, and their security technicians built so-called capsules, or rooms within rooms, where no audio surveillance was possible. In 1969, a member of SNB Directorate VI Division I, ing. Jaroslav Janota, who was familiar with all operations against the diplomats of the USA, Great Britain, France and Italy, emigrated. In a short time span, all audio sur-

veillance equipment installed in their representative offices and in the apartments of their diplomats was exposed.

The archive documents show that undercover inspections of the diplomats' apartments and sometime the representative offices were much more dangerous than audio surveillance. As early as 1960s, the StB managed to open the Italian Ambassador's safe and to photocopy diplomatic dispatches. Even more significant was the photocopying of the code translation books, which the StB used to monitor cryptic transmissions. During a secret break-in to photocopy the diplomatic correspondence of the Italian representative office on May 1, 1971, the StB discovered that Milan Hübl was the Czech correspondent of the exiled Roman Letters writer, Jiří Pelikán. The operation led to his surveillance and conviction. The collaboration between the SNB Directorate II and the VStB Chief Directorate II of the USSR began in February 1972 through an agreement between the two ministries. The Soviet party was kept up to date on all espionage operations which were exposed. Significant operations were discussed and planned at annual meetings. Still, they were not successful in infiltrating the so-called big embassies. Therefore, the StB focused their attention on the least secured areas, which had no continuous security and were protected only by technical means. Between 1980 and 1984, 8 operations were conducted among the so-called small embassies in collaboration with the KGB. Between 1983 and 1984 such operations are listed as: Bor, Brom, Vesolin, Spojka, Folie, Bogota, Fikus, Sergejev, Hubert, Rittenschober, Majka, Moře, Sever, Zima, Dagmar, Šumperk, Čestín 82, Čeněk, Chobot, Churáň, Kaliště 82, Jirkov 83, Špek, Garmisch, Tlumočník and Autoturista. Cryptic materials were intercepted in operations Šumperk, Poprad, Konakry, Koruna, Skuteč, Košice and Klánovice. Between 1980 and 1984, the StB members undertook 5 secret inspections of the consular and commerce offices of Spain, which in August of 1982 and 1984 directly involved KGB members. At the same time, 4 secret inspections were undertaken at the representative office of Portugal. In the early 1980s, the StB was organizing a common effort with the KGB to expose the scrambling equipment at the American Embassy sending signals from the Petřín observatory. The building across from the embassy contained a device intercepting the signal modulated by the scrambling equipment processor. The

operation turned out to be unsuccessful since the scrambling equipment was kept in a space equipped with a screen.

Operations Šumperk – consular and commercial representative offices of Spain, Poprad – representative office of Portugal and Bělehrad – representative office of Belgium – were much more successful. In the autumn of 1987, the KGB proposed to place a component in the scrambling equipment that would enable deciphering of the transmitted messages. The StB technicians were rather skeptical about keeping such an invasive step a secret. They were finally convinced by a demonstration, in which the KGB technicians removed a component from the machine and replaced it with their own, which looked virtually identical to the original from the outside. Such bugged equipment transmitted a faint signal before broadcasting the cryptic message – a signal below the level of detectable interference – that allowed interception of the scrambling ciphering code up to several meters. In January 1988, the component was installed in the operation Šumperk. Following February, a Portuguese diplomat, with a cover name Sova, collaborated as an agent of the StB by providing incriminating materials at the hunting lodge on Ejpvický kopec. In May 1988, the KGB installed the component into a scrambling machine at the Portuguese embassy. The last operation that had been exposed was the installation of the component at the Belgian embassy in November of 1988. Here, the StB members managed to carry the scrambling machine out of the building for a whole two hours. The KGB valued these operations highly and kept them a top secret. All records from the modified scrambling equipment were processed by the KGB employees who established the so-called support points, which served to intercept deciphered dispatches until December 8, 1989, when the operation was terminated and the KGB removed all the installed equipment. Based on the personal testimony of Ján Langoš, the Belgian Ambassador was informed about this operation in the spring of 1990, and a few months later he acknowledged the existence of such a technical attack.

This case points out the extent to which a competent intelligence service can infiltrate, as long as the adversary neglects principal security rules. The Belgian embassy was under the StB surveillance on a long-term basis, and the secret break-ins took place regularly. In 1990, the technical personnel of the American, British, German and Austrian embassies were provided with infor-

mation on the location of technical surveillance equipment in objects used by the diplomats and the staff of the individual representative offices. In the case of the German Federative Republic, the embassy personnel tore out a piece of a wall with an installed microphone and took it to Germany as a souvenir. Audio surveillance of another 11 representative offices such as Belgium, Finland, Switzerland, Greece, Spain, Argentina and Japan, was discontinued during the same time period.

Many details of the technological operations that the State Security undertook against the representative offices in the era of communist rule still wait to be discovered and comprehensively assessed by researchers. Most of them used technological advances that had been in the meantime surpassed by other existing technologies, except, perhaps, several techniques of opening locks, which depended more than anything on the manual dexterity of a particular employee.

Thank you for your attention.

Radek Schovánek; Czech historian. He works at the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes. He deals with the history of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia and the 20th century Czech-Polish relations. He wrote and edited multiple studies, e.g. *Lennonova zeď v Praze. Neformální shromáždění mládeže na Kampě 1980 – 1989 / The Lennon's Wall in Prague. An Informal Youth Meeting at Kampa 1980 – 1989* (Praha 2003, co-author), *Handbook of the Communist Security Apparatus in East Central Europe, 1944/45 – 1989* (Warsaw 2005, co-author), *Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1968* (Praha 2006, co-author).

Two new institutions have been recently established to take over the employees as well as tasks of the Division – The Institute for Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the Archive of Security Bodies. Department of Archives of the Security Forces was an archival institution, which collected, classified, and disclosed archival sources pertaining to the provenience of national security apparatus in Czechoslovakia between 1945 and 1992. It performed expert, scientific and publication activities in the fields of archival and auxiliary historical sciences, as well as in scientific domains working with archival funds and collections.

Ladislau – Antoniu Csendes

National Council for the Study of the Security Archives

Romania

NKVD/ KGB Approaches and Party Control in Romanian Secret Services and Army between 1948 – 1964

1950s represented in the history of Romania the third year in which the communist party, that had taken the entire power over the country in 1948, has continued its policy and has established measures considered useful for the consolidation of its position in the state.

A special mark was set on the enhancement of the organizational work, on the high leadership role of the party in all domains of activity.

In this purpose, a very important role had the Plenary Meeting of the P.M.R. during January 23rd – 24th 1950, which decided the reorganization of the central body of the party following the soviet model.

At that date the P.C.R. had full control over the secret services in the country.

The infiltration of the secret services began immediately after the 23rd of August 1944, for this action being used the “patriotic guards”, paramilitary units of the party, instructed by NKVD.

After the installation of Petru Groza government, at 6th of March 1945, the PCR had taken over the control of the informative structures through Emil Bodnaras,¹ named general secretary at the Ministers Council Presidency.

On April 27th 1945 the prime minister Petru Groza and the minister of interior Teohari Georgescu have signed an order by which the Special Service of Information (SSI) was removed from the War Ministry coordinance and put

1 Bodnaras, Emil(1904-1976) has activated in the communist movement of 1924; condemned for desertation and arrested at Caransebes(june 1940-november 1942);on august 23rd 1944 „engineer Ceausu”, the conspirative name of Emil Bodnaras, has been in charge with the guards for Ion Antonescu and the group arrested at the Palace until they were arrested by the Russians. General secretary (april 1945 – november 1946) and minister sub-secretary of state(November 1946-december 1947)at the Ministers Council Presidency, Minister of National Defense (December 23rd 1947 – October 3rd 1955).

under the control of the General Secretary Emil Bodnaras. The order specified that SSI was formed of the own civil and military personnel, at the recommendations of the general secretary.

In fact, the experienced communists who took the leadership of the informative services were soviet agents.

Therefore, Serghei Nikonov, high rank soviet agent, who later became the security general Serghei Nicolau, has lead the Special Information Services during January 1947 – March 1951.

The Safety Police Department has been lead from March 1945 by chief commander Constantin Popescu who came from the Army structures. Afterwards, he became General Secretary in General Secretary for Troops in Ministry of Internal Affairs (1946 – February 1948) and Chief of General Major State of Army (February 1948 – March 1950).²

A personage who detained important parts in Service of Information was Gheorghe Pintilie, his real name being Pantelei Bodnarenko, called Pantiuşa, soviet agent of Ukrainean origin, condemned, in the between wars period, for espionage, in Romania.

Under the coordination and surveillance of the soviet secret services representatives in Bucharest, Serghei Savcenko (1947 – 1949) and Alexandr Mihailovici Saharovski (1949 – 1953), Gheorghe Pintilie has been the leader of the Security till September 1952, in a period of time when in Romania were registered great numbers of repressive actions, abuses and crimes.³

Another important name in the informative structures was also Alexandru Nicolschi, on his real name Boris Grumberg; Romanian citizen of Jewish origin, Nicolschi has been instructed at Moscow and sent on Romanian territory for espionage before 1944. After August 23rd 1944 had important positions in the structures of Police and Safety: chief of the Detectives Body in the General Police Department (May 15th 1945), general inspector of DGP (September 1st 1946), general inspector of the Safety Police Department (April 17th 1947).

2 OROIAN, Teofil – NICOLESCU, Gheorghe (coordinators): *Sefii Statului Major General Roman 1859 – 2000*, Editura Europa Nova, Bucuresti, 2001, pp. 284 – 290.

3 For details see CNSAS Securitatea. Structuri, cadre. Obiective si metode, vol. 1, 1948 – 1967, Editura Enciclopedica, Bucuresti, 2006.

Along with the founding of DGSP (August 1948) he received the rank of general-major and the position of deputy director of the Securitate. He was part of everything that meant the communist repression of that time: arrests, tortures, deportations, forced labour, murders.

The Army Counterintelligence Section (SIA) has been the main structure meant to verify the army civil and military personnel. Considering that has neglected the principal purpose, „the fight against espionage and the counter revo-

Сектор Министерства вооруженных сил.

Основной задачей этого сектора является учет, изучение подбор и распределение военных кадров, входящих в компетенцию ЦК.

Сектор изучает работу отдела кадров Министерства вооруженных сил, с целью улучшения работы с кадрами.

Сектор направляет в военные зоны и крупные соединения своих инструкторов вместе с представителями отдела кадров Министерства для изучения на местах кадров, входящих в компетенцию ЦК, для анализа различных недостатков, наблюдающихся в области жилищных условий, политической работы, работы с кадрами, подготовки кадров и т.д.

Предложения о назначении, повышении и увольнении из армии вносятся Министерством вооруженных сил и представляются политико-административным отделом на утверждение ЦК РРП.

Сектор уделяет особое внимание рассмотрению и разрешению заявлений, жалоб и предложений по вопросам Министерства вооруженных сил, адресованных Центральному Комитету РРП членами партии и беспартийными трудящимися.

Политико-административный отдел проверяет выполнение решений партии и правительства в области деятельности Министерства вооруженных сил.

Предложения и проекты решений по вопросу кадров, представленные Политуправлением армии на утверждение ЦК РРП предварительно рассматриваются политико-административным отделом, а в том случае когда они касаются организационных вопросов партии или вопросов партийной пропаганды и агитации, они рассматриваются также соответствующими отделами ЦК РРП.

2.

Работники политико-административного отдела занимающиеся контролем кадров, интересуются партийной работой солдат и офицеров, а выявленные недостатки доводят до сведения Секретариата ЦК РРП, внося конкретные предложения в целях их устранения.

Сектор Министерства внутренних дел.

Деятельность сектора ограничивается исключительно подбором и распределением кадров Министерства внутренних дел, входящих в номенклатуру ЦК РРП.

Предложения о назначении, повышении и увольнении номенклатурных работников вносятся Министерством внутренних дел. И представляются политико-административным отделом на утверждение ЦК РРП.

Политико-административный отдел работает в тесном сотрудничестве с Главным политуправлением Министерства внутренних дел, приравненным к отделу ЦК РРП.

Любые другие вопросы, касающиеся работы Министерства внутренних дел и Главного политуправления М.В.Д. выполняются отделом только по специальным указаниям ЦК РРП.

Sector of the Ministry of Armed Forces; Sector of the Ministry of Internal Affairs+ Source: N.C.S.S.A.

lutionary elements”, the CC Secretary of the PMR has decided, in the meeting of the January 9th 1950, to remove SIA from the Ministry of Armed Forces to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. By February 15th all officers of SIA had to be revised according to MAI, and the elements that weren’t complying with the requests had to be let go, the free positions being occupied by new personnel.⁴

4 FLORIN, Sperlea: „De la armata regala la armata populara. Sovietizarea armatei romane 1948 – 1955”. Editura Ziua București, 2003, pp. 92.

Coming back to the CC Committee of PMR from January 1950 we stress the fact that it was then approved ,after the soviet model, the following organization at a central level.⁵

- A. The founding of the Organizational Bureau of CC of the PMR, that ensured the general conduct of the organizational labour.
- B. The body of the Central Committee formed of:

- 10 sections: 1. The Party, Union and Youth Conduct Organisms Section; 2. The Propaganda and Agitation Section; 3. The Heavy Industry Section; 4. The Plan and Finances Section; 5. The Light Industry Section; 6. The Agrarian Section; 7. The Administrative-Politics Section; 8. The External Relations Section; 9. The Mass Organizations Section; 10. The Party Protocole Section.

- One sector – the Officers Verification Sector
- Two commissions: 1. The Party Control Commission; 2. The Revision Commission.
- The CC Chancery that functioned under the CC Secretary.

The attributions of the sections that formed the CC Bureau of the PMR consisted of: selection, enhancement, promotion and position of officers in their domain of activity; coordination of the party and mass organizations, economic and of state, to comply with the decisions of the party and government, as well as the control of the party decisions executions.

The Administrative-Politic Section had to select and position officers for: the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Justice, the State Control Commission, the State Arbitrage, the Ministry of labour, the Ministry of Health, the Red Cross, the Ministry of Cults. The Section had 3-4 sectors, as well as an evidence sector for officers.

5 *The Romanian National Archives*. The stenograms of the Politic Bureau and the PMR Central Committee Secretary meetings, vol. III, 1950 – 1951, Bucharest, 2004, pp. 66, 68 – 69.

In the meeting of the CC Secretary of the PMR from March 9th 1950 chiefs of these sections were named, Alexandru Draghici being nominated for the leading of the Administrative-Politic Section.⁶

The document we are presenting defines the attributions of the Administrative-Politic Section for the Ministry of Armed Forces and the ministry of Internal Affairs. "The leading organisms" of the party labour in the two ministries were the Army Politic Superior Department (D.S.P.A.)⁷ and the General Politic department of the MAI-both sections of the CC of the PCR.

The Ministry of Armed Forces

The main task of this sector is the evidence, study, selection and positioning of military active personnel as seen in the CC nomenclator.

The sector studies the work developed by the MFA active personnel organisms for the improvement of work with this kind of personnel.

The sector sends its instructors along with the representatives of the Ministry active organisms in military regions and Great Units for study on spot of the personnel of the CC nomenclator- the analyzing of various shortages regarding living conditions, the development of political work, the work with this personnel and their training, etc.

Proposals for nominations, promotions and resignations are forwarded for discussion to the Central Committee by the Administrative-Politic Section, at the proposal of the Ministry of Armed Forces.

The sector grants special attention to the study and solving of letters, complaints and proposals addressed to the Central Committee by working people, members and non members of the Party in matters regarding MFA.

The Administrative-Politic Section has to control the execution of all decisions of the Party and Government concerning the MFA activity.

6 *The Romanian national Archives-Viața politică în documente – 1950*, Bucharest, 2002, pp 77.

7 In October 1948 the General Inspectorate of the Army responsible for Education, Culture and Propaganda becomes DSPA, going officially under the leading of CC of the PMR. During March 1950 – April 1954, the chief of DSPA was general-major Nicolae Ceaușescu.

The Administrative-Politic Section works closely in personnel situations with DSPA which has section rights in the Central Committee.

Proposals and decisions projects discussed by the DSPA in the Central Committee in matters of personnel are first examined by the Administrative-Politic Section, and when they are about organizational matters of the Party or matters of the Propaganda and the party Agitation- and the corresponding sections of the CC of the PMR.

The activists of the personnel control work of the Administrative-Politic Section are interested in the political work of the soldiers and officers and in all the shortages reported and have to forward them to the CC Secretary of the PMR making also concrete proposals for the improvement of things.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs

The activity of this sector is limited exclusively at the selection and positioning of MAI personnel, that are part of the CC nomenclator of the PMR.

Proposals of nominations, promotions and resignations according to the nomenclator are discussed by the Central Committee and forwarded by the Administrative-Politic Section, at the proposal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The Administrative-Politic Section works closely with the General Politic Department of the MAI, which has section rights in the Central Committee.

Any other task concerning the work of MAI and of the General Politic Department is performed by the section according to special indications of the CC of the PMR.

Ladislau – Antoniu Csendes, PhD, 2007, July President of the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives (N.C.S.S.A.) College; 2006 – 2007, Vice-president of the N.C.S.S.A. 'College; 2005 – 2006, Secretary of the N.C.S.S.A. 'College; 2000, Member of the N.C.S.S.A. 'College; 2000, Member of the Bible Society; 1998, Chairman Aperto N.G.O.; 1994, Professor at the National University of Music Bucharest; Concert tours: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Moldavia, Poland, Portugal,

Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom. Recordings, discography: Radio & TV: Denmark, Egypt, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Romania; Pro Contemporania Ensemble, Mode Records, New York– 2001. Workshops: Contemporary music – Breaza, 2003, 2004, 2005, Cisnădie 2006, 2007. Languages – Magyar, Romanian, English, German.

Magdolna Baráth

Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security

Hungary

Soviet Counsellors at the Hungarian State Security Organs

Building a system of Advisors in Hungary – like in the other countries of the Soviet block – started first of all in the military-political sphere and it gained speed in the summer of 1949. Nevertheless Soviet Advisors had already appeared in the countries of this region in the years of the war or just after the end of the war but their stay was relatively short and their activity was limited to solving certain tasks.¹ The institution of Soviet Advisors in Hungary appeared within the frames of the Soviet Department of the Allied Control Commission and, according to our data, there was a Soviet “helper” in the Hungarian Ministry of Home Affairs as early as in the beginning of 1945. According to a report Department Councillor István Andreanszky sent to Ferenc Erdei on 15th February 1945:

„In the Political Detective Organisation in 60 Andrassy Street there is a GPU officer named Orlov in civilian clothes who bears the title of Counsellor. Counsellor Orlov is the connective link between GPU and the Hungarian Political Detective Organisation. The cooperation in this field is impeccable. At 60 Andrassy Street the GPU stationed 3 policemen in Soviet military uniforms with machine guns who are at the disposal of our detectives for security reasons in cases of need.”²

According to the memoirs of András Tömpe the Soviet Military Commandership helped the Hungarian Communist Party to set up the Political Department of the Hungarian State Police. He himself was in regular connection with the Allied Controll Commission, which was led by Marshall Voroshilov and the special political group that was led by Lieutenant General Bjelkin. Gábor Péter

1 NOSZKOVA, A. F.: *Szovjet tanácsadók a kelet-európai országokban: a rendszer megalapozása 1945 – 1953*. Múltunk, 1999. 3.

2 Magyar Országos Levéltár (MOL) XIXB-1-r-787-szn.-1945. It quoted by Kajári Erzsébet: *A magyar Belügyminisztérium szovjet tanácsadói*. Múltunk, 1999. 3. pp. 220.

had earlier taken up connections with the latter and, as Tömpe put it; „*they were working in close collaboration in different actions then unknown to me*”.³

The Soviet „helpers” were also needed because in the Communist Party, which was just about setting up the structure of its legal organisation, there was a lack of cadres in every field. In his letter to the representative of the Communist Party in Moscow László Háý, at the beginning of March 1945, Mátyás Rákosi complained bitterly because of the lack of cadres, which cause difficulties especially in the police, the army and the state apparatus.⁴ His example to describe the absurdity of the situation was that he himself had to try and teach the leaders of the Budapest Political Police the basics of investigation and questioning.

Not only did the State Security Organisations, which were being gradually built and gaining more and more independence form a state inside the state, but there already existed an inner circle inside state security that worked for the Soviets and executed the commands of the Hungarian agents working for the Soviet Union. Mátyás Rákosi’s endeavours to control personally all the information channels that furnished data about Hungary to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party were in vain, as the Soviet State Security Organisations had their own information network that evaded Rákosi.⁵ One of the informers, Ernő Szűsz (Szűcs), an agent of the Soviet State Security who infiltrated the leadership of the Hungarian communist party, signed a declaration on 2nd February 1942 in which he agreed to carry out the commands he would get from the leaders of the Soviet State Security Organisation under any circumstances.⁶ In the beginning Szűcs’s „upper connection” was State Security Lieutenant Colonel János Kovács, who forwarded the information to his Soviet masters. Later Szűcs probably reported to Gábor Péter. Owing to the fact that Rákosi himself urged Dimitrov in March 1945 to let János Kovács come home he got to Budapest in early April.⁷

3 Politikatörténeti és Szakszervezeti Levéltár (PIL) 867. f. t-101.

4 PIL 274. f. 10/43. ő. e.

5 Cf. MURASKO, Galina: *Néhány ecsetvonás Rákosi Mátyás politikai portréjához*. Múltunk, 1999. 2.

6 MOL M-KS 288. f. 9/1962/51/b. ő. e.

7 Dokumentumok Rákositól – Rákosiról. Közreadja Vass Henrik. Múltunk, 1991.

The Soviet State Security Ministry is remembered to have had a constant agency in Budapest as early as 1947 but no document has turned up so far concerning their activity.⁸ The memoirs of Vladimir Farkas mentions a single case when the Deputy Leader of the Budapest agency Major Kremnjov (or Kamenkovich) drew the attention of freshly appointed Minister of Home Affairs, János Kádár, that State Security Organisations are not fighting against nationalist elements who act as a fraction inside the party.⁹ Vladimir Farkas thinks that a special investigation group was founded shortly after this whose activity was cloaked in mystery.

Active co-operation on behalf of the Soviet Counsellors cannot be excluded from the 30-page report dated 28th September 1948, which was made about the activity of Trockyites in Hungary by the State Security Organisations.¹⁰ Hungarian party leadership was for the time being satisfied with handling the matter inside the party. If we can believe the communication of Pushkin, Soviet Ambassador in Budapest, Mátyás Rákosi was raging and claimed the material about the activities of Trockyites within the party that had been sent to the Soviet party leaders without his knowing or agreeing.¹¹ (Referring to Kartashov's memorandum at 10th February 1950, the document was handed over to the Soviets by Gábor Péter.)¹² Zavolzski, co-worker of Kominform, claimed in a letter from May 1949 that Rákosi forbade the political police to deal with exploring Trockyites but he added that he continued work along the guidelines given by different organisations of the political police.¹³ Referring to Pushkin's announce-

2–3. pp. 253. and 264.

8 FARKAS, Vladimir: *Nincs mentség. Az ÁVH alezredese voltam*. Budapest, 1990. 135. o.

9 *Ibidem*, pp. 159.

10 MOL M-KS 276. f. 67/154. ő. e. The memorandum was analysed by Varga László. See: Kádár János bírái előtt. Egyszer fent, egyszer lent. 1949 – 1956. Szerk. és a bevezető tanulmányt írta Varga László. Osiris–Budapest Főváros Levéltára, Budapest, 2001. pp. 23–33.

11 See Zavolzski's letter at 16th May 1949 to Baranov, the chief of the International Department of CPSU. Российский Государственный Архив Социально-Политической Истории (RGASZPI) f. 575. op. 1. gy. 94.

12 *Советский фактор в Восточной Европе 1944–1953. Т. 2. 1949 – 1953. Документы*. Отв. редактор Т. В. Волокитина. Москва, РОССПЭН 2002. 270.

13 RGASZPI f. 575. op. 1. gy. 94.

ment he wrote that Rákosi was only waiting for the opportunity to settle his account with Ernő Szücs while he kept informing a small group of people around him that he did not dare to take the final steps lest it should be supposed that destroying Szücs, who was in close connection with the Soviet organisations, was aimed at those organisations. In 1950 Ernő Szücs was arrested and his own floggers beat him to death in the prison of ÁVH (State Security Organisation). By the way, one of Szücs's informants, Béla Szántó, whom Rákosi never liked, also died under suspicious circumstances around that time.¹⁴ The reason for Szücs's arrest is still unknown but one thing is certain: the arrest couldn't have taken place without the consent of his Soviet superiors. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that Lieutenant Colonel Dopertsukh, Soviet Counsellor of ÁVH Inquiry Department was present at the questioning of Szücs.¹⁵

Soviet Counsellors also took part in the preparation and investigation of the Rajk-trial.

Vladimir Farkas thinks that the Soviet State Security officers who took part in the inquiry during the Rajk-trial under the command of Mihail Bjelkin appeared in early July 1949.¹⁶ According to his memoirs these officers began to work around 19th July 1949. One of their first measures was to reorganise the inquiry apparatus and from that time on Soviet-Hungarian questioning pairs led the inquiry in the case of the more important people arrested. László Rajk was questioned by Bjelkin himself, accompanied by Ernő Szücs. It is not surprising though that the name of the Soviet questioner was never put down on any of the minutes. The Soviet Counsellors, above all one of Bjelkin's deputies, Colonel Poljakov, took part in preparatory work of trials that followed the Rajk-trial.

After Bjelkin and his inquiry detachment left the villa they had dwelt in was used by newer Soviet Advisors under the direction of Colonel Kartashov. His deputies were Colonels Jevdokimenko and Poljakov, who has already been mentioned above. Mátyás Rákosi addressed a letter to the Soviet Ambassador in Budapest, Jevgenij Kiseljov, asking him to send 14 State Security Counsel-

14 Nagy Imre in his memorandum in 1957 accused Rákosi of assassination of Béla Szántó.

15 KAJÁRI, Erzsébet: *A magyar Belügyminisztérium szovjet tanácsadói*. Múltunk, 1999. 3. pp. 222.

16 FARKAS, Vladimir: *Nincs mentség*, pp. 210.

lors to Hungary, as the Hungarian organisations had no other means to train co-workers but their own experience. Upon his request 15 Counsellors arrived in autumn 1949 to help the work of local State Security Organisations and frontier security.¹⁷ Probably Kartashov and his colleagues also arrived in answer to this request. Their task was to help organise a completely independent ÁVH that was no longer part of the Ministry of Home Affairs. From that time on Soviet Counsellors had an important part in controlling the State Security Organisations. The most important role was played by Kartashov and his deputy who met Gábor Péter weekly.

Lacking proper sources we do not know what changes were caused in the work of State Security Organisations by the presence of these Counsellors. Owing to the memoirs of Vladimir Farkas we have data about the work of two Soviet Counsellors who were employed at the Operative Techniques Department. A Soviet type operative register was set up with their help, which resulted in creating an atmosphere of total mistrust. Planting inquiry documents into the files lest somebody should take one out unnoticed was, for example, an innovation carried out by the Soviet Counsellors. Such planted files have been kept in the Historical Archive of the Hungarian State Security up to this date.

There were Soviet Counsellors working for the Budapest Central Police Station as well. Both of them were Colonels and they worked at the police station in civilian clothes under the funny aliases Alex Petőfi and Mihály Magyar. They took part in all the meetings and they had everything interpreted. Their interpreters only made short minutes in Russian.¹⁸

It has still not been cleared what the sphere of authority or tasks of these Advisors were. According to a document under the title of "Instructions for Counsellors" written in October 1951, Counsellors had to help State Security Organisations and the police with their own advice, to inform the leaders of a country given about the work of the state security organisations and point out if they had found anything compromising about leading personalities. But they were allowed to do all this only with the approval of the State Security Ministry of the Soviet Union. They were not allowed to act instead of the local

17 NOSZKOVA, A. F.: *Szovjet tanácsadók a kelet-európai országokban: a rendszer megalapozása 1945 – 1953*. Múltunk, 1999. 3. pp. 207.

18 KOPÁCSI, Sándor: *Életfogytiglan*. Bibliotéka, Budapest, 1989. pp. 51 – 54.

colleagues, they could not force their own views upon them, they could not give advice without being asked and they were not allowed to take part in inquiries or meetings with agents.¹⁹ As there is no possibility for getting acquainted with the reports these Advisors sent to their superiors, comparing the real activity of the Counsellors with regulations or directives is still a problem today that cannot be solved.

Nevertheless the assumption that the Soviet Advisors had an important role in spreading the working mechanism and the methods of the Soviet Secret Services in the Hungarian State Security Organisations seems established. At the same time, the Soviet Advisors, especially those who worked in state security, meant a source of information for the Soviet political leaders.

The counsellor system of the Soviet Ministry of State Security and Ministry of Home Affairs was completely built up in the course of 1949/50. That was the time when their apparatus was formed in different countries. In autumn 1949 a special department was set up in the Soviet State Security Ministry to give help to the State Security Organisations in the People's Democracies and this was the place where the reports of the Counsellors were gathered.²⁰ But the majority of these reports are still inaccessible for researchers.

The volume of documents that deals with Eastern Europe published by Russian historians in 2002 luckily contains a few reports that give evidence about Soviet Advisors directly intervening in matters. State Security Minister, Abakumov, forwarded the report written by Soviet Counsellor Chartashov, who worked for the Hungarian State Security Organisations, to Molotov on 11th February 1950. The report had been written the previous day and it was on the work of the Hungarian State Security Organs. The report shows what sort of advice the employees of the Soviet State Security Organisations gave to the leaders of the Hungarian State Security Organs, ÁVH.²¹ According to Chartashov, Hungarian workers had reached significant results in stabilizing people's democracy but the number of hostile people still in the country was large and the punitive organisations were still not able to guarantee the security of the country. The

19 NOSZKOVA, A. F.: *Szovjet tanácsadók a kelet-európai országokban: a rendszer megalapozása 1945 – 1953*. Múltunk, 1999. 3. pp. 209.

20 *Ibidem*, pp. 207.

21 *Советский фактор в Восточной Европе...*, pp. 258 – 272.

Soviet Counsellor thought that there were several people in leading positions, particularly around Rákosi, about whom they had severe compromising data. He considered this situation dangerous because these people held positions from which they were able to influence the course of politics; among others in the fight against the „enemies of the people”.

Chartashov considered János Kádár, then Minister of Home Affairs, member of the Political Committee as a dangerous person. He thought Kádár had a negative effect on the work of Soviet Advisors. Referring to data from the ÁVH, Chartashov called József Révai, Minister of Public Culture and member of the Political Committee, nationalistic and the enemy of the Soviet Union. He also accused him of organising a counter-Rákosi group. The list of the Soviet Counsellor also contained the names of the following people: István Kossa, Minister of Finances; Antal Apró member of the Central Committee; István Ries Minister of Justice and Gyula Kállai, Minister of Foreign Affairs. (Three of these people were arrested by ÁVH; István Ries in 1950, and János Kádár and Gyula Kállai in 1951.)

Chartashov thought that the Hungarian State Security Organisations did not fight well enough against Trotskyites who infiltrated into the Party and immigrants who had returned home from western countries, although a lot of compromising documents had piled up about them in the ÁVH. He was convinced that a large number of reactionary forces (bankers, landowners, former military officers, clerks who used to work in state administration during the Horthy era, and rightwing social democrats) managed to get into the state management where they could continue their subversive activities. He also considered it a mistake that the Catholic Church, which had a strong influence and respect on the majority of the population, remained almost intact. Moreover he looked upon churches and priests working in the country as if they were an experienced net of spies for the Vatican and the American Intelligence Service.

His report dealt separately with the activity of Yugoslavian Intelligence Service in Hungary. Chartashov alleged that there was no definite fight against Yugoslavian spies either and the Hungarian State Security Organisations only started to work owing to the constant demands of the Soviet Counsellors.

According to the Soviet Counsellor the Hungarian State Security Organisations reached important results in stabilising the People's Democracy with the

leadership of the Party and the help of the Soviet co-workers (e.g. exposing Ferenc Nagy former Prime Minister, József Mindszenty and László Rajk). Nevertheless, after getting to know the work of the Hungarian State Security Organisations more closely the Soviet Advisors detected severe deficiencies that might have serious consequences in their views.

They considered the cadre-situation of the ÁVH the biggest problem. Although basically it was communists who worked for the ÁVH, some socially foreign elements, mainly Jews with relatives living in capitalist countries, got into the organisation. They were not well-prepared politically and this had a negative influence on their work, Chartashov thought. Allegedly he talked about all this with Rákosi, and he suggested that the cadres in the ÁVH, the military intelligence service and the police should be checked and reinforced with communist cadres of working class origin. His advice was taken and the Political Committee of the Party created a committee to supervise cadres and they sent 250 tested party members to the State Security Organisations.

The Soviet State Security Counsellors found fault with the structure of the local departments of the Hungarian State Security Organisations and they thought the central organisations did not do proper guidance or checking. They criticised that the local State Security Organs carried out their work in complete isolation from the county party committees and as a consequence their colleagues *„had no political sense and they did not see the importance of the sharpening class struggle”*.

Chartashov also thought that the work of the agents was badly organised, their numbers were low and moreover, there were traitors or double-dealing people among them.

According to the report the Soviet Counsellors called the attention of the leaders of the State Security Organisations to these deficiencies and they gave practical advice in order to stop them. Only after several talks with the leaders of the ÁVH did they manage to make them sign different documents instead of giving oral instructions and check how the orders were carried out. They pointed to severe deficiencies in the proceedings of inquiry as well and they made practical guidelines for the leaders of the ÁVH in order to cease them. According to Chartashov some of the problems were caused by the fact that

Gábor Péter was often ill. The Soviet Counsellors gave him practical help in putting right the work of the ÁVH and as the report put it: „*Péter takes the advice and reacts quickly*”.

The document also made it clear that the Soviet Advisors insisted that the military intelligence service should belong to the ÁVH instead of the Ministry of Defence. They also had some part in that the Political Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party commissioned the ÁVH with the task of guarding the borders in the regulation of January 1950. The Soviet Advisors played an important role in military and operational preparations of the border guards.

According to Gábor Péter it was only after the exposure of Rajk that Rákosi was convinced that it was necessary to deal with the State Security Organisations and from that time on he started to lead their work personally. Rákosi came to the conclusion that it was necessary to reorganise the State Security Organisations and allegedly he asked the Soviet Counsellors for help. They gave detailed information to the General Secretary of the Hungarian Party about the work of ÁVH, the intelligence service and the police. They pointed out the deficiencies and their causes and they gave their ideas concerning the practical measures in order to improve their work. According to Chartashov, Rákosi approved of their suggestions and he considered them in reorganising the ÁVH.

At the end of July 1950 Jevdokimenko, Vice Counsellor for the ÁVH, informed State Security Minister Abakumov about the military trials and the cases of former social democratic leaders.²² Jevdokimenko reported that the Hungarian State Security Organisations (urged by Rákosi) tried to make up an anti-government plot under social democratic leadership so that they could take them to court. State security officers admitted that they could get the statement they needed from the officers within one night but they disclosed to the Soviet Advisors that they succeeded to get the statements „in an artificial way”. They objected to Gábor Péter because of this but Gábor shifted responsibility for using improper means to the First Secretary of the Party. According to the leader of the ÁVH they only followed Rákosi's orders, who sometimes sent them pre-written formulas showing what sort of statements he wished to get from the people arrested. Upon Soviet „advice” in the presence of Jevdokimenko, Gábor Péter ordered his deputy, Ernő Szücs, to supervise the statements and to take

22 *Ibidem*, pp. 360 – 364.

out the fake elements and to refrain from using unfair means during investigation in the future. However, the ÁVH made documents for Mihály Farkas, who was going to take these to Moscow, which said that there had been a plot with the participation of the detained people.

The exact number of Soviet Advisors working for the Hungarian State Security Organisations is not known but we can draw conclusions concerning certain periods from pay lists of the Home Ministry. While the number of military counsellors in Hungary in autumn 1949 was 13, according to the information of the Soviet Council of Ministers on the numbers of Soviet Advisors in Eastern Europe in 1952 the names of 33 Advisors on Home Affairs could be found on the payroll. Their number fell to 29 in spring 1953 but in autumn that same year there were 42 Advisors in Hungary. On 17th February 1950 an agreement between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian government was signed. This agreement, which was in force up to the beginning of 1990, regulated the payment, provision, and services to be offered to the Soviet Advisors in Hungary. In 1952 their salaries were between HUF 2,550 and 9,570 (in this period only 2,6% of the Hungarian workers earned more than HUF 2,000 a month) plus they got furnished flats and domestic help. Maintenance of the flats and communal expenses were covered for them and they even had a certain sum for representation.

At the end of July 1953 a new Soviet main Counsellor, Ishtchenko, arrived in Budapest. It was Prime Minister Imre Nagy who urged his arrival because as he had told Soviet Ambassador, Jevgenij Kiseljov: *„A certain change has started in the Ministry of Home Affairs but we are lagging behind in this field and we will need the help of the Soviet comrade by any means”*.²³

The Soviet main Counsellor on Home Affairs usually took part in the meetings of the College of the Ministry of Home Affairs just like Counsellors who were meant to help with certain issues on the agenda. The minutes taken at these meetings usually contained their names but there are no hints concerning their participation in the discussions. There is one exception, the meeting of the College of the Ministry of Home Affairs on 10th November 1953 where not

23 Szovjet nagyköveti iratok Magyarországról. Kiseljov és Andropov titkos jelentései. Szerk.: Baráth Magdolna. Napvilág Kiadó, 2002. 65 – 66.

only their note for the meeting proves their active participation but the minute comprises the observation of Ishtchenko too.

The Soviet Counsellors of the Budapest Central Police Station were flown to Moscow in a Soviet military aircraft on the night of 29th October 1956 but not all the Counsellors left the country.²⁴ Beside Counsellors of Soviet State Security Organisations the leader of the KGB and several of his colleagues were staying in Hungary during the October Revolution in 1956. In November – December 1956 it was mainly Soviet State Security workers who carried out arrests and the investigation of arrested revolutionaries, even the minutes of questioning were taken in Russian. Soviet party leaders were continually informed by Serov in November 1956 about the vindictory sanctions implemented by the KGB. According to his report of 27th November 1956 the co-workers of the Soviet State Security Organisations arrested 1,473 people, 768 out of which were detained in Ushgorod.

Serov forced Ferenc Münnich to issue a command that ruled about setting up political departments within the police that carried out the tasks of the previous State Security Organisations. To make organisation easier several documents were created for János Kádár. These documents are unfortunately not available in Hungarian archives. It was Serov among others who suggested that a KGB counselling apparatus of 27 members should be created. The members would have worked for the State Security Organisations, the police and the State Security Department that worked with special techniques. On 23rd December 1956 referring to the talks with Serov Kádár and Münnich officially asked the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to send 23 Counsellors for state security activity. Fulfilling their request caused no particular problems because the Counsellors they had asked for were already at the spot.

During his visit in Hungary in April 1958 Khrushchev came up with the question of calling back the Soviet Counsellors. In September 1958 the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party officially suggested the elimination of the system of Soviet counselling in a letter with the argument that; „*the obsolete forms of mutual relationships should not hinder the increase of friend-*

24 KOPÁCSI, Sándor: *Életfogytiglan*. Bibliotéka, Budapest, 1989.

the Institute of History of Politics in Budapest. She is in a Committee of Agrarian History and Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The Historical Archive of the Hungarian State Security was founded as the legal succesor of the History Offi according to the Act III of 2003, wich took effect on 1st April 2003. The Historical Archive preserves and maintains state security organization documents dated between 21st December 1944 and 14th February 1990 and the documents of some committees that control notable people who hold offices of public confidence or may influence public opinion.

The Archive on conditions defined by law ensures people's right to self-determination; i. e. it offers access to data included by state security organization. It also provides archive researchers with documents that are preserved and maintained in the institute. The Historical Archives carries out research in the field of archives and history, publishes the results of such research, and participates in publishing the documents.

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Štěpán Plaček – His Vision for the Czechoslovak Security and the Soviet Intelligence Service Agents (1945 – 1948) – the Arrival of Soviet Advisors into Czechoslovakia – Background and Circumstances

This study aims to present the character of JUDr. Štěpán Plaček, a prominent figure in the intelligence and State security services in Czechoslovakia. The following describes the state of matters prior to the official arrival of the Soviet advisors in the autumn of 1949. He invested his potential into creating a true copy of the Soviet intelligence service model in Czechoslovak conditions.

To reach my goal of understanding the character of Štěpán Plaček, I understandably studied documents on his activities available in the Czechoslovak archives. Primarily, I used the resources of the Archives of the Security Forces at the Czech Ministry of the Interior (ABS), which stored some details in its various funds on activities of the political intelligence service at the Ministry of the Interior (MV) on the relevant period, and which contain Plaček's investigation file from the period of the 1940s and the 1950s. I also examined materials placed in the National Archive (NA), mostly documents stored in funds of the party committees, as well as the materials of administrative nature from the Military Central Archive (VÚA), which complemented Plaček's written records. .

Who was Štěpán Plaček?

Štěpán Jiří Plaček¹ was born on August 30, 1909 to a well-to-do Jewish family from Brno. His father František was a bank clerk who attempted to make it on his own, but failed. His mother Anna, born Kačerová, was first a home-keeper, then a teacher of drawing. She died in September of 1917, shortly after giving birth of Štěpán's brother, who died a month later.

1 For more details see KALOUS, J.: Štěpán Plaček. In: *Anthology of the Archive at the Czech Ministry of the Interior*. Vol. 4. Prague 2006, pp. 107 – 148.

Young Štěpán studied at a German public school and secondary school of liberal arts in Brno. Between 1927 and 1933, he studied law at Charles University in Prague. Even though he wanted for nothing during his studies, and his father's money primarily supported his language studies, he struck up a keen interest in Marxism. One might view it as an act of young rebellion combined with then popular left-wing intellectual movement. During the 1920s and the 1930s, when he lived in Berlin, he studied Marxist literature in the Prussian state library and established relationships with German (Henryk Süßkind alias Kurt Heinrich) and Czech communists (Záviš Kalandra, Bohumír Šmeral).

He was already a member of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia at the time. He joined in March of 1928 and remained loyal for the remainder of his life. After his law school certification, he was for all appearances working for several attorney offices, but in reality he was working for the Russian Trade Mission. He was also making some money on the side by teaching languages. He always strove to be an active party member – he took part in multiple conventions and demonstrations. For this reason he became registered on a list of persons with undesirable political views. He held various positions in the Communist party of Czechoslovakia in Prague, as an instructor at party trainings, for example. It was here he later met his Yugoslavian wife Zora Gavrič. They were married in April of 1939.

During the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, Plaček earned his living as a language lecturer. In 1943 he started working as a night guard at a Jewish religious community. His father František was on a Jewish transport from the Protectorate to a concentration camp in 1942. It is unknown when he perished, but he was declared deceased in 1943. Plaček himself was summoned to get on the next transport to Terezín in January 1945. For this reason, he was hiding for a few months in a sanatorium at Pleš, where his wife Zora² had been recovering, until the end of the war.

After the liberation of Czechoslovakia in May of 1945, Plaček asked the general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ) Rudolf Slánský to help him find a job. It was Slánský who recommended Plaček for the

2 Zora Plačková was arrested in September of 1940 and sentenced for high treason by the Public court in Dresden to 2 years and 3 months in jail. Shortly after she returned home, she was diagnosed with a serious condition that was why she was treated in the sanatorium for pulmonary illnesses in Pleš near Dobříš.

job of establishing the new state security apparatus. Shortly after the establishment of the Ground Security Division (ZOB), he was assigned to head its II. Division (so called ZOB II) in Prague. He was quickly entrusted with heading political intelligence. When the GSC merged with State Security (StB), he managed to advance even further in his career at the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior. He was appointed Head of the Intelligence Sector.

Traditionally, Štěpán Plaček was very active. He submitted many proposals and concepts. He directed the most important operations against the so called „reaction” to meet the interests of the party. He stood behind such operations as the elimination of General Josef Bartík³ from his leading position in the intelligence division at the Ministry of the Interior (division Z); he assisted in the so called Krajínovic Affair prior to the May elections in 1946; and he conducted surveillance activities on non-communist politicians. He used the services of the conveniently available former Nazi Sicherheitsdienst agents (SD), the best known of which was undoubtedly Josef Vondráček⁴. He regularly met with Soviet intelligence agents present in the CSR, and he worked out various reports for them – all of this took place before February of 1948. He naturally continued collaborating with them after the February Coup. It was Plaček who advocated determinedly that Slánský invite the Soviet advisors to the State security at the earliest possible date (even earlier than the actual time of their arrival in the autumn of 1949). Plaček also established intelligence ties with the Yugoslavs, Polish, Romanians and the Bulgarians.

As mentioned previously, Štěpán Plaček was a very ambitious man capable of almost anything. He believed he was the only one who truly understood the needs of the security apparatus. He allegedly wanted to become the right hand

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- 3 Josef Bartík (1897 – 1968) – Head of the Intelligence Division of the MV (division Z) after war. He was an experienced intelligence officer with political support in social democracy and President E. Beneš. He was eliminated on a basis of a provocation – he allegedly pass on information behind Minister Nosek’s back to the British intelligence service. He was dismissed from office in January 1946. He was arrested after February of 1948 and was sentenced to 5 years in prison in November of the same year.
 - 4 Josef Vondráček was arrested in 1945 for serving as an agent of the SD. StB had him instigate various provocations and used him for a so called universal witness (as in the case of Plaček). Vondráček’s testimony however contradicted the truth – they were simply lies or blatant fabrications.

of the general secretary of KSČ Slánský. It, however, remains obvious that Slánský considered Plaček his protégé. Plaček also asserted to establish the Ministry of National Security, which took place a few months prior to his arrest. He was quite suddenly dismissed from the service of the MV in November of 1948. He refused to accept a diplomatic position in Ankara. He demanded he be given a position either at the Government's Office or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the summer of 1949 he nonetheless started working at the Ministry of Justice where he engaged in educating the „new” political apparatus.

In November of 1949, Plaček was involved in an operation J – Yugoslavia when he was arrested and accused of anti-state activity, i.e. terrorism. He remained under arrest until his trial in January of 1954. During the 4 years he spent in custody he was interrogated at least 75 times. He had to face some brutal interrogation methods⁵. His firm communist conviction saved his life. In the end, he was sentenced to 15 years in prison for the murders of Petr Konečný⁶ and František Novotný⁷, and for abusing his official powers (as in the trial of Emílie Faitová – Kolářová⁸). He suffered many injustices while he was

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- 5 See KAPLAN, K.: *StB about itself – testimony of Bohumil Doubek's investigator*. Praha 2002, pp. 55.
 - 6 Petr Konečný (1915 – 1948) was arrested in relation to a search for the murderer of A. Schramm. StB however approached the matter rather „unprofessionally” – for once, they revealed to Konečný parts of their knowledge on the American intelligence and its own network of agents, and twice, they caused his dismal state of health (his handcuffs dug in almost causing sepsis). For these reasons Plaček approved his physical liquidation. In early June, M. Pich – Tůma shot Petr Konečný dead somewhere near Banská Bystrica.
 - 7 František Novotný (1913 – 1948) was a member of the StB. The State Security allegedly acquired information on a certain Novotný who is a collaborator of a foreign intelligence service inside the StB. He was therefore arrested on August 25th, 1948. Despite the fact the investigation failed to prove the promise correct, Plaček decided to shoot Novotný dead as a warning to others. Plaček issued a memorandum stating his reasoning. On September 7th, 1948 Novotný was shot „when he was attempting to escape” near Benešov (the car with Novotný would stop by the woods, StB let Novotný get out and make a few steps, then they started firing).
 - 8 Emílie Faitová – Kolářová was arrested in September of 1948 and was investigated as a suspect from espionage for the American Intelligence Service. She was brutally tortured (seared with a burning object in different parts of her body; she was being shut to sleep in a locker; she was whipped with a thick wire over her

serving time, which is ironic considering he not once doubted the correctness of these methods and procedures when he was at the peak of his power within the security apparatus. He was a free man again in April of 1957, after having spent seven years behind bars.

As he did in May 1945, he asked the party to find him employment. The KSČ took care of him once again. He worked as a librarian at the State Technical Library between May 1958 and September 1964. However, he was not satisfied with the position. Negotiations were initiated to consider his placement within the newly established department of Marxism and Leninism at the University of Economics, and later at the Institute of Philosophy of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Due to Plaček's long-standing health problems, neither of these considered positions became a reality. In September 1964, he started working as a scientific assistant at the Institute of International Politics and Economics with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After six years of working here, he retired on September 1st, 1970.

Štěpán Plaček died on February 25th, 1992. He was almost 83.

Personal contacts with the Soviets

The first networking efforts, in comparison to his later years, of Plaček were rather coy. He worked for the Soviet Trade Mission until autumn 1934, where he was writing miscellaneous analyses of the Czechoslovak economy. He kept abreast of the internal affairs of the USSR in later months, even years, when he worked at the editorial office of *Rudé právo*, or when he personally supervised negotiations around the arising Congress of Soviet Writers.

More momentous was his meeting with a Soviet partisan at the end of the war. When he found out about the Prague Uprising, he left his hideaway in Pleš, and he visited a political commissioner of a partisan unit, a captain calling himself Marek or Marko, and he offered his services. The captain, however, turned him down. Plaček met with him the next day and Marko took him aside to try to assess Plaček's willingness to provide the Soviets with information in the future. Perhaps Plaček's fluency in Russian made it even more feasible. What was Marko interested in? „*He wanted to know how I would characterize the mem-*

feet.). She suffered permanent damage.

bers of the Czech National Council, whose names were transmitted via radio the previous night. I could only provide him with the character of a comrade Smrkovský, whom I knew from his position as Secretary of Communist Youth,”⁹ stated Plaček later.

In May of 1951, Plaček remembered another equally relevant matter from his meeting with Marko: „He then asked me, whether I was willing to support the USSR Army in any way, even in a capacity other than bearing arms. When I stated I would, he assigned me a cover name, identification password and response, and put them on record. With a demand to swear absolute confidentiality, he asked me to sign the record and an oath in my true and cover names.”¹⁰ If this information is true, and Plaček did not make it up to embellish his loyalty and importance to the Soviets, he worked for them from 1945 as a conscious secret agent!

It is hard to conceive that Plaček was active in his positions in the news casting and at the MV without prior consent from the Soviets. He surely had their support between 1945 and 1948. As early as the first half of 1949, he was basking in the favor of Soviet intelligence. He was most certainly hiding a whole range of activities behind this façade. He would visit the Soviet Embassy on a regular basis. He was passing on miscellaneous information, including written records, and concepts.

He, however, was not the only one that cultivated such exclusive relationships with the Soviets in the Czechoslovak security and party apparatus at the time. Among loyal servants of Soviet intelligence were even some of Plaček's rivals: Bedřich Reicin, who worked as Head of the Chief Directorate at the Security Intelligence of Defense (SID) at the Ministry of National Defense (MND), and as Deputy director of the MND between 1948 – 1951; Karel Vaš, a close colleague of Reicin's at SID; or Karel Šváb who was the Head of the Security Department Secretariat at the Central Committee of the KSČ, and later Deputy Minister of National Defense. It can be assumed that Plaček's superior Jindřich Veselý, as well as the Chief official at the Commission of party inspection Jarmila Taussigová, also cultivated close ties with the Soviets who

9 ABS, file ZV-45 MV.

10 ABS, file ZV-45 MV.

were able to keep quite a clear picture about everything that truly went on in the Czechoslovak security apparatus.

One could get the most comprehensive idea of Plaček's collaborations with the Soviets from a protocol which was recorded at the Supreme military court in Prague between December 21st, 1953 and January 8th, 1954.

His meetings, in his words, with the Soviet intelligence agents had been going on since May 1946 . „*Between 1946 and August, possibly even September, of 1950 I was in constant touch with the Soviet allies, to whom I passed important materials, and from whom I received many tips, materials and instructions, as well as precepts. It involved collaboration with officers of the Soviet State Security Counterintelligence in the Soviet occupation zone of Germany between May and autumn of 1946 and cultivating the relations, which also included the Central Directorate of Intelligence in Moscow from May to October of 1948. Nonetheless, I was mainly involved in meeting and collaboration with the authorities of the Soviet Intelligence between autumn of 1946 and August or September of 1950,*“¹¹ testified Plaček on record in December of 1953.

His activities in the Soviet Occupation Zone in Germany produced the exchange of information on fugitive German war criminals in the ČSR (where he e.g. examined possibilities of secret searches of the Czechoslovak security authorities in the Soviet zone, and of speedy extradition of caught criminals to Prague). He was interested in the Soviets' work procedures and security apparatus structure, in e.g. antibolshevic emigrants in the context of NTS, OUN¹²

11 VÚA, file GP-HVP PT 110/63. Interrogation protocol of the accused. It is hard to say, whether this last time date is not incorrect – since Plaček was already in prison in November 1949, and his information base was thus greatly limited. Plaček himself speaks on the conclusion (or on the termination of the Soviet intelligence activity in peoples' democratic countries at the turn of August and September of 1949) of his intelligence collaboration in October 1949 in the next section of the protocol.

12 NTS = Narodno-trudovoj sojuz (Peoples' Labor Union) – social-democratic movement of Russian emigration. The organization was founded in NTS 1930 in Belgrade, and quickly opened its branches in Prague and Paris (or in „significant centers of Russian inter-war emigration”). It was originally founded by the younger generation of Russian Post-October emigration and the representatives of exile student societies. It aimed to „prepare the soil” inside the USSR to establish a model of traditional Western democracy once the bolshevist system collapsed. First illegal units of NTS in the Soviet Union were founded in 1943, and swiftly

organizations, on the Soviet soldiers in Jáchymov, and on the former British correspondent in USSR, Rolf Parker who then resided in Prague. Thanks to his ties with the Soviets, he managed to return the Brno Gestapo archive found in Saxony to ČSR. Plaček was also able to acquire some theoretical knowledge on the terminology and methodology of the intelligence work, which he later incorporated in his documents (e.g. into notes on his travel to the Balkans in June 1948).

From the summer of 1946, Plaček continued his collaboration activities using channels of the Soviet Embassy in Prague. He would regularly – roughly every 10 nights – arrive at the Embassy where he communicated with Tichonov. The meetings later took place in various apartments specifically established for such conspiracy. He established himself as a genuine intelligence conspirator with Tichonov. Their cooperation included mutual exchanges of information. Both men truly trusted each other. Tichonov, for example, shared with Plaček that Moscow had its doubts about some Czechoslovak officials, namely Toman, Löbl and Clementis.

It was Tichonov who introduced Plaček in April of 1947 to chargé d'affaire M. M. Chazanovov who, from that point on, participated in giving him assignments. „*Chazanov subjected our methods to crushing criticism and thus allowed us to break free of the methods of Pokorný. We are able to acquire almost*

spread to the whole country (communists were members of the NTS, too). The Soviet regime persecuted the members of NTS severely. After the aggression of Germany in SSSR in June 1941, NTS assumed a stance of expectation, which gradually turned into scorn, partly due to Hitler's plans to create Lebensraum (life space) in the East with unlimited supply of cheap slave labor. NTS then declared its motto: Russia without Germans and communists! Many NTS members joined the antifascist resistance (the tally the organization kept showed that every fifth member was executed for their activity against the Reich). After the war, NTS progressively resumed its operations. There was even a regional organization of NTS established in the Soviet Bloc satellite countries. Activities of NTS understandably did not escape the attention of the communist state secret services, especially the KGB, which coordinated operations and activities against the NTS. NTS Central office in Frankfurt registered over 90 cells of NTS in the SSSR. In 1945, NTS publishing house POSEV was founded. Besides a homonymous bimonthly, it also published a literary quarterly GRANI. See BYSTROV, V.: Dialogue in Prague. Russia – Russia. *Reflex*, vol. 2, no. 15 (9. 4. 1991), pp. 26 – 27. OUN = Organisation of Ukrainian nationalists.

all secret reports on a situation in the ČSR in the pre-February period, which the American Embassy passed on to America, and all similar materials from other representative authorities. We also managed to monitor the chief British anti-Soviet resident in the ČSR Gibson, and mostly, to forewarn Laušman's turn in social democracy, “¹³ concluded Plaček quite positively on the exchange of information with the Soviets.

Plaček wrote analyses on the intra-political situation in the ČSR. He was directly charge by Chazan with the task of recruiting agents for the Soviets, whom he naturally would not register with the Czechoslovak MV. In time, Plaček actually confessed he was not able to fulfill the assignment at all. Despite the one-off failure he believed he had the Soviets' support in his long dispute with Karel Šváb.

In written records, Plaček elaborated on the matters directed by the Ministry of the Interior, and also on the climate in the noncommunist parties before February 1948, or on President Beneš (Soviets were rather apprehensive about his stay in Sezimovo Ústí located near the borders). In January 1948 he worked out an analysis on the political situation in Czechoslovakia. He was convinced the government coalition crisis could develop any time soon, and the army and the security forces would not fail „*in the eventuality of an open encounter with class forces*”.

Following a wish of the Soviet Embassy, he made a list with names of prominent reactionary figures in the beginning of 1948. Plaček's vital ties with the Soviets intensified even more during the hectic February days of 1948. He communicated with Tichonov (as he said later) continuously. „*Even prior to its culmination{referring to the government crisis in the ČSR in February of 1948, Tichonov /.../warned me about the importance of seizing the opportunity and focusing on controlling the exit routes with the intention of controlling courier routes between arising international centers of the so-called resistance and intrastate illegality. We started acting upon these instructions immediately,*”¹⁴ stated Plaček in a protocol dated January 8th, 1954.

After the events of February 1948, he informed the Soviets of his idea of building the security apparatus (e.g. on a proposal to increase the number of

13 VÚA, file GP-HVP PT 110/63. Interrogation protocol of the accused.

14 *Ibidem*.

agents), and of his efforts to force Slánský to issue an official invitation of the Soviet advisors to the ČSR. „*Out of Tichonov's initiative in May of 1948, and in the presence of Veselý, I asked Rudolf Slánský to address some Soviet authorities with an appeal to bring over Soviet advisors, just like it was done for Warsaw. Slánský declined the proposal with the reasoning that such an appeal would be indiscreet and the Soviet army would have to reject it. When I repeated his declaration to Tichonov, he replied:*” He does not want us to see his messes,”¹⁵ bragged Plaček.

It was characteristic of Plaček to seek support and backup with the Soviets when he had to leave his position at the MV (allegedly due to increasing emigration from the ČSR). He had to ask Chazanov directly, since Tichonov left the ČSR in the summer of 1948. The Soviets were exceedingly satisfied with Plaček's services, yet they refused to intervene in his favor at top places. Chazanov introduced him to a Soviet „diplomat” Terentij Fedorovič Novak in the spring of 1949. When the Soviet intelligence agents (including Chazanov) were leaving the country, Plaček was presented with books and other unspecified gifts. He must have been filled with bliss when Tichonov and Chazanov told him that J. V. Stalin allegedly was personally familiar with his analyses and materials.

Plaček's investigation file lists some further details concerning his contacts with the Soviets in an undated document named “Disputes with Šváb”, where the author summarized the foundation of the mutual relationships in 41 items on 58 pages. In reference to the Soviet Embassy the author also mentioned the fact that the Soviets notified Plaček that he would be getting an offer soon to head a press office. They emphasized how important it was that Plaček take a position in this field. Geminder made the actual proposition to Plaček, but he did not make himself available, which thwarted the whole scheme. „*The Head of Soviet intelligence introduced me to a colleague who arrived from the USSR and had been familiar with my work in the late spring of 1949. He declared the time had come for intelligence to show its full potential, regardless of personal differences. I was asked to disclose a wide range of personal characteristics of prominent political leaders, including members of the Central Committee of the*

15 VÚA, file GP-HVP PT 110/63. Interrogation protocol of the accused.

KSČ, among others Veselý, ”¹⁶ specified Plaček of one of his tasks. He turned to the same undisclosed Soviet agent with regard to the Rajka trial at the end of September 1949. He evidently sought protection from what he feared was his imminent arrest.

Several months before he died, Plaček gave an interview to a Czech journalist. It was never published. He mentioned his ties to the Soviets in that interview. He used almost identical words to tell a story about Slánský’s refusal to invite the Soviet advisors to the ČSR at his request, and on the reactions of competent Soviet authorities in Prague. On Tichonov, with whom he established a friendly relationship, he merely commented in a few words. „*He was a very pleasant man. /.../ But he was a member of the security services. He was a very sincere man; he would talk to me about miscellaneous things, gave me advice and such.*”¹⁷ He would not or could not disclose details on mutual relations of relevant parties. Many matters on Plaček’s account, thus, remained unsaid.

Plaček’s views on intelligence

After the end of WWII, Czechoslovakia started building completely new security forces. The previous ones were revoked by the Košice governing program at the end of June 1945. The newly founded National Security Corps (SNB) consisted of 4 sections – public order, criminal, intelligence and state security. The SNB divided the principal division of the Corps into two segments – uniformed (Public security) and non-uniformed (State security). A special presidential decree on the SNB was anticipated. Plaček was involved in drafting its framework. It however was not finished by October 1945. The KSČ had to embark upon a new journey to create special legal standards on the SNB – and the name of Plaček appeared once again.

Even prior to February 1948, Czechoslovak communists focused their attention on controlling the state security apparatus by filling crucial positions of power at the Ministry of the Interior and the commanding positions within the

16 ABS, file ZV-45 MV. Plaček labeled the material „Disputes with Šváb“ as strictly confidential.

17 *Author’s archive.* Transcribed interview with JUDr. Š. Plaček with editor J.D. from 1990 to 1991.

security forces with members of the KSČ. They paid a great deal of attention to the newly founded intelligence and state security forces. At the time, Plaček was involved in activities of an intelligence section called Home section of security, of intra-political intelligence and the intelligence sector of the MV.

Plaček proved to have been an excellent choice by the KSČ to work in the intelligence, or security community. He was almost fanatically devoted to the party interests and he was very inventive, active and ambitious. He established political intelligence departments dedicated to particular tasks, e.g. department F (mapped fascist elements; headed by Zelenka), the department of agriculture (headed by Filka), the department of national security (headed by Pich – Tůma), the department of social democracy (headed by Kahovec and later by Čech), the department of populists or the department of youth and students.

Plaček keenly joined the effort to improve the education of intelligence and StB agents. Naturally, he was eager to participate in the process to remove such deficiencies via intelligence courses in certain materials.¹⁸ Štěpán Plaček presented information on issues concerning security intelligence and on foreign intelligence on the territory of the ČSR.

He also joined discussions on the use of the intelligence nomenclature. He, of course, promoted using Soviet terminology. When he then met with the investigators he trained in November of 1949, he found out that many things he had tried to put into practice were now fully in place. He expressed his enthusiasm in a letter to Rudolf Slánský dated May 15, 1950 in Ruzyně, which Plaček labeled confidential: *„I cannot help but be overwhelmed with joy at such occasions because I can see that my work is still living and bearing fruit. Regardless of the burdens of my solitary confinement and despite the fact the investigating authorities treat me as a criminal in such moments I almost forget I am the one being investigated here and it seems to me as if I was back at my work place, and among my colleagues, comrades and friends for the state security.“*¹⁹

Plaček worked out a plan to connect the ZOB and the StB apparatus in a way that would be undetectable by the public and non-communist party members

18 ABS, a.no.304-208-5. Names of lectures (theses) with names of referents and outline of the intelligence course lecture (draft).

19 NA, AÚV KSČ, fund of the Commission I, vol. 31, a. j. 759. Letter of Dr. Štěpán Plaček to the Chief secretary of the KSČ Rudolf Slánský.

even before February 1948. He asserted it would remove the duplication of labor in intelligence work. The ZOB members would become a part of the StB. Within the StB it left some room for specializing in the individual departments based on subjects under surveillance. Formally, however, the StB and the ZOB remained separate. According to Plaček, his proposal was not met with any significant opposition from the KSČ officials who were responsible for security. The reorganization took place in April of 1947.²⁰

Plaček's Records of the Trip to the Balkans from June 1948 (ultimately six extensive Records) comprise probably one of the most important materials conceptually that he put together during his career in the security sphere. He presented very detailed and insightful analyses, in which he summarize his knowledge and formulated some of the generalizations and conclusions, at which he arrived. He analyzed and assessed existing state security and intelligence activities in the ČSR. He was submitting proposals and modifications to improve on the „work“. These records provide an opportunity to look into his mode of reasoning and argumentation.

In the first Record he, for instance, drew the following conclusions from the negotiations in Bulgaria: *„Let us no longer talk about intelligence, but rather exclusively about state security. Let us arrange matters in a manner that would place the center of gravity in three operative departments of intelligence (PZ, OZ, HZ), be it in the hub or the spokes. Abolish central state security and establish the Bolshevik caucuses in the investigating authorities at the of A sector – 5th department under a single boss who would be responsible for the entire state security by being the boss of all executive groups in the regions, as well as implementation groups reporting to (PZ, OZ, HZ) in central office. Adjust the ratio between operative intelligence agents and implementation officers, mutual rights and duties both in the central and regional administrations, just like in Bulgaria.“*²¹

He recorded the structure of the counter-intelligence department of Bulgarian security. He also elaborated on keeping files on diplomats active in the ČSR. He noted a certain degree of double tracking, or rather duplication of StB and OBZ work. He suggested that StB manage the files and OBZ dedicate its full attention to the military. Plaček was considering other perspectives in this

20 ABS, file ZV-45 MV.

21 ABS, a.no.310-43-6. Record no.1 on work negotiations in the Balkans.

sphere, too: „*We need to intensify our work in line with compromising foreign diplomats; to work more deliberately, to improve our operative skills, to increase numbers of surveillance groups, vehicles, to keep our composure when we face opposition, and to always stay ready to return it. We need to recruit Czechoslovak nationals of foreign legacies and we must not be afraid to use most fierce repressions to fight them with any means possible.*“²²

The Balkan experience led Štěpán Plaček and Karel Černý to write a letter to the Central Committee of the KSČ date June 13, 1948 – its prominent officials Klement Gottwald, Antonín Zápotocký and Rudolf Slánský (and to forward a copy also to Václav Nosek and Jindřich Veselý). They expressed concerns over the state of the Czechoslovak security apparatus. They recommended, and believed it to be absolutely necessary, to hire more MV employees since the amount of work had increased dramatically, partly due to hostile activities of representative offices of the USA, Great Britain, France, Canada, and the newly established German intelligence service. They naturally pointed out the evolution and establishment of intelligence service networks. The letter reads: „*The so called state security authorities in the specific sense of the word denote authorities that conduct interrogations and arrests, and from which the intelligence must conspire to operate. There is substantial material available that proves the apparatus is rather unreliable and therefore incompetent to a great extent. We think it is necessary to clean this apparatus uncompromisingly and to make sure the ruling working class suitably reflects on the composition of repressive authority staff. It must possess the will to destroy our class enemy and to put a cool head, warm heart and perfectly clean hands into work, just as the renowned Felix Edmundovič said. Until we meet these requirements, the situation of intelligence will be grievous even more because they cannot rely on competent authorities to conduct interrogations and arrests.*“²³ Plaček and Černý were afraid that the existing status of intelligence agents would not be able to handle the most serious crimes such as high treason, scouting, espionage, assassination attempts on high party and state officials etc. They support-

22 ABS, a.no.310-43-6. Record no.3 on experience from the trip to the Balkans.

23 ABS, file ZV-45 MV. Also NA, f. 100/35, vol. 55, a. j. 1164. This letter was published by KAPLAN, K.: *The Biggest Political Trial - M. Horáková and Company*. Brno 1995, pp. 197 – 220.

ed their affirmations by using arguments such as the increase of the revealed cases of espionage. If the increase of personnel materialized, the State Security Service would gradually reorganize and specialize on specific spheres – e.g. the agenda and performance would be separate, the authority would extend to jails, operative technologies could be used more efficiently, a group of special operations could be established (to handle personal protection, protection of industrial technology secrets, checks on foreigners etc.) They put a lot of emphasis on stressing the position of state security within the MV framework, or rather on its transformation into a ministry of security. They also incorporated a very significant aspect of filling security positions with reliable communists in a consistent manner. „*We would simply build a genuine state security governed by intelligence caucuses of the proletariat which would guarantee state security and ward-off the class enemy*,“²⁴ concluded Plaček and Černý.

On July 19, 1948, Plaček submitted a proposal to Jindřich Veselý on the new organization of the BA division. This material of Plaček's can be viewed as a summary of his trip to the Balkans. Besides the new StB structure he devised, he incorporated the increased number of personnel. At the end, he presented his suggestions as the most effective means of continuing intensive collaboration with the Soviets: „*The State Security Service shall be so extensive that it would be efficient to establish the Ministry of State Security. If it is not established, then it is necessary to separate the Ministry of the Interior into two sections – the first one, for example, “state security” headed by a Chief officer who would simultaneously serve as the Deputy Minister of the Interior, and who would administer national security and control the National Security Forces /.../ The Chief Officer of State Security would rank as a general of the SNB.*“²⁵

On August 7th, 1948 Plaček modified and further specified his proposal from July 19th, while he focused on the analysis of the numerical ratio between the StB headquarters and the units that reported to them. He responded to apprehensions Veselý had expressed over excessive reinforcement of a single centre. Veselý hence promoted decentralization of the StB. Plaček argued that even though he understood Veselý's concerns, he believed it was in the party's and the state's best interest to lead an effective fight against the class enemy

24 *Ibidem.*

25 ABS, a. no.310-2-4. Též ABS, a. no.H-670; ABS, a.no.310-43-6.

from a single strong centre. He was also referring to the Bulgarian, Polish and of course the Soviet experience in this sphere. The still forming communist StB apparatus should really follow their example, especially that of Moscow.²⁶

On May 19, 1950, Plaček typed a sixteen-page document in the Prague Ruzyně prison and named it “On the issue of centralization and decentralization in state security (Explanatory notes to my activities between 1945-1948 and on my perception of the matter)”, which disclosed some of his answers he gave to his interrogators. Plaček refused to accept any criticism on introducing dubious procedures into the work of state security. He explained that his goal was to coordinate state security activities with allies such as Bulgaria and Poland, but mostly with the USSR, and not to misinform the party and gain control over the state security. After all, he put into place the necessary steps in keeping with that goal during his career in the ZOB and the MV that remained in force even after he left the force (i.e. specialization and modernization of the individual units, e.g. protection of party and state officials, arrests, interrogations, and operative activities).²⁷

No matter what sort of improvement proposals Štěpán Plaček submitted during his career in the intelligence services, he almost always referred to party and inter-allied interests (e.g. with respect to mutual collaboration). He always valued the Soviet experience most.

Conclusion

General Secretary of the KSČ Rudolf Slánský refused to invite Soviet advisors to Czechoslovakia several times. Yet it was he who wrote a draft of the letter later signed by Gottwald in the middle of September of 1949, in which Prague asked Moscow to send advisors in limited numbers. Advisors first started arriving in Czechoslovakia in September of 1949. Some of them, such as Makarov and Lichačov, worked in the MV. They were assigned with the task to prepare the ground for a case similar to the Rajka trial. Nonetheless, the first case which was directed entirely by Russians was the tragic trial of Milada Horáková and Company. Files with the official data of the Ministry of the Interior show that between

26 *ABS*, a. no.310-2-4.

27 *ABS*, file ZV-45 MV.

1950 and 1953 there were at least 50 foreign advisors involved. According to the Czech historian Karel Kaplan²⁸ their total number in the so-called „power” sections between 1950 and 1955 is hard to determine precisely.

How did Plaček later perceive his dreams concerning the Soviet advisors incorporated directly in the Czechoslovak state security coming true? „*I consider the arrival of the Soviet advisors in 1949 a tragic and historic turn, namely in the role they were allowed to play. Naturally, they were instructors. They would always stress the fact that they do not make any decisions, they merely give advice; a highly convenient position. Everybody is scared of you – even the members of the KSČ politburo – and they all do what you tell them, yet they stand accountable, not you. They did not leave behind a single signed document,*”²⁹ stated Plaček in his memoirs.

Plaček met with the Soviet advisors under rather dire circumstances – when he was being investigated in custody in the early 1950s, and he said, the encounter was not pleasant. „*I was interrogated 3 times by both chief advisors in 1949/50 who also initiated my and Zora’s arrest. Pigs with the psychological profile of Kolčák! They were the General major Lichačev and Colonel Makarov I do not know with certainty whether the latter has died like a dog.*”³⁰ He nonetheless added and assured himself: „*I however passed the test. I must acknowledge that I am proud of it. /.../ Some new methods previously unknown to us have been imported to our country as an exact copy of their original ones. Thank god there is no Siberia or Antarctica anywhere around.*”³¹

Despite his suffering during his stay in prison between 1949 and 1956, Plaček was not embittered about communism or the Soviet Union. Quite the contrary – he always viewed himself as a communist, a person with special characteristics, and a righteous warrior.

To conclude, I would like to mention a rather atypical and unique aspect of Plaček’s attitude towards the Soviets, and his poetic work during his stay in

28 KAPLAN, K.: *Sovětské porady v ČSR v letech 1949 – 1956* (The Soviet Advisors in 1949 – 1956) Praha 1993.

29 Author’s archive.. Plaček Š.: *Nedokončené poznámky* (Unfinished Notes) Praha 1975, pp. 149 – 150. Manuscript.

30 *Ibidem*, pp. 150.

31 *Ibidem*, pp. 150.

prison. The former boss of the intelligence section of the MV would write poems in an attempt to keep a semblance of sanity during his stay in strict solitary confinement. He named one of them „Interrogation (Variation of White)” and dedicated it forthrightly to a specific person – General Major Lichačevov and (as the author imaginatively put it) to him being cursed for eternity:

„Interrogation”³²
(Variation of white)

V dáli úder zvonu. Byl to Vít?

Ach svatý Vít

Ach v křeči hynout slastí opojen

Neb hynout v křeči smýčkou uškrcen

Jak se to vezme – slast či smrt

Vše jedno je, když zrcadlo je rozbito

A vším již vládne děs.

Tu sedí – jako koláč nadutý

A úlisně se usmívá

Admirál Kolčák – je to on

Chce všesť rudé a ty židáčky

Jak na Sibiři – než byl zastřelen.

A věší je a vyslýchá

A blýská se mu lysine

A kouří si ten běs.

The bell strikes in a distance.

Was it Vít?

Oh St. Vít

*To perish in cramps,
intoxicated with bliss*

*Or die in convulsion strangled
by a noose*

*It depends – pleasure or death
Nothing really matters once
the mirror is broken
And dread rules all.*

Here he sits – pompously

And smiles slyly

It is him – Admiral Kolčák

*He is ready to hang the Reds
and poor little Jews*

*Like in Siberia – before
he was shot.*

*He hangs them and
interrogates them*

*His bald spot glistens
He enjoys the dread*

32 Translator's note: liberal translation – poem

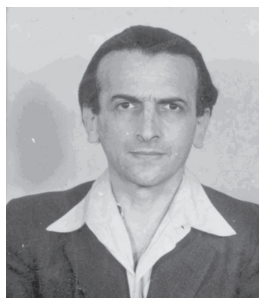
*Na Moskvu táhl jsem a dnes
Jsem jejím místodržitelem zde
Vy nevěříte? – ach vy psi
Tamborské lesy neznáte
Však já je znám a dávno už
Do Moskvy přitáh příznak můj*

*A teď i sem – a já jsem tu
Já – blagorodnyj admiral
To ještě pochopíte – věřte mi*

*Však libo papirosu
- od admirála Kolčaka?³³*

*I journeyed to Moscow and today
I am its governor
Do you not believe me? Oh you dogs
You do not know Tamborské lesy
But I know them all right
The mirage of me journeyed
to Moscow long ago
And now I have come here too
I – the admiral made beautiful
You will come to understand it,
believe me
You might want papyrus from –
Admiral Kolčak?³³*

Štěpán Plaček. Source: ABS, file ZV-45 Ministry of the Interior.



Jan Kalous; Doctor of Humanities, 35, studied history and politology at the Charles University in Prague. In 2000-2007 he was head of the department of documentation in the Institute of Documentation and Investigation of Communist Crimes. Since 2/2007 he is employed in the department Archives of Security Components of the Ministry of Interior. He dedicates mainly to the period of formation of the state security apparatus and personalities who were linked to it. He published several studies, e.g. Čihošť's case or Processes with the members of the State security. Nowadays he dedicates to the case of Štěpán Plaček (study in Reports of the Archives of the Ministry of Interior No 4/2006, monograph in preparation).

33 Author's archive. Plaček Š.: *Unfinished Notes*. Praha 1975, pp. 149 – 150. Manuscript.

PANEL III

**CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE
AS A BASE FOR ESPIONAGE
AGAINST THE WEST**

Petr Kopal – Panel moderator

Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes

Czechia

Petr Kopal (b. 1975) graduated in History from the Filosofical Faculty of Charles' University. He is a postgraduate student at the Czech History Institute of FF UK and at the Department of Film Studies of FF UK. He works at the Division of the archives of the Ministry of Interior Security Forces (The Institute for the Totalitarian Regime Studies). He engages in film and history studies, in interpreting propaganda stereotypes (especially film and audiovisual) and symbolism (especially the governmental and political power). He is an author and a script editor of an experimental project named Film and History II: Adolf Hitler and the others...(Film images of evil).

Two new institutions have been recently established to take over the employees as well as tasks of the Division – The Institute for Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the Archive of Security Bodies. Department of Archives of the Security Forces was an archival institution, which collected, classified, and disclosed archival sources pertaining to the provenience of national security apparatus in Czechoslovakia between 1945 and 1992. It performed expert, scientific and publication activities in the fields of archival and auxiliary historical sciences, as well as in scientific domains working with archival funds and collections.

Christopher Adam

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Canada

Eyes across the Atlantic—Hungary's State Security and Canada's Hungarians, 1956 – 1989

Hungary's state security agency maintained a keen interest in Canada throughout the Cold War, partly due to the North American country's close ties to the United States, as well as because it was home to one of the largest populations of Hungarian immigrants after 1945. While détente between the two superpowers helped ease Cold War hostilities, the activity of Hungarian intelligence officers in Canada actually increased during this period, in large part as a response to the more aggressive and systematic tactics used by Canadian counter-espionage units in an effort to uncover agents from the Eastern bloc countries. Hungary's state security agency used informants and intelligence officers, as well as the assistance and cooperation of Hungary's diplomatic missions, to gather information on Hungarian communities in Canada, collect data on individuals seen as either „friendly” or „hostile” to Hungary's one-party Communist regime, ascertain if these immigrants had any prominent contacts in Hungary and to determine Canada's political and military position in the Cold War.

Following the 1964 establishment of the Hungarian Embassy in Ottawa, this mission played a central role in Hungary's intelligence operations in Canada. Informants and agents often met with embassy officials, and diplomats sometimes communicated the findings and results of investigations with authorities in Hungary. In 1969, for example, a number of Hungarian agents travelled to Hamilton where they spoke with a local Hungarian priest who had served as the embassy's contact for several years.¹ Several informants and agents that worked in Canada would be summoned to the embassy on occasion, for de-

1 „Ottawai munkatársunk jelentése,” Budapest, December 22, 1969, 38, In: *ÁBTL*, O-20071, Budapest.

briefing, or to deposit any material they gathered, which would often be transmitted to Hungary by courier, rather than by regular mail.

During the 1950s, especially in the years preceding the 1956 revolution, Hungary's state security was most interested in gathering intelligence on former DP's, members of the country's interwar gendarmerie and those involved in the Canadian branch of the World Federation of Hungarian Veterans (MHBK). Hungary's state security agency, for example, became aware of the establishment of the Canadian branch of the MHBK in 1952 and that the organization's Hungarian-Canadian members were in „close contact” with the MHBK headquarters in Europe, which allegedly pursued „*active intelligence activities against the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Hungary*.”² According to the report, the Canadian branch had its own “counter-espionage unit,” headed by L.D., a former veteran of the Hungarian army and mainly as a result of these activities, authorities in Hungary felt the need to „uncover and block” the organization.³ As part of this mission, state security compiled a basic list of those who played lead roles in the MHBK's Canadian branch. The list included personal and physical information on leaders whenever this data was known.⁴

One informant in particular, who used the pseudonyms „Millott” and „János Benedek”, provided authorities in Hungary with the most detailed information on the activities of Hungarian veterans, and former members of the interwar Gendarmerie. Benedek's decision to cooperate with state security by reporting on Hungarian-Canadians was largely motivated by fear. The agent was approached by the state security agency in early 1957, at which point he was coerced into active service after being confronted with „incriminating evidence” against him.⁵ Benedek had been a former member of the gendarmerie during

2 Kanyó András, Határozat (Decision), Budapest, September 24, 1952, pp. 24, In: *ÁBTL*, 0-8-022 Budapest.

3 Initials, rather than the complete names of individuals mentioned in archival documents, are used throughout this essay. Agents and informants are referred to by their pseudonyms. Complete names, however, will appear if the individual that was monitored by Hungary's state security was also a public figure. *Ibidem*, pp. 24.

4 Kimutatás, Budapest, December 8, 1955, pp. 54 – 55, In: *ÁBTL*, 0-8-022, Budapest.

5 László Kovács, Jelentés (Report), „Benedek János fedőnevű ügynökünk,” Budapest, May 2, 1957, In: *ÁBTL*, „Millott,” BT-641/1, Budapest.

Hungary's interwar regime, and this compromising past led the informant to live a secluded life from 1950 onward, until he was confronted by state security in 1957.

János Benedek was hardly the only one coerced into cooperating with Hungary's state security agency. The unexpected "discovery" of compromising evidence against someone, which could lead to a conviction and a prison sentence was a tactic frequently used against people that the state security agency wanted to recruit. Another informant who ended up cooperating with state security in much the same way as Benedek was „Károly Füredi,” also known as „Floguet,” who worked as an electrician in Budapest. In 1951, Floguet was stopped by state security officers in Budapest on his way home from work and after asking for his identification, the officers took him to a nearby police station and charged him with sabotage and collusion with the Americans. After hearing the accusations, Floguet was given the option of „*making amends for his mistakes, by proving his loyalty to the people's democracy.*”⁶ Floguet did end up serving as an informant during the 1956 revolution, but then escaped to Italy in 1957. Officials tried to contact him and convince Floguet to move to the Federal Republic of Germany and serve as an informant there. Floguet, however, refused and relocated to Montreal in 1958. Hungarian officers spent the next six years trying to track him down, as they feared that floguet's silence meant that he had been hired by a Western intelligence agency. Hungarian intelligence officials tracked down four of Floguet's home addresses in Montreal, but even with the active assistance of the Hungarian Embassy in Washington DC, they failed to find him and finally gave up looking in 1966.⁷

Unlike Floguet, Benedek cooperated with state security for several years and received a very comprehensive assignment before he was sent to Canada. This involved collecting information on MHBK's Montreal branch, as well as on other right-wing organizations established by Hungarian veterans and members of the gendarmerie. He was also directed to befriend those individuals who

6 „Beszervezési javaslat,” (Involvement Proposal), September 22, 1951, In: *ÁBTL*, BT-827 (Floguet), Budapest.

7 Jelentés (Report), Washington, October 14, 1964, In: *ÁBTL*, BT-827 (Floguet), Budapest.

were „engaged in direct, or in-direct hostile activity” against Hungary.⁸ The informant’s own interwar past, as well as the presence of his uncle in Montreal, who was a leading figure among right-wing immigrants, allowed Benedek to obtain inside information on the functioning of the MHBK and similar groups in Canada. Benedek’s orders involved taking part in the activities of the local Hungarian community, but he was to do so in such a way as not to attract too much attention or suspicion. On a grander scale, the ÁVH also asked that Benedek observe any political and military cooperation between Canada and the US, and uncover the locations of ammunition depots.⁹

Benedek was provided with a contact, „Zoli,” to whom he addressed most of his letters, which contained detailed observations on Montreal’s Hungarian community, as well as more brief observations on communities in Toronto, Hamilton and Calgary. All correspondence, however, was written in a friendly, colloquial manner, so as not to draw attention or suspicion. The majority of Benedek’s reports seemed „benign” in nature, as he tended to argue that the veterans and former gendarmerie officials in Montreal were largely inactive, ageing and exhausted. When reporting on his uncle, Benedek painted a portrait of a „tired, old gentleman, who approaches his past in Hungary’s gendarmerie as nothing more than a nice memory,” and shies away from overt politicizing.¹⁰ Yet Benedek’s reports do provide information on tension and conflict within the Montreal community, and even among veterans and former gendarmerie officers, which was often based on a hostility between lower and higher ranking officers.¹¹

Benedek reported that there were five separate groups of former gendarmerie officers in Canada and their total membership stood at around 250, but many of them were not believed to have been active within the community.¹² In general, however, Benedek seemed to avoid polemical language when describing the Hungarian community in Montreal, perhaps in part because he did not

8 Felhasználási terv (Application Plan), Budapest, October 28, 1958,” In: *ÁBTL.*, BT-641/1, Budapest.

9 *Ibidem*, BT-641/1.

10 Benedek’s first letter to „Zoli,” 68, In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-539/1, Budapest.

11 *Ibidem*, pp. 68.

12 *Ibidem*, pp. 69.

want to implicate his elderly uncle, or other people in the community who were oblivious to his true role and had learned to trust him. Politically, Benedek portrayed Montreal's Hungarians as having been comprised of relatively reasonable people who rejected the extremist, fascist politics that had existed in Hungary during World War II. For example, Benedek noted how the Hungarian Committee of Montreal decided not to elect G.D., the MHBK's local leader, due to his „*Arrow-Cross gravitations*” and his „*widely known connections with Ferenc Szálasi*,” Hungary's late Arrow-Cross leader.¹³ Ultimately, Benedek's reports on Hungarian-Canadians led state security to open dossiers on four people affiliated with the gendarmerie and veteran associations.¹⁴

One of the first major studies written by a Hungarian state security agent on Canada's political, economic and socio-cultural fabric, and Hungarian immigrant communities was by an informant known as „Du Garde.” Du Garde, a former Communist party functionary from Baranya County, left after the 1956 revolution and agreed to cooperate with Hungarian state security and collect information on his friends, family and acquaintances in Canada and the United States, in exchange for being allowed to return home.¹⁵ Du Garde recorded his experiences while in Canada four months after having relocated to Vienna in November 1963. Having spent six and a half years in Montreal and Toronto, Du Garde's observations are among the most detailed of any Hungarian state security agent, especially as they relate to Canadian party politics within the context of the Cold War, everyday life in Canada and the activities of Hungarian communities, as well as his relationship with colleagues, friends and acquaintances. When writing about the Liberal Party, Du Garde observed that it was a „*right-wing, civic movement*” and that it served as a „*tool in the hands of American capitalists aimed at taking control of political power in Canada.*”¹⁶ While Du Garde felt that of all political parties, the liberals „*best represented*

13 Benedek's second letter to „Zoli” (handwritten), pp. 26., In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-539/1, Budapest.

14 József Kira, Jelentés (Report), August 6, 1963, pp. 78, In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-539/1, Budapest.

15 Du Garde, Jelentés (Report), A.K., February 26, 1964, pp. 117 – 118, In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

16 Du Garde, „Kanadai Tapasztalatok,” (Experiences in Canada), 8. In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

the interests of American big money and the aggressive powers,” the agent saw the Conservatives under John Diefenbaker in a much more benign light, noting that rather than being associated with US interests, the party had stronger ties with Britain, included within itself the „*pacifist tendencies of certain Protestant religious sects,*” and that it was more inclined to sell grain to China and to the Eastern Bloc countries.¹⁷

Not surprisingly, the left-leaning New Democratic Party (NDP) was portrayed in the most sympathetic light. Du Garde observed that under its leader, Tommy Douglas, the NDP was closely linked with Britain’s Labour movement, that it supported entering into dialogue with the Soviet Union, called on the banning of atomic weapons and enjoyed the support of the Communist Party of Canada in those ridings where the latter did not field its own candidates.¹⁸ Du Garde also took note of what he felt was an over-complicated and disunited political system in Canada, where the make-up of provincial legislatures did not represent the composition of the federal parliament in Ottawa. The Hungarian informant suggested that these extenuated political, ideological and regional conflicts could be used to the Eastern bloc’s advantage, especially in terms of getting the West to support „peaceful co-existence” with the Soviet Union and to slow down the „*advance of American imperialists.*”¹⁹

In addition to taking advantage of political and regional tensions within Canada, Du Garde also suggested that the country’s Protestant churches—several of which supported pacifist causes—be used to promote a ban on atomic weapons and to develop peaceful co-existence between the two sides in the Cold War. The agent felt that the Unitarians and the United Church of Canada were most open to these causes. Du Garde became very familiar with the United Church, as he joined Toronto’s Deer Park congregation in 1961 and became an active member of the local men’s association.²⁰ Du Garde stood out not only as the church’s only Hungarian, but also as the sole immigrant, in a congregation dominated almost exclusively by people with English and Scottish heritage. The informant suggested that he earned the pastor’s trust in

17 *Ibidem*, pp. 9.

18 *Ibidem*, pp., 9 – 10.

19 *Ibidem*, pp. 12.

20 *Ibidem*, pp. 16.

part because of this.²¹ The story that Du Garde used when explaining his arrival to Canada to Pastor John Wilkie and others at the church, was that he was forced to flee Hungary in 1956, due to the country's communist regime. He also played devil's advocate by challenging Pastor Wilkie in terms of his belief that the West must learn to co-exist with the Soviets and that it must take the first steps towards nuclear disarmament. Du Garde argued that this was unrealistic, because the Soviets would not reciprocate by also banning atomic weapons. Yet it becomes clear from his reports, that Du Garde was impressed by Wilkie's answer when the pastor noted that „*Christ would never allow the use of these weapons.*”²² The agent saw in Wilkie someone who could potentially be used to help propagate these ideas and he was keen on contacting the pastor upon his return to Canada.

Although Du Garde identified himself as a secular Jew, he explained his decision to join the United Church by noting that he believed it would help further his application for Canadian citizenship and Pastor Wilkie did, indeed, serve as one of his references.²³ Du Garde also tried to get closer to Wilkie by enrolling his son in the Sunday school where the pastor taught and encouraging his child to befriend the pastor's own son, who was of a similar age.

As was common practice with other agents, Du Garde regularly modified his immigration and arrival story, depending on the people he met. For example, while members of the United Church were told that he fled Communism, when he met with A.D., a Polish Jew with whom he worked for six months at a store in Scarborough, Du Garde explained that he had to escape in 1956, because „*fascists once again rose to prominence during the revolution and that all Jews had to leave the country.*”²⁴ Only a small handful of people knew of his past membership in Hungary's Communist party and those that did had sometimes been members themselves. After Canadian authorities once visited his apartment to inquire about his past, Du Garde observed that a female acquaint-

21 Du Garde, Jelentés (Report): Mr. John Wilkie, March 4, 1964, pp. 131 In: *ÁBTL*, MT-182, Budapest.

22 *Ibidem*, pp. 131 – 132.

23 Du Garde, Jelentés (Report): Mr. John Wilkie, March 4, 1964, pp. 131. In: *ÁBTL*, MT-182, Budapest.

24 Du Garde, Jelentés (Report): Mr. A.D., February 23, 1964, pp. 103. In: *ÁBTL*, MT-182, Budapest.

ance of his had also been a party member, but received citizenship without any problems and with no questions, apparently because Canadian authorities were not interested if women were once party members.²⁵

Du Garde believed that by „*sending in the appropriate people, these religious organizations can offer fertile ground to propagate the politics of peaceful co-existence.*”²⁶ Du Garde also singled out Jewish congregations and observed that despite the presence of a „*strong Zionist influence,*” which he found to be entirely disagreeable left-wing groups could still propagate their values within these organizations, especially by working together with those rabbis that opposed the development of nuclear weapons.²⁷

Some of Du Garde’s most important observations were on Canada’s Hungarian communities, even though his general views on the different cohorts of Hungarian immigrants to Canada reflected the beliefs widely held by most officials in Hungary. Du Garde presented those primarily peasant and working-class Hungarians who immigrated to Canada during the 1920s and 1930s in the most positive light, noting that the majority of them „*remain patriotic and feel a sense of nostalgia for Hungary.*”²⁸ According to Du Garde’s observations, most of these immigrants were also positive about the more recent developments in Hungary, such as the post-1945 land reform and even the nationalization of factories. As such, this group of Hungarians (some of whom were, indeed, members of Communist organizations, or subscribed to the *Canadian Hungarian Worker* weekly newspaper) were classified as being „friendly” to the new regime.

The way in which post-World War II immigrants were presented by Du Garde, however, contrasted starkly with the portrayal of the interwar generation. Those who immigrated between 1945 and 1956 were scorned, and those that came between 1945 and 1946 (many of whom were DP’s) were classified as „enemies” of the new order in Hungary. According to Du Garde, „*this group forms the Hungarian immigration’s most reactionary core, and they are strong-*

25 Du Garde, Jelentés (Report): S.Z. és O., February 23, 1964, pp. 107 – 108. In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

26 *Kanadai Tapasztalatok*, pp. 16.

27 *Ibidem*, pp. 17.

28 *Kanadai tapasztalatok*, pp. 58.

ly *anti-Communist*. ”²⁹ Yet Du Garde felt that this group posed a very limited threat to Hungary’s interests, despite the fact that a range of veteran and far-right associations existed well into the 1960s, such as the „Hungarist Legion.” Most of these organizations, however, were relatively small, they had limited financial resources and Du Garde felt that their membership was slowly dying out, as most of them were well over 50 years of age.³⁰

Du Garde’s attitude towards those who fled Hungary after the suppressed 1956 Revolution was mixed and ambivalent, and this closely reflected the views of most Communist officials in Hungary. The fifty-sixers were seen as being the most heterogeneous of all immigrant cohorts, in terms of profession, class, educational background and ideological beliefs. According to Du Garde, „*there are many valuable people, who integrated into Canadian society—albeit with difficulty and distance themselves from all propaganda directed against Hungary.*”³¹ At the same time, the agent also reported that there were „many common criminals” among the fifty-sixers, some of whom were serving prison sentences.³² This was also in line with what officials in Hungary tended to proclaim about those who fled in 1956. Yet Du Garde suggested that the „majority” of recent immigrants who had not succeeded economically in Canada, who felt disappointed and did not join Hungarian community organizations, could be brought into closer contact with contemporary Hungary.³³ Du Garde also noted that the Hungarian-Canadian Communist community largely based around Toronto, Hamilton and Ontario’s Tobacco belt could not be counted on in its current form as being of any assistance in this venture, as their newspaper – the *Kanadai Magyar Munkás* – suffered from a declining readership, while affiliated associations were „sectarian” and unwilling to reach out to disenfranchised fifty-sixers.³⁴ Yet at the same time, Du Garde recommended the establishment of

29 *Ibidem*, pp. 59.

30 *Ibidem*, pp. 62.

31 *Ibidem*, pp. 62.

32 *Ibidem*, pp. 62.

33 *Ibidem*, pp. 63.

34 *Ibidem*, pp. 64.

a „progressive mass newspaper, as the immigration's most reactionary groups are demoralized and are in the process of falling apart.”³⁵

Du Garde suggested that the best way for Hungarian agents to weaken „enemy” groups within Canada's Hungarian communities, was to take advantage of already existing rivalries and conflicts and to exacerbate them whenever possible. This was the approach he suggested when dealing with Canada's most influential Hungarian weekly papers – *Magyar Élet* and *Kanadai Magyarország* – both of which were generally right-wing and anti-Communist, but were also in fierce competition with each other. Their respective editors, Márton Kiss Kerecsendi and István Vörösváry, occasionally initiated lawsuits against each other, as well as diatribes on the pages of their papers.³⁶

Du Garde produced reports on approximately 27 friends and acquaintances in Canada, as well as two relatives, five acquaintances in the US, eight in Austria and one in Israel. This is an addition to the names of Hungarian community leaders and members he mentioned in his lengthy reflections on his experiences in Canada, as well as brief lists containing the names, employment information, home addresses, family situation and date of immigration of 121 Hungarian engineers in Ontario.³⁷ Similar lists were also compiled for 13 Hungarian engineers in Montreal,³⁸ as well as 17 professional engineers working for government agencies in Ontario.³⁹ The vast majority of written material was created between 1964 and 1967, during which time Du Garde lived in Vienna. The informant reported his findings to his superiors at the Interior Ministry when he visited Budapest in March 1967.⁴⁰

Du Garde followed a detailed set of guidelines when compiling information on his friends, colleagues and acquaintances. In each case, he would try

35 *Ibidem*, pp. 64.

36 *Ibidem*, pp. 63.

37 Mérnökök – Ontario (Engineers – Ontario), pp. 190, In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

38 Mérnökök – Montreal (Engineers – Montreal), pp. 190, (Handwritten note). In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

39 Köztisztviselők – Ontario, (Civil Servants – Ontario), pp. 190 (Handwritten note). In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

40 Istvan Varga. R. szds. Jelentés (Report), Budapest, March 31, 1967, In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

to find out about any connections they may have in Hungary and abroad, as well as information on their political and party affiliations, their ideological beliefs, association memberships, business connections, their circle of friends, personal data relating to their place of birth, citizenship, ethnic and religious origins, marital status, home address and current employment.⁴¹ Du Garde was also interested in the level of knowledge that people he was observing had in terms of domestic and international politics and specific beliefs on key issues, such as world peace, the Cuban crisis, the fate of Berlin, anti-fascism and racial or ethnic questions.⁴²

While the majority of people that Du Garde reported on were either community leaders, businesspeople, or prominent members of cultural and religious organizations, a few of his reports focused on Hungarian-Canadians with no such prominent position. For example, G.H. and E.H. were two sisters who rented an apartment together in Toronto. They had fled Hungary in 1957 and worked as seamstresses in a garment factory and in other low paying jobs.⁴³ Du Garde became acquainted with the two women in 1957, when he worked at the same garment factory in Toronto. The informant reported that both were „reactionary” and that E.H. may have been involved in the Arrow-Cross movement in Hungary, during World War II, although she would have been very young at the time.⁴⁴ Despite having produced a detailed report on the sisters, and while a certain level of trust and friendship had developed between the three of them, he felt that upon his return to Canada there would be no compelling need to remain in contact with them, due to their low societal standing, unless the two could be of help „*as part of a special assignment.*”⁴⁵ Du Garde arrived at the same conclusion in the case of another working-class couple from Toronto, J.T. and Z.T, both of whom fled Hungary in 1956 and who the informant classified

41 Du Garde által jelentett személyek (Du Garde's Reports on Individuals), pp. 190 (Handwritten note). In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

42 *Ibidem*, pp. 190.

43 Du Garde, Jelentés (Report), H.G. és H.E., February 24, 1964, pp. 147, In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

44 *Ibidem*, pp. 147.

45 *Ibidem*, pp. 148.

as „remarkably reactionary.”⁴⁶ The only difference was that unlike the sisters, J.T. and Z.T. were aware of Du Garde’s past as a party functionary in Baranya County, as they also originated from the same area.⁴⁷ Yet Du Garde rapidly determined that they were not likely to „out” him, as the couple lived a secluded life, had few friends and thus posed no risk.

Perhaps due to his friendship with Pastor Wilkie and his warm reception at the Deer Park United Church, Du Garde placed a special emphasis on maintaining contacts with prominent members of this Protestant community, and gathering information on them. This is why he suggested that upon his return to Canada, he might „*further develop his relationship*” with Mrs. A, who left Hungary in 1956 and worked for the United Church’s main offices in Toronto.⁴⁸ Du Garde believed that although Mrs. A and her husband were both conservative, they did not make hostile comments about the regime in Hungary and Mrs A in particular maintained important ties with United Church leaders, such as Pastor Wilkie and other key figures. Yet it appears as though those reading Du Garde’s report were unsure of what to make of the fact that he mentioned how he maintained „*especially warm contacts*” with Mrs. A, even after he left Canada. A question mark in the margins of the report and the underlining of these words suggest that officials in the Interior Ministry may have felt that there was more motivating Du Garde’s intentions and interest in Mrs. A than met the eye, especially since the agent was in the process of getting a divorce from his own wife at roughly the same time.⁴⁹

Du Garde returned to Canada in 1965, and visited the recently opened Embassy of the People’s Republic of Hungary in Ottawa, where he met with „B”, and furnished him with several lists of names and addresses of individuals that the informant thought might be of interest in the future, as well as a directory of groups that Hungarian state security could keep in contact with.⁵⁰ These lists

46 Du Garde, Jelentés (Report), T.J. és Z., March 4, 1964, pp. 149., In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

47 *Ibidem*, pp. 149.

48 Du Garde, Jelentés (Report), P.A. és A.A., February 27, 1964, pp. 122, In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

49 Du Garde, Jelentés (Report), A. K., February 26, 1964, pp. 117 – 118, In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

50 B., Jelentés (Report), Du Garde által hozott anyagok és konkrét feladatai végrehaj-

included the directory of the Deer Park United Church, the leaders of Toronto's Hungarian Jewish Alliance, as well as the North Toronto Business Association's list of members. Yet B was not interested in these lists, noting that the latter had almost no value, as the data was completely legal and publicly available. B was, however, interested in five individuals that Du Garde had reported on, and asked him to try to follow leads in each case.

One of Du Garde's final assignments involved producing a detailed guide in 1967, geared towards helping future informants immigrate to, and settle in Canada. The eleven page, typed document examined all aspects of arrival and integration in Canada, including passing through customs and passport inspection, renting an apartment, finding employment and even the importance of joining a community club, as well as the „necessity” of being a member of a church.⁵¹ *„In Canada you must belong to a church, whether you want to or not. Which church you decide to join does not matter, but you must belong to one.”*⁵² When Du Garde's superior in Hungary read the report, he felt that the agent „exaggerated” the central role of churches in Canadian society, but noted that the document could be useful when sending new informants to Canada.⁵³ The existence of such an extensive study suggests that Hungarian state security had every intention of sending agents to Canada, even in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Tensions between Canada and Hungary continued unabated during the late sixties and early seventies, with the RCMP keeping tabs on people suspected of colluding with authorities in Hungary and Hungarian officials increasingly concerned that Canada was stepping up its counter-espionage activities. When E.L., the Montreal-based Hungarian Trade Commission's secretary and a citizen of Hungary, unexpectedly quit her job in January 1969, vanished from her apartment and only contacted her workplace after a week had elapsed, in order to inform her employers that she has been permitted to settle in Canada and was

tása, (Du Garde's material and the execution of his assignments), July 23, 1965, pp. 171. In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

51 Du Garde, Tervezet (Plan), March 29, 1967, pp. 211. In: *ÁBTL.*, MT-182, Budapest.

52 *Ibidem*, pp. 211 – 212.

53 *Ibidem*, pp. 213.

given a work permit, Hungarian officials presumed that she had been in contact with Canadian counter-espionage officers for years.⁵⁴

Hungary closely monitored changes in the way in which Canada conducted its counter-espionage activities in 1969-70, partly because Hungarian officials working at the embassy in Ottawa, as well as at the trade commission in Montreal, reported that they were being much more closely watched. One Hungarian official visiting Montreal found that his hotel room had been thoroughly searched while he was out and that his wife had been followed by Canadian officers.⁵⁵ Around the same period, two RCMP officers visited the workplace of a Hungarian immigrant who was a close acquaintance of a Hungarian intelligence officer, affiliated with the Trade Commission in Montreal. The acquaintance noticed that the RCMP officers produced a complete list of all people associated with the Trade Commission during the meeting and many of the questions had to do with the end of the current consul's mandate and his return to Hungary in August 1969.⁵⁶ Although it was seen as standard practice for the RCMP to increase its interest in the work of an Eastern Bloc country's mission when high-ranking diplomats were preparing to leave, authorities in Hungary were finding that activities of Canadian counter-intelligence officials was becoming more systematic, orderly and thorough.⁵⁷

The Hungarian Embassy in Ottawa soon learned this first-hand when on January 10, 1970, János Hegedüs, the mission's First Secretary in charge of commercial affairs, found himself accused by the RCMP of espionage and was promptly expelled from the country.⁵⁸ Hungary ended up "retaliating" soon after, by expelling a Canadian diplomat who worked at the Canadian embassy in Budapest. Hungarian authorities continued to closely monitor the activities

54 Viktor Csapó, „Kivonat az ottawai jelentésből,” (Summary of the Report from Ottawa), February, 28, 1969, pp. 31. In: *ÁBTL*, 13-OD-3740, Budapest.

55 Viktor Csapó, „Kanadai munkatársunk jelentése az elhárítás tevékenységéről,” (Our Canadian Colleague's report on Counter-Espionage Activities), pp. 32, In: *ÁBTL*, 13-OD-3740, Budapest.

56 *Ibidem*, pp. 33.

57 Viktor Csapó, „Ottawa-i munkatársunk jelentése,” (Our Ottawa-based Colleagues Report), December 19, 1969, pp. 38, In: *ÁBTL*, 13-OD-3740, Budapest.

58 SAWATSKY, John: *Men in the Shadows: The RCMP Security Service*, Doubleday Canada Ltd., Toronto: 1980, pp. 291.

of Canadian diplomats in Budapest even into the early 1980s, by interviewing neighbours in their respective apartment blocks and rummaging through their garbage.⁵⁹

When it came to the activities of Hungarian diplomatic missions in Canada, the RCMP was correct in suspecting that the Hungarian Trade Commission in Montreal was involved in collecting intelligence and that several of its high ranking employees were, in fact, in contact with Hungarian State Security. The most prominent was A.S., who was also referred to as „Maclou.” Maclou originally served as the director of the state-run Kultura Foreign Trade Corporation, which dealt with the sale and distribution of Hungarian books and magazines abroad. The ÁVH contact first visited Canada and the US in 1959 and he was asked by Hungarian State Security to engage in research that may be of use to future agents, such as the relationship and cooperation between Canadian and American intelligence officers, how business circles view the detente between the US and the Soviet Union and the degree of influence that the Hungarian immigration’s „fascist and progressive movements” each have within the host country.⁶⁰

Yet Maclou’s relationship with Hungarian State Security was ambivalent and strained from the start. Although he was not an official intelligence officer, Maclou did serve as one of the agency’s official contacts. He did, however, place limits on his cooperation and noted that he would only participate in assignments that did not endanger him, or his foreign trade activities in any way.⁶¹

Despite this condition, Maclou was well respected and intelligence officers in Hungary felt that since he was discreet and cautious, he could handle the task at hand. Perhaps this explains why Maclou was chosen to lead the Hungarian Trade Commission in Montreal, when it was first established in 1964. The Trade Commission was meant to play a key role in Hungary’s intelligence operations in Canada and authorities felt that this new office could help gather sensitive

59 Objektum dosszié. In: *ÁBTL*, O-18747, Budapest.

60 Ervin Kassai, „Feladat-terv,” (Assignment), „Maclou,” December 3, 1959, pp. 40 – 41, In: *ÁBTL*, K-655/67, Budapest.

61 Ervin Kassai, „Jelentés” (Report), „Maclou,” December 8, 1959, pp. 43 – 44, In: *ÁBTL*, K-655/67, Budapest.

information on Canada and the US.⁶² Initially, the Montreal Trade Commission was to have three employees, including a trade counsel, an administrator and a secretary, but the government of Hungary and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP) agreed, that additional staff members would be added in the future.⁶³ Maclou was appointed to lead the Trade Commission and he began his mandate in October 1964.

Hungarian authorities miscalculated when they appointed Maclou to head the commission. The commissioner provided the Interior Ministry with virtually no useful information and refused to cooperate with the Hungarian Embassy in Ottawa. In 1965, „B” from the embassy complained that when he invited Maclou to Ottawa, the commissioner was „secretive” and that he *„did not accept any advice given to him, nor did he heed warnings.”*⁶⁴ Even more troubling was that Maclou regularly went on official trips without consulting with the embassy before hand, often spent his weekends with 1956 dissidents in Montreal who he had befriended and even called into question whether Canadian authorities were engaged in counter-intelligence work against the embassy and the trade commission.⁶⁵ According to ‘B,’ Maclou *„wanted to avoid providing a detailed account of his work and stated that although he knows many people, he only has basic information on them, but nothing that would be of interest to the embassy.”*⁶⁶ Maclou, it appeared, was intent on providing „benevolent” reports on individuals, and was not comfortable releasing too much information to embassy officials in Ottawa, nor to authorities in Hungary. In the end, „B” informed Maclou that he intended to travel to Montreal in the near future, and that he expected to discuss all his Canadian and Hungarian acquaintances, but the commissioner was not at all enthusiastic about the idea.⁶⁷

62 Tamás Szabó, „Feljegyzés” (Notes), September 9, 1964, pp. 55, In: *ÁBTL*, K-655/66, Budapest.

63 *Ibidem*, pp. 55.

64 „B.”, Jelentés (Report), Ottawa, April 22, 1965, 43., In: *ÁBTL*, K-655/67, Budapest.

65 *Ibidem*, pp. 43.

66 *Ibidem*, pp. 44.

67 *Ibidem*, pp. 44.

The situation at the Trade Commission continued to unravel when I.K., a military attaché and informant, was assigned to Canada and asked for Maclou's help should he stumble upon any problems or face challenges while getting accustomed to his new posting.⁶⁸ Maclou was unwilling to help and "prohibited" I.K. from providing any information to the embassy in Ottawa on the Trade Commission's programs and plans, because the commissioner would "only communicate what he sees fit."⁶⁹ When Maclou demanded to see the operational reports that I.K. had written, the latter refused, which led to a heated argument and "scandalous scenes" at the Trade Commission.⁷⁰

Hungarian authorities gave up on trying to acquire valuable intelligence from Maclou in March 1967, noting that the commissioner was only willing to „*maintain the most basic levels of official contact*” with the Interior Ministry.⁷¹ Maclou's unwillingness to cooperate and provide compromising information on his acquaintances in Montreal demonstrates that informants did enjoy a certain level of agency, and what information they passed on to their superiors was, at least in part, their personal choice.

Despite Maclou's unwillingness to cooperate, Canadian authorities recognized that the Trade Commission's original purpose was, in part, to gather intelligence. Hungarian officials in Ottawa and in Budapest were convinced that the RCMP was actively involved in counter-espionage activity directed against the embassy and the commission, well into the late sixties and seventies. For example, Hungarian authorities believed that when on September 20, 1965, the Trade Commission was broken into--but the intruders only seemed interested in searching through the files and papers the RCMP was behind the action and that it also kept the embassy's building under direct surveillance that same night.⁷²

Hungary's heightened interest and concern regarding what it saw as increased and more effective counter-intelligence activity on the part of the

68 „B.”, Jelentés (Report), Ottawa, May 30, 1965, 47., In: *ÁBTL*, K-655/67, Budapest.

69 *Ibidem*, pp. 48.

70 *Ibidem*, pp. 48.

71 István Varga, Határozat (Decision), Budapest, March 24, 1967, pp. 62, In: *ÁBTL*, K-655/66., Budapest.

72 Béla Mészáros, et. al. Összefoglaló jelentés (Comprehensive Report), Budapest, July 21, 1970, pp. 50, In: *ÁBTL*, 13-OD-3740, Budapest.

RCMP led authorities at the Interior Ministry to prepare a report on intelligence and counter-intelligence operations in Canada in 1981. The material in the report was partly based on Soviet findings and included detailed information on how the RCMP monitored the activities of Eastern bloc embassies and how the unique characteristics of specific cities – such as the relatively depopulated streets in downtown Ottawa – were used to their advantage.⁷³

Even if Canada stepped up its counter-intelligence activities, Hungary was not dissuaded from sending informants to Canada during the mid-eighties. „István Kovács”, for example, was one such informant, who visited Andrew László, the editor and publisher of *Magyar Élet* (Hungarian Life), a weekly newspaper printed in Toronto, but distributed widely throughout Canada and the United States. The paper had a reputation of being both conservative and staunchly anti-Soviet, and László also seemed to have contacts in President Ronald Reagan’s administration. Kovács spent one month in Canada, in November 1982, and his assignment was to gather information on László, his paper and other Hungarian immigrants in the editor’s entourage, as well as to detect differences and tensions within the community, especially among those who found the editor’s politics and style too extreme.⁷⁴ Kovács was systematic in the way in which he collected information and his report aimed to shed light on what he believed were Laszlo’s connections with underground opposition leaders in Hungary, his contacts with Hungarian immigrants living in Western Europe, and plans that he and other immigrants may have had to weaken the Hungarian regime and the Soviet Union’s authority in Eastern Europe by funding or otherwise supporting the opposition. Despite the fact that László did not fully trust Kovács, the informant was able to gather a significant amount of information which interested Hungarian authorities. László claimed that *Magyar Élet* received funding from Canadian and American governmental sources, as well as directly from the „secret service,” due to the paper’s reputation for being strongly anti-Soviet and broadly supportive of US foreign policy, especially un-

73 „Kanada operatív helyzete,” (The Operational Situation in Canada), Budapest, 1981, pp. 101 – 102., In: *ÁBTL*, 13-OD-3740, Budapest.

74 Török Sándor, et. al., Jelentés (Report), Szolnok, February 15, 1983, pp. 72., In: *ÁBTL*, M-40277, Budapest.

der the Reagan administration.⁷⁵ According to Kovács's report, László's daughter, „Dudu” was responsible for keeping in touch with the „Secret Service.”⁷⁶

In addition to his political contacts in the US, Western Europe and with opposition figures in Hungary, László also claimed to know a significant amount of information on the Hungarian Embassy in Ottawa, and asserted that „*only spies work there,*” specifically referring to „Sz”, „*one of the more prominent diplomats, who was apparently being closely watched by the RCMP.*”⁷⁷ Kovács painted a disturbing image of László, noting that he had an „*important role in the Hungarian immigrant community.*”⁷⁸ Kovács's findings led Hungarian authorities to follow up on the intelligence and verify some of the most controversial statements, such as the alleged public funding that *Magyar Élet* received and László's contacts with opposition figures in Hungary.

Kovács's reports on Hungarians in Canada and *Magyar Élet* in particular may be best characterized as „malevolent,” especially when compared with the relatively harmless and mundane observations produced some other informers. Several of the agents assigned to Canada were themselves victims of coercive tactics used by Hungarian state security, but a few demonstrated a significant degree of agency, by writing „benign” reports that would not likely cause problems for people being named and providing officials in Hungary with limited and selective information. At times, this lack of ‘useful’ information frustrated Hungarian authorities, but it did not dampen their interest in Canada during the Cold War. Canada's position as America's northern neighbour, its close political, economic, social and military ties with the US, as well as the existence of large populations of Hungarian immigrants in major urban centers like Toronto and Montreal, made it fertile ground to gather information of significance in relation to both international politics during the Cold War, and also to issues of domestic interest to Hungary.

75 *Ibidem*, pp. 73.

76 *Ibidem*, pp. 76.

77 *Ibidem*, pp. 76.

78 *Ibidem*, pp. 77.

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Economic Restructuring Period (Perestroika) and Technological Intelligence. The Lithuanian Factor

One of the key areas of the KGB activity from the 1940s, when war industry and largest scale troops were being established, was development of new technologies. The primary purpose of this activity was not only to grant expansion of the Soviet Union beyond the borders of the Russian empire, but also Diaspora of *the world revolution*. State-of-the-art technologies as well as invention of new 20 century weapons drastically changed the alignment of forces in the world. This, in its turn, also stimulated technological intelligence. It must be noted that the KGB was as successful in this field as in organising terrorism.

The 1st Lithuanian KGB division was responsible for using its potential not only for prosecution of political enemies or those Lithuanians who had returned from the exile or Soviet concentration camps, but also for technological intelligence. Documents, from which it would be possible to reconstruct the full picture of the KGB technological intelligence, however, have not survived till our days. In spite of that, the survived fragments can tell enough about the Soviet intelligence. From them one can see that not a single scientific novelty was left unnoticed. The KGB observed all scientific areas. The local KGB structures were managed from Moscow in the following way: in a general task all problematic issues were listed to agents. The agents' duty was to obtain necessary technical documentation and reports. For example, on 11 March 1987 the Vilnius division received a so-called *orientation task* with directions for solving problem No.202 to obtain information on long range types of nuclear reactors – fast breeder reactor and high-temperature gas-cooled reactor. The organisers of the KGB technological intelligence were interested in the main technological schemes of fast breeder reactor (130 – 300 MW capacity), peculiarities of the main unit construction, construction materials (their composition and characteristics) and stability of separate details and constructions.

The Chernobyl accident was the cause of the KGB interest in fast breeder reactor security criterion, patterning of damage situations and their control models. Another area of interest was possibility to use high-temperature gas-cooled reactor on a small scale in above ground, maritime and space objects. In other words, the KGB was interested in using them in submarines and intelligence satellites. The agency had to infiltrate its agents and obtain information in direct and indirect ways from American, French, Italian, English, Japanese and West German companies and organisations: Argonne National Lab., Hanford Engineering Development Lab., Idaho National Engineering Lab., Westinghouse Electric Co., General Electric Co., Department of Energy (all from the USA), Framatome, Centre d' Etudes Nucleaires de Cadarach, Creso-duar Electricite de France, Novatome, Commissariat a l' Energy Atomique (all from France), Kernforschungszentrum Karlsruhe, Kernforschungsanlage Julich GmbH (all from West Germany), Nucleare Italiana Reaktor Avansati (Italy), Yorkshire Imperial Metals Ltd. (England), Mitsubishi Metals Research Institute (Japan) and other laboratories, companies and organisations. There were 29 intelligence objects in this case. As the KGB staff and agents sometimes were not familiar with atomic technologies, they were offered to look for the so-called *key words* in the documents they received. The keywords were words, which had a direct connection to the problem. In the above case the keywords were: fast breeder reactor, high-temperature gas-cooled reactor, core, reactor vessel, radioactive waste, design accident and others¹. To accomplish this goal the local KGB divisions had to consolidate their work. One agent obtained schemes, other – information or opinion of a scientist under surveillance, another – a list of scientists working in the above mentioned companies. Therefore the central KGB office was able to process this information and with the help of war and nuclear technologies specialists – to go forward even without sufficient science and technology potential in the country itself.

During the period of Cold War Western States applied restrictions in trade and scientific exchange relations with the Soviet Union. Therefore the direct infiltration into and corporations and laboratories of United States, France and Germany was complicated.

1 Problem No. 202, Lithuanian Special Archives, f. K-1, inde. 49, file 415, pp. 8 – 9.

The advanced in economy states of the „third world“ was used in this process as well. The companies and enterprises of these states cooperating with the Western trans-national corporations were able to get the information about technologies as well. Then the interest in the components of chemical weapon was transformed into the interest in „pesticides“ and their producers in Brazil (Sintesul, Defensa), India (Hindustan Insecticides Ltd., etc.), Argentina (Compania Quimica S.A., etc.) and Mexico (SDS Biotech Corp.).

Science and technology became focus of Soviet Security Forces attention as soon as there was any progress in a particular field. When in the summer of 1987 the Head of 1st KGB Chief Directorate 7th division, Colonel Zevakin became interested in biotechnology of inanimate matter, which had just started developing at the time, the Head of 1st Lithuanian division colonel Karinauskas ordered his subordinate Vaivada in case of a operational possibility (i.e. if there is a sufficient number of agents specialising in this field) to collect information and to prepare analytical reports on prospects of biotechnology. The KGB was interested not only in accomplishments of gene engineering, scientific centres and expenditures of laboratories for their activities, but also in synthesis of strategic and precious metals.²

However it was not until change of conditions that the KGB could draft complex intelligence plans. A good example of this could be NAUKA-2 (Science-2) plan, which was implemented by 5th Directorate and 6th local KGB divisions which were in charge of international importance scientific centres in Moscow, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk and other places.

Wide spread interests are the reason why the KGB was also interested in AIDS spread statistics and possibilities of vaccine in spite of the fact that there was not sufficient knowledge about this illness neither in the USSR nor in Lithuania.

30 prominent companies from the USA, England, France, Germany and other countries (Syntex, Genentech, Burroughs Wellcome, Pfizer and others) were spied on with the purpose to obtain samples of some preparations and data of their clinical tests. If the AIDS problem were not so difficult to solve, the entire world would hear about „outstanding results of the Soviet science”.

2 The note by the Head of KGB “T” directorate 7 division, colonel Zevakin (30th July 1987) On in animate matter biotechnology. *Ibidem*, pp. 17.

In the spring of 1988 KGB took particular interest in establishment of joint enterprises with the foreign partners. It generated kind of recovery in the scientific technical espionage as well. A lot of opportunities were opened.

When the process of establishing of first new joint enterprises has started, KGB initiated activities seeking to expand its intelligence possibilities. The deputy head of PGU V. Kirpicenka issued an order to the first divisions of territorial state security committees to „care about“ the issues of the establishment of joint enterprises which were established with the foreign partners.³

The banks which operated in the territory of the Soviet Union, became for the first time the real mediators between the KGB and its agency. The main of them was Vneshekonombank. All Lithuanians, as well as other people in the Soviet Union, was obliged to keep their deposits in the foreign currency in this bank.

The bank accounts of the agents were used for the remittance of funds in the foreign currency which was used to pay for the secret bargains. The agents had a possibility to brink away the dollars from these accounts freely across the borders. They just had to warn about it the head of 2nd chief office of KGB General Markelov (in 1988).

On 24-26 October 1988 the elite of KGB convened in Moscow to discuss the new forms of economical and scientific – technological cooperation with foreign states and their possible using for the interests of KGB. 83 officers attended this meeting. PGU institute prepared for the KGB division of Soviet Lithuania „The scheme of the intelligence interest and analytical description of the object“⁴. In general, the main objects of interest were (and still are) the defence ministries and military scientific research centres of United States, other NATO member states, Japan and China. All these activities were directed at the implementation of the tasks prepared by the KGB specialists on technological espionage. In the first place the attention was paid to the program which in United States was called „Star Wars“. The tasks Nr. 104,108,115, 132, 134, 145, 149 was related to the cosmic satellites of radio, optical-eletronical and photo reconnaissance, the problems of creation of laser weapon.

3 The note by KGB gen. Kirpiczenko (13th April 1988). *Ibidem*, pp. 64 – 65.

4 The note by the Head of KGB „PGU“ directorate gen. I.Zaicev (16th December 1988), *ibid.*, p. 243 – 246.

Lithuanian local KGB division agents and staff were active among Lithuanian emigration who kept in touch with their relatives living in Lithuania, especially if their relatives were working in closed (war industry complex) institutes, they were university scientist or had relations to many people due to their professions. However, so far there is no proving that the KGB activity among the Lithuanians had any actual results in technological intelligence.

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Monographs: Anušauskas A. Lithuanian secret services (1918 – 1940). Mintis. Vilnius. 1993 (and 2008). 337 p.; Anušauskas A. Soviet destruction of the Lithuanian nation in 1940 – 1958. Vilnius. 1996. 494 p.; Anušauskas A., Burauskaitė B. Freedom of the Baltics. Responsibility of the European, V., 2002, 288 p., „Lithuania 1940 -1990”, V., 2005 (and 2007), 710 p. gen. edit., etc. Collection of documents and articles: The Anti-Soviet Resistance in the Baltic States, Vilnius, 1999 (and 2000, 2001, 2002), 272 p. (A. Anušauskas – general editor); Protocols of the Provisional Government of Lithuania. Document collection. (Editor A. Anušauskas), V., 2001, 184 p.), etc. 200 scholarly articles and popular science publications.

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A Special Relationship. Hungarian Intelligence and the Vatican, 1961 – 1978¹

Preliminary remarks

This paper aims at giving an overview of the operative actions, diversion plans and manipulative use of mass-media undertaken by Hungary against the Vatican during the Cold War in the period between the opening of the II Vatican Council and Karol Wojtyła's election. *Ostpolitik* has for a long time been a matter of scholarly and political controversy. Most Western accounts have credited the outcome of Communism and the defeat of the Soviet bloc mainly to the intensive East-West dialogue, of which the Vatican's *Ostpolitik*, initiated in the early 1960s by Pope John XXIII, had been a major element. According to this, the progressive foreign policy pursued by the Vatican and West Germany had no alternative: it was the only way they could help East-European Catholic communities to survive Communism.² Hungarian and other Eastern European

1 To be quoted with author's permission only!

2 For a general overview, see STEHLE, Hansjakob: *Geheimdiplomatie im Vatican. Die Päpste und die Kommunisten*. Zürich, Benziger, 1993. See also Card. Casaroli's memoirs – CASAROLI, Agostino: *Il martirio della pazienza. La Santa Sede e i paesi comunisti (1963 – 1989)*. Torino, Einaudi, 2000 and his apologetic portrait by Santini – SANTINI, Alceste: *Casaroli, l'uomo del dialogo*. Roma, San Paolo Editore, 1993. A positive assessment of the Vatican's *Ostpolitik* in the scholarly work by Melloni – MELLONI, Alberto: *L'altra Roma. Politica e S. Sede durante il Concilio Vaticano II (1959 – 1965)*. Bologna, Il Mulino, 2000 and MELLONI, Alberto (ed): *Il filo sottile. L'Ostpolitik vaticana di Agostino Casaroli*. Bologna, Il Mulino, 2006, and also BARBERINI, Giovanni: *L'Ostpolitik della Santa Sede. Un dialogo lungo e faticoso*. Bologna, Il Mulino, 2007. On the origins of left-wing catholic movements in the 1960s Italy, see SARESELLA Daniela: *Dal Concilio alla contestazione. Riviste cattoliche negli anni del cambiamento*. Brescia, Morcelliana, 2005. A more sceptical approach is in RICCARDI, Andrea: *Il Vaticano e Mosca, 1940 – 1990*. Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1992; perceptive critiques on the dominant interpretation of the II Vatican Council as a radical breakthrough for the Catholic Church in MARCHETTO, Agostino: *Il Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II. Contrappunto per la sua storia*. Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana,

accounts have been always been rather critical on the aims and the results of the Vatican's opening to the East.³ On the basis of extensive fieldwork in the Hungarian state security archives, I will analyse the long-term effects that the *Ostpolitik* – strongly influenced by the intelligence services of the Soviet bloc – had on the Hungarian Catholic movement and bilateral relations between the Holy See and a moderate Communist regime. My point is that a mostly Catho-

2005, a senior Vatican diplomat now serving as Secretary of the Pontifical Council for Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant Peoples. Long-term negative effects of the Communist religious policy on Poland and Hungary are briefly summarized by ORLANDI, Fernando: *Východné cirkvi : čo kážu, a čo robia*. EAST, 13/2007, pp. 22 – 29.

- 3 See Card. Mindszenty's memoirs – MINDSZENTY, József: *Memorie*. Milano, Rusconi, 1975 (or. ed. 1974) and his diary of the years spent in the US Embassy in Budapest – MINDSZENTY, József: *Napi jegyzetek. Amerikai követség 1956-1971*. Szerk. Csonka Emil. Vaduz, 1979; from a similar perspective ADRIÁNYI, Gábor: *A Vatikán keleti politikája és Magyarország 1939 – 1978*. Budapest, Kairosz, 2004 and MÉSZÁROS, István: *Egy "kultusz" a XXI. században. A Mindszenty-tisztelet története (1975 – 2005)*. Budapest, Kairosz, 2005. A good analysis of the Hungarian participation in the II Vatican Council in MÁTÉ-TÓTH, András: *A II. Vatikáni zsinat és a magyar elhárítás* (2003, manuscript, available at http://www.vallastudomany.hu/Members/matetoth/vtmtadocs/m-ta_II_vatikani_zsinat). An authoritative account on the relationship between Hungary and the Vatican during the 1960s, based on an impressive documentation, in SZABÓ, Csaba: *A Szentszék és a Magyar Népköztársaság kapcsolatai a hatvanas években*. Budapest, Szent István Társulat-Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005. On the infiltration of the secret police into the Hungarian Catholic Church before 1956, see KAHLER, Frigyes: *ÁVH történelmi olvasókönyv 4. Adalékok az egyházüldözés történetéhez*. Budapest, Kairosz, 2007; for the following period see the recollection by LÉNÁRD, Ödön – TÍMAR, Ágnes – SZABÓ, Gyula – SOÓS, Viktor Attila (eds): *Utak és útvesszők*. Budapest, Kairosz, 2006; an acquitting stance in TOMKA, Ferenc: *Halálra szántak, mégis élünk (Egyházüldözés 1945 – 1990 és az ügynökkérdés.)* Budapest, Szent István Társulat, 2005; a balanced account on post-1956 trends in the Hungarian Catholic world in BAUQUET, Nicolas: *Entrer en kadarisme: l'Église catholique hongroise de la révolution à la «consolidation»*. COMMUNISME, 88/2006-2007, pp. 91 – 106; TABAJDI, Gábor – UNGVÁRY, Krisztián: *Állambiztonsági tanulmányok*. Manuscript, Budapest, 2007 – radical critics in the chapter devoted to the Catholic Church of their general work on the Hungarian state security under the Kádár regime (2007), pp. 286 – 313. On Hungarian-Italian diplomatic relations from 1956 to the second half of the 1970s, see PANKOVITS, József: *Fejezetek a Magyar-olasz politikai kapcsolatok történetéből (1956 – 1977)*. Budapest, Gondolat, 2005, and in particular chapter 5 on Mindszenty's case.

lic, still multi-confessional and quite secularised country like Hungary was the best ground for such a tactical and at times ideological compromise:

- 1) After a first period of confrontation and sufferance, most of the hierarchy (cardinals, bishops, professors of theology, Catholic journalists and intellectuals) and an influential minority of rank-and-file priests and believers came to accept the necessity to cooperate with the Kádár regime. The price for this choice has been very high: in no Eastern European communist country had the Catholic movement suffered such a serious erosion of its moral authority as the Hungarian Catholic Church, a direct consequence of the deep, long-standing and humiliating compromise with an atheist state.
- 2) From the early 1960s, when diplomatic talks between Hungary and the Vatican were relaunched, the „liberal” Kádár regime was assigned by the Warsaw Pact special intelligence tasks regarding Italy and the Vatican. Ideological subversion, diplomatic talks and intelligence activity appeared as the different facets of the same sophisticated strategy. Hungarian politicians and state security officers in charge of diplomatic missions were polite, spoke good Italian and made reference to values that were very popular in post-1968 Europe: the deepening of the co-existence; the struggle against the conservative wing within the Catholic Church; and the necessity of a constant East-West „dialogue” to be promoted by left-wing, pacifist, profoundly anti-American and pro-Soviet new Catholic movements. Due to the existence of a strong Communist party and to the rise of left-wing Catholic dissent, Italy proved to be the ideal ground for this kind of soft ideological work.

Sources used

For my research I have made use of recently declassified files of the Hungarian foreign intelligence, preserved in the State Security Archives of Budapest. The most relevant source, without doubt, is a so-called *objektum dosszié*,⁴

⁴ „Objektum dosszié” was a collection of different materials referring to a single

opened in 1971 and closed as late as the 25 February 1993,⁵ which includes all relevant operative information obtained from and concerning the Vatican's Secretariat of State. This general file was given the „Nérók” code name.⁶ Ten out of the 16 original volumes are missing from the State Security Archives. The documentation available to scholars encompasses vols 11-16 (ca. 1 300 pages) covering the period between 1972 and 1985. These files originally had been classified as „state secret” (államtitok) until 2071, but have been declassified and made available for research under the effects of the Law 3/2003.

Further information came from some of the personal files of foreign informants of the Hungarian Intelligence Service („Mozart” operative file 1962 – 1965, „Kerekes” operative file 1966 – 1968, „Blanc” operative file 1972 – 1979), from already published documents – in particular the „Canale” (Channel) *objektum dosszié*, referring to an earlier stage of the Hungarian-Vatican relations between 1962-65. A further source of interest were the files of the of the residency (from the Russian *rezidentura*⁷) called „Világosság” (Lightness), created by the Hungarian intelligence within the State Office of Religious Affairs in 1967 with the aim of improving the operative work among the “Catholic reaction”⁸.

However, one must be aware that while top-secret records now available in Hungary or Poland describe in detail the anti-religious strategies adopted

case/problem/territory, which was used for operative purposes by intelligence officers.

- 5 I asked archivists and other scholars the possible reason for this: the unanimous answer was that the operative file may have been closed well later than 1989. We can reasonably suppose that the Hungarian intelligence activity inside the Vatican did not stop with the end of Communism, due to the fact that in the first years of transition the I (Foreign) Directorate responsible for the Vatican line (section III/I-4-A) had not been dismantled because of „national security reasons”.
- 6 Állambiztosági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára, Budapest (*ÁBTL*): fond 3.2.5, file 0-8-552, vol. 11 – 16.
- 7 Quoting from a KGB lexicon: „An Intelligence unit under deep cover in a target country, where it conducts Intelligence work from legal or illegal positions”. *Lexicon of KGB terms*. Impedion Report No. 152, 115. A copy available at CSSEO library (Levico Terme, Italy).
- 8 SOÓS, Viktor Attila – SZABÓ, Csaba: „Világosság”. *Az Állami Egyházügyi Hivatal és a hírszerzés tevékenysége a katolikus egyház ellen*. Budapest, Új Ember-Lénárd Ödön Közhasznú Alapítvány, 2006.

by Moscow and its allies, they cannot shed light on the policy and strategies adopted by the Vatican – carried out by a notoriously secretive bureaucracy. Moreover, unless the Secret Archives of the Holy See disclose the key documents of the period after the II World War, we will not be able to solve the puzzle, but merely to propose a partial and likely biased point of view, i.e. the one suggested by these documents available in the post-communist archives.

Internal factors: the Kádár regime's new Catholic policy

The first question I would address is how the Hungarian intelligence bodies – which Moscow viewed as peripheral and inefficient when compared to the Czechoslovakian, the East German or even the Bulgarian secret services – came to be considered by the late 1960s an efficient instrument for the Soviet bloc's ideological offensive against the West. From 1948 to 1956 the Communist-Catholic relationships in Hungary did not differ from the more general East-European pattern. After Card. Mindszenty's show trial in 1949, hundreds of priests, friars, professors of theology and simple believers were arrested and sentenced to hard prison terms; every official contact with the Vatican was strictly forbidden; and properties and schools belonging to the Catholic Church were confiscated. The fey institutions left immediately became part of the show-dressing policy pursued by the Rákosi regime, which tried to build up a loyalist Catholic movement, but its leaders were immediately excommunicated by Pope Pius XII in 1950. After a moment of relative tranquillity between 1955-57, a second wave of arrests and political trials of clerics took place (along with similar ones in the Soviet Union and Romania) between 1958 and 1961, at the peak of the anti-religious campaign led by Nikita Khrushchev.

The reconstruction of the informative network damaged by the 1956 revolution was given high priority by the „reformed” secret services. Starting from 1957, a great number of priests were recruited by the secret police, with most of them having a history of brief or longer periods of detention. Due to the fact that no new bishops had been appointed until a partial bilateral agreement was signed on 15 September 1964, the aim of the authorities became the selection of a new Catholic elite from this pool of „trustworthy” priests: the deal was

career prospects and the possibility of travelling abroad in exchange for secret assistance and public loyalty.

By combining punishment and social mobility, the Kádár regime set the basis for further compromises. The second attack against the Catholic Church ended the movement of collective resistance in Hungary. A sociological analysis on the Hungarian Catholic clergy's involvement shows that while the early total percentage of agents and sources among the nearly 4 000 priests did not exceed 6-7%⁹, this rate later rose to 60-70% (over 80% in the mid-1980s) in the cases of bishops and leading professors of theology (rectors, visiting scholars to the *Hungarian Pontifical Institute* in Rome (Pápai Magyar Intézet – PMI¹⁰). Almost every bishop appointed after 1964 had previously been linked (or was still linked at the moment of his appointment) to the different branches of the Hungarian intelligence (i.e. section III/I-4 of the Ministry of Interior dealing with Italy and the Vatican, residencies all over the world, the hypertrophic Directorate III/III-1 of MI dealing with the „Catholic reactionaries”). The career of this new „cooperative” clergy – or better, the making of a carefully selected counter elite – was monitored and, in fact, directed by the Hungarian secret service and the State office for Cults, in order to replace the old-styled, uncompromised icons like Cardinal Mindszenty; Lajos Shvoy, Bishop of Székesfehérvár; József Pétery, the *impeditus* Bishop of Vác; Norbert Legányi, the abbot of Pannonhalma; or Arthur Schwartz-Eggenhoffer, appointed by the Vatican apostolic administrator of Esztergom (without the agreement of Hungarian authorities) after cardinal Mindszenty fled to the US Embassy. People like József Ijjas (appointed Bishop of Kalocsa in 1964), Pál Brezanóczy (appointed Bishop of Eger in 1964), theologian Imre Timkó (appointed Greek-Catholic Bishop of Hajdudorogh in 1975), Kornél Pataki, György Zemplén, and Árpád Fábán

9 According to András Tóth-Máté, in 1958 out of 4663 active clergy (3,7%) only 171 agents were active. Not surprisingly, the highest rate can be found in Budapest (45 out of 480 priests). In the 1970s and 1980s the percentage of clergy collaborating with the Hungarian secret services nearly doubled due to the recruitment of young theologians and priests by the III/I Directorate (external service).

10 TABAJDI, Gábor – UNGVÁRY, Krisztián: *Állambiztonsági tanulmányok*. Manuscript, Budapest, 2007, pp. 290 – 293.

became the best possible ambassadors for the new socialist Hungary during and in the wake of the II Vatican Council.¹¹

Early intelligence activity against the Vatican

Between 1948 and 1963 there were no official contacts between the Vatican and the Hungarian People's Republic. The officers working on the Catholic problem in the Centre and in the small-sized residency in Rome were given the task of monitoring the activity of Hungarian political refugees in Italy. Special attention was paid to those churchmen attending their service in Rome who refused to come back to Hungary after the Communist takeover in 1948. In the early 1950s the ÁVH had opened an informative file, codenamed „Hontalanok¹²” (Stateless), against prominent conservative clerics in Rome such as József Zágon, who left Hungary in 1949 and organized the Hungarian „Actio Catholica” in Rome, becoming first the rector of and later a member of the Curia (secretary of the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants between 1970 and 1975); Mons. István Mester, the vice-rector of the PMI and the spokesman of the Hungarian Bishop's Conference until 1964; the Piarist priest Vince Tomek, appointed Father General in 1947 and acting as such until 1967; and finally Mons. Sándor Csertő, a senior member of the powerful *Propaganda Fidei* Congregation, appointed *Promotor Iustitiae* (the third most important position) by its conservative prefect, the Archbishop of Zagreb Šeper in 1969.¹³ Although in 1952 a general file named “Vatican's Secretariat of State” was opened, it was impossible to directly penetrate the Vatican until the death of Pope Pius XII.¹⁴

11 *Ibidem*, pp. 296 – 300.

12 *ÁBTL*, 3. 1. 8. Cs – 687.

13 This provoked negative reactions in Budapest by the ÁEH and the officers handling „Világosság” residency within it. See SZABÓ, Csaba: *A Szentsek és a Magyar Népköztársaság kapcsolatai a hatvanas években*. Budapest, Szent István Társulat-Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005, pp. 397. In the „Canale”, „Hontalanok” and „Nérók” files one finds many references to the intensive cultivation of these „hostile” clerics. In the early 1970s the Hungarian intelligence tried a more direct approach to Csertő, who refused any cooperation with the state security. *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5, 0-8-552/15, pp. 92 – 97.

14 The existence of an objektum-dosszié named „Pápai Államtitkárság” had been

By stimulating rivalry and misunderstandings, the Hungarian state security attempted – without much success until 1964 – to weaken those Hungarian-born clerics belonging to the conservative, openly anti-communist wing, and to undermine their position as mediator between the Holy See and the Hungarian Church. By a curious accident, the emigrant-run PMI and the state-owned Hungarian Academy of Rome had to share the magnificent Palazzo Falconieri located in Via Giulia, next to Piazza Farnese and Campo dei Fiori and located only a few hundred meters from the Vatican.

A turning-point in Vatican-Hungarian relations came when the new Pope John XXIII called for a Vatican Council on 25 January 1959.¹⁵ It was an utmost difficult moment for all East-European Catholic Churches, hit by the intensive anti-religious campaign launched by Nikita Khrushchev one year before. It was only after the first official invitations were posted to Hungarian bishops (June 1962), that the Hungarian party and intelligence officials focussed on the question. At first, Cardinal Mindszenty and some other bishops, whose appointment had not been recognized by the Communist state, did not receive invitations, probably due to the internal conflict within the Curia between the declining conservatives, willing to openly condemn Communist regimes, and the rising progressive wing – supported by the Pope himself – seeking to find a compromise with them. When the „reparatory” invitation to old conservative bishops was posted, it was too late: the Hungarian delegation had been set up by the Office for Religious Affairs (ÁEH), in cooperation with the III/III („internal reaction”) and the III/I (foreign intelligence) Directorates. Six informants and several operative agents, who served under diplomatic cover in the Hungarian Legation in Rome, joined the high-level delegation which travelled to Rome in October 1962. Among the informants who had received special training before leaving, one can find future bishops, leading theologians and catholic journal-

recently discovered by Hungarian scholar István Bandi. The 10 volume file is supposed to have preceded „Nérók” (which starts from vol. XI) but this is unfortunately not available in the state security archive. According to the staff’s opinion, most of this part of it could have got lost or destroyed during or immediately after the 1956 revolution.

15 SZABÓ, Csaba: *A Szentek és a Magyar Népköztársaság kapcsolatai a hatvanas években*. Budapest, Szent István Társulat-Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005, pp. 20.

ists.¹⁶ For the second session, in 1963, the proportion of agents rose to 9 out of 15 members. Intelligence reports showed scarce satisfaction for the work of the Hungarian spies who were the first to work in the Vatican,¹⁷ most of them had been simply unable to remain undiscovered.¹⁸

Nevertheless, it was during the II Vatican Council that the Hungarian intelligence officers, learning from their errors, laid the foundations for further operative work against the Vatican. To better implement the new policy of opening and dialogue, shortly before the beginning of the Council, in mid-1962 a new ambassador was appointed to Italy, the open-minded and clever József Száll. He was followed by young and well-trained (but ideologically inflexible) state security officers. The Hungarian Legation (from 1964 the Embassy) and the Rome residency staff could get more easily acquainted in Vatican affairs under diplomatic cover by regularly meeting with cardinals, members of the Curia, and civil servants of the staff of the Secretariat of State and new bodies such as the Secretariat for the Promotion of the Unity of Christians, founded in 1960 and the Secretariat for Non Believers founded in 1965, both aimed at stimulating East-West ecumenical dialogue.¹⁹

16 See MÁTÉ-TÓTH, András: *A II. Vatikáni zsinat és a magyar elhárítás* (2003, manuscript, available at http://www.vallastudomany.hu/Members/matetoth/vt-mtadocs/m-ta_II_vatikani_zsinat) and SZABÓ, Csaba: *A Szentszék és a Magyar Népköztársaság kapcsolatai a hatvanas években*. Budapest, Szent István Társulat-Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005.

17 According to István Bandi, the first reports regarding Hungarian clerics emigrated to Italy date back as early as 1950, but agents working for the Hungarian state security in the first 1950s did not represent the „official” Hungarian church like their later fellows.

18 SZABÓ, Csaba: *A Szentszék és a Magyar Népköztársaság kapcsolatai a hatvanas években*. Budapest, Szent István Társulat-Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005, pp. 143 – 144.

19 From 1960 to 1965 the resident was János Bogye, codenamed *Tarnai*, who was to be appointed chief of the Hungarian intelligence in 1976. Other valuable officers proved to be Major György Földes, codenamed *Dér*, the referent for the Catholic issue of the Rome residency between 1962-66, appointed later chief of section III/I-8, charged with the training of illegals, who was also until 1982 the „handler” of the Vatican line in the Centre (service III/I-4-A); Major Ferenc Garzó, codenamed *Fekete*, who joined the Rome residency in 1962 under diplomatic cover, becoming a key element of the Vatican line and the resident from Rome between 1973-77; László Róbert, codenamed *Rezső*, officially the MTI press agency and the newspa-

In September 1962 officer *Fekete*, who worked in the Rome residency (then dependent on the III/I-3-D service – Vatican), met a German-born journalist (Hamburg, 1900), Dr. Fritz Kusen, who had been living in Italy since the early 1930s and had been working in the German section of *Radio Vaticana* after 1947 and was in contact with the West German Embassy of Rome, as well. According to the information collected in his personal file, Kusen (codenamed „Mozart”) had also been tasked with diplomatic missions by the Canaris service during the II World War; while after 1945 he had had good contacts with a number of East-European and Arab diplomats. The Hungarian intelligence was sure he was not only a double agent, but was being used by the Vatican to spread both true and false information.²⁰ So he never became an „agent”, refusing to be paid for his reports and oral information he released between 1963–64, but his expertise was valuable to the Hungarian intelligence and party leadership engaged in bilateral talks with the Vatican. Kusen had excellent access to internal information. He was a close friend of Father Sebastian Tromp, the personal secretary of the leading conservative Cardinal Ottaviani, a fierce enemy of the opening to Moscow. During a confidential talk with him on 14 April 1963, Kusen got to know that the visit to the Pope of the „Izvestija” editor and Nikita Khrushchev’s son-in-law Adjubei, on March 7, had not been an accident but had to be placed into a broader perspective. Shortly after the publication of encyclical letter *Pacem in Terris*, on April 11 – in which the head of the Catholic Church renounced to voice anti-communism,²¹ Pope John XXIII arranged with Soviet authorities a private visit for Khrushchev to Rome and to the Vatican on June 15. Although the plan has never been made public – and the Pope’s death on June 3 made it fail – it provoked deep concern not only in the Vatican, among leading conservative circles, but also in the USA and in West Germany, where chancellor Adenauer reacted furiously to the bad news coming from Rome.²²

per *Népszabadság* correspondent to Rome between 1961 and 1966.

20 *ÁBTL*, fond 3.2.4. K-383 („Mozart” operative file, 1962 – 1965), pp. 137 – 138.

21 MELLONI, Alberto: *L'altra Roma. Politica e S. Sede durante il Concilio Vaticano II (1959 – 1965)*. Bologna, Il Mulino, 2000, pp. 179.

22 *ÁBTL*, fond 3.2.4. K-383, pp. 118 – 119.

Thanks to „Mozart” and the Hungarian agents „Kékes Pál” and „Molnár Béla”,²³ and legal channels such as Italian journalists Alceste Santini²⁴ and Valerio Occhetto, the Hungarian intelligence and party leadership managed to run the first talks between a Communist state and the Holy See from a very favourable position. While the Vatican’s envoys to Budapest (the Archbishop of Vienna, Franz König, visited Card. Mindszenty at the end of April 1963, followed on May 7-9 by Mons. Agostino Casaroli, the special envoy the Secretariat of State²⁵) had only a superficial knowledge of the internal situation in Hungary, the Kádár regime had detailed information about the increasing strength – stimulated both by internal factors and by the mounting activity of Warsaw Pact’s intelligence – of the intentions of the progressive wing within the Vatican, whose aim was to persuade Card. Mindszenty to give up his personal resistance, to leave Budapest and to step down from his post of Primate of Hungary, allowing the Hungarian church to „live on and work”.²⁶

The policy of distension and dialogue inaugurated by Pope John XXIII was carried on by his successor, Paul VI, and despite Mindszenty’s refusal to leave Hungary without a complete rehabilitation, after one year of intensive bilateral talks a partial agreement was signed in Budapest on 15 September 1964 by Agostino Casaroli and József Prantner, the head of the ÁEH. The agreement

23 „Kékes Pál” was the codename of Pál Brezanóczy (1912 – 1972), the Apostolic Administrator of Eger since 1959, who was appointed bishop on 28 October 1964. „Molnár Béla” was the codename of Vid Mihelics, a leading Catholic journalist and the editor of *Vigilia* review.

24 Santini was a well-reputed *vaticanista* of the Communist newspaper *l’Unità* and also gave valuable support (not as an agent, but a confidential source) to the Hungarian state security. For over 35 years, until 1990 he led the press service of the Hungarian Embassy to Rome, being also in friendly relations with Casaroli and other Vatican diplomats belonging to the progressive wing.

25 Five days before Casaroli’s arrival to Budapest, on 2 May 1963, section III/III-2-a of the Ministry of Interior arranged an operative plan on his surveillance which involved 17 agents in Budapest, Győr, Szeged, Esztergom, Nyíregyháza and Székesfehérvár. SZABÓ, Csaba: *A Szezséék és a Magyar Népköztársaság kapcsolatai a hatvanas években*. Budapest, Szent István Társulat-Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005, pp. 97 – 99.

26 MELLONI, Alberto: *L’altra Roma. Politica e S. Sede durante il Concilio Vaticano II (1959 – 1965)*. Bologna, Il Mulino, 2000, pp. 172.

should be considered one of the most successful act of Kádár's regime for three reasons:

- 1) As a consequence of the communist regime's lobbying for the appointment of politically loyal churchmen to replace uncompromised bishops, a great number of bishops and auxiliary bishops working for both the internal service (Directorate III/III) and the foreign intelligence (Directorate III/I) were appointed between 1964 and 1969, when the Hungarian Bishop's conference fell under a complete control by the state.²⁷ For Moscow, Hungary became a positive model for the state-church relationships in the socialist bloc. Even if religious harassments (censorship, intimidation, arrests, trials) were not stopped, and a new wave of repression took place in early 1965, only a few months after the agreement, the Vatican's diplomacy preferred to downplay their significance in order to maintain good relations with the Hungarian state.²⁸
- 2) In 1965 the Hungarian state took over the PMI, located at the second floor of Palazzo Falconieri in Rome. Emigrant clerics were removed from their position and replaced by a new staff (rector, vice-rector, a half dozen professors and 4-5 students per year, whose salary or grant was allotted by the Hungarian state). According to archival records, all

27 ADRIÁNYI, Gábor: *A Vatikán keleti politikája és Magyarország 1939 – 1978*. Budapest, Kairosz, 2004, pp. 70 – 71. According to a prudent estimation, in 1987 no less than 10 out of 13 members of the Hungarian Bishops' Conference (HBC) had been in the past or were still agents and informants of the state security. On the case of Card. László Paskai, the President of the HBC between 1986 and 1990, see UNGVÁRY, Krisztián: *Mozgástér és kényszerpályák. Ecsetvonások egy egyházi életrajzához*. ÉLET ÉS IRODALOM, 2006/5.

28 In the mid-1960s (the best example could be his speech at Domitilla's Catacombs, on 12 September 1965) he looked more uncompromising towards Poland, which he strongly desired to visit despite the official refusal by local authorities. On Paul VI's position toward Communism see MELLONI, Alberto: *L'altra Roma. Politica e S. Sede durante il Concilio Vaticano II (1959 – 1965)*. Bologna, Il Mulino, 2000, pp. 352 – 357 and pp. 368 – 371; CASAROLI, Agostino: *Il martirio della pazienza. La Santa Sede e i paesi comunisti (1963 – 1989)*. Torino, Einaudi, 2000, pp. 67 – 76.

rectors leading it between 1965 and 1987 had been skilled agents of the Hungarian intelligence, trained to entertain political discussions, or to use „technique instruments” such as portable microphones.²⁹ From 1965 to the late 1970s, the proportion of informants among visiting professors and students – most of them attending the Gregorian and the Lateran Pontifical Universities, or the *Collegium Germanicum* – was lower, but still exceeded 50%.³⁰ PMI’s rectors and professors were a major instrument of Kádár’s policy towards the Vatican, enjoying unrestricted access to the Vatican diplomats dealing with East-European affairs: Agostino Casaroli and Giovanni Cheli until the early 1970s; later on Luigi Poggi, Gabriel Montalvo, Angelo Sodano, Ivan Dias and John Bukovsky.

- 3) Already in 1964 the PMI was given by the state security the task of selecting the future Catholic elite in Hungary, that is the medium and upper ecclesiastical positions. In 1976 a report by the Hungarian intelligence praised the loyalty of former students and stated that the reproduction of a new Catholic elite was a permanent task for the state security, and could only be achieved by preventing „undesirable persons” from getting a chance for career in Rome. Following the „prospective” view adopted after 1964, along the Hungarian Cultural Institute, the PMI was to become the basis of the Hungarian „soft” intelligence in Italy.³¹

29 György Zemplén (codenamed *Karl Wittmann*, 1965 – 1968. Work file nr. Mt-567/1-2.), Árpád Fábián (*Ludwig Beron*, 1969 – 1972. File Mt-807/1-3), István Bagi (*Blanc*, 1973 – 1979. File Mt-1109/1-4), Dankó István (*Körmöczi*, 1980 – 1987. File M-35493). Although few information is still available about the agent’s network of PMI in the late 1980s, on the basis of the closing date of the „Nérók” operative file (1993) one has to suppose that the methodic penetration of it had not stopped in 1987.

30 BANDI, István: *Adalékok a Pápai Magyar Intézet történetéhez, állambiztonsági megközelítésben*. EGYHÁZTÖRTÉNETI SZEMLE, 2007/1. (<http://www.unimiskolc.hu/~egyhtort/cikkek/bandiistvan.htm>).

31 Operative files concerning the PMI were collected into a dossier codenamed „Palota” (Palace). *ÁBTL*, 3. 1. 5. O-20011.

1967 – 1971: Solving Mindszenty's question

The year 1967 marked a new turning-point for the Hungarian effort to infiltrate the Vatican. On 26 March Pope Paul VI's encyclical letter *Populorum Progressio* was published. The Catholic church openly faced modernity and stood for social and political rights, especially in Africa and Latin America, claiming that evangelization and a call for social justice were consistent aims. On 4 July 1967 Mons. Casaroli, who expressed his own sympathy for the cause of the socialist countries, was appointed Secretary of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs (renamed shortly after Public Affairs Council, equivalent to a foreign ministry), and on 16 July he was also created Bishop.³² Only four years after his first visit to Budapest, he had become the chief architect of the Vatican's *Ostpolitik*. The reaction of Moscow was immediate. On 24-27 July senior officials of Soviet Bloc intelligence agencies met in Budapest to discuss „work against the Vatican; measures to discredit the Vatican and its backers, and measures to exacerbate differences within the Vatican and between the Vatican and capitalist countries”; the meeting was followed by active measures aimed at discrediting and dividing the Uniate Church and at penetrating the Vatican.³³ According to Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, in 1968-69 an ambitious program personally supervised by the new chief of KGB, Yurii Andropov, aimed at infiltrating all major sections of the Vatican bureaucracy. After the successful takeover of PMI and the marginalisation of the Catholic emigration to Rome, Hungary was given the further task to creep into all Congregations and the Secretariat of State, then run by French cardinal Jean

32 Casaroli's biographic data in CASAROLI, Agostino: *Il martirio della pazienza. La Santa Sede e i paesi comunisti (1963 – 1989)*. Torino, Einaudi, 2000, XXXI-XXXV.

33 The quotation has been taken from Christopher Andrew-Vasili Mitrokhin (1999), pp. 651. A more detailed Czechoslovak account in KAPLAN, Karel: *Těžká cesta. Spor Československa s Vatikánem 1963 – 1973*, Brno 2001, Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, pp. 145 – 152. See also HALKO, Jozef: A magyar és a csehszlovák titkosszolgálat együttműködése a II. Vatikáni Zsinat „operatív fedolgozásában”. REGNUM. MAGYAR EGYHÁYTÖRTÉNETI VÁZLATOK, 1-2/2006, pp. 81 – 88. References to the 1967 meeting can be found also in the archives of the former Securitate: ACNSAS, fond Documentar, dosar 69, vol. 2, 2-21. f. No record of the meeting has yet been found in the Hungarian archives.

Villot, and religious orders, especially the Jesuit one, whose members were running the Vatican Radio and most of the Italian Catholic press (*Osservatore Romano* and *Avvenire*).³⁴

On the external plan, in order to implement bilateral cooperation, a necessary step in order to carry out the Vatican's master plan to establish normal diplomatic relations, the Hungarian state and the Holy See did not hesitate to remove obstacles to „full blown” *Ostpolitik*. The first victim was Vienna's Archbishop, Franz König, himself a protagonist of the early *Ostpolitik* but more sceptical of Kádár's goodwill than most Vatican staff. In the late 1960s, Card. Mindszenty's situation remained the last contested issue in a delicate negotiation involving Hungary, the Vatican and the USA. In order to increase Mindszenty's isolation, in September 1967 Hungary asked Washington and Vienna to suspend Card. König's frequent visits to Mindszenty.³⁵ According to a report by the foreign section of MSZMP's Central Committee, König's private talks were causing embarrassment and widespread protest among the Hungarian Bishops Conference.³⁶ As a result, Card. König had to interrupt his parallel diplomacy and did not play any significant role during the last round of bilateral talks of 1971.³⁷

In the same period, Mons. Luigi Bongianino, a skilled diplomat of the Secretariat of State and in charge of Hungarian affairs since 1963, paid his first

34 The most important success for the Hungarian intelligence in this period was the appointment to *definitor generalis* of the Franciscan order of Father Ferenc Király Pacifik (codenamed *Falter Ludwig*. File Bt-1308/1-3 and Mt-387/1), who kept this position between 1967 and 1973. In the 1970s the most important channels were „Bertold”, an Italian journalist who worked in the foreign desk of the ANSA press agency, the still unidentified „Krammer”, „Engel”, „Kimmel Johann”, „Nemere” and „Sigmund Raymund”.

35 SZABÓ, Csaba: *A Szenszék és a Magyar Népköztársaság kapcsolatai a hatvanas években*. Budapest, Szent István Társulat-Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005, pp. 308 – 309.

36 ADRIÁNYI, Gábor: *A Vatikán keleti politikája és Magyarország 1939 – 1978*. Budapest, Kairosz, 2004, pp. 75 – 76. König paid visit to the seriously ill Mindszenty on 7 May and 23 June 1967.

37 From 1967 to 1971, König visited Mindszenty only once, in October 1969. SOÓS, Viktor Attila – SZABÓ, Csaba: *„Világosság”. Az Állami Egyháziügyi Hivatal és a hírszerzés tevékenysége a katolikus egyház ellen*. Budapest, Új Ember-Lénárd Ödön Közhasznú Alapítvány, 2006.

individual visit to Hungary³⁸ in March 1967 with the task of examining some possible candidates for appointment as bishop. Bongianino surprised his Hungarian fellows, „Kerekes”³⁹ and „János Zoltán”⁴⁰ for his independent-mindedness and „conspiracy”. The report on his visit to Budapest, Eger, Szeged and Kalocsa underlined the political risk represented by Bongianino – who did not care too much of official accounts and called every cleric to confidential talk which had shocking effects on them: people kept crying, their voice trembled.⁴¹ Despite the lack of documents on the Hungarian intervention, their complaint had immediate effects: after a short time Bongianino, who only age 40, was dismissed from diplomatic service and later created Bishop (March 1968).⁴²

His successor was Mons. Giovanni Cheli, a senior diplomat who entered the Roman Curia in 1967 as a protégé of Casaroli. He first visited Hungary in September 1968,⁴³ and with his friendly style immediately gained the trust of his Hungarian counterpart. After his visit to Hungary in November 1969 the Archbishop of Kalocsa, József Ijjas, told agent „Kerekes” that Cheli was „*much more diplomatic and sympathetic to us.*”⁴⁴ In the following years Cheli’s positive attitude to socialist Hungary was repeatedly praised by party and intelligence reports. He played a key role in the solution to the troubled Mindszenty affair, travelling several times to Budapest and always surrounded by undercover security officers and influential agents. Under the pressure of the Hungarian state and the progressive wing of the Curia, a reluctant Pope Paul VI agreed to solve the question, and communicated the Vatican’s decision to bring the old Primate

38 Before that he had only joined Agostino Casaroli in 1965 and 1966.

39 Kornél Pataki was the personal secretary of Szeged’s bishop József Udvardy, then was appointed Bishop of Győr (1975 – 1990). His „work file” in *ÁBTL* 3.1.2. M-36278/1-2.

40 György Zemplén, the rector of PMI between 1965 and 1968.

41 Report by „Kerekes” agent on Luigi Bongianino’s visit to Hungary. M-36278/2, pp. 86 – 92.

42 He was sent to the small town of Alba, in Piedmont, then was moved to Vercelli (1970) and Tortona (1975).

43 SOÓS, Viktor Attila – SZABÓ, Csaba: „*Világosság*”. *Az Állami Egyháziügyi Hivatal és a hírszerzés tevékenysége a katolikus egyház ellen*. Budapest, Új Ember-Lénárd Ödön Közhazsnú Alapítvány, 2006, document n. 3.

44 Report by „Kerekes” on Giovanni Cheli’s visit to Hungary (18-19 November 1969). M-36278/2, pp. 188.

to Rome to the Hungarian Foreign Minister, János Péter (himself a former Calvinist bishop), on 16 April 1971. According to Péter's report for the MSZMP Political Committee, during the meeting the Pope showed little concern for Mindszenty's fate, calling him „*a victim of history who is causing indeed much difficulty both to the Vatican and the Hungarian government.*”⁴⁵ Five days later, a secret agreement was signed by the representative of the Vatican, Giovanni Cheli, and the president of ÁEH, Imre Miklós, according to which the Vatican agreed to revoke excommunications inflicted in 1958 to three Hungarian churchmen (Miklós Berestóczy, Richárd Horváth and Imre Várkonyi) who had been elected to the Communist parliament in spite of official prohibition.⁴⁶ According to the evaluation given by the Hungarian Communist Party, this decision was important for Hungarian foreign policy too, because it made easier „*cooperation between left-wing movements and progressive Catholic forces in the West.*”⁴⁷ On the Vatican's demand, the formal rehabilitation of collaborationist priests – supposed to be welcomed by conservative public opinion as a betrayal – was made public only on 13 October 1971. On that date Card. Mindszenty already was in Rome, after the Vatican's representative Giovanni Cheli had signed on 9 September the agreement that made it possible for Mindszenty to leave Hungary. Conditions imposed on Mindszenty's status were humiliating: he was denied juridical rehabilitation, so thus leaving Hungary as an infractor, and he was also prevented from dealing with Hungarian affairs. Moreover, the Vatican agreed to let him retire from Primacy after he had reached 80 years (that is to say in 1972).⁴⁸ These points were made clear by the Vatican to Mindszenty only on 10 October 1971 by the Apostolic Delegate to Vienna. So after only four weeks spent in Rome, Mindszenty decided to move to Vienna, where he died in 1975. His departure under these conditions was welcomed as a major

45 SZABÓ, Csaba: *A Szezszték és a Magyar Népköztársaság kapcsolatai a hatvanas években*. Budapest, Szent István Társulat-Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005, pp. 408.

46 BALOGH, Margit – GERGELY, Jenő: *Egyházak az újokori Magyarországon 1790 – 1992. Kronológia*. Budapest, História-MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1993, pp. 344.

47 ADRIÁNYI, Gábor: *A Vatikán keleti politikája és Magyarország 1939 – 1978*. Budapest, Kairosz, 2004, pp. 117 – 118.

48 *Ibidem*, pp. 213.

success by the Hungarian state security: agreements signed were in line with Hungarian interests and were testimony that „progressive Catholic forces” were gaining ground even into the Vatican.⁴⁹

In the very important period following the first operative meeting on the Vatican in 1967, Hungary was able to consolidate its positive image, also contributing to the progressive marginalisation of internal ideological enemies (Mindszenty) as well as external ones (Cardinals Ottaviani, Benelli, the Croat-born Franjo Šeper, and München’s Card. Döpfner). On the internal plan, a key role was played by a special residency called „Világosság” set up in November 1968 within the State Office of Cults and belonging to the fourth section of III/I Directorate, in charge of Italy, the Vatican and Israel. Major József Orosz, codenamed *Vági*, was appointed chief of the five-member staff. Sándor Rajnai, the chief of the Hungarian foreign intelligence directorate, tasked Orosz to keep and work out confidential information coming both from Hungarian churchmen travelling to Rome (skilled informants or „confidential sources”, that is up to say involuntary confidants) and from Vatican diplomats visiting Hungary. During such occasions, particular attention was paid to the special envoy to Hungary, Giovanni Cheli, and his assistant, Mons. Gabriel Montalvo, both of whom were very close to Mons. Casaroli and were intensively cultivated through the so-called „black channel”.⁵⁰ For over three years – working together with the other sections of intelligence, the State Office of Cults and the Propaganda section of the Party’s Central Committee – the residency also helped „prepare” Hungarian bishops for their regular visits to Rome, in order to smuggle in dissenters on the *Ostpolitik* and strengthen the Vatican’s belief that the Hungarian question had been settled.⁵¹

49 *ÁBTL* 3.2.5 0-8-552/12, 45-53. Report by section III/I-4 on current trends of the Vatican’s foreign policy. Budapest, 2 October, 1972.

50 *ÁBTL* 2.2.1 Operatív nyilvántartás II/2 –7. doboz (Operative files – Giovanni Cheli). Montalvo dealt with Eastern European affairs between 1964 and 1974, then became apostolic delegate to Nicaragua, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya until 1986, and later pro-nuncio to Yugoslavia (1986-96) and ambassador to the USA (1999-2005). Further biographic details in „Gabriel Montalvo; Archbishop, Vatican Envoy to U.S”. *Washington Post*, 4 August 2006.

51 On the „Világosság” residency, see SOÓS, Viktor Attila – SZABÓ, Csaba: „*Világosság*”. *Az Állami Egyháziügyi Hivatal és a hírszerzés tevékenysége a katolikus egyház ellen*. Budapest, Új Ember-Lénárd Ödön Közhazsnú Alapítvány, 2006.

Hungary's agent network and targets in the Vatican during the 1970s

The operative efficiency and political influence of the Hungarian intelligence towards the Vatican reached its peak throughout the 1970s, before the natural turning point represented by the shocking election of the Polish cardinal Karol Wojtyła (16 October 1978), whose effects on the Cold War's dynamics were immediate and consistent. After cracking the resistance of the Hungarian Catholic movement and signing favourable agreements on the Mindszenty case, in the early 1970s the Hungarian authorities felt ready to intensify their intelligence activity within the Vatican and Italy as a whole. Due to growing political instability and economic crisis, Italy continued to be regarded by Moscow as the most vulnerable Western country, where operative interests could have been easily achieved.

From 1972/73 onwards, the „Vatican line” became a source of major success for the Hungarian intelligence, led from 1967 to 1976 by Sándor Rajnai and afterwards, until November 1989, by János Bogye, who himself had been a legal resident in Rome during the 1960s and spoke perfect Italian and Spanish.⁵² In the Centre, one of the most important sections of the First Directorate (III/I-4⁵³) dealt with Italy and operated on three lines/services.

- **III/I-4-A:** intelligence against the Vatican line and the Catholic emigration to Western countries⁵⁴
- **III/I-4-B:** intelligence against NATO targets in Italy (with particular reference to the NATO Defence College of Rome⁵⁵)

52 UNGVÁRY, Krisztián: *Kik voltak, mit akartak? Egyenes út a csúcsra: Harangozó Szilveszter. Egy állambiztonsági főcsoportfőnök karrierje*. RUBICON, 2007/1, pp. 34 – 35.

53 For a clear account on the Third Chief Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs see URBÁN, Aladár: *Kádár politikai rendőrsége. A BM III. (Állambiztonsági) Főcsoportfőnökség felépítése és működése*. RUBICON, 2002/6-7, pp. 58 – 65.

54 Officers leading the Vatican service (III/I-4-A) from 1972 to the early 1980s were capt. György Kósa, sub-lieutenant János Knopp, lieutenant-colonel Ferenc Garzó and sub-lieutenant János Rostási. Section III/I-4 was led by colonel János Bogye, lieutenant-colonel György Földes, lieutenant-colonel Ferenc Zsigmond, then Gábor Patkó and Oszkár Kiss.

55 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.6. 8-346/1-4 (Nato Defence College, 1968 – 1988).

- **III/I-4-C:** intelligence activity against Zionist movements and Israeli targets in Italy

The high operational level reached by the Vatican service can be first explained through some statistical data. In the second half of the 1970s one can estimate that state security staff working on the Vatican reached its peak, with some dozens of well-trained, Italian-speaking intelligence officers working around the world under diplomatic cover or „illegally” for III/I-8 service. The highest concentration was in Italy, where the Rome main residency hosted 6 – 7 officers dealing with the Vatican out of a total number of 21 – 22 staff (12 of which were operative officers).⁵⁶

According to a report about the period from January 1973 to June 1977, Hungarian intelligence collected 860 pieces of intel and reports of the Vatican line, 686 of which had been evaluated as „usable” by section III/I-6 (documentations, analysis and forecasts). Two-thirds of this information (565 by number) came from different residencies; the most successful proved to be the intelligence from Rome, from where 546 reports, secret documents and information had been sent (461 of which usable, 85 unusable), but further intelligence came also from Vienna (during Card. Mindszenty’s stay, until 1975, from his circle and later from Card. König’s entourage), Paris (where the French Bishop’s conference was monitored until 1977), Köln (whose Archbishops were two influential conservative churchmen Josef Frings, 1942-69, and Joseph Höffner, 1969-87⁵⁷), Zürich and also New York (the UN’s residency), where Hungarian intelligence officers could also met with Vatican diplomats working in the USA.

56 Figures are taken from *ÁBTL*, 3.2.6. 0-200/IX, pp. 29 and pp. 77 – 78 (*Velence* operative file – Hungary’s embassy to Rome, 1976 – 1987). To make a comparison, KGB’s „legal” residency in Rome had a 35 staff and was running over just 20 agents. ANDREW, Christopher – MITROKHIN, Vasili: *Mitrochinov archiv. KGB v Európe a na Západě*. Londýn, Penguin, 1999, pp. 620.

57 Pope Benedict XVI had been a consultant for theological questions of Card. Frings at the II Vatican Council, and later a leading professor of Theology in Münster and Tübingen, well known to the Hungarian state security for his conservative stance after 1968.

Another 295 pieces of information (216 of which were evaluated as useful to operative tasks) had been collected through the network agency. By this time, the number of agents followed exceeded 20, most of them living and working in Rome. More notably, in the mid-1970s most candidates and confidential sources were Italian or people working for the Vatican, and provided Hungarian intelligence with secret information on the Vatican's *Ostpolitik*, and political and personal conflicts which could be exploited according to the Soviet bloc's interests.⁵⁸ According to available data, the flow of reports further intensified after 1978. In 1980-81 the Rome residency forwarded the Centre a monthly 30 – 35 reports. Most of them were referring to the Vatican's foreign policy and to the main operative targets, such as the Radio Vaticana (codenamed *Son*), the PMI (codenamed *Palota*) and the Jesuit Order (codenamed *Fekete Ház*).⁵⁹

In the second half of the 1970s, the resident and its operative officers ruled a complex, multi-level network in Rome. The highest grade was represented by „hivatásos munkatárs” (*skilled agent – HMT*), „titkos munkatárs” (*TMT – secret agent*) and „hírszerző ügynök (*HÜ – intelligence agent*). All *TMT* and most *HMT* and *HÜ* were Hungarian-born (staff of PMI and the Hungarian Cultural Institute, journalists, intellectuals and scholars), and also got a special training before moving to Italy. The main operative basis against the Vatican was Palazzo Falconieri, where the PMI operated: here even the meeting rooms and the offices were microphoned, allowing the intelligence service to make the best use of official ceremonies, concerts and other cultural events. On the second level one could find clerical agents (priests, friars, theologians, civil servants within

58 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5 0-8-552/13, pp. 159 – 173. The most important foreign agent working for the Hungarian intelligence in Italy was „Von Schiller”, a West German journalist accredited to Italy. Among his confidential sources (certainly unaware of his real aims) one could find „T-1” – a diplomat of the FRG Embassy, „V-2” – the general assistant of the Jesuit Order and „V-4”, a high-ranking official of the Secretary for the Christians' Unit. Other valuable sources were „Bertold”, a journalist for the ANSA press agency, „Braun Franz”, a Rome-based journalist of Radio Free Europe, „Heine”, director of the left-wing oriented ADISTA Catholic press agency, „Ágel”, an Italian MP belonging to the left-wing of the Italian Socialist Party, „Müde”, „Scherring” and „Böhm” (a Cistercian father teaching at Lateran University). A confidential contact was also the well-known Hansjakob Stehle, a senior correspondent to Rome for „Die Zeit” and ARD and author of books about the Vatican's *Ostpolitik*.

59 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5 0-8-552/14, pp. 165 – 169.

universities and congregations), also of Hungarian background. The third level, by no means the most successful one, was represented by all those Italian and Vatican sources, who intentionally or unintentionally (when provoked by intelligence staff following operative psychological techniques such as the „black channel”) proved less valuable to the Hungarian intelligence by giving compromising or confidential information. Most of them were sincerely convinced about Hungary’s commitment to friendly bilateral relations with the Vatican and Italy and did not regard Kádár’s Hungary as a truly Communist regime.

According to archival records, due also to technological progress during the 1970s (e.g. the creation of an electronic database), the cooperation between different branches of the state security reached a high operational level. „Legal” residencies (like Rome’s, which depended on section III/I-4) exchanged their information not only with the Centre (sections III/I-4, III/I-6, as well as the „illegal” III/I-8 and „Akadémia” chief residency, charged with the monitoring of cultural relations with the West, whose activity remains still unexplored), but also with section III/III-1, in charge of the „Catholic problem” for the First Directorate, the Second Directorate of counterintelligence taking care of foreign citizens visiting Hungary, the Foreign Ministry and the State Office of Cults.⁶⁰ „Nérók” files show a regular exchange of operative information and personal data on foreign clerics with some East European secret services. An intensive bilateral cooperation was further established with Poland and the GDR, whose diplomats and/or intelligence officers working in Rome regularly met with their Hungarian fellows. The Hungarian intelligence had been used as a main reference for those Warsaw Pact countries – such as Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union – whose bad or inexistent relations with the Vatican made it quite difficult to penetrate its secrets. By contrast, the intelligence services of the different Warsaw Pact countries shared very few operative links with Ro-

60 Every visit to Hungary of Vatican diplomats was jointly prepared the three Directorates and the State Office of Cults. During Giovanni Cheli and Angelo Sodano’s visit to Hungary in April 1972, for example, a one-day trip to lake Balaton was organised for them in order to permit security officers to secretly enter their hotel room in search for confidential papers to copy. *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/11, pp. 31 – 35.

manian foreign intelligence, which operated independently and showed much interest towards Italy and the Vatican itself.⁶¹

Full-blown *Ostpolitik* and first signs of crisis

From the second half of the 1960s the Warsaw Pact countries made an extraordinary effort to undermine the Vatican's positions, to weaken its moral influence and to ideologically reorient it from a pro-Western, theologically and socially conservative stance towards ideological nonalignment between capitalism and socialism. While reading self-confident Hungarian reports about serious political damages inflicted to the „clerical reaction” (both in the Vatican and in Hungary) by the active measures taken throughout the 1970s, one wonders how trustful and reliable they should be considered from a historical perspective. Looking at *Ostpolitik*'s development in the last years of the Paul VI papacy, it seems that the way Hungary could penetrate and influence the Vatican's policy towards the Socialist bloc was quite similar to KGB and Stasi joint operations and operative combinations against leading West German politicians like Willy Brandt and Helmut Schimdt.⁶² In both cases, the success did not rely on direct recruitment of targets, yet on the creation of stable channels inside their staff of advisors in order to collect information and influence their decisions through positive propaganda and disinformation.

Favourable contingency also helped to spread the perception among Catholic believers that the 1968 global turbulences were a clear demonstration of economic, psychological and even moral crisis plaguing the US-led Western capitalist world. Intelligence reports based on confidential talks with Vatican diplomats could not miss a comparison between a „secularised” West, where the Catholic world looked divided by theological quarrels and dissenting groups that questioned the moral authority of the Pope, and the East, where Catholicism had survived to through Communism, preserving devotion and

61 I would like to thank Chris Davis for his perceptive comments made on this part of the paper.

62 ANDREW, Christopher – MITROKHIN, Vasilii: *Mitrochinov archív. KGB v Európe a na Západe*. Londýn, Penguin, 1999, pp. 594 – 595.

obedience to Rome.⁶³ Two years later, in 1972 the Hungarian intelligence came to know that during a confidential meeting of the Congregation for the Public Affairs (the Vatican's „Foreign Ministry” led by Card. Casaroli from 1968 to 1978) the Vatican's French Secretary of State, Card. Jean Villot, had been even more explicit, recognizing that socialist regimes unintentionally erected a wall against the diffusion to Eastern Europe of materialism and hedonism.⁶⁴ A general report released in October 1972 by the Hungarian secret service on the Vatican's foreign policy trends underlined that the Holy See was now giving priority to the collection of reliable information from beyond the Iron Curtain and to the upgrading of the hierarchy (a most striking question for Czechoslovakia, where most bishops appointed by Rome had not been recognized by the state). The KGB had also warned all socialist countries that the Vatican had recently set up a master plan for „ideological subversion”, motivated officially by the common struggle for peace and disarmament and to be realised through a more intense contact with local authorities and private citizens. Nevertheless, the Hungarian intelligence showed no particular concern for this alarm. On the contrary, internal divisions within the Curia were appreciated, where the pro-Secretary of State Card. Giovanni Benelli and ultraconservative Card. Ottaviani led the opposition to *Ostpolitik*, targeting not only Villot but also Casaroli and his „liberal” staff.⁶⁵ According to Villot, the Catholic Church should avoid committing with socialism the same error previously made with capitalism, from which the Vatican seemed to be too dependent. The Holy See should preserve its „neutrality” and, indeed, look with „sympathy” to socialism and help elevate the moral level of East-European societies without undermining the political legitimacy of ruling Marxist parties. Finally, although the Kádár regime was concerned with the spread of basis communities being in open dissent with

63 SZABÓ, Csaba: *A Szentsték és a Magyar Népköztársaság kapcsolatai a hatvanas években*. Budapest, Szent István Társulat-Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005, pp. 38 and pp. 400 – 401 (report of „Világosság” residency of the visit to Budapest of Agostino Casaroli and Giovanni Cheli on January 1970).

64 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/12, pp. 164 – 166.

65 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/15, pp. 62. According to a report by the Rome residency of November 1974, rumours were heard in the Curia about the removal of Agostino Casaroli, who had entered into conflict with Card. Benelli and was expected to be appointed as the Archbishop of Turin.

collaborationist clergy, well-informed intelligence could report that according to Villot the Vatican would not have allowed the existence of any dissenting community in the socialist world, where the reconstruction of an officially recognised structure became the first – and sometimes the only possible – aim for Vatican diplomacy.⁶⁶

According to Agostino Casaroli, reported by Polish Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pope Paul VI intended to avoid any major conflict with the socialist camp. Casaroli added: he was personally convinced that within ten years Catholicism and socialism would have become the dominant „ideologies” all over the world, and both needed to find a common ground.⁶⁷

A year marked by international tension mainly due to the first oil crisis, 1973 was also a troubled period for the Vatican, which seemed to realise formerly declared intentions to distance itself from the United States and play an active and independent role in the European security conference.⁶⁸ On 7 February 1973 the Hungarian intelligence came to know that two CIA agents working undercover as „minutanti” in the Vatican Secretariat of State had been recently unmasked and sent on punishment to Uganda and South Africa as Vice Nuncio.⁶⁹ Some months later, on 28 July 1973, the *Osservatore Romano* announced with a brief communiqué that the high-ranking diplomat Giovanni Cheli, charged of contacts with Hungarian officials,⁷⁰ had been appointed Apostolic Delegate to

66 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/12, pp. 45 – 53. Report by section III/I-4 on guidelines of the Vatican’s foreign policy. Budapest, 2 October 1972. See also 3.2.5. 0-8-552/12, pp. 164 – 166. Rome, 7 February 1974. Report by agent „Engel” on internal conflicts into the Vatican.

67 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/12, pp. 157 – 159. Record of the meeting between the Polish Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Hungarian Ambassador to Poland. Warsaw, 30 November 1973.

68 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/12, pp. 69. Intelligence report by agent „Nemere”. Rome, 23 November 1972; *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/12, pp. 70 – 74. Report by agent „Von Schiller” talking to confidential source „V-2”. Rome, 15 December 1972.

69 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/12, pp. 94.

70 Besides taking part in official talks with Hungarian representatives, Cheli held also private and strictly confidential talks on 8 January and 29 May 1973, in a restaurant in Rome with undercover officer György Földes, codenamed *Dér*. During these talks, the main topic of which was Mindszenty’s case, Cheli also offered to give Hungarian diplomats first-hand information on any further developments of the Vatican’s *Ostpolitik*. Reports by *Dér* in *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/12, pp. 77 – 82

the United Nations, in New York. In spite of Vatican discretion, the Hungarian intelligence informed the Centre and the party leadership of Cheli's removal as early as 18 July, well before the news had been made public. Hungarian sources were also informed on the true reason for his removal, due to a denunciation against him presented to Pope Paul VI by Hungarian-born emigrant clerics, led by Károly Fábian, a senior editor of Radio Free Europe, who openly accused Cheli of being „a Communist agent”.⁷¹ The rumour was confirmed by Cheli himself, who confidentially admitted to agent „Blanc” (the PMI's rector, István Bagi) that the real target of the conservative offensive was Casaroli, put under pressure by the Pope who – always trying to balance between the two wings – was forced to sacrifice him in order to keep the line.⁷² Cheli's indiscretion was useful to the Hungarian intelligence, which realised the political risks linked to top-level confidential sources. Cheli was replaced by Mons. Luigi Poggi, another senior diplomat belonging to Casaroli's wing but much less an enthusiast of Hungarian religious policy than Cheli.⁷³

In 1973, ten years after the intensive, apparently one-sided opening towards the East, the Vatican's progressive wing had to face the same accusation of inconsistency made by a younger generation of diplomats to the old conservatives in the 1950s: neither resistance nor dialogue seemed to have any major influences on the internal life of the Communist regimes, though the dialogue did help them increase their legitimization and international weight. Casaroli

and pp. 108 – 113.

71 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/11, pp. 142 – 144. Report by section III/I-6 of the removal of the Vatican diplomat dealing with Hungarian affairs. Budapest, 19 July 1973.

72 *Ibidem*, pp. 143.

73 Along with other Vatican diplomats such as John Bukovsky and Francesco Colasuonno, Luigi Poggi can be found on a list of former Hungarian agents known as “Szakértő 90”, which was first made public in 2005 (<http://www.angelfire.com/zine2/szakerto90>). According to available records („Nérók” files and the his personal file: *ÁBTL* 2.7.1 NOIJ Névmutató Karton – Luigi Poggi) any direct link between Poggi and the Hungarian intelligence has to be excluded. Along with many other staff of the Secretariat of State, Poggi was indeed subject to intense cultivation by the Hungarian intelligence, but also used his frequent talks to Hungarian diplomats and officers to exchange information and enforce the Vatican's position.

himself showed dissatisfaction with the results of his own policy.⁷⁴ According to a Hungarian intelligence report, during the annual conference of the Apostolic Delegates held in 1974 in Frascati, near Rome, Casaroli had to point out that, in spite of popular expectations in the West, dialogue should not mean „ideological compromise” with Communism, and in spite of its „disappointing results” this strategy should not be abandoned because „so long as we dialogue, East-European Churches are not at risk.”⁷⁵

A similar policy was quite easy to follow in Hungary, where the intensive cooperation between the Catholic Church and Kádár’s regime had no more obstacles after Mindszenty’s forced resignation⁷⁶ (18 December 1973), which made it possible in 1976 to appoint as Hungary’s primate one the most collaborative bishops, László Lékai. It was much more difficult for the Polish Catholics and the West German Bishop’s Conference to yield to the demands of Vatican’s realpolitik. In February 1974 Hungarian intelligence registered with satisfaction the unprecedented conflict between the Polish Bishop’s Conference and the Vatican Secretariat of State on Casaroli’s official trip to Poland, made on at the invitation of the Polish government. After Casaroli preached his sermon in St. John the Baptist Cathedral of Warsaw, praising the ongoing reconciliation between the state and the Church, Cards. Wyszyński and Wojtyła openly accused him of „weakening the positions of the Polish Bishop’s Conference” and of „provoking misunderstanding among the Polish clergy.”⁷⁷ They also boycotted the reception organised by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs as a sign of protest. According to a Polish diplomat, Warsaw was aware that Casaroli needed well-sounding promises in order to face critics, and agreed to consider his proposal to establish normal diplomatic relations; but the Polish government had no seri-

74 See Agostino CASAROLI, Agostino: *Il martirio della pazienza. La Santa Sede e i paesi comunisti (1963 – 1989)*. Torino, Einaudi, 2000, chapters IX and XI on his diplomatic efforts in Czechoslovakia and Poland.

75 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/12, pp. 216 – 224. Report by section III/-6 on new trends in Vatican’s policy. Budapest, 7 June 1974.

76 Consistent material on the operative measures taken by the Hungarian authorities and the Vatican to positively influence public opinion can be find in the „Nérok” files, as well as „Blanc” (*ÁBTL*, 3.2.3. Mt-1109/2) and „Kerkai” operative files (*ÁBTL*, 3.2.3. Mt-988/1).

77 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/12, pp. 199 – 202. Report of section III/I-4 on Vatican-Polish talks. Budapest, 22 February 1974.

ous intention to modify bilateral relations with the Vatican, already considered to be satisfying and favourable to Warsaw.⁷⁸ The Polish journalist working in Rome, Dominik Morawski, also told the Hungarian agent „Nemere” that the Polish government now feared the sudden death of frequently-ill Pope Paul VI, an event which could damage the work already done by Casaroli.⁷⁹

In this period, Polish-Hungarian cooperation on religious matters became so intensive that the two ministers of Foreign Affairs, Stefan Olszowski and János Péter, met in early September 1973 to discuss further relations with the Vatican, and Olszowski complained about Wyszyński's un-collaborative stance, which strikingly diverged from „harmonic coexistence” in Hungary.⁸⁰ Tension between the Vatican and the Polish clergy reached a peak when the Secretariat of State (on Casaroli's initiative) heavily censored a speech, very critical of *Ostpolitik* and the negative effects of „dialogue” on the East-European churches, that Card. Wyszyński was intending to address to the Sinod of Bishops held in Rome in October 1974.⁸¹ Confidence by father Jozef Penkowsky to agent „Kimmel Johann” was interpreted in Budapest as another sign that „operative work” on the Vatican had been successful: stopping critical voices against *Ostpolitik* by direct intervention of the Eastern bloc' countries was no longer needed: the Vatican provided for it on its own.

The long way to the breakthrough

By 1975 the crisis with Polish clergy and a diplomatic conflict with West Germany on the diplomatic recognition of East Germany – along with a succession of failures with Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia and the USSR – came to undermine the legitimacy of the Vatican's *Ostpolitik*. The Hungarian intelligence had reached excellent positions in the Vatican, where the „double loyalty” of the Hungarian Bishop's Conference to the Communist state and the

78 *Ibidem*, pp. 200.

79 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/12, pp. 225 – 228. Report by „Nemere”. Rome, 10 June 1974.

80 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/15, pp. 39 – 41. János Péter's report on talks with the Polish minister of Foreign Affairs. Budapest, 13 September 1973.

81 *ÁBTL*, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/12, pp. 266 – 268. Report by „Kimmel Johann”. Rome, 14 November 1974.

Pope was highly appreciated, and also substantially contributed to the marginalization of the „clerical reaction” within and outside Hungary. Top-level Hungarian politicians came to visit Hungary and the Vatican: in 1975 Prime Minister György Lázár and in June 1977 János Kádár, who had been the Minister of Interior during the Mindszenty trial.⁸² Kádár’s visit to the Vatican raised only isolated protest and represented by no means a small triumph for Hungary’s „fuzzy socialism” and its soft, still very efficient intelligence. But the over-optimistic accounts on the Vatican’s commitment to *Ostpolitik* could not avoid mentioning that after the Helsinki Conference and the election of Jimmy Carter to the US presidency something had changed in international politics.

An intelligence report in 1975 made an excellent forecast on possible successors to Pope Paul VI, putting the lesser-known Card. Wojtyła among the three or four most probable choices, along with Card. Ugo Poletti and two German-speaking foreign clerics: Berlin’s Alfred Bensch, sincerely committed to the *Ostpolitik*, and Vienna’s Franz König, who had played a major role during an early stage of the opening to East but who in the 1970s had become more and more sceptical about it. In the case of the election of Krakow’s Archbishop Karol Wojtyła, a choice that the Hungarian intelligence identified as „possibly the most hazardous”, „major consequences for world politics” and deep changes were forecasted, with Poland at the centre of this.⁸³ After reaching full proficiency into Vatican affairs, the Hungarian secret services were capable of predicting the coming end of *Ostpolitik*’s golden age, but not strong enough to prevent it.

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82 PANKOVITS, József: *Fejezetek a Magyar-olasz politikai kapcsolatok történetéből (1956 – 1977)*. Budapest, Gondolat, 2005, pp. 141 – 152.

83 ÁBTL, 3.2.5. 0-8-552/15, pp. 90. Forecast analysis on the possible successors to pope Paul VI. Budapest, 15 August 1975.

tial Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania), February – July 2007, Budapest (Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security, Hungarian – Vatican relations).

Andrzej Grajewski

Catholic weekly „Gość Niedzielny”

Poland

Security Services of the Polish People's Republic against the Vatican in 1956 – 1978

The Vatican is one of the world's centres. No wonder it has always been subject to attention of secret services of many countries. It is certain, however, that never the structures of the Vatican were encompassed by such complex and dangerous spider net, as in the post-war years, where the Catholic Church became the main ideological adversary of the communist system. After 1945 the activities of the Eastern Block's secret services against the Vatican reached an unprecedented level. They were co-ordinated by Moscow, which not only held political control over this region, but was also building from scratch secret political police of its satellites. The Vatican was perceived as the main ideological enemy of communism and destruction of the Catholic Church was one of important aims of the Eastern Block's internal policy. Since it was not possible to fight the Church efficiently without striking at its heart, i.e. the Vatican, a large-scale operation of provocation, disinformation and infiltration of the Holy See's structures was mounted.

These actions reached new dimensions after 1958, when the election of John XXIII brought about changes in the Vatican's policy towards the Eastern Block, which were aimed at starting a dialogue with communist authorities in order to improve the situation of the Catholics in these countries. During the pontificate of Paul VI, the Eastern policy became one of priorities of the Holy See. It led to increased interest of the Polish People's Republic's secret services in religious matters. It was particularly visible during the 2nd Vatican Council and in relation with Archbishop Agostino Cesaroli's activity in the Eastern dimension. From then on, the penetration of the Rome Curia was also aimed at investigating whether it was possible to use the Council's *aggiornamento* for the purposes of foreign policy of Moscow and her allies. The election of the Polish Pope led to such intensifying of actions on the Vatican front that it deserves a separate elaboration.

Security services of the Polish People's Republic played a significant role in activities on the Vatican front in 1958 – 1978. I would like to base my argument mainly on published materials, in particular the sources published by the Institute of National Remembrance (Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – IPN). I am going to present some of the characteristic features of operational activities against the Vatican, as well as to draw attention to the phenomenon of data exchange between secret services in the Eastern Block, which helped them to co-ordinate actions and increase their efficiency. It should be stressed that this material is a general presentation. Only further, systematic research can reveal the full scale of methods and means used by communist secret services.

Structures designed to fight the Catholic Church

After 1956 operational intelligence gathering against the Vatican was a major task of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych – MSW). As early as in 1958, ministerial directives stressed the need to gather information on the Vatican's intentions, plans and tactics. A network of agents recruited also among the clergy was to be used to this effect. Passport procedures were used in recruitment. Clerics wishing to study in Rome were subjected to supervision, and in many cases passports were issued only upon agreeing to co-operate with security services of the Polish People's Republic (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa – PRL).¹ Department III of the MSW, responsible for combating ideological enemies, carried out majority of operational work among the clergy in late 50s and early 60s. One of the elements supporting the need to reform this system and create a new department, specialised solely in fighting the Church were the activities on the Vatican front, which were to be transferred to the new structure.²

From June 1962, all anti-Church activities were concentrated in Department IV of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, i.e. so-called 4th division of the Security Service (Służba Bezpieczeństwa – SB). It was a specialised unit of the SB, tasked with surveillance, supervision and combating hostile – as they were

1 DOMINICZAK, Henryk: *The PRL security structures 1944-1990. Development and activity according to the MSW documents*. Warsaw 1997, pp. 212 – 213.

2 *Ibidem*, pp. 153.

referred to at that time – activities of the Roman Catholic Church, other religious organisations and associations of laic Catholics. The Department had its provincial branches, namely sections IV of the voivodship headquarters of the Civic Militia (Milicja Obywatelska – MO). As in other countries in the Eastern Block, in all actions against the Vatican the units of Department IV co-operated closely with Department I of the MSW, i.e. foreign intelligence service of the PRL. This co-operation was regulated by detailed instructions of how to set tasks. They also envisaged transferring networks of agents. It should be stressed that in such joint operations Department IV had a leading role.³ Department I of the MSW supervised and co-ordinated intelligence activities of other units of the MSW. It operated on the basis of the decree of the Minister of Internal Affairs no. 0045/70 of 1970. The Vatican dimension was very significant in operational work. Individual institution of the Rome Curia, Polish church institutions in Rome and monastic centres were all subjected to surveillance.⁴

Within Department I, Section III was responsible for Vatican affairs, in the 60s it was classified as Section VI. The tasks of Section III of Department I of the MSW were described in the decree of 15 January 1971. The tasks included intelligence infiltration of the NATO structures, government institutions of Western European countries, including France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium and also the Vatican. Intelligence operations were supposed to, among other things: „ (...) *disclose the Vatican's intentions towards the PRL and investigate activities of the Polish church authorities in the Vatican; gather secret documents and information from the Vatican on key international issues, particularly referring to the PRL and other socialist states; gather information on the*

3 Przedsięwzięcia w zakresie współdziałania z jednostkami operacyjnymi MSW. Załącznik do planu 2-letniego na okres 1978 – 1979. W (Actions in the field of co-operation with operational units of the MSW. Annex to the 2-year plan for 1978 – 1979. Plans of activities of Department IV of the MS). In: *Plany pracy Departamentu IV MSW na lata 1972 – 1979*. Introduction Paweł Tomasik. Selection and editing Mirosław Niełasko, Anna K. Piekarska, Paweł Tomasik, Cyprian Wilanowski. Institute of National Remembrance (IPN). Warsaw 2007, pp. 240.

4 PIOTROWSKI, Paweł: The structure of the Security Service (SB) of the MSW 1975 – 1990. In: *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość*. no. 1/3/2003, pp. 58.

Vatican's connections and co-operation with the Federal Republic of Germany in actions against the PRL."⁵

It is worth mentioning that in operational activities of the PRL intelligence against the Vatican the co-ordination of these actions with activities of Department IV of the MSW was of utmost importance⁶. The SB surveyed a person who was of any importance to Department I of the MSW, when he was in Poland. It was particularly important in case of the priests who were permanently employed by religious institutions in the Vatican or Rome. Quite often, incriminating materials were gathered by the network of agents of „the 4th division”, and were then passed on to Department I headquarters, which co-ordinated all operational work against the Vatican. This procedure was used in operational activities against rev. Adam Boniecki, who was the editor of the Polish issue of „Osservatore Romano” in the Vatican from 1979.⁷

In many cases officers of division IV were ordered by foreign intelligence officers to carry out additional checks or enquiries. It was a routine to pass on information to Department I of the MSW on any priest, who was registered by division IV when he was leaving to study or work abroad. This way quite often that a person recruited by division IV was passed on for further „use” to intelligence structures of the PRL. An example of such practices may be the case of archbishop Stanisław Wielgus, who was initially controlled by provincial branches of division IV in Lublin, and when it was discovered that he would be posted abroad, his case was passed on to intelligence officers for further examination.⁸ Similar practices were applied in relation with the priests who commenced their work in the Vatican and were previously registered for vari-

5 Decree no. 008 of the Director of Department I of the MSW col. M. Milewski, of 15 January 1971, *The Archives of the IPN*, Documentation and Filing Bureau – (IPN Bu) no. 01821/3, pp. 284 – 287.

6 Plany pracy Departamentu IV MSW na lata 1972 – 1979, (Plans of activities of Department IV of the MSW for 1972 – 1979), Warsaw 2007, pp. 66 – 67.

7 Analysis of operational materials regarding rev. Adam Boniecki in TEOK no. 32242 and in materials 9720/I. *IPN Bu* 02014/122.

8 The letter of the head of section of Department I to the head of section IV of the Voivodship HQ of the Civic Militia (KW MO) in Lublin of 29. 11. 1975 regarding the transfer of files of the secret collaborator „Adam”. File „Jacket” no. 7207. The IPN archives in Warsaw.

ous reasons by the SB.⁹ Therefore, one can say that close contacts between Department I and division IV constituted a routine operational practice at the stage of recruiting a new collaborator by intelligence services. These practices were constantly used in further tasks and evaluations. For example, such procedure was applied during operational activities against rev. Józef Wesolowski, who later became an Apostolic Nuncio in post-Soviet republics.¹⁰

In operational work in the Vatican Department I often used so-called diplomatic cover. Intelligence officers were employed as diplomatic personnel in various sections of the Embassy of the Polish People's Republic in Rome. They were also in the Team for working contacts between the government of the PRL and the Holy See, which operated within the diplomatic mission in Rome.

The process of surveillance usually commenced by opening in Department I headquarters of so-called preliminary materials' file, which was used to gather basic information on a person, who was targeted for a given operation, either as „a dummy” in an operation or potential candidate for recruitment. Intelligence officers in Rome, operating – as mentioned above – under diplomatic cover, were particularly active in these operations. The consular section was of particular importance. The priests in Rome usually held temporary passports and had to maintain regular contacts with the Embassy. This was used to initiate conversations, which were aimed at identifying potential recruits or gather information that could be useful in other operations. Compromising materials, gathered in Poland by the SB sections, were often used in such operations. They were used as an element of blackmail in recruitment attempts. If recruitment was not possible, the materials were used to discredit people who refused to co-

9 Such situation also took place in case of father Konrad Hejmo. When he was posted to Rome in 1980, he was transferred by the SB officers to the Rome residency. Simultaneously, during his visits to Poland he was meeting with the officers of Department IV. Details of these meetings were passed on to the intelligence HQ in Warsaw. This case is presented in detail on the IPN website in the document: GRAJEWSKI, Andrzej – MACHEWICZ, Paweł – ŻARYN, Jan: Raport: *Sprawa Ojca Konrada Hejmo Działania Służby Bezpieczeństwa przeciwko Kościołowi Katolickiemu w latach 1975 – 1988* (The Report: Father Konrad Hejmo's Case. The Security Service activities against the Catholic Church in 1975 – 1988).

10 Rev. ZALESKI, Tadeusz Isakowicz: *Księża wobec bezpieki na przykładzie Archidiecezji Krakowskiej* (Priests against security services – the Cracow Archdiocese's case). Cracow 2007, pp. 125 – 126, 129.

operate. Therefore, it was a penalty for refusing to co-operate with intelligence services of the PRL.¹¹

Special role in operations of the PRL intelligence against the Vatican was played by so-called discretionary network of agents, identified in Poland by the structures of division IV for current needs and operations. This term referred to people who, although based in Poland, had access to various circles in the Vatican or had extensive knowledge of the church affairs, relevant for the security services of the PRL. If needed, the discretionary network was used by Department I for Vatican operations. Agents who were family members of catholic priests were also used in operations against the Vatican. Julian Polan-Haraschin, brother-in-law of the Cracow Metropolitan – Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, acted as such agent in the 70s and later.¹² Discretionary network was also used later, during John Paul II's visits to Poland, as well as during combined foreign operations, inspired by the SB and intelligence services.¹³ The potential of this form of activities is visible in the fact that during operation „Summer 79”, i.e. supervision of the first pilgrimage of John Paul II to Poland in June 1979, 480 secret collaborators were used, majority of them from religious circles. Section IV of the Voivodship Headquarters in Cracow had itself a network of 136 agents, many of them from the discretionary network.

Journalists accredited in Rome and, at the same time, secret collaborators of intelligence services, were also instrumental in operations against Vatican circles.

Ignacy Krasicki, officially a delegate of the Workers' Agency and the Polish Radio, was instrumental in infiltration of the Catholic Church's circles in the 60s. In reality, he was also a secret collaborator of Department I of the MSW, particularly active in the 60s. He came from an aristocratic family with many international connections, including in Rome. This enabled him an easy access to various religious circles and ability to gather information both officially, as well as unofficially. He played particularly important role during the Second

11 *Ibidem*, pp. 189.

12 POLAN- HARASCHIN, Julian (1912 – 1984, a judge in Cracow): *Aparat represji w Polsce Ludowej 1944 -1989* (The repression apparatus in the Polish People's Republic in 1944 – 1989). Rzeszów vol.1/1/2004, pp. 415.

13 LASOTA, Marek: *Donos na Wojtyłę* (Denunciation against Wojtyła). Cracow 2005, pp. 296, 305.

Vatican Council, where he was accredited as a representative of the Polish media.

Observers of the Council

The Second Vatican Council drew attention of the secret police immediately after John XXIII declared that it would be held. The documents gathered by the MSW confirmed that the PRL intelligence was trying from the very beginning to monitor the works of the committees preparing the Council's documents and also undertook operational activities against the Polish participants of the Council.¹⁴ It is fully justified to say, that among the Polish clergy, who as representatives of the media were observing the Council's deliberations, there was at least one secret collaborator – rev. Michał Czajkowski, a well-known priest and Biblicist, later also connected with opposition circles. Rev. Czajkowski, as a secret collaborator of the SB nicknamed Jankowski", passed on to the PRL intelligence information on the activities of the Polish bishops participating in the Council, as well as on the works of the Rome Curia. He maintained contacts both with the Rome residency and his controller in Poland from Department IV of the MSW.¹⁵

It seems that the MSW was receiving the Council's materials both officially, via journalists accredited with the Vatican Press Office, as well as unofficially, via the network of agents. Apart from operational memos and reports, the MSW was collecting a complete documentation of the Council, paying particular attention to the Catholic Church's attitude towards social and political issues, as well as purely religious questions, such as interfaith or interreligious dialogue. Activities of Poland's Primate, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, who from the beginning participated in several committees of the Council, were also noted with particular attention. It is confirmed, among other things, by an extensive document titled „Report on the situation in the Vatican before the Second General

14 The Second Vatican Council. Documents of Section IV. *IPN Bu 0445/11*.

15 FRISZKE, Andrzej – KARON-OSTROWSKA, Anna – NOSOWSKI, Zbigniew – WIŚCICKI, Tomasz: T.w. „Jankowski”. Historia współpracy (Secret collaborator „Jankowski”. History of collaboration). In: „*Więź*” no. 7-8/20006, pp. 81 – 140. Operational documentation of this case was partly microfilmed and is now available as: File „Jacket” no. 2612, *IPN Bu 01168/385*.

Vatican Council – after the visit of Cardinal Wyszyński in Rome, prepared by the permanent correspondent of the Workers' Agency and the Polish Radio in Rome, comrade Ignacy Krasicki".¹⁶ The PRL intelligence and the SB were also interested in issues related to preparations to hold the Bishops' Council, reform of the Rome Curia, changes to the Liturgy or new approach to many questions of social life, for example birth control or the indissolubility of marriage.¹⁷

The MSW headquarters was trying to prepare more offensive plans against the Church on the basis of the materials coming from the Vatican. Among other things, in 1964 Department IV of the MSW informed the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) about differences between the Rome Curia and Poland's Primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński regarding establishing diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the PRL government, which led to commencing talks with the Vatican over the Primate's head.¹⁸

The actions were not limited to data gathering, although the preserved documents show that – in keeping with the progress of the Council's deliberations, constant attempts were made to increase the scope of issues covered by the Rome residency. The collected materials were used not only to prepare current reports on the main events of the Council to the party and government bodies. They also formed a basis for making operational plans aimed at instigating quarrels between the bishops by using different perceptions of the Council's reforms and, on this basis, to instigate contestation movements, aimed at dividing the Church from within.¹⁹

16 CENCKIEWICZ, Sławomir: Polska Ludowa a kontrowersje wokół Soboru Watykańskiego. Wypisy źródłowe z materiałów Służby Bezpieczeństwa o genezie i początkach Vaticanum II (Polish People's Republic and the controversies regarding the Second Vatican Council. Extracts from the SB materials on origins and beginning of the Vaticanum II). In: *Oczami bezpieki. Szkice i materiały z dziejów aparatu bezpieczeństwa PRL* (Security services' point of view. Essays and documents on history of the PRL security apparatus). Cracow 2004, pp. 555.

17 The Second Vatican Council. Documents of Section IV. *IPN* Bu 0445/11.

18 The memo of the Director of Department IV of the MSW Stanisław Morawski of 14 May 1964 r. In: Raina, Peter: *Cele polityki władz PRL wobec Watykanu. Tajne dokumenty 1967 – 1989* (The goals of the PRL policy towards the Vatican. Secret documents 1967 – 1989). Warsaw 2001, pp. 42 – 43.

19 LASOTA, Marek: O raporcie sejmowej komisji poświęconym Samodzielnej Grupie „D” w MSW (Report of the parliamentary committee on Independent Group

Preparation by the MSW of the memorandum on the alleged perversions of the cult of the Virgin Mary by Poland's Primate, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński was an example of particularly perverted operation of the security services against the Second Vatican Council²⁰. This provocation had been very carefully prepared for several months by Col. Stanisław Morawski, the director of Department IV of the MSW. As early as in November he prepared a memo on preparation and use of the materials about alleged theological mistakes in the Primate's interpretation of the cult of the Virgin Mary. A dozen or so of clergymen, collaborators of the SB and – at the same time – experts on theology and the cult of the Virgin Mary, volunteered to prepare such document. The final version was prepared by a secret collaborator nicknamed Stolarski, a well-known Biblicist and priest in the Warsaw diocese. The memorandum was delivered to the Council fathers and circulated in churches in Rome and other capitals in Western Europe. It caused a lot of confusion and without doubt – for some time – weakened the Primate's standing in the Council, which was – by the way – the main purpose of the whole operation.²¹

The PRL intelligence was also monitoring carefully the circumstances of creation of the letter of Polish bishops to their German counterparts, which was signed in the Vatican on 18 November 1965. The words „*we forgive and ask for forgiveness*” were not only a gesture of Christian reconciliation, but also a courageous political act. Reconciliation crossing over the walls and borders of two political systems was beyond comprehension of the communist authorities. After publication of the letter, the communist authorities unleashed

„D” in the MSW). *The IPN Bulletin* no. 1/24/2003, pp. 35.

20 „Do Ojców Soboru. Memoriał o niektórych aspektach kultu maryjnego w Polsce” („To Fathers of the Council. Memorandum on selected aspects of the cult of the Virgin Mary in Poland”) prepared by Department IV of the MSW in co-operation with the priests collaborating with the SB. Sławomir Cenckiewicz. *Sprawa antymaryjnego memoriału, czyli o tym jak bezpieka uczestniczyła w Soborze Watykańskim II.* (The case of the anti-Mary memorandum or how the secret service participated in the Second Vatican Council). In: *Oczami bezpieki. Szkice i materiały z dziejów aparatu bezpieczeństwa PRL* (Security services' point of view. Essays and documents on history of the PRL security apparatus). Cracow 2004, pp. 598 – 613.

21 *Ibidem*, p. 555.

a gigantic campaign of „*We shall not forgive, we shall not forget*”. The Primate and the bishops were accused of betraying national interests.²²

The contents of the voluminous letter had been discussed for many months. It was finally edited in German by Archbishop Bolesław Kominek, the Wrocław metropolitan, in autumn of 1965 in Rome. It took the form of an invitation to participate in the celebrations of the Millennium of Poland's Christening, to be held the following year. Similar invitations were sent by Polish bishops to the episcopates of 56 countries. The MSW documents stated that Cardinal Wyszyński was supposed to entrust archbishop Wojtyła with a delicate task of consulting the contents of the letter with representatives of the Rome Curia. Archbishop Wojtyła's partner during these consultations was Archbishop Giovanni Benelli, one of the closest co-operators of Paul VI. The final contents of the letter was to be discussed personally by Cardinal Wyszyński with archbishop Antonio Samoré from the Congregation for Extraordinary Affairs of the Catholic Church, who was responsible, among other things, for contacts with the Eastern Block countries. According to informers of the PRL intelligence, Paul VI allegedly suggested to Polish bishops, that the letter would become a public act of reconciliation and an exchange of letters. Information gathered by the PRL intelligence was used to instigate propagandist attacks against the Catholic Church in Poland. The bishops were accused that the letter was instigated by pro-German circles in the Rome Curia which, as was suggested, had huge influence on Paul VI's decisions.

The fourth arm of the triangle

Specificity of the Polish People's Republic was visible not only in unique position of the Catholic Church, enabling the Church to influence social and even political life, but also in special position of Poland's Primate, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. No bishop in any other country in Eastern Europe enjoyed such authority and had such a strong position towards both the communist authorities and the Holy See. For the PRL authorities, Primate Wyszyński was

22 Material titled „Political climate for preparation of the letter from Polish bishops to German bishops” (Klimat polityczny w jakim został opracowany list biskupów polskich do niemieckich). *IPN Bu*, 0445/12. vol.1, file no. 3.

more troublesome partner than the Holy See diplomacy, particularly when Archbishop Agostino Casaroli started in the 60s an active dialogue with the communist authorities, which was also known as the Vatican Eastern policy²³. In July 1974 the decision was taken to establish permanent contacts between the government of the Polish People's Republic and the Holy See. The Team for Permanent Working Contacts with the Holy See was headed by Minister Kazimierz Szablewski, who was permanently attached to the PRL Embassy in Rome. Archbishop Luigi Poggi, a co-chairman on the Vatican side, was based in the Vatican.

Due to Cardinal Wyszyński's and other Polish bishops' intervention, the dialogue in the 70s was taking place in a triangle: the Holy See diplomacy – the PRL authorities – Polish bishops. Therefore, security services faced a difficult task of how to influence the Vatican in order to secure that the Vatican diplomats present a position acceptable to the Polish authorities in talks with Polish bishops. One of the elements of this tactic was to discredit Poland's Primate in circles close to Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, who was at the time responsible for the Holy See diplomatic activities towards communist countries in Europe.²⁴ A plan of disintegration actions of 1972, in the position titled „*As for Wyszyński – the Vatican*” it was openly stated: „*To discredit Cardinal Wyszyński by all*

23 Deputy Director of Department IV of the MSW col. Zenon Goroński said during the briefing for division IV officers in Wisła in April 1969: „*the Vatican's advice to the Church in socialist countries is as follows – keep quiet since nobody is going to help you (...)*” Changing old, traditional forms of anti-communist activities is at the heart of the new policy of the Vatican. Notes of major Zygmunt Nikiel from the SB in Katowice after the lecture of Deputy Director of Department IV of the MSW col. Zenon Goroński during the training course for officers of the SB provincial branches, organised in Wisła in the beginning of April 1969. DYUROK, Adam: „Ignorować Wyszyńskiego. My go przeżyjemy i zwyciężymy” („Ignore Wyszyński. We will survive him and win”). Notes from the lecture of Deputy Director of Department IV of the MSW col. Zenon Goroński in April 1969. Aparat represji w Polsce Ludowej 1944 – 1989 (The repression apparatus in the Polish People's Republic 1944 – 1989). *Rzeszów* no. 2/4/2006, pp. 259.

24 Kierunki działań dezintegracyjnych Departamentu IV MSW wobec kard. Stefana Wyszyńskiego (Directions of disintegration activities of Department IV of the MSW against Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński). Warsaw 1972. In: *Metody pracy operacyjnej aparatu bezpieczeństwa wobec Kościołów i związków wyznaniowych 1945 – 1989* (Operational methods of the security apparatus against the Church and religious associations 1945 – 1989). Warsaw 2004, pp. 488.

available means.”²⁵ The SB in the 70s was simply trying to become the fourth arm of this triangle. It is clearly visible in tasks allocated to individual units of the SB in the 70s. The tasks included, among other things, identification and operational activity against all persons suspected of having connections with the Vatican.²⁶

The network of agents of foreign intelligence and Department IV of the MSW in the Vatican was mainly used to prepare the visits of the Vatican delegations to Poland. „To take up further sets of actions, to activate identified sources, to use all means and circumstances to learn intentions, concepts and tactics of the Vatican diplomatic activity towards Poland and other socialist countries” – it was written in a document titled „General directions of political and operational work of Department IV of the MSW and its provincial branches for the years 1974 – 1975.”²⁷ Operational capabilities of Department IV were also used during disinformation operations in the Vatican, particularly against the bishops whom Polish authorities considered to be „inconvenient”, for example Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk from Przemyśl. These actions were approved by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party.²⁸

Similar tasks were set for a special unit within Department IV, so called Independent Group „D”. It was an elite formation, consisting of the most ex-

25 *Ibidem*.

26 Wytyczne dyrektora Departamentu IV MSW z dnia 15 czerwca 1973 r. w sprawie form i metod działań operacyjnych Departamentu IV i jego odpowiedników w terenie (Instructions of the Director of Department IV of the MSW of 15 June 1973 on the forms and methods of operational work of Department IV and its provincial branches). In: *Metody pracy operacyjnej aparatu bezpieczeństwa wobec Kościołów i związków wyznaniowych 1945 – 1989* (Operational methods of the security apparatus against the Church and religious associations 1945 – 1989). Warsaw 2004, pp. 471.

27 *Plany pracy Departamentu IV MSW na lata 1972 – 1979* (Plans of activities of Department IV of the MSW for 1972 – 1979), pp. 66 – 67.

28 Propozycje ograniczenia szkodliwej działalności bpa Tokarczuka przygotowane przez Departament IV MSW dla Komitetu Centralnego PZPR (Proposals to contain harmful activities of bishop Tokarczuk, prepared by Department IV of the MSW for the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party) In: *Metody pracy operacyjnej aparatu bezpieczeństwa wobec Kościołów i związków wyznaniowych 1945 – 1989* (Operational methods of the security apparatus against the Church and religious associations 1945 – 1989). Warsaw 2004, pp. 456.

perienced and trusted officers, who were tasked with disintegrating the Church through disinformation and disintegration operations. Independent Group „D” within Department IV of the MSW was formed on 19 November 1973 by the minister of internal affairs, Stanisław Kowalczyk. It reported directly to the director of Department IV and was responsible for co-ordination and organisation of anti-Church disintegration actions at the central level. Initially it consisted of 5 officers with col. Konrad Straszewski, the then director of Department IV as its creator and first commanding officer. Due to expansion of disintegration activities, in 1977 it was transformed into a separate Section of Department IV of the MSW. As the range of activities grew, the number of officers in Group „D” and other employees engaged in disintegration work expanded.²⁹

The officers of Group „D” were also supposed to be active on the Vatican direction, with particular attention paid to the Polish Section of the Radio Vatican. A major role was played in these activities by secret collaborators, particularly those among the Jesuits, the Franciscans, the Christ Friars, who were supposed to present in the Vatican „opinions on the situation of the Church in Poland that were in line with our interests”. These actions were carried out in co-operation with Department I of the MSW. It is worth stressing that many leading officers of Group „D” maintained not only official, but also private contacts with the KGB officers KGB.³⁰ For example, the materials to compromise Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk were prepared jointly. General Zenon Płatek, the head of division IV in Rzeszów at the time, and later on in the 80s director of Department IV of the MSW, took part in these activities.³¹

The role of security services of the Polish People’s Republic in actions against the Vatican was not solely limited to data gathering or pro-active disinformation activities. One can say that Department IV of the MSW had a leading role among all government institutions dealing with the Catholic Church, par-

29 GRAJEWSKI, Andrzej: *Kompleks Judasza, Kościół zraniony. Chryścjanie w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej między oporem a kolaboracją* (The Judas Complex, The wounded Church, The Christians in Central and Eastern Europe between resistance and collaboration). Poznań 1999, pp. 201 – 206.

30 *Ibidem*, pp. 217 – 218.

31 BONIECKI, Tadeusz Fredro: *Zwycięstwo ks. Jerzego. Rozmowy z Grzegorzem Piotrowskim* (Rev. Jerzy Popiełuszko’s Victory. Interviews with Grzegorz Piotrowski). Warsaw 1990, pp. 15.

ticularly with relations with the Holy See or the Rome Curia. The Office for Religious Denominations' dependency on the MSW's information and directives was obvious. Kazimierz Kąkol, the Office's long-serving director, writes about it in his memoirs saying that security services were the main creator of the state's policy on religious affairs³². The MSW's influence was also significant in case of official diplomatic contacts of various agencies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw with the Holy See. The MSW memos, both in the 70s as well as in the 80s, specified areas of negotiations for Polish diplomats dealing with the Vatican delegations and political priorities of so-called Vatican policy.³³

Soviet assistance

Practices designed and tested by Soviet security structures were always of utmost importance in operations of security institutions of the PRL. First of all, they were based on the same ideological foundations for operation of the communist state's security institutions, but also the same aims, tasks and methods. Gen. Czesław Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs in 1981 -1990, and earlier head of counter-intelligence of the Military Internal Service (Wojskowa Służba Wewnętrzna – WSW) and military intelligence of the 2nd Directorate of the General Staff of the Polish People's Army (Ludowe Wojsko Polskie – LWP), recollected that co-operation between the units of the SB and the KGB in the 60s and 70s was indeed very close. „*There were regular bilateral meetings at various levels, and apart from that, annual conferences of top commanders of intelligence services, held in each socialist country (in alphabetical order).*”³⁴

32 KĄKOL, Kazimierz: *Spowiedź „pogromcy Kościoła”* (Confession of the Church's „conqueror”). Olsztyn 1994, pp.15.

33 Informacja dot. Lobby polskiego w Watykanie oraz wpływu jego działalności na podziały w Episkopacie Polskim. Przygotowana przez Departament I MSW 14.06.1983 r. (Information on the Polish lobby in the Vatican and its influence on divisions within the Polish Episcopate, prepared by Department I of the MSW on 14 June 1983), *IPN Bu 2320/188*, vol.3.

34 BEREŚ, Witold – SKOCZYŁAS, Jerzy: *General Kiszczak mówi ... prawie wszystko* (General Kiszczak reveals ... nearly everything). Warsaw 1991, pp. 52, 166.

Many officers of the MSW were trained in Moscow and in the Warsaw MSW headquarters there was always a numerous and influential group of Soviet officers, either as advisers or liaison officers. They could co-ordinate operational activities and had access to many details of current operations. The Soviet supervision of division IV was taking place not only in Warsaw, but also outside the capital, particularly in Cracow.³⁵ For example, contacts of the Catholic Church in the USSR with the Church in Poland and with the Vatican were supervised within a joint operation.³⁶

Therefore, it is worth to draw attention to the model of combating religious communities that was devised in late 50s and early 60s in the Soviet Union. It was devised by the Committee for State Security of the USSR (Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Biezopastnosti SSSR – KGB) in the 60s. The concept was born to form a special unit, responsible for combating ideological diversion. Such categories were used by Soviet analysts to describe combating all forms of religious activity, particularly the Catholic Church. Before that, the actions against the Church were carried out by units of the KGB's 1st General Directorate, i.e. Soviet civil intelligence.

In July 1967 the then head of the KGB Jurij Andropow established the 5th General Directorate. It was responsible for combating dissident movements, religious communities and all independent social movements. Section V was responsible for the Catholic Church, including the Catholics living in the USSR and abroad. The 5th General Directorate was headed by one of the most promising security officers of young generation, gen. Filip Bobkow. For nearly 15 years he had been one of the best experts in religious affairs.³⁷

Upon Bobkow's initiative, several agreements were signed between organisations responsible for infiltrating the Catholic Church in all countries of the

35 GŁĘBOCKI, Henryk: Rezerwa kadrowa (The personnel reserve). In: Pod znakiem sierpa i młota (Under the sickle and the hammer). Cracow 2006, pp. 123.

36 Jan Widacki, deputy minister of internal affairs in 1989-90 said that Department IV had maintained constant and close contacts with the 5th Directorate of the KGB. In: WIDACKI, Jan: Czego nie powiedział generał Kiszczak. Z Janem Widackim rozmawia Wojciech Wróblewski (What General Kiszczak did not say. Interview with Jan Widacki by Wojciech Wróblewski). Warsaw 1991, pp. 73 – 74.

37 BOBKOW, Filip: *KGB i władza* (The KGB and the power). Moscow 1995, pp. 335 – 360.

Eastern Block. Therefore, within secret services of the Eastern Block the units responsible for fighting ideological enemies, not intelligence services were in the lead of the fight against the Church. They executed their tasks also by using sources and data collected by intelligence structures. The 5th General Directorate was using information coming from the sources in the Church circles, placed there earlier by Soviet intelligence services.

A report on „New tendencies in the Vatican policy”, sent to Poland in April 1959, may serve as an interesting example of exchange of information between Soviet and Polish security services.³⁸ It was available only to the highest officials in the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Warsaw and was passed on to Władysław Gomułka. This document was most probably prepared by the 1st General Directorate of the KGB, led by one of the best Soviet intelligence officers, Aleksandr Sacharowski. He was developing the network of agents in Western Europe. The network penetrated Western European communist movement, as well as ruling parties, institutions and Churches. It is not known how the Soviet intelligence was able to reconstruct the conclave proceedings, which began on 25 October 1958 and finished three days later by electing Cardinal Giuseppe Roncalli, who took the name of John XXIII. Most probably, it was not based on information from the participants of the conclave, but rather indirect information gathered later. This view is supported by the fact that the document was prepared several months after John XXIII had been elected.

According to Soviet intelligence sources, one of the leading figures of the conclave was Poland's Primate, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. His speech significantly influenced the final result of the election. Cardinal Maurice Feltin, the Archbishop of Paris, was an important ally of Cardinal Wyszyński during the conclave deliberations. It is said that before the conclave Poland's Primate was going to pass on to all participants a memorandum of Polish bishops. In the memorandum he described all problems of the Catholic Church not only in Poland, but also in other communist countries. In his conclave speech the Primate appealed for changing the existing policy of the Holy See towards the East European countries. He stressed the need to constantly remember about

38 „O nowych tendencjach w polityce Watikana” („New tendencies in the Vatican's policy”). 24 April 1959. No. 592. The Russian text contained a page with a note for Władysław Gomułka: „I enclose a message from the Soviet comrades. It is partly in line with our information.” Alster, 27 April 1959. IPN Bu no. 0648/31.

the persecuted Churches. He asked for looking for new solutions in the East. He also appealed that the Holy See recognise Polish national borders and set up full ecclesial structures in the west and north of Poland. The debate initiated by Wyszyński had, according to Soviet analysts, significantly influenced further deliberations and led to the final success of Cardinal Roncalli, who became the Pope on 28 October 1958 and took the name of John XXIII. It is worth adding that the description of the conclave proceedings in the Soviet document was later confirmed by the Church historians, who – on the basis of information gathered among the participants – attempted to identify successive stages of the election of John XXIII.³⁹

In 1975, a seminar on „counteracting divertive activities against the socialism carried out from religious positions” was organised, in which delegations of these countries and Cuba participated. In the same year, the Ministry of Internal Affairs signed a new co-operation agreement with the KGB and ministries of internal affairs of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, which was aimed at co-ordinating actions against the Vatican. Within the framework of such co-operation with the KGB, Polish security institutions were assisting in infiltration of the Vatican structures responsible for the Eastern policy, particularly the uniate circles and the Church of the Latin rite on the territory of Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania.⁴⁰

Moscow had a good knowledge of operational assets of Polish secret services. Former chief of the PRL intelligence, gen. Władysław Pożoga recollects the situation in the 70s, when the KGB resident in Warsaw was receiving original materials from current operations and intelligence exercises.⁴¹ Gen.

39 AGOSTINI, Cesare de: *Konklawe XX wieku. Kulisy wyborów papieży* (The Conclave of the 20th century. The secrets of electing the popes). Cracow 2005, pp. 127 – 156.

40 *Przedsięwzięcia w zakresie współdziałania z jednostkami operacyjnymi MSW. W zakresie współdziałania ze służbami bezpieczeństwa krajów socjalistycznych. Załącznik do planu 2-letniego na okres 1978 – 1979* (Activities in the field of co-operating with operational units of the MSW. Co-operation with security services of other socialist states. Annex to a two-year plan for 1978 – 1979). In: *Plany pracy Departamentu IV MSW na lata 1972 – 1979* (Plans of activities of Department IV of the MSW for 1972 – 1979), pp. 240.

41 „Wojciech Jaruzelski tego nigdy nie powie” *Mówi były szef wywiadu i kontrwywiadu, pierwszy zastępca ministra spraw wewnętrznych gen. dywizji Władysław*

Witalij Pawłow, head of the KGB residency in Warsaw also confirmed that the Church's relations with the authorities in Warsaw and the Holy See were of great importance to his residency and the headquarters in Moscow.⁴² Therefore, we can assume that – thanks to such co-operation – the KGB was well informed on the details of operational activity of the PRL intelligence and Department IV of the MSW in the Vatican. It is confirmed by a memo of 16 June 1980, in which the Warsaw residency of the KGB was reporting to Moscow: „Our friends (the SB) have a strong operational position (network of agents) in the Vatican, which gives them direct access to the pope and the Rome congregation. Apart from experienced agents, who enjoy a positive attitude from John Paul and who can get an audience at any time, our friends have built sources of information among the leaders of the Catholic students' movement, who maintain permanent contacts with the Vatican circles and have operational capabilities in the Vatican Radio and the papal secretariat.”⁴³

A report, which was sent from Moscow to the chiefs of secret services in Eastern Europe a month after Karol Wojtyła had been elected, is a significant proof of co-operation of secret services in the Eastern Block in the fight against the Vatican. This document contains an extensive personal analysis of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła and accurate predictions of major directions of his pontificate. It was stated that the material was prepared with the assistance of „the Polish friends” and was passed on, among others, to East Berlin. It was only for the eyes of gen. Markus Wolf, head of the German Democratic Republic's intelligence and gen. Rudi Mittig.⁴⁴

Požoga („Wojciech Jaruzelski will never say this” Elaborations of General Władysław Pożoga, former chief of intelligence and counter-intelligence, first deputy minister of internal affairs). Written by Henryk Piecuch. Warsaw 1992, p. 55 – 57

- 42 Gen. PAWŁOW: Byłem rezydentem KGB w Polsce. Protokoły, których nie przywiózł Jelcyń (I was the KGB resident in Poland. The protocols that Jelcyń did not bring). Warsaw 1994, pp. 205.
- 43 ANDREW, Christopher – MITROCHIN, Wasilij: Archiwum Mitrochina. KGB w Europie i na Zachodzie (The Mitrochin Archives. The KGB in Europe and the West). Warsaw 2001, pp. 899.
- 44 Information der Sicherheitsorgane der VR Polen über die Wahl des Kardinals Wojtyła zum Papst. Berlin 16. 11. 1978. Übersetzung aus dem Russischen. w. Zentralarchiv MfS, HA XX/4, BStU 000020.

The material describes in great detail Cardinal Wojtyła's life, his friends and acquaintances, his interests and hobbies, including arts and sports. According to the authors, the election of Cardinal Wojtyła was a huge challenge for the whole communist system. It was predicted that this could lead to a revival of religious life in Eastern Europe.

Soviet analysts, on the basis of information received from Polish security services, predicted accurately that negotiations between the representatives of socialist states and the Holy See would be now more difficult, because the Church was now led „by a bishop who knows well the reality of a socialist state.”

Conclusion

Review of operations of the PRL security services against the Vatican indicates how important was this direction in everyday activities of secret political police of the PRL. Strong position of the Catholic Church in Poland, which was treated as the main ideological adversary led to a situation, in which the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party was interested in constant inflow of information from this area. Department IV of the MSW, which structures covered all aspects of operations against the Church, was crucial in such data gathering. Since the Church's decision-making centre was outside Poland, foreign intelligence units were also involved in operations. A characteristic feature of these operations was deep interpenetration of the structures, officers and networks of agents. The officers, who had earlier gained operational experience in „the fourth division”, were very often used in operations against the Vatican. It was important that – while executing tasks abroad – they had experience in operational work with the clergy, knew main fields of interest of the MSW, had necessary knowledge of the Church's life and therefore, be better prepared to fulfill their tasks.⁴⁵ It was also quite common to transfer the agents recruited by the SB

45 Application of the Director of Department I of the MSW general Jan Słowikowski (14. 10. 1978) to transfer a senior inspector of Section IV of Department IV Lt. Edward Kotowski to the Rome residency for the post of a 2nd secretary in the team for the contacts with the Vatican of the PRL Embassy in Rome. Kotowski was supposed to carry out simultaneously operational tasks in the residency, in accordance with relevant agreements between Department I and Department IV of the MSW.

to the structures of Department I.⁴⁶ It was usually accompanied by a procedure of signing new obligations by the candidates for intelligence collaborators, as well as the need to undertake intelligence training. One can say that working for intelligence structures was considered as sort of „ennoblement” by the agents recruited by the fourth division, with all the benefits of a foreign trip or living in the West. During joint operations, the two divisions (IV and I) systematically exchanged information, although it was visible that intelligence structure did not wish to disclose any operational matters.

Systematic exchange of information between similar services in the Eastern Block was another major element of operations of security services of the PRL against the Vatican. The aforesaid documents and materials, which were exchanged between the communist secret services, confirm the high level of coordination of operational planning and execution. Examples of mutual transfer of agents in order to carry out operations in another country or to use them in operational games against the Vatican are also known. One can say that in the period of question the Vatican constituted an important operational target for secret political police of the PRL. After the election of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła for the Pope, the role and importance of this direction increased even further.

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Author (among others):

1. „Kompleks Judasza: Kościół zraniony: chrześcijaństwo w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej między oporem a kolaboracją” (Judas complex.

IPN Bu 0604/1338.

- 46 Informacja o działaniach operacyjno-politycznych Departamentu IV MSW we wrześniu 1976 r (Information on political and operational activities of Department IV of the MSW in September 1976). In: *Metody pracy operacyjnej aparatu bezpieczeństwa wobec Kościołów i związków wyznaniowych 1945 – 1989* (Methods of operational work of the security apparatus against the Churches and religious associations in 1945 – 1989). Warsaw 2004, pp. 518.

Wounded Church. Christians in East-Central Europe between collaboration and resistance; translated to Czech as: Jidášův komplex: zraněná církev: Křesťané ve střední a východní Evropě mezi odporem a kolaborací)

2. „Tarcza i miecz: rosyjskie służby specjalne 1991 – 1998” (*Shield and Sword. Russian Special Services 1991 – 1998*)
3. *Trudne pojednanie: stosunki czesko-niemieckie 1989 – 1999 (Uneasy reconciliation. Czech-German relations 1989 – 1999).*

Sławomir Łukasiewicz*Institute of National Remembrance**Poland***Polish Communist Intelligence Service against the European Economic Community (EEC)**

Analyzing activity of Polish communist security apparatus against the European Economic Community in the period between 1958 and 1989 we must realize, that it was only a part of broader confrontation, which we could call the clash of two integration models. Reasons of the clash were deeper than the intelligence routine only. Soviet Union proposed model of integration, which dominated political scene of East-Central Europe after 1945. Ironically, Soviet Union, „purely” democratic world power could call itself a federation on the basis of Stalin’s constitution of 1935.¹ Specific meanings used by Soviets very often were unintelligible to the Western observers, sometimes even to professional sovietologists. Nevertheless the cold war allowed to understand better the difference between Western democracy and people’s democracy offered by Soviet Union.

The main impulse for the integration of Western countries after the World War II had double basis. Firstly Europeans were afraid of a repetition of the history, especially of „30-years” wars (1914 – 1945) that had devastated the whole continent. Secondly, after the collapse of one totalitarian regime (nazi), the second one (communist) was still in action, and the Western world quickly started to treat it as a very dangerous threat. It was enough to stimulate need for integration, understood as a method of containing past and present threats.

Analogical process began in the Eastern part of Europe, but to be precise we should call it unification rather than integration. The main difference with the Western model at first lied in a freedom of choice: to participate or not in a process. Secondly Western Europe guaranteed national and state identity while in Eastern Europe every country had to accept the Soviet model of government. Thirdly changes in the Western Europe were achieved with demo-

1 See ANCEWICZ, F.: *Stalinowska koncepcja państwa na tle ewolucji ustrojowej Związku Socjalistycznych Republik Sowietkich*, Lublin 2001.

cratic procedure while in the Eastern block there was only one scenario, based on political manipulation and military power of the Red Army. Of course the list of differences is longer, but I guess, these are the most important ones.

It explains why Western European integration sooner or later had to be recognized by the Soviets and their satellites as an ideological, economic and even military threat. An advancement of Western integration could stop expansion of communism. Moreover, Europe in its struggle was supported by the United States, the main rival of the Soviet Union. Today we are sure that without American political, economic and military help Europe could have been defeated. The United States secret services were interested in supporting European integration processes from its earliest stage, which recently Richard Aldrich has described in his book *The Hidden hand...*²

After the decisions in Yalta and after the end of the World War II the integration processes could involve only Western part of Europe. But even in this case the opposition of the Soviet Union was very strong and grew after launching of the Marshall Plan and cold war proclamation by the USA. It thwarted Soviet hopes of potential conflict between USA and Great Britain. On the other hand it opened a perspective of rebuilding of European economy, also German one. Eventually, it bound Western Europe with the USA by financial and material help. To prevent those tendencies Stalin decided to undertake at first propaganda action using leftwing sympathies in the West. He evoked slogans deprecating capitalism and alert to a danger of German power reconstruction. Today experts believe that too stiff and ostentatious expressing of such attitude by Soviet authorities gave reverse reaction. Immediate threat spurred deeper and quicker European integration. According to Vladislav Zubok, Soviet leaders, focused on ideological questions, underestimated significance of economic change brought about by the integration process.³ For them creating of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in 1949 was adequate answer to the Marshall Plan. But with the consolidation of European market, especially when in 1957 – 1958 the European Economic Community came into existence, the

2 ALDRICH, R.: *The Hidden Hand. Britain, America and Cold War Secret Intelligence*, London 2001, pp. 343 and next.

3 ZUBOK, V.: The Soviet Union and European Integration from Stalin to Gorbachev, „*Journal of European Integration History*”, 1996, No. 2, pp. 90.

economic development of Europe started to be gradually treated by communist experts as a threat. They did not treat it as a purely economic threat, but mainly as political one, connected with the growing position of Western Germany. According to the communist ideology, the economic threat was synonymous with the ideological one, because economy and planning was a very important part of communism. This stage lasted at least until the 1970s, when after the changes on the international arena, Moscow and CMEA countries gradually decided to recognize the existence of European structures, among them EEC.⁴ All those facts had effect on the policy of Polish People's Republic, which, under Moscow's pressure, rejected the Marshall Plan, joined the CMEA and after all had problems in perceiving the growing power of the united Western Europe.

We cannot give the complete picture of the actions taken by the Eastern bloc in the context of Western European integration. This task is still very difficult because we have very little knowledge about decisions taken in Moscow. An easier way leads through the archives of Central European countries, among them through the archives of the Polish Communist Party, administration files like these of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or Ministry of Internal Affairs, deposited at the Institute of National Remembrance. In this text I used only the latter, concentrating on activity of the Polish communist security apparatus.

In Poland, just after European Economic Community (EEC) came into being on the basis of the Treaty of Rome, European institutions in Brussels, Paris, Strasbourg and Luxembourg were put under the surveillance by intelligence services, in accordance with the instructions of vice minister of internal affairs Mieczysław Moczar issued in 1958.⁵ At that time Moczar was responsible for coordination of intelligence and counterintelligence. Unfortunately, until today we have not found materials which were created during operations directed against EEC's institutions in 1960s and early 1970s. Exceptional are a few ves-

4 Por. CZIOMER, E.: *Stanowisko ZSRR wobec integracji zachodnioeuropejskiej*, w: *Z dziejów prób integracji europejskiej od średniowiecza do współczesności*, red. M. Pułaski, Kraków 2000, pp. 185 – 190.

5 Directive nr 00173/58 by vice minister Mieczysław Moczar about the operation work of the security service abroad (in capitalist countries). In: CENCKIEWICZ, S.: *Oczami bezpieki. Szkice i materiały z dziejów aparatu bezpieczeństwa PRL* (Bezpieka's eyes. Sketches and materials for the history of security apparatus of Polish People's Republic), Kraków 2004, pp. 118 – 120.

tiges like this in the study designed for the trainees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, written by another famous person – minister Mirosław Milewski in 1972. Among the political expectations of communist leaders, he briefly mentioned relations of EEC with countries of socialist community.⁶

But we do not have enough evidence that the same priorities obliged the Soviet apparatus. According to Christopher Andrew and Oleg Gordijewski, Soviet residents until 1976 were informed that European Community was not object of Moscow's interest. The situation changed when Leo Tindemans, Belgian prime minister, appealed in December 1975 for liquidation of the gap between economic integration of EEC and its political dimension. Moreover, he also postulated common foreign and defense policy of the Community. These signals were accompanied by increasing interest of China in the European Community – in September 1975 the Chinese embassy was opened at the EEC. For Vladimir Kryuchkov, then chief of Soviet foreign intelligence, i.e. First Chief Directorate of KGB, it was a proof of dangerous anti-Soviet plot. He issued a circular for residents with instruction to take advantage of every opportunity for gathering maximum information about the politics of the European Community. Next circulars followed, which indicated that the main purpose of the EEC is sabotage of foreign policy of the socialist countries and that steering circles of EEC are trying to conduct subversive action inside the communist bloc. Since then EEC was attentively observed by the Soviet services, especially during such events like elections to the European Parliament in 1978. New tasks required deepening of infiltration which resulted in wider coordination of residents' activities in Western countries. A broad recruitment action of new agents in such institutions like the College of Europe in Bruges, the European University Institute in Florence and the European Institute in Amsterdam began.⁷ Those institutions educated future elites. Every residency also got a task to send current telephone directory and lists of diplomats and journalists accredited in EEC. Moscow also demanded active measures to prevent such events as European elections and to

6 MILEWSKI, M.: *Rola i zadania wywiadu Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych* (The role and tasks of the intelligence of the Ministry of Internal Affairs), Departament Szkolenia i Doskonalenia Zawodowego MSW, Warszawa 1972, IPN BU 01522/443, vol. 1.

7 We don't have any estimates of success or failure of the action.

inform Western public opinion about points of competition between Western European countries, as well as between EEC and USA and Japan.⁸

The Polish intelligence also reacted to these new tendencies in Soviet politics, but – if Andrew and Gordijewski are right – we should state that Polish intelligence apparatus had longer experience in observation of EEC. Firstly we should state that in the archives of the IPN we can find materials according to which from early 1970s (for sure before 1973) the case was conducted against EEC by VIIth and VIIIth Divisions of the Ist Department (intelligence) of Ministry of Internal Affairs. Its code name was saying a lot: „Treaty”. Unfortunately, 2 volumes of those materials gathered before 1988 were completely destroyed in January 1990.⁹

In this early period Polish communist intelligence also kept under surveillance a very interesting person of Polish descent – professor Jerzy Łukaszewski, who in 1972 became rector of the College of Europe in Bruges. It was continuation of the case started in 1956 in Poland, when Łukaszewski was a Professor at Catholic University in Lublin. In 1958 he escaped to the West and developed quite impressive career, crowned by his appointment in Bruges. In opinion of Polish officers expressed in one of the document from the case with codename „Giorgio”, College of Europe was one of the most important institution, because its students were the potential personnel of NATO, UNO or EEC. All those institutions were in operation interest of the intelligence.¹⁰ The 1st Department conducted also special action using agent „Rycki” for „softening” of Łukaszewski. „Rycki” was trying to take the advantage of Polish roots of Łukaszewski, inspiring for example an interview of Łukaszewski for Belgian TV when John Paul II became the Pope. Also was trying to inspire official exchange with Main School of Planning and Statistics (Szkoła Główna Planow-

8 ANDREW, Ch. – GORDIJEWSKI, O.: *KGB*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 494 – 497.

9 See Protokół z komisijnego zniszczenia dokumentów (Protocol of committee destroying of documents), Warszawa 1990-01-10, signed by the head of the VIIIth Division of Ist Department of Ministry of Internal Affairs, colonel Wiktor Borodziej, *IPN BU* 02336/143, k. 16.

10 Notatka dotycząca sprawy rozpracowania operacyjnego krypt[onim] „Giorgio” (Note regarding the operation case under codename „Giorgio”, prepared by second lieutenant Zygmunta Cebulę, inspector of the VIth Division of the Ist Department of MSW, Warszawa, 4th December 1974, *IPN BU* 01285/714.

ania i Statystyki) and the Catholic University of Lublin. The purpose of such actions was to enforce Łukaszewski to regulate his passport issues. „Rycki”, using his official post at Polish embassy in Brussels, gave the impression of his good acquaintance with Łukaszewski, which aroused curiosity of the „Soviet comrade”,¹¹ who even wanted to be presented to Łukaszewski. Eventually, all those attempts failed, so in December 1982 the case was definitely closed by the 3rd Division of the 1st Department. Doubtless, it was a failure, especially in view of the fact that expectations were great. Probably it was not the only case when Polish embassy in Brussels was trying to infiltrate a European institution.

In the meantime the most important document describing the EEC was created by the informative division of the intelligence department. Its title was: „Some problems of internal and foreign politics of the EEC in the perspective of information and operation interest of Polish People’s Republic’s intelligence service.”¹² This document had two basic versions. One for the headquarters in Warsaw, as well as for intelligence agents, and second for the local divisions of the security apparatus.¹³ There were two substantial differences between both versions – in the introduction and in the last part of the document. Local divisions in Poland reached less detailed information about the genesis of the document and also less detailed indications for the future. For them the most important part was in the middle, which has mostly informative character.

Let’s try to reconstruct main lines of this three-part text. Regarding the beginning of intelligence interest the authors evaluated that majority of operation departments have very weak knowledge about EEC as „the integration process in Western Europe” as well as about the structure of the EEC. The document was to change this situation. Authors also said that for future studies it is not enough to use only information gather by residencies. The most important work

11 „Rycki”, Notatka służbowa ze spotkania z „Gorgio” (official note from the meeting with „Giorgio”), Bruksela 22. 10. 1978, IPN BU 01285/714.

12 Niektóre problemy wewnętrznej i zagranicznej polityki EWG w aspekcie informacyjnego i operacyjnego zainteresowania wywiadu PRL, MSW, Departament I, worked out by th XVIIth Division, Warszawa 1978, IPN BU 02108/5. First information about this document I received from prof. A. Paczkowski.

13 For example we can find such a copy in Lublin under file number IPN Lu-0341/469.

this time was done by individual officers of intelligence using also other sources of information (like official expert studies¹⁴) and analytical methods.

First problem seen by the authors was of technical nature. They stated that intelligence service does not have enough data about the circulation of documents and information within the EEC's institutions. They particularly had in mind classified information. The second problem was connected with the mismatch between the operational potential of the VIIIth Division (responsible in the Ist Department for the infiltration of EEC) and the real needs of intelligence in political, economic and other aspects. As the third problem authors defined the necessity of constant training of intelligence officers in this field. It also implied systematic publication of still improving internal studies about the EEC – next one was planned the following year, using more and better analyzed intelligence information.

After the description of the history of European integration and of the attitudes of separate member countries toward the EEC, the authors analyzed the foreign policy of the EEC. The most interesting part is devoted to the relations with the communist countries. Those relations were based on the common trade policy, established by the EEC from 1st January of 1975, which resulted in excluding such cases like trade agreements, customs policy or farm and food products import from the competences of individual member countries of the EEC. Such a situation upset previous practice of bilateral economic agreements between individual Western and Eastern European countries. CMEA was not capable of overcoming new problems. The Council was even not ready to officially recognize the political identity of the EEC institutions like the EEC Commission. For „small” socialist countries it generated almost unsolvable dilemma. Nevertheless the CMEA started negotiations with the EEC, but prognoses were full of skepticism and observers foresaw them as a long and difficult process. At this point we should remember that in 1982 the EEC imposed economic sanctions against Polish People's Republic, which suspended any negotiations for the following 7 years. Those restrictions were all the more painful

14 For example they cited such literature like issued by the Polish Institute of International Affairs book *Spór o jedność polityczną Europy* (Dispute over the political unity of Europe by P. Landau.

because of the huge Polish debt to the EEC, comparable only with that of the Soviet Union!¹⁵

Another level of difficulties in observing EEC was bound with direct counterintelligence service located in the structures of this European institution. The service was created in 1977 strictly to fight against the intelligence activity of socialist countries. The service was also supported by Belgian counterintelligence and police. It is interesting that all those services assumed that socialist countries conduct their intelligence operations from the position of official posts.

The most important last part of the analysis contained detailed policy guidelines for the intelligence service for next years. The main cause of anxiety were potential negative consequences of the EEC policy toward the socialist countries, especially in the field of economy. Intelligence was to observe threats on the line Poland-EEC as well as CMEA-EEC. Authors also recommended more detailed directions of infiltration, which was to help better examination of internal structure of EEC and its foreign relations with such countries like USA, Japan or China. In the operation interest of intelligence they included also government institution of such countries like Western Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy and Belgium. They suggested insertion of agents in such objects like General Departments A and E of the General Secretariat of the EEC Council of Ministers, in COREPER (Committee of Permanent Representatives) and in General Administration of EEC Commission. The European Council gathering three times a year was in the core of intelligence interest, too. An activity of the EEC security service and procedures was a separate problem.

Very interesting is also the assessment of the future trends in the European integration. Authors stated that 20 years since the Treaty of Rome had been signed the EEC made progress in such fields of politics like trade, agriculture, industry or regional policies. Those processes will still progress and will spread to the other countries interested in joining the EEC like Greece, Spain, Portugal, and – please note – Turkey! In the farther perspective it will spread also

15 Such information occurred in later document prepared by the Ministry of the Foreign Economic Cooperation [Ministerstwo Współpracy Gospodarczej z Zagranicą] and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, titled *Aktualne stosunki dwustronne Polska EWG oraz perspektywa jednolitego rynku Wspólnoty po roku 1992*, *IPN BU 02336/143*, k. 50.

to European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries. Economic growth will effect in deepening of political and military ties and in cooperation with USA. These tendencies will make EEC an important player on the international arena, which – in the opinion of Polish communist intelligence will result in exacerbation of relations between EEC, USA and Japan as the one side and socialist countries on the other. From the Polish People's Republic's point of view following conclusion was the most important: *„progress of EEC integration will have more and more harmful impact on the foreign trade results, and in consequence on the accomplishment of the social-economic program of national development.”*¹⁶ Repeating theses of insufficient knowledge about the EEC the authors called for implementation into the consciousness of every 1st Department officer a fact that Western European countries constitute one, more and more interlocked system directed against socialist countries, especially against Poland. We should admit that the authors of the document were not only afraid but also fascinated a little by the new political body they discovered.¹⁷ Unfortunately, we do not have enough material to describe the activity of the Polish Security apparatus in 1980s against the EEC – as I mentioned those files were destroyed in 1990. So we can't evaluate the effects of the guidelines assumed in 1978, either.

From literature we know that the position of EEC was still growing in the eyes of Communist intelligence. For example, in 1984 the deputy chief of 1st Chief Directorate of KGB, Viktor Grushko emphasized once again that the European integration, in its every aspect is contrary to the Soviet Union's interests.

16 Niektóre problemy wewnętrznej i zagranicznej polityki EWG w aspekcie informacyjnego i operacyjnego zainteresowania wywiadu PRL, MSW, Departament I, opracował Wydział XVII, Warszawa 1978, *IPN BU* 02108/5, k. 80.

17 Study contained also some appendixes: schemes of decisions taking by the EEC, information about the legislative process and the description of the structure of the EEC institutions and their ethnical composition. At the end the authors proposed also detailed scheme of the next publication, describing also who is responsible for separate chapters. On that basis we can reconstruct that the new document will be prepared by two divisions of the 1st Department: VIIIth and XVIIth. In XVIIth Division, also called information division, the authors saw the necessity of engaging following Units: Economic, German, European and American. They saw also eventuality of submitting demand to the PR – i.e. Soviet Friends. Persons responsible for the whole study, probably members of the European Unit, were B. Żuławnik and R. Iwicki.

It was the reason for which the Central Committee of CPSU recognized EEC as one of the „main object of intelligence penetration”, putting it on the same level as USA, NATO and China.¹⁸

In Polish archives of security service there is one more kind of material left: object file documents gathered between 1988 – 1990 by the 1st Department,¹⁹ strictly in the period of transformation. They made a continuation of the object case „Treaty” mentioned above, but their character was rather documentary. Nevertheless, we can use them to reveal some interesting facts.

1st Department, under the leadership of gen. Zdzisław Sarewicz,²⁰ treated the economy as a sphere of the clash between capitalism and socialism. Anonymous authors of undated document stated that „*threat of capitalism grows depending of the level of organization and scale of integration of the enemy.*”²¹ Assessing that the planned and constant development of the European integration is a phenomenon on a world scale, they maintained also that „*infiltration of the EEC is priority task of the intelligence*”.²² At the same time they warned against widening of action in Brussels, where the concentration of the activity of intelligence service is observed. They proposed looking for the information in separate member countries as well as initiating of the activity from the so-called position of the country (*z pozycji kraju*). This means using contacts between secret collaborators living in Poland with their colleagues working in or for EEC institutions. Authors also saw additional benefits in the fact, that EEC was a holder of the most important information connected with the multilateral relations in Europe, and good sources from EEC would dissolve many information problems of intelligence.

The last known fact connecting with activity of Communist intelligence against the EEC is document prepared at the beginning of 1989, when the sec-

18 ANDREW, Ch. – GORDIJEWSKI, O.: *KGB*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 496.

19 We should mention that so-called subject documentation was primarily based on reports and information received from the employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Among them we can find also the name of Jan Truszczyński, who in 2001 owned up to collaboration with communist intelligence.

20 He was a Director of the 1st Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs since September 1983 to October 1989.

21 *IPN BU 02336/143*, k. 18.

22 *IPN BU 02336/143*, k. 18 – 19.

ond Commission of Jacques Delors was established. This document is all interesting as it confirms the exchange of information between Polish Communist intelligence and Soviet intelligence, i.e. between 1st Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and 1st Chief Directorate of the KGB.²³ I would like to quote the first sentence of the document: „*On account of political-economic significance of the EEC for the world economy it has to maintain the priority interest for our countries intelligence*”. Among other points Polish intelligence described technical difficulties with acquiring the information because of strong counterintelligence measures in Brussels, in a climate unfavorable for socialist countries. Nevertheless, intelligence also described the main points of interest, still valid in the first half of 1989, like financial and credit policy toward Poland, EEC's estimates of economic and political situation in Poland, possible fluctuation of restrictions against Poland and other socialist countries and perspectives of dialog between CMEA and EEC. Finally, Polish intelligence officers recapitulated that these points should be taken into consideration within the frame of the security services cooperation. As a proof of previous cooperation they informed about 11 pieces of information provided for „Soviet Friends” since the last meeting.

The breakthrough of 1989 was in some aspects connected also with the attitude of the EEC towards Polish People's Republic. General Wojciech Jaruzelski admitted this truth during his talks with Jacques Delors, then President of The Commission of European Communities, he had 5 days after the elections of 4th June 1989. He openly stated that sanctions imposed by EEC on Poland in 1982 after the outbreak of martial law gave very harmful lessons for Polish state and society. As Jaruzelski said, after seven years of restrictions “*there is common understanding that progress is not possible without a thorough reform of economy.*”²⁴ Europe was ready to help Poland to overcome difficulties and to transform its economy. Evident proof of that was economic help for Poland and Hungary granted by 7 richest countries of the world, after the summit in Paris,

23 Tezy do rozmów nt. EWG z przedstawicielami I Głównego Zarządu KBP (Thesis for talks on the EEC with representatives of the 1st Chief Directorate of KGB), (1989), IPN BU02336/143, k. 104 – 108.

24 Meeting of the President of the Council of State, General Wojciech Jaruzelski with the President of the Commission of European Communities, Jacques Delors, Brussels, 09.06.1989 (full record of conversation), IPN BU 02336/143, k. 90.

still in June 1989. Of course, these decisions were prepared by earlier negotiations between Polish People's Republic and the EEC. The Commission of the European Communities was to administer the aid program. One month later Jan Kułakowski, Polish emigrant and the chief of World Labor Organization, was appointed first Polish ambassador to the European Communities in Brussels. As the conclusion of this history, we have to mention that in September 1989, the Government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki signed the first agreement between Polish People's Republic (it was still official name of the country) and the EEC. After next 2 years of negotiations, Leszek Balcerowicz, in the name of Polish government, signed another one: Association Agreement with the European Community. It was a huge step towards uniting both parts of Europe – Western and Eastern.

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KBSE as Seen by State Security of the German Democratic Republic in the 70s

The subject of my paper is the **KBSE operations in the 70s as perceived by the State Security of the German Democratic Republic**. These are the first results of a long term research project. At the moment I am still only collecting and sorting material. This is my introductory apology for the makeshift state of my findings.

This is a conference of security and cooperation in Europe, and, when looked back, security and cooperation should be seen as the last nail in the coffin of the Soviet Empire. From the German perspective this development was closely tied to the change of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic in the early 70s. It demonstrates how secret services of Communist states, especially the Ministry of State Security (MSS) in cooperation with KGB, were dealing with this challenge and with the consequences of the Final Document. Also related to that is the question regarding why they actually failed in their efforts. However, I do not want to discuss that subject here, since I am to limit myself to the 70s.

KBSE was of a slightly different importance to the German Democratic Republic, as the second German state, than to the rest of the states of Warsaw Pact, since it had been confronted with this development initiated by the aforementioned conference. Prerequisites for the conference being accepted by the Western part were treaties between both German states, which they concluded in accordance with four victorious powers. Some of the late 70s pioneering successes of the KBSE operations lay in previously arranged German-German discussions. It involved borders being more open in particular. In order to make this a little bit more vivid let's go back to the situation in the years leading up to the changes, which caused substantial problems to the state security:

- West Berlin citizens were not allowed to travel to East Berlin and other parts of German Democratic Republic. The only exceptions were for special family matters such as weddings and funerals.
- Federal Republic citizens were allowed to travel only for purposes of such family visits. Tourism was not allowed.
- There were no private phone calls between East and West Berlin.²⁵

Some other examples: Based on German-German treaties there were many more travel opportunities from West Germany as well as from East Germany. Later on the only allowed trips involved „urgent family matters”.

New opportunities were indeed being used. The following numbers are to detail this usage:

- Number of trips from the Federal Republic and West Berlin to the German Democratic Republic increased between 1971 and 1976 from 1.2 to approximately 7 million.
- Transit routes between the Federal Republic and West Berlin were used by roughly 8 million travelers in the year 1971. Five years later it was 15 million.²⁶
- Increase of mail and air traffic, cultural relations, etc. also occurred.

From the state security’s point of view all this meant more start points of hostile espionage and ideological infiltration. Such fears were quite justified since, as the latest results of Matthias Uhl’s and Armin Wagner’s research show, the Federal Intelligence Service (BND), for example, was extensively using travelling opportunities for military espionage.²⁷

25 Compare BENDER, Peter: *Die ›Neue Ostpolitik‹ und ihre Folgen. Vom Mauerbau bis zur Vereinigung* (›New eastern politics ‹ and its consequences. From the wall construction up to unification.); München 1995, the 3rd arranged addition, page 189-193; Manual of German Democratic Republic; Published by the Federal Ministry of Out-of-Germany relations; Research lead: Hartmut Zimmermann, 2 Bde., the 3rd arranged and expanded edition. Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik (Science and Politics Publishing House), 1985, pp. 634 at seq.

26 Compare BENDER, Peter: *Die ›Neue Ostpolitik‹ und ihre Folgen. Vom Mauerbau bis zur Vereinigung* (›New eastern politics ‹ and its consequences. From the wall construction to unification); München 1995, the 3rd arranged edition, pp. 361.

27 WAGNER, Armin – UHL, Matthias: BND contra Sowjetarmee: Westdeutsche Militärsplionage in der DDR (BND contra the soviet army: West-German military espionage in German Democratic Republic) In: *Militärgeschichte der DDR* (Mili-

MŠB and KGB on the eve of the conference

Let's get back to KBSE. In the time when it was more or less determined that the conference for all of Europe would happen, yet prior to the first preparation phase to be initiated in November 1972, a long term conflict relating to the main subject matter of this conference was unresolved. The Warsaw Pact states under the command of the Soviet Union were trying to make the status quo internationally accepted in Europe. Nevertheless, the West was first and foremost promoting a view of European initiative according to which the conference would make sense only if it was connected with substantial improvement on the social level; or, as the North-Atlantic Board stated in May 1970, only if it would contribute to „*greater freedom of people, ideas and information movement*.”²⁸ It was new and unusual that such a point was put on the agenda of an international conference and, if was totally unclear, how important it would become.²⁹

The Warsaw Pact states were of course participating in the discussion under the command and based on instructions of the Soviet Union, and the tone was adequately set by the KGB on the level of secret services. It was therefore understandable that the minister of State Security of the German Democratic

tary history of German Democratic Republic; 14). Berlin 2007.

- 28 „Schlusskommuniqué der Ministertagung des Nordatlantikrates in Rom vom 27. Mai 1970“ (Final communiqué of the discussion of ministers of North Atlantic Board in Rome taking place on May 27, 1970). In: JACOBSEN, Hans-Adolf – MALLMANN, Wolfgang – MEIER, Christian (edit.): *Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa (KSZE): Analyse und Dokumentation* (Security and cooperation in Europe (KBSE): Analysis and documentation). Köln 1973 (Documents related to the foreign politics; 2), pp. 212 – 215.
- 29 Compare HENZE, Gerhard: *Neue Aufgaben der Entspannungspolitik* (New tasks of easement policy). In: VOLLE, Hermann – WAGNER, Wolfgang (publish.): *KSZE. Konferenz über Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa in Beiträgen aus dem Europa-Archiv (KBSE. Conference of security and cooperation in Europe in the contributions from European Archive)*; Bonn 1976, pp. 77 – 86, here 86; RISSE, Thomas – SIKKINK, Kathryn: *The socialization of international human rights norms into domestic practices: Introduction*. In: RISSE, Thomas – ROPP, Stephen C. – SIKKINK, Kathryn (publish.): *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge 1999, pp. 1 – 28; THOMAS, Daniel C.: *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism*. Princeton 2001, pp. 27 – 54.

Republic several times intervened in Moscow. There were only notes of these conversations found. They show that he was very worried. At the beginning of the year 1972 Mielke therefore asked: “To what extent do Soviet comrades appreciate the efforts of the Federal Republic of Germany, [...] to change functionally the conference in terms of political and ideological diversion against European social states? [...] How far it is really possible to go to accommodate the West? What shall be given up so that no hostile intentions would be supported?”³⁰

Apart from these basic thoughts Mielke asked Andropov for better coordination when exchanging opinions with the KBSE operations at the secret services level. NATO states achieved a higher level of this relationship.³¹

This appeal of Mielke’s was granted in years that followed: Apart from some other things, there were conferences of the Eastern Bloc secret services organized on regular basis. They related to their common fight against „ideological diversion”. The first of those discussions took place in 1974, i.e. prior to the Helsinki Final Document approval. A common electronic database of Eastern Bloc secret services was established regarding hostile powers from the opponent’s camp. It started, however, functioning in the early 80s.³² As for job vacancies, there were “operative activities” organized by various secret services – in the 70s against World Union of Psychiatry, against Radio Free Europe

30 Thesen (Probleme) für Gespräche des Gen. Minister mit führenden Vertretern der sowjetischen Sicherheitsorgane (Anfang Februar 1972) (Theses (issues) for discussions of the general minister and head representatives of soviet security authorities (Early February 1972)); *BStU* (Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the Former GDR), MŠB, ZAIG (Central Information and Assessment Group) 5134, sheet 1-17.

31 Themen und Fragen für die Diskussion und Konsultation mit den leitenden Genossen des KfS (Topics and issues for discussion and consultation with leading comrades KfS); no date stated, from the attachment (sheet 1), it proceeds from the assumption that it is the matter of MŠB delegation trip preparation under Mielke’s command in April 1972 to Moscow; *BStU*, MŠB, ZAIG 5135, sheet 3 – 7.

32 Compare WEGMANN, Bodo – TANTZSCHER, Monika: SOUD. *Das geheimdienstliche Datennetz des östlichen Bündnissystems* (Data network of the secret service of the eastern allied system); Department of Education and Research of BStU, series B of analyses and report 1/96, Berlin 1996; SOUD stands for Sistema Objedinnenogo Utscheta Dannych (o Protiwnike), i.e. System of Unified Data (about the opponent) Recording.

and against Amnesty International.³³ Moreover, there were regular meetings organized on secret unit level, especially those of the XX MŠB and the fifth Directorate of KGB. Both of them were responsible for internal repression.

What followed after the KBSE climax

As for KBSE, the basic idea was to achieve acceptance of state status quo primarily against declaratory duty of human rights and towards better social contacts beyond the safety curtain. The fight for this matter was much longer than originally expected. Finally, in 1975 it was agreed upon in the Final Document, which, when looking back, represents a milestone on the way to the single Europe through the fact that the respect of human rights became a central criterion of states' international reputation.

The borders of the détente policy were crossed by the late July 1975 Helsinki Summit which represented the Bloc overreaching international reestablishment. In the years that followed, the goal consisted of the practical adoption of treaties. Shortly after the treaties' conclusion, chief Western politicians pointed out that they also intended to demand that those obligations be met, because these obligations were accepted by the Warsaw Pact statements in the catalogue of principles and in the well-known Basket III.³⁴ Thus, it was pointed out that the USA's attempts at collecting information on treaties implementation did not stay hidden to communist secret services.³⁵

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- 33 Compare MIHR, Anja: *Amnesty International in der DDR: Der Einsatz für Menschenrechte im Visier der Stasi* (Amnesty International in German Democratic Republic: Fight for human rights in Stasi sight hole). Berlin 2002; MACHCEWICZ, Pawel: „*The Munich Menagerie*“. *The Battle against Radio Free Europe 1950 – 1989* („Monachijaska menażeria“; Walka z Radiem Wolna Europa 1950 – 1989); Warsaw 2007; SÜß, Sonja: *Politisch mißbraucht? Psychiatrie und Staatssicherheit in der DDR* (Politically politics? Psychiatry and state security in German Democratic Republic); Vedes series, volume BStU; 14; Berlin 1998, the 2nd edition, pp. 648 – 670.
- 34 Compare MASTNY, Vojtech: *Helsinki, Human Rights, and European Security. Analysis and Documentation*; Durham 1986, pp. 99 et seq.
- 35 Compare MŠB: Information über westliche Aktivitäten nach der KSZE (Sonderfassung) (Information on important activities following KBSE (Special wording)); 23. 2. 1976; Information 129/76; BStU, MŠB, HVA 122, sheet 10 – 13.

The Soviet identification of the position related to this perspective was completed in a month following the summit. This opinion was strongly rejected by the basic section of the governmental authority of *Izvestija*; Basket III was supposed to be the price the Soviet Union was to pay to Western Europe for accepting the existing borders in Europe.³⁶ It was also very clearly explained that they were not prepared to pay for the benefit of outer security by threatening their internal stability.

But even though the European post-war borders were accepted the matter was still open from the Soviet point of view. There were still many open issues between the Eastern Bloc and Western Europe in which the Warsaw Pact states also had interests. Therefore, there were efforts to avoid the implication of Final Document. Yet, it was impossible to ignore this implication totally, even in section three. The result of this constellation of ideas was tactics, concessions relating to individual issues, even those related to Basket III, combined with strict policy in the basic area and the maintenance of the monopoly of the communist parties' power.

State security reactions related to Helsinki

At that time the state security services were assigned tasks in various fields:

- Checking inhabitants' tendencies following Helsinki summit;
- Internal repression;
- Espionage;

36 Article of Georgij Arbatov published in *Izvestiji* dated September 4, 1975 was broadcasted by the Foreign Service in Radio Moscow all over the world in order to underline its importance. Detailed summary in: *Archiv der Gegenwart* (AdG) (Archive of Presence), CD-ROM edition 2000, pp. 19683. The formulations from this article were taken over into the speech of Honecker, SED general secretary (Honecker according to Radio DDR on September 11, 1975 in front of an escort of „Heinrich Rauh”/Rostock fighter pilots in connection with KBSE results – AdG, pp. 19744) a week later.

Tendency

In August 1975 MŠB prepared a review regarding reactions set off in the German Democratic Republic by the Final Document's release. The following was announced: The document has awakened citizens' „big interest” and was mainly „welcomed”. One could think that there was no other way of reporting for Stasi. After all, it was Erich Honecker, the head of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), who was in Helsinki and signed the Final Document; the text was published in the central authority of the party. This way it was possible to read the description of inhabitants' resonance as a standard affirmation of the governing policy in such tendency-describing reports. Yet, the analysts of State Security manifested, those real reactions were worrying them. Reason: „*A „substantial part of citizens “concurrent statements were leaning on “speculative expectations,” which „were strengthened by statements and comments of Western stations.”*”³⁷

On one hand this means that SED leadership and media were not able to promote the Final Document's high-minded interpretation in their own country. On the other hand, the document became only a reference point of demands imposed on the state. For instance State Security expressed hopes for easing visits from Western Europe and for selling Western publications in the German Democratic Republic and, what is even more bizarre, for permission to leave the country.

In order to affect the above-described progress, the leadership of State Security gave instructions for further proceedings on August 6, 1975, just a few days following the Helsinki summit.³⁸ It related to Final Document implications. In accordance with the enactment of the General Secretary of SED the document was supposed to be understood only as „*multilateral anchorage of territorial and political results of war and post-war development in Europe*”.³⁹ There was

37 ZAIG (Central Information and Assessment Group): Summary of known reactions related to KBSE completion and to that associated issues; August 1975; *BStU*, MŠB, ZAIG 4646, sheet 1 – 28.

38 The letter Mielke sent to the head of service troops related to KBSE completion dated August 6, 1975; *BStU*, MŠB, BdL/Dok 004787.

39 It corresponded with the interpretation Honecker, the head of SED stated in the interview focusing on KBSE results, which were published at that very day. In: *Neues Deutschland* (New Germany) 6. 8. 1975.

no intention to point out the internal political doctrine in this interpretation. Maybe it was thanks to the human rights observance. That was the political model. State Security had to take into consideration changes in „political and operational tendency.” And that was what happened in the right time. „*Expectations and speculations connected with the results contained in the final document*” as well as „*potential appearance of people with demonstrative and other provocative behaviour related to the KBSE results*” were being pointed out. Equally important was to take into account more attempts „*to apply for transmigration with reference to KBSE results [...]*.”

Internal check and repression

Those who wanted to travel abroad, and especially those who did not accept the state rejection of their intention, were the most problematical group from MŠB's point of view. Therefore organizational and legal measures were first taken in this field. Most notable was the establishment of a new service unit called the „Central Coordination Group” (ÚKS) having one hundred employees in the beginning. Their positions dealt directly with hopes raised on the basis of the KBSE: The group was to deal with escapes and with escapes-related assistance, and to coordinate the procedure regarding those requests for leaving the country for abroad, for which there was no legal base available in accordance with the legislation of the German Democratic Republic and which were considered „unlawful.”⁴⁰

Those who wanted to leave the German Democratic Republic could appeal to Helsinki that the states which signed the Final Document manifest their intention, „*to check applications for leaving the country for abroad favourably with the view to allowing [...] travelling of persons who wanted to visit their family and to consider the application of the persons who wanted to get in touch with their family members in a positive and humane manner.*”⁴¹

40 Compare EISENFELD, Bernd: *Die Zentrale Koordinierungsgruppe. Bekämpfung von Flucht und Übersiedlung* (Central Coordination Group; Fight against escapes and transmigration); (MŠB Manual, part III/17), BStU, Berlin 1995.

41 *Konferenz für Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa – Schlussakte.* (Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe – Final record) Helsinki 1975, pp. 52 (Basket III).

Employees of the Peoples' Police and Committees for Interior Affairs who had to deal with such reasoning were facing many difficulties.

In order to reduce any rebellious appearance, the criminal law was changed in April 1977 in cooperation with State Security. One Stasi officer, who took part in this act amendment process, explained the significance of the act in an internal interview as follows: The aim is to create legal reasoning for „*preventing aggressive misuse [...] of the Helsinki Final Document*.”⁴² From that moment on, protests between the German Democratic Republic legal practise and the Final Document of the KBSE were considered „condemnatory acts” (section 214) of the German Democratic Republic or such acts „debasement” (section 220 of the Criminal Code). It was connected with the threat of up to three years imprisonment. It did not involve only threats; in the years that followed there was an increase of verdicts in accordance with these sections as well as in the number of non-custodial sentences.⁴³

Espionage

The most applicable in the field of espionage was first of all spying in order to find out further plans of Western states regarding the Eastern Bloc – Western Europe relations. To complete this task there was important circumferential evidence discovered in so called SIRA database, in System of information searches of Agitation of Head Administration (HVA). In this database there was input information of the espionage group recorded (not documents taken over

42 Cit. podľa RASCHKA, Johannes: Die Entwicklung des politischen Strafrechts im ersten Jahrzehnt der Amtszeit Honeckers, (Development of the political criminal law in the first decade of Honecker's ruling). In: ENGELMANN, Roger – VOLLNHALS, Clemens (publish.): *Justiz im Dienste der Parteiherrschaft: Rechtspraxis und Staatssicherheit in der DDR* (Justice in the Party's Service: Legal Practice and State Security in German Democratic Republic), Berlin 1999, Research series of works of a federal representative for Stasi documents; 16), pp. 273 – 302, here 286.

43 Compare RASCHKA, Johannes: *Justizpolitik im SED-Staat: Anpassung und Wandel des Strafrechts während der Amtszeit Honeckers* (Justice politics in SED state: Adjustment and changing of the criminal law under Honecker's ruling) (Files of Hannah Arendt Institute for totalitarianism research; 13). Köln o.i. 2000, pp. 105 – 124, 317 et seq.;

and other individual information but only their titles).⁴⁴ As a part of the then-run search there were thousands of records captured having direct or indirect connection with the KBSE.⁴⁵ The information explicit towards the KBSE was usually sent to „soviet friends.”⁴⁶

Thanks to this information, the secret service and the party leadership – as well as soviet „friends” – were pretty much familiar with discussions conducted on the other side; especially in the government apparatus and in the parties represented in Federal Assembly. Moreover, based on their cooperation with other east European secret services there were organizations internationally active in the field of human rights on whom they spied, and those radio stations that did not follow the information monopoly of official media in a state of the Eastern Bloc were destroyed.

Assimilating operations of State security service

The State security service was required to adjust to changes in the international environment as well as to new challenges on the organizational level. And so Apparatus of State Security was established. The number of paid employees increased between years 1970 and 1979, i.e. in the years of tension easement policy, from 43 thousand to 72 thousand, i.e. by 67 percent.⁴⁷ In the same time

44 Compare HERBSTTRITT, Georg: *Bundesbürger im Dienst der DDR-Spionage: Eine analytische Studie* (Federal citizen carrying out German Democratic Republic espionage: Analytical study), Analyses and documents of BStU; 29. Göttingen 2007, pp. 54 – 64; KONOPATZKY, Stefan: Potential and limits of SIRA databases. In: HERBSTTRITT, Georg – MÜLLER-ENBERGS, Helmut (publish.): „*Das Gesicht dem Westen zu ...*” *DDR-Spionage gegen die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Face towards West... Espionage of German Democratic Republic against Federal Republic of Germany). Bremen 2003, Analyses and documents BStU; 23, pp. 112 – 132.

45 HVA kept promoting „KBSE process” slogan very generously since 1975.

46 For the 70s as the years to be focused on, it is based on the distribution list of HVA reports, which were elaborated from the information given. In the relevant partial SIRA 12 database the addressees of original information were recorded from 1980, therefore it is not possible to prepare more precise statistic data for the 70s for this purpose. Compare HERBSTTRITT: *Bundesbürger* (Federal citizen) (2007), pp. 56.

47 Compare GIESEKE, Jens: *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter des Ministeriums für*

period (from 1970 to 1980) the number of non-official employees increased from 139 to 170 thousand, i.e. by 22 percent.⁴⁸ There was, of course, the need to fund this expansion and there were no saving efforts in this area: MŠB's budget almost doubled from 1970 to 1979, from 1.3 to 2.5 billion deutschmarks, out of which the biggest increase was achieved in 1975 and 1976.⁴⁹ Apart from red tape there were mainly operative service units established at Stasi headquarters. These were to monitor Eastern Bloc – Western Europe relations.

Conclusion

From the Warsaw Pact states' point of view there was an increase of external security, improvement of international status and intensification of economic relations connected with the KBSE. It was bought dearly at the cost of being prepared to at least negotiate about higher intensity of relations and extended exchange of ideas on the social level. Thanks to their secret services warning, the Warsaw Pact states were fully aware of the fact that they were running the risk. They thought, however, that they were fully protected against it, since they could firstly rely on proved principles of the international law as a principle of sovereignty and not intervening in internal affairs, and secondly because their security apparatuses had the situation still firmly under control at that time. State security leadership would have preferred continuing on the strict overshadowing of the scope of the Communist power – that is brought out in various documents again and again. The leadership identified the dangers for the

Staatssicherheit (Co-workers of the head office of the Ministry of State Security) (MŠB Manual, IV/1). Berlin 1995, pp. 98 – 101.

- 48 Compare GIESEKE, Jens: German Democratic Republic. In: PERSAK, Krzysztof – KAMINSKI, Lukasz (publish.): *A handbook of the Communist Security Apparatus in East Central Europe 1944 – 1989*. Varšava 2005, pp. 163 – 219, here 199.
- 49 Compare GIESEKE, Jens: *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit. Personalstruktur und Lebenswelt 1950 – 1989/90* (Co-workers of the head office of State Security Ministry; Personnel structure and life 1950-1989/90)) (Research series of works of a federal representative for Stasi documents; 20); Berlin 2000, pp. 558; the numbers only relate to the benefits from the state budget. There should be personal incomes of MŠB added to this number, yet it would not change the picture.

regime connected with opening soon enough. They, however, believed that they would be able to cope with this fact once they undertook some assimilating operations. It meant the following:

- There had to be a control apparatus established and repressive methods had to be softened.
- It was necessary to adjust the political criminal law to new challenges.
- And the international cooperation of security apparatuses had to be deepened via common discussions, information exchange and common “operative games,” especially when it came to dealing with the Western support of civil engagement in the Eastern Bloc.

When looking back one can easily say that all the above mentioned did not mean anything. It is, however, the question of the time horizon. It worked until the end of the 70s. Yet, it was only an apparent consolidation of the situation, since even the trends that had a long-term influence moved off via the tension easement policy and the KBSE:

- Opening of Eastern Bloc – Western Europe relations awoke social hopes that were disillusioned at first, yet they still existed subliminally.
- Human rights became an agenda of international discussions; from that point on it was not possible to ignore them. The Final Document contributed to the creation of an international human rights movement and became the reference document for civil rights for internal opposition.
- Other functions mined by the system from the long term perspective, more intensive communication thanks to increased tourism and – speeded up thanks to the existing appearance – increasing attractiveness of the Western Europe, of its living conditions as well as of their standard of living.

These trends alone however would not be enough for overcoming Communist dictatorships. There had to be other factors included. I do not want, however, to go into details in this paper, in which the focus is on the 70s. The long-term importance of the KBSE lay in the fact that it showed the direction towards overcoming of the confrontation of blocs in Europe, i.e. to the power elite as well as to internal social counterparties. The assumptions for all this were that this journey was undertaken and that the right time would come. For all that the space for discussion of communist elites of power had to be so compressed that they would be forced to undertake seriously a political solution

of their chronic system crisis. Not even State Security apparatuses could have raised any objections.

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Operation ALAN – Mutual Cooperation of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service and the Soviet KGB as Given in One of the Largest Leakage Cases of NATO Security Data in the Years 1982 – 1986

Introduction

In the fall of the Cold War, at the end of the 1980's, the American and West German intelligence services¹ discovered and brought to the court a spy group composed of former officers of the US army operating in the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Through their illegal activities they managed to gravely threaten the security and stability of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the United States of America. During its 17 years of operation the group now known as the Clyde Lee Conrad spy group would deliver to the member states of the Warsaw Pact copies of top secret documents of military and strategic contents related to the operational plans, regulations, procedures, tactics and strategy, nuclear armament, and scientific and technological knowledge of the NATO armed forces. The case concerned such serious leaks of sensitive resources that Dr. Ferdinand Schüth, the presiding judge, concluded on the passing of the sentence on Clyde Lee Conrad in June 1990 the following: *'Should a war conflict have broken out between the North*

1 The first information on the sensitive secret leak was observed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in the late 1970's. Against this background, Foreign Counterintelligence Activities (FCA) of the US Army launched in Germany a search which lasted several years and was referred to by the assumed name CANASTA PLAYER. In addition to the American CIA and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) they also called to participate in the action the following: West German counterintelligence – Federal Office for Protection of Constitution (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz), Federal Criminal Police Office (Bundeskriminalamt – BKA), Sweden's secret police (SAPO), Austrian Staatschutz, and Italian authorities. Compare: HERRINGTON, S.: *Traitors among us – Inside the spy catcher's world*. USA 1999, pp. 63 – 247

*Atlantic Alliance and the countries of the Warsaw Pact, the West would be confronted with certain defeat. NATO would have been forced to make a quick choice between capitulation and the use of nuclear weapons in the region of Germany and the country would thus have been doomed to become a nuclear battlefield.*²

Ten years before delivering this judgement the Soviet and Hungarian military intelligence services, *Glavnoje razvedyvatelnoje upravlenije (GRU)* and MNVK/2, respectively, would, by contrast, render the following opinion: „*Conrad is the best agent the East block has won since the end of the WWII.*”³

The case starts with the emigration of young Zoltan Szabo to the United States of America after the 1956 revolution in Hungary. Then he volunteers and joins the American military services and later, as a Sergeant 1st Class, he enters the American 8th Infantry Division Command, G-3 Headquarters Section for Operating and Planning. The division command was based in the West German town of Bad Kreuznach, and the division was part of the American Vth Corps in Europe.

Szabo was spotted by the Hungarian military intelligence, which recruited him in 1971. Being a worker who had undertaken a security audit to work with classified documents, he started with copying and delivering classified documents to Budapest to be forwarded to the Soviet Military Intelligence (GRU).

To serve as a courier, the Hungarian service engaged a co-opted worker – another emigrant called Sandor Kercsik (pseudonym ALEX), who settled down and worked as a physician in neutral Sweden. Since the early 1980's his younger brother, Imre Kercsik (code name VIKTOR) also became involved in the same activities.

In 1975, Szabo recruited into the net his subordinate, Sergeant 1st Class Clyde Lee Conrad, an American national (code name CHARLIE). The group „operated” with this membership until 1979 when Szabo retired and Conrad took over leadership of the group as he was the only one with direct access to the resources. Szabo continued to work as a courier and cut-out for Budapest.⁴

2 *Ibidem*, p p. 388.

3 *Ibidem*, pp. 159.

4 Lieutenant-Colonel Herrington depicts it how Szabo yielded in 1989 to the Austrian authorities on condition that they would not extradite him to the Germans

As for other activities he conducted, we know that as well as winning over Conrad he was also involved in the recruitment of three other Americans.⁵ In 1983 Conrad recruited Sergeant Rodderick James Ramsay (appearing in the documents of Czechoslovak intelligence under code name RUDOLF), and Sergeant Theresa Warren. Along with Ramsay they also engaged other American soldiers, Jeff Gregory and Jeffrey Rondeau, in their illegal activities. The group kept active until German authorities arrested Clyde Lee Conrad on August 23, 1988. Legal proceedings eventually led to the accusation of 11 of the group members, nine of which were found guilty of espionage.

Operation ALAN⁶ (1982 – 1986)

Expecting to come into future money, Conrad and Szabo decided to volunteer and contact the Czechoslovak party. Zoltan Szabo first approached the Czechoslovak party on March 15, 1982 when he appeared at the CSSR Embassy in Bonn. Acting as a Novak he asked to meet a member of staff engaged in the security department. The meeting was for the Czechoslovak party run by the resident himself, Josef Kodrle „KRENEK”,⁷ officer at Intelligence Directo-

or Americans. In return, he was glad to promise to help convict Conrad and to disclose everything about their spying past. For his „accommodating approach” the Austrian authorities only imposed on him a 10-month conditional sentence in 1989. *Ibidem*, pp. 401.

- 5 **Thomas Mortati**, a former US paratrooper of the Italian nationality, was proved guilty of espionage and sentenced by an Italian court to a 20-month conditional sentence. In the case of Master-Sergeant **Eckart Steininger**, the investigators failed to prove his espionage, while the case of 1st class Sergeant **Gunar Amolins** (GARY), failed to reach the stage of prosecution for his act becoming statute-barred. *Ibidem*, pp. 378 – 379.
- 6 The case is dealt with in a book by Karel Pacner, the chapter on the Operation ‘MA-SON’. Some of the author’s allegations can be disagreed with. Compare: PACNER, K.: *Československo ve zvláštních službách: pohledy do historie československých výzvědných služeb 1914 – 1989* (Czechoslovakia on Special Duty: Review of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Services 1914-1989). Division IV 1961 – 1989, Praha 2002, pp. 597 – 606; RENDEK, P.: „Červení kovboji“ – špionážna skupina Clyde Lee Conrada v dokumentoch čs. rozviedky (Red Cowboys – Clyde Lee Conrad Spy Group in the Documents of Czechoslovak intelligence) . In: *Pamäť národa* (Nation’s Memory), 3/2006, pp. 28.
- 7 Lieutenant-Colonel JUDr. Josef Kodrle „KRENEK” (1929); being a trained lat-

rate General of the Federal Ministry of Interior of the CSSR. In the interview he used his legal cover and acted as an honorary deputy for personnel. From the report the residency made to the Prague Centre we learn that Szabo, speaking on his own behalf and on behalf of his friend, made an offer to deliver some top secret NATO documents containing military and strategic information. To explain the reasons for his actions he mentioned the financial and, in part, ideological motives. To prove that his intentions were serious he brought along 45 micro-films of secret material.⁸ Should the Czechoslovak party have agreed to cooperate, he had proposed to meet early in May at the railway station in Frankfurt upon Main.

The resident KRENEK took over the material from Szabo saying: „*In line with the final Helsinki protocol, information exchange is desired to come between the nations in order to better know each other. On that account I am ready to take the things and ask that they be passed on to those who can assess them in Prague.*”⁹ The appointment was reported as an act of possible provocation, and Kodrle asked the Centre for further instructions and consent to contact

heman he joined 1st Directorate of the Ministry of Interior (Military Counterintelligence) in 1952. In 1954, he was moved to 1st Directorate of the Ministry of Interior. In the years 1956 – 1958, he attended a 2-year study at the KGB School of Intelligence Service in Moscow. In the years 1959 – 1963, he worked as a senior officer at the Vienna residency; in the years 1968–1970 he worked as a senior officer at the residency in West Berlin. In the years 1974 – 1980, he worked as the OBP group leader at the vocational school of 1st Directorate of National Security Force. In 1979, he graduated from the School of Law, Charles University in Prague. From 1981 till 1987, when he retired, he worked as a senior officer – specialist at 26th Department of 1st Directorate of National Security Force. In the years 1981 – 1984, he worked at the Bonn residency as a security officer. From February 1982 till July 1983 he was in temporary charge of the residency. He was a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia since 1948; the highest party office held – a chair of a primary party organization.

- 8 The material included an operational plan of the American 3rd Armoured Division, Vth Corps – intelligence forecasting, French ground army – counter-attack forces, Chemical System Architecture, Vth Corps – a supplement to the plan of deployment, an operational plan of 12th Artillery Division of the FRG, information on nuclear weapons, Vth Corps – an operational plan, etc.
- 9 *Nation's Memory Institute Archive*, f. 1st Directorate of National Security Force, vol. no.: 47930/020, Record of the interview with a US Army staff in Federal Republic of Germany, pp. 1 – 5.

the Soviet residency accordingly. The material was conveyed to Prague, and then forwarded to be analysed by the Soviet 1st Directorate General of State Security Committee (KGB intelligence), and also to the Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff of the Ministry of National Defence.¹⁰

The Centre, meanwhile, advised the Bonn residency to thoroughly assess the operational situation of the area surrounding the embassy, to either confirm, or deny the intelligence activities of the 'enemy' services at the time of Novak's visit. The Soviet party was asked to evaluate the operation „PRISTROJ” (*Instrument*). As part of the operation, the Soviet residence in Bonn carried out monitoring and located cipher transmission of the intelligent surveillance units of the opponent.¹¹ The Soviet party handed in the results of both monitoring and analysis. The intelligence activity against the CSSR Embassy failed to be confirmed. The query with the Novak-like's visit to the Soviet Embassy was denied.¹²

The evaluation of the first material by the KGB was delivered a month later, on April 11, 1982; the report says: *'It follows from the analysis that the source submitted a series of valuable materials, the disclosure of which should be in the interest of the enemy ... The management of this service wishes to render to our Czechoslovak friends their sincere thanks for the delivery of this valuable acquisition which shall contribute to the strengthening of security in both our countries.* "¹³

Based on the check-ups and the first information obtained, the intelligence agency began to prepare operation 'ALAN' while working jointly and closely with the Soviet party. The name was used in the documents of Czechoslovak intelligence as a code name to refer to Zoltan Szabo. Following specific guide-

10 Pre-analysis by Intelligence Service of General Staff of the Ministry of National Defence was carried out on April 7, 1982 and forwarded to 1st Directorate of National Security Force. See: *Nation's Memory Institute Archive*, f. 1st Directorate of National Security Force, vol. no.: 47930, Evaluation of the submitted material, Personal File – Part 2, pp. 12 – 13.

11 Similar evaluation was carried out for a combined operational action „ORLON”, which was aimed at discovery of a possible opponent's base.

12 *Ibidem*, News (Novak – Reply), Personal File, Part 2, pp. 10.

13 *Ibidem*, News (Evaluation of United States Forces Europe Administration), Personal File – Part 2, pp. 14.

lines, Czechoslovak intelligence created, eventually, for both men their agency and operative files as secret co-optees.¹⁴

The case was, from the start, prepared and managed by the 37th Department of the 1st Directorate of the National Security Force (specialised in affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria). Major PhDr. Vilem Vaclavek „KAINAR”,¹⁵ Department Chief, proceeding from the pre-assessment of the material asked Czechoslovak intelligence to carry out the operation, even if risky. In March 1985, he was promoted to hold the office of Deputy Chief of the 1st Directorate of the National Security Force and continued to manage the operation. Major Oldrich Vaca 'DRTINA', the then Deputy Chief of the department, was appointed a Chief of the 37th Department.¹⁶

14 For details refer to ZÁČEK, Pavel: Registrace, vedení a archivace svazků ve směrnících čs. komunistické rozvědky (Registration, Files and Archives of Czechoslovak intelligence as per Directives). In: *Pamět' národa* (Nation's Memory), no. 2/2006, pp. 57 – 68. RENDEK, Peter: Agentúrne-operatívne zväzky v informačnom systéme československej rozviedky (Agency and Operative Files in the Information System of Czechoslovak intelligence). In: *Pamět' národa* (Nation's Memory), no. 2/2006, pp. 68 – 73.

15 Lieutenant-Colonel PhDr. **Vilem Vaclavek** „KAINAR” (1944). He joined the National Security Force in 1967. He worked as an officer at 1st Department „A” till 1971, then, after the re-organisation of 1st Directorate of National Security Force, he worked as an officer at 2nd Sub-Department of the 37th Department. In 1978, he graduated from a 3-month course run by KGB in Moscow. From 1981, he worked as Chief of the 37th Department. From June 1984, he was in appointed a temporary deputy chief and from March 1985 he was appointed Deputy Chief of 1st Directorate of National Security Force. In April 1984, he was sent to take a course for the nomenclature staff of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia run by KGB academy in Moscow. In 1989, he was in charge of 1st Directorate of National Security Force. In January 1990, he was removed from his offices.

16 Lieutenant-Colonel **Oldrich Vaca** „DRTINA” (1943). He joined National Security Force in 1961. In the years 1963 – 1969, he worked as an officer at O-StB Frydek Mistek. In 1970, he was moved to 1st Directorate of National Security Force, OO Ostrava. In 1974, he graduated from a year-study at the KGB school of intelligence service in Moscow. In the years 1981–1983, he worked as a senior officer – specialist at the 37th department of 1st Directorate of National Security Force. In 1984, he took a three-month KGB course in Moscow, after which he was appointed a temporary chief of the 37th Department and from 1985 he was appointed a Chief of the Department.

Throughout the case, all essential information was supplied to the following: officers at the 37th Department, Major-General Karel Sochor,¹⁷ the Chief of the Ist Directorate NSF, to his first deputy, Col. Ing. Stefan Viedensky,¹⁸ to Jaromir Obzina, the Minister of the Interior of the CSSR, and from 1983 also to Vratislav Vajnar. For the partner party, it was, as mentioned in the documents, Colonel-General Vladimir Alexandrovitch Kryutchkov, the Chief of Ist General Directorate of the KGB intelligence, his deputy, General Leonov, and Comrade Abraskin¹⁹, the Deputy Chief of the Department in charge of the FRG line. As

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- 17 Major-General **Karel Sochor** (1930) joined the Czechoslovak Army in October 1948. After graduating from the K. Gottwald Academy of Armed Forces and Policy in August 1958, he was allocated to Information Services of General Staff of the Ministry of National Defence as a commissioned officer at IIIrd Fraction of 55th Radio Regiment. In the years 1967 – 1970, he worked as a 1st category military attaché at the CSSR embassy in Cairo. In the years 1973 – 1977, he was holding various command offices in the rank of Colonel, and from 1977 as a Deputy Chief at Information Service of General Staff of the Ministry of National Defence. In 1981, he moved to the Federal Ministry of Interior, office held: Chief of Ist Directorate of National Security Force. He held the office until 1989 when he retired. A member of the presidency of the Managing Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from 1983 at the Federal Ministry of Interior.
- 18 Colonel Ing. **Stefan Viedenský „VRSINSKY”** (1931), became a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in January 1948. In 1956, he graduated from D.I. Mendelev Chemical and Technological Institute in Moscow. He joined the Ministry of Interior in 1956, 11th Department (scientific and technological intelligence) at Ist Directorate of the Ministry of Interior. In the years 1961 – 1965, he worked at the London residency, the R&D line, legalized as a Chemapol delegate. In the years 1968 – 1972, he worked at the Tokyo residency, legalized as a 3rd financial secretary. In the years 1973–1974 and 1976, he attended the KGB school of intelligence services in Moscow. From 1977, he served as an active reserve. In 1979, he graduated from the doctoral programme at University of Politics of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and defended his thesis entitled *Role of scientific and technological revolution in the development of the material and technological support for the advanced socialist economy*. From 1980 he worked as a deputy chief of the directorate, and in 1984, after Col. Ondrej Dovina left, he was appointed 1st Deputy Chief of Directorate. From 1988 he was engaged in the National Security Force in the line of the Near East, Middle East and Far East affairs. From January 1989 till March 1990 he worked as a resident in Beijing (47th Department).
- 19 Major General Nikolaj S. Leonov, The Chief Officer of the I. Directorate and later Deputy Chief Office of the KGB intelligence; he dealt with issues concerned with US political intelligence; he directed the I. Central KGB Directorate, namely the

the contents of the obtained material involved almost exclusively military issues, the KGB would evaluate such material jointly with the GRU, the military intelligence.²⁰ In CSSR, the material received evaluation from the Information Service of the General Staff of the Ministry of National Defence, which was then led by Lieutenant-General Ing Josef Broz. His deputy, Major-General Ing Oldrich Frank, Chief of the Information Service at the Information Service of the General Staff of the Ministry of National Defence, conducted the communication with the Ist Directorate of the National Security Force.

The operation was carried out by Czechoslovak Intelligence, which followed the prime enemy line (USA and NATO²¹), and was the priority mission of the communist intelligence service, which focused on discovery of NATO's preparations for a sudden nuclear attack against the communist countries (NRJAN). The Czechoslovak party used to refer to this as INN – *index of sudden aggression*.²²

1st Division (USA and Canada), the 2nd Division (FRG and Austria), and the 19th Division (compatriots abroad). Col. Jurij Ivanovitch Abrashkin (1936), Deputy Chief Officer of the 2nd Division (FRG and Austria) within the framework of political intelligence. He worked in Berlin and with the FRG.

- 20 Piotr Ivanovitch Ivashutin was in the head of the Soviet intelligence service (GRU) in the years 1963 – 1986.
- 21 *Directive to Intelligence Activities of Ist Directorate of National Security Force* of 1983 defined a prime enemy as an imperialistic country, or alignment of such countries, whose forces and means, including scientific and technological potential, constitute a critical basis for organizing and coordination of aggressive political, military and economic actions, espionage activity and ideo-diversionary actions against the world socialist community (including the CSSR), international communist and workmen's movements, etc. The directive designates USA and NATO as the prime enemies in Europe represented by their leading member – the Federal Republic of Germany. Refer to <http://archiv.uzsi.cz/>
- 22 The NRJAN issues (action STRIKE) represented in the 1980's the primary and global roles of the intelligence services in the communist countries under the direction of Moscow. This included surveillance of unexpected changes at the part of the opponent which would suggest possibilities of attack preparations in the political area, economic area (e.g. monitoring of the trends in the NY Stock Exchange), military area (military bases, army units, etc.), the opponent's intelligence services and the civil emergency planning (e.g. activities of the American Federal Emergency Management Agency – FEMA, and others).

Following a request of the Czechoslovak party for the participation of the „friends” from the USSR in the operation of the action ALAN,²³ the resident KRENEK had, within a month after making first contact, three consultative meetings with the Soviet resident at the USSR embassy in Bonn. The Soviet resident confirmed that the Czechoslovak party *„has gold in their hands since the obtained material is highly evaluated by Moscow.”*²⁴ The residents considered carefully several options for the development of the operation. The meet, as suggested by Szabo and Conrad, was planned to take place in Frankfurt, i.e. in the territory of West Germany. The meeting place was assessed as a high-risk site. Having reached an agreement with their Centre, the USSR residency recommended the Czechoslovak party to involve in the case some members of the staff holding diplomatic passports and corresponding cover stories, to arrange a short contact with ALAN and to make him meet at a remote, less busy venue. The sites for the future meets to be suggested included neutral Austria.²⁵

The Czechoslovak party proceeded with the plan suggested by the Soviet party. The operation was well planned and the meet took place in Saalburg near Frankfurt.²⁶ On the day of the meet, the Soviet and Czechoslovak parties also carried out two other covert actions (‘VAZBA’ nearby Nuremberg) at other locations in the territory of the FRG in order to call away the attention of the ‘enemy’ intelligence surveillance.²⁷

When the meet on May 7, 1982 was a success, Major-General Sochor, Chief of Intelligence, reported to Jaromir Obzina, Minister of the Interior of the CSSR, on some „well-wishers” having offered their co-operation. Subsequently, the

23 *Nation’s Memory Institute Archive*, f. Ist Directorate of National Security Force, vol. no.: 47930/020, Action ALAN – evaluation of the situation, taking of measures and proposal for further advancement, pp. 25 – 37.

24 *Ibidem*, Record of discussions on the action ALAN with the Soviet resident, pp. 82 – 87; Proposal to carry out a communication with the contact ALAN was consulted with the Soviet resident in Bonn, pp. 88 – 92.

25 *Nation’s Memory Institute Archive*, f. Ist Directorate of National Security Force, vol. no.: 47930, Report from friends (News), pp. 15 – 16.

26 The meet with the intelligence staff was carried out by Szabo and the events at the railway station in Frankfurt upon Main were also observed from a safe place by Clyde Lee Conrad.

27 *Nation’s Memory Institute Archive*, f. Ist Directorate of National Security Force, vol. no.: 47930/020, Proposal to carry out a deception action, pp. 121 – 122.

minister recommended „*launching discussions on the subject with the Soviet friends as we can neither pay such high amounts nor use the obtained material in full because of its global character.*“²⁸ Major-General Sochor also submitted a proposal for financial rewards for ALAN up to the amount of 40,000 US dollars reasoning that: „*The financial reward is for material of a military and strategic nature and of importance to the Command of the Warsaw Pact.*”²⁹ Obzina approved the remuneration.

The meetings with ALAN were run by Capt Julius Cacka „PANYREK”,³⁰ member of staff at the 37th Department. The next encounters took place in the Austrian territory, mainly in Vienna and nearby locations.³¹ The encounters with

28 *Nation's Memory Institute Archive*, f. Ist Directorate of National Security Force, vol. no.: 47930/021, Report by Major-General K. Sochor, Chief Ist Directorate of National Security Force, to J. Obzina, the Ministry of Interior of CSSR, on the action ALAN, pp. 38 – 40.

29 *Nation's Memory Institute Archive*, f. Ist Directorate of National Security Force, vol. no.: 47930/020, Proposal for financial rewards for the action ALAN, pp. 1.

30 Major Ing. **Julius Cacka** „PANYREK” (1947); in the years 1965 – 1970, he attended the Antonín Zapotocký Army School. He joined Ist Directorate of National Security Force in 1972 and, for a long time, he was engaged in the legalisation at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade. Officially, he was included in the 37th Department of Ist Directorate of National Security Force. In the years 1976 – 1982, he worked at the Bonn residency in the legalisation as the controller at OBO Cologne. In 1983, he graduated from a year-study at the KGB school of intelligence service in Moscow. At the 37th department he worked as a coordinator, line INN. From 1987 he worked again at the Bonn residency, legalised as a financial counsel of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

31 The encounters took place on May 15, and May 22, 1982. In both meetings, Czechoslovak intelligence service received some other classified material of the NATO. On the days May 17 – 21, 1982, a consultative meeting took place to get together the intelligence senior officials operating at the security bodies of the socialist community. In the closing document, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, CSSR, Kuba, the People's Republic of Hungary, the People's Republic of Moldavia, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the USSR and the Vietnam Socialist Republic explicitly declared that the major role of the intelligence services is to observe the opponent's preparations for a military attack against the socialist community countries, obtain credible and classified information, esp. NATO military and strategy related documents, and others. Compare: *Závěrečný dokument Moskevské porady vedoucích činitelů rozvědek bezpečnostních orgánů zemí socialistického společenství*. (Closing document of the Moscow consultative meeting of the intelligence officials from the security bodies in the socialist com-

RICHARD (the assumed name of Conrad) were run by Lieutenant-Colonel Jiri Cerny „NEDBAL”,³² an intelligence officer who had been, for the use of the case, moved from the vocational school of the 1st Directorate of the National Security Force. Cerny had been working for the intelligence since the 1950's. For his active participation in the cooperative operation conducted by and between the security forces of the CSSR and the USSR, he was in 1978 awarded by the KGB the title „*honorary member of the KGB*”.³³ When meeting Conrad, he used the cover of a Swedish businessman and the assumed name Sven Börnström (Börgströhm).

As in the case of Szabo, the intelligence service did not know the identity of Clyde Lee Conrad when he also started to take part in the meetings. First, he was referred to in the intelligence documents as NUMBER TWO, later as RICHARD, and in the operative file he was referred to as MESON, the assumed name.

On May 14, 1982 Moscow recommended the Czechoslovak party paying ALAN up to twenty thousand US dollars, and they reaffirmed the veracity of the submitted documents. To carry out their verification, they used the documents

munity countries) ref. no.: A-0062/12-1-82. Refer to <http://archiv.uzsi.cz/>

32 Lieutenant-Colonel **Jiri Cerny** „NEDBAL” (1928); a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from 1946; joined National Security Force in 1950; in the years 1951 – 1953, he worked as a deputy resident in Washington; in the years 1954 – 1955, he worked as a senior officer at 6th Department of 1st Directorate of the Ministry of Interior, engaged in the legalisation in Czechoslovak Press Office (ČTK). His service evaluation report dated in 1954 says: „*He is very good at English; he is one of the best at Directorate.*” He worked as a deputy resident till 1958, in the years 1958–1961, he worked as a resident in Cairo, and received excellent evaluation. In 1964, he graduated from the KGB operational school in Moscow. In the years 1967 – 1970, he worked as a resident at the Stockholm residency, the NATO and R&D lines. In 1971, he was appointed a Chief of A/2 Department (42nd Department). A year later, he was sent to London to work as a deputy resident. In 1974, he was engaged in the ‘sionism’ issues at 31st Department. In 1980, he started teaching at 1st vocational school of 1st Directorate of National Security Force. In 1985, he retired.

33 His service evaluation report says that in cooperation with KGB he has since 1981 managed some actions. *Archive of Security Bodies*, Jiri Cerny's Personal File; pp. 121.

held by the Ministry of Defence of the USSR, and applied a check through „collective evaluation through the computer of the Warsaw Pact armies”.³⁴

In the meet held on May 15, 1982 in Vienna, ALAN handed over some classified material and a letter by Conrad (RICHARD) specifying and confirming his willingness to cooperate with Czechoslovak intelligence. After the meet, the 37th Department Centre created an agency and operative file of a secret co-optee under the assumed name MESON.³⁵ The specialists at the Soviet intelligence and General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR evaluated the material obtained in the May meet as follows „this is relevant material of a secret nature. The material of great importance mainly contains American plans dated in 1982 to use nuclear weapons in Central Europe, including some detailed information on the use of chemical and biological weapons in the areas of France, Italy, and the Federal Republic of Germany. Designated as valuable, the information refers to an analysis on the contingency of the USA and the USSR conducting chemical warfare. The Soviet friends recommend clarifying again the options open to NUMBER TWO (Conrad – note P.R.) when it comes to individual pieces of material in order to specify interest in certain material. Special interest is taken in all documents containing SIOP – the plans of the NATO Headquarters.”³⁶

The conclusions made in the Moscow discussions of the befriended intelligence services in May 1982 specified a key objective for Moscow and its allies to pursue, which entailed obtaining material related to the preparations

34 *Nation's Memory Institute Archive*, f. Ist Directorate of National Security Force, vol. no.: 47930/022, Action „ALAN” – Proposal to carry out a meet, Appendix 1, pp. 95 – 98.

35 the 37th Department, Ist Directorate of National Security Force created on May 17, 1982 Agency and Operative File no. 47930, pseudonym – MESON, registered for James Noon. Another person was kept by the file, name – Richard Robert After. On the closing and archiving processes in April 1988, the authentic agent's name was registered – it was Clyde Lee Conrad. In April 1984, the 37th Department created File no. 48555, pseudonym – LEF, registered for Karl Heinz Albrecht. This was a separate file on the agent Zoltan Szabo (ALAN). The file refers to him as an assistant agent and cutout in Austria.

36 *Nation's Memory Institute Archives*, f. Ist Directorate of National Security Force vol. no: 47930/021, Action ALAN – proposal to carry out a meet with NUMBER TWO, pp. 135 – 141.

of NATO and the USA to conduct a nuclear attack against the socialist community countries (NRJAN).³⁷ In this respect, the KGB requested Conrad to deliver an American operational plan for nuclear operations made in case of the outbreak of nuclear war, which was denoted as SIOP (*single integrated operational plan*). In June 1982, for instance, Moscow requested the following: „When specifying the future activities of the case it is, in our opinion, necessary to try hard and clarify the real chances of RICHARD to conduct intelligence activities, recognize the material he has access to. ... assure RICHARD that learning these facts will enable intelligence to rule out delivery of unnecessary material, and thus reduce the risk RICHARD is exposed to when obtaining the material.... The amounts required by ALAN and RICHARD seem, in the opinion of this service, exaggerated and not in accordance with the value of the material delivered. To give an example of the information quality which is of value to us, you may inform RICHARD that if delivering all documents on the SIOP plans by the NATO Headquarters, he may count on adequate compensation.”³⁸

The Soviet party defined some priority requirements and Czechoslovak intelligence, being in touch with Conrad and Szabo, interpreted the requirements as ‘our’ interest. The KGB had repeatedly requested the SIOP documents as early as in 1984, however, failed to obtain any from Conrad who refused to take a risk, which might have, as he put it, and led to the death-chair.

With respect to the „business” conditions, i.e. the financial aspects, after meeting several times the two parties came to a mutual agreement. The Czechoslovak party consulting with the KGB decided to only pay the agreed remuneration after the delivery and evaluation of the material are complete. The Soviet and Czechoslovak parties intended to press the financial expenses down to the level accommodating both parties. Moscow also indicated that they planned to participate in the reward payments.³⁹

The high demands Conrad made initially (first, he asked for 100 000 US dollars in September 1982, he later demanded 60 000 US dollars for the de-

37 See Note no. 30

38 *Nation's Memory Institute Archive*, f. Ist Directorate of National Security Force, vol. no.: 47930, News (Report from friends), pp. 20.

39 *Ibidem*, News (Communications on the actions ‘RICHARD’ and ‘ALLAN’) pp. 36 – 37.

livery) were considered exaggerated by the KGB. In this connection, the KGB recommended the Czechoslovak party that they continued to maintain their initiative and keep in touch with the group to have the upper hand. They proceeded from the assumption that should the activities of RICHARD and ALAN truly be motivated by financial benefits they both would find it hard to withdraw from the co-operation.⁴⁰ To this end, the KGB required that the appointments of both men be specified in great detail (identification of persons, specification of service capacity, clarification of intelligence options, access to resources, etc). After receiving some earlier deliveries, the KGB found out that the Ministry of Defence of the USSR had from some other sources obtained copies of the same documents, which RICHARD and ALAN delivered to the Czechoslovak party. Thus they assumed that both men might have been in contact with GRU, or with some other Eastern European intelligence service. Therefore, they demanded the Czechoslovak party to carry out a check on RICHARD, including a deception test.

The meet in Vienna on September 4, 1982 was arranged by the Soviet party. Major Ladislav Slezacek („AKRMAN”⁴¹), the resident, followed the instructions by the Centre and visited the Soviet residency to discuss with the ‘friends’ and establish a radio control against the enemy surveillance units. In addition to a visual control, Czechoslovak intelligence officers also used METROPAGER, a device, which would signal impending danger in case of emergency. It was agreed that the Soviet party would only send out a signal if they observed cer-

40 *Ibidem*, News (Report from Friends), pp. 27 – 28.

41 Lieutenant-Colonel RSDr. **Ladislav Slezacek** „AKRMAN” (1939); after 3 years at high school and a horse breeder training he joined the Ministry of Interior in 1960 to work at OPK Prague–Ruzyn. In 1969, he was moved to Regional Directorate of National Security Force of State Security Directorate Prague, 2nd Department. In 1972, he was moved to 1st Directorate of National Security Force to work as an officer at 36th Department. In the years 1975 and 1978, he attended the KGB school of intelligence service in Moscow. In the years 1976 – 1981, he attended a correspondence course at the University of Politics of Central Committee of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In 1979, he was moved to 33rd Department as a Deputy Chief of Department. In April 1982, he was moved to the 37th Department and was involved in the legalisation for residency in Vienna, put in charge of the residency management and the specification of the prime enemy – USA. From 1984 to 1990 he worked as a member of staff at 36th Department and was engaged in the „active and influence measures” against ideo-diversionary centres.

tain suspicious circumstances. However, the meet took place with no disturbances.

After ten meetings, in November 1982, the group fell silent. Only later (see below), after re-establishing contact, did Conrad give the reason for the discontinuance saying that he had felt uncomfortable in the presence of NEDBAL. He had a feeling that NEDBAL was threatening him and he did not find the communication friendly.⁴²

Meanwhile, Prague continued to think, possibly, that the operation might be some kind of intelligence game instigated and operated by hostile services since the conduct of the men was far from being standard (they would fail to use the schedule as agreed, or Szabo would arrive at the meet instead of Conrad, etc.). According to a directive, this was not a case of „classic agent” as the identity of both of them was missing. Because of this, Major-General Sochor, Chief of Intelligence, decided in December 1982 to immediately carry out a check of the two men to establish their identities, to enter ALAN into the register as an assistant agent and cut-out, to propose a method of remuneration, and other goals.

The operation to identify the group and resume the communication with them was operated by Czechoslovak intelligence for almost the entire year of 1983. The only clues on which they could rely were some photos of the men and of Zoltan's car carrying a German registration number, which they managed to take in Vienna. By simulating a minor damage to the car intelligence, by help of their agent from the 23rd Department (illegal intelligence), identified Zoltan Szabo through the records of the insurance company in Germany. In August 1983 the chief of intelligence approved contact with Szabo. In case of

42 To describe in detail the atmosphere at the meet on July 31, 1982 in Vienna we have learned that Conrad made some hints in order to provoke Lieutenant-Colonel Cierny „NEDBAL” menacing that if the co-operation is supposed to be a success, Nedbal should take a personal interest in reaching such results, which will then let him receive his payment and honours. NEDBAL responded crossly: „*Dick! All once forget such nonsense and don't you ever say that again. My only intention is the welfare of this service, reinforcing the power of the Warsaw Pact and preservation of peace. As for my position in this service and my rank – it is such a position and such a rank that I cannot have nor want a higher one. Don't try me like this again!*”

his refusal to continue in the co-operation, the directions were, as a last resort, to use threats (disclosing his identity to the USA and the FRG).

Czechoslovak intelligence finally succeeded in contacting the group and agreeing to the future conditions. In March 1984 there was an appointment to hand over a delivery of films containing 2 170 pages of classified material. Intelligence managed to work out 143 records of information. The resources were again highly evaluated by the Soviet party. JUDr Vratislav Vajnar, the Minister of the Interior of the CSSR, approved remuneration up to the amount of 25 000 US dollars. The meetings to come were held at the level of „chiefs” to include Clyde Lee Conrad and Major Vilem Vaclavek who replaced Lieutenant-Colonel Jiri Cerny. The assumed name used was Paul Lang. From the transcript of the recordings made by intelligence we also learn about Conrad’s motives:⁴³

Conrad: *„I want you to know that I will do my best to obtain the documents. And it’s a lot I can do. I expect from you to treat me in a respectable manner, not to underestimate my documents. I expect we’ll trust each other, and there will be no undue influence or intimidation in this relationship. I will make no requirements you won’t be able to meet. Where I am contented you are contented. Where I lose, you lose as well”*

Vaclavek: *„How long do you intend to cooperate with us?”*

Conrad: *„Provided everything goes well, for a very long time.”*

In the meeting held on June 1984, Vaclavek presented some other requirements made by Moscow. Conrad mentioned he could handle most of the requirements, and obtain and deliver the material (*EAP – Emergency Action Procedures, vol. I, vol. III*, or the plan of nuclear operations by the main command post of NATO)⁴⁴ at a special meet in August.

43 For instance, in the meet held on June 29, 1984 Conrad received 30,500 US dollars, his fixed salary and bonus.

44 On the days December 10–14, 1984 a meet took place in Prague to discuss the NRJAN issues by Czechoslovak intelligence and KGB. The 1st General Directorate of KGB was represented in the consultations by: Major-General Lev Nikolayevitch Shapkin, 1st Deputy Chief of KGB Intelligence, Col. Boris Semyonovitch Finagin, Deputy Chief of Informaton Service and Chief of 10th Department of Information Service, and Col. Andrey Dmitriyevitch Zhukov, Deputy Chief of 10th Depart-

Moscow Discussions

On September 25 – 28, 1984, a business meeting took place in Moscow to bring together the representatives of the CSSR and USSR intelligence services. The Czechoslovak delegation was led by Lieutenant-Colonel Vilem Vaclavek ('KAINAR'), Deputy Chief of the Ist Directorate of the National Security Force. When reporting to Colonel-General Kryutchkov, Chief of KGB Intelligence he „*appreciated the open approach of the Soviet party to the discussions and the practical assistance of Soviet intelligence in conducting their activities.*”⁴⁵

Kryutchkov pointed out the importance of the covert activities against the USA, and NATO, esp. in light of obtaining information of a military and strategic nature, and material on the intent of the enemy to make war on the socialist countries. He mentioned it had been a priority to them, which received their full support, including financial resources. The other spheres of importance he mentioned included economy, science and technology. He said Czechoslovak intelligence had results in the military and strategic areas, in the scientific and technological intelligence and, recently, they made improvement in the performance of illegal intelligence, which had always been stressed by the Soviet party.⁴⁶

In the discussions to follow, Kryutchkov and Vaclavek met to discuss the operation ALAN – RICHARD. Kryutchkov acknowledged that he was aware of the case and found it important in respect to the beneficial material of military and strategic contents. Then they spoke on subject of remuneration. Kryutchkov remarked that the significant expenses incurred at the start of the action could be later revised. Vaclavek advised Kryutchkov of the agreement made under direction of the Czechoslovak party, which resulted in the co-optee's reducing his previous demands down to the acceptable amount. The co-optee

ment and Col. Vladimir Ilyitch Gorovoy, KGB representative at Ist Directorate of National Security Force. The Czechoslovak party was led by ZNS Major PhDr Vilem Vaclavek.

45 RENDEK, P.: *Červení kovboji...* (Red Cowboys), pp. 33.

46 *Nation's Memory Institute Archive*, f. Ist Directorate of National Security Forces, vol. no.: 47930/024, Record of discussions with General Kryutchkov, Chief at PHS-VSB, pp. 61 – 68

agreed to receive a fixed monthly salary in the amount of 4 000 US dollars, plus a bonus for top-quality materials.⁴⁷

Kryutchkov said that the operation was very important and it was necessary that it remain running. He emphasised the need for secrecy and he enquired how the action was conspired on the Czechoslovak part. Vaclavek responded that the only person to have complete information on the operation at the particular stage was Major-General Sochor, Chief, who himself was in charge of the operation. All new procedures that followed in the operation were only discussed at his level.

Kryutchkov was then informed on the progress made with respect to the RICHARD – ALAN relationship. Kryutchkov recommended disengaging ALAN from the action with the help of a suitable legend. He did not consider it appropriate for Czechoslovak intelligence to mention to ALAN that Prague was aware of his co-operation with the Hungarians.⁴⁸

ZNS Vaclavek also asked Kryutchkov for the assistance of the Soviet party in investigating whether ALAN cooperated with the Hungarian military intelligence or not. The Chief of KGB intelligence promised to take appropriate steps to investigate the issue.

The last point Vaclavek and Kryutchkov discussed was RICHARD's plan (revealed at the June appointment) to engage an agent at the Headquarters of the American Army in Europe.⁴⁹ Kryutchkov indicated the plan was fairly interesting, and added that the Soviet party should examine the available options. The discussion was closed by Kryutchkov saying that he would discuss the matter further with his deputy, Leonov, and instruct him on taking further steps.

Vaclavek also discussed the operation with General Leonov who promised to continue to deal with the operational aspects of the operation, and provided

47 Vratislav Vajnar, Minister of Interior of CSSR, signed a monthly salary and benefits on December 21, 1984. *Ibidem*. Approval of financial rewards for the action ALAN, pp. 1.

48 In autumn 1984, having agreed with Conrad Prague disengaged Szabo from further co-operation.

49 Along this line, Conrad's plan to station his subordinate called Rodderick Ramsaya (RUDOLF) at the planned post was discussed at the high level. The plan was, however, not carried out.

the Czechoslovak party so desired, they should be ready to consult about the actual operations.

In November 1984, Conrad disclosed his identity (produced his passport), and Czechoslovak intelligence could then establish the identity of both men. The mutual co-operation continued in the subsequent year as well.

Czechoslovak intelligence largely used Bratislava as a site for coordinating consultations held prior to the trips to Austria (Vienna appointments).

The only meet with Conrad to take place in the territory of the CSSR took place between September 26 and October 2, 1985 in Bratislava, city-district Lamac, in the villa of Stefan Lazar, the Minister of the Interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic. The meet was chaired by Lieutenant-Colonel Vaclavek, Deputy Chief of Directorate. By retiring to the area of Czechoslovakia for a short time, they mainly pursued their own objectives: making full use of the co-opted worker in the actual cooperation, clarifying future prospects and assignments, discussing the issues of security and founding a new agency. The reason: on September 1, 1985 Conrad would retire and start receiving retirement pension, and the only person having access to the sensitive resources at the G-3 headquarters section would be Rodderick Ramsay (RUDOLF).

The meet brought attention to some specific details in respect of the future activity of the agent. As for his assignments, large stress was mainly laid on his obtaining material related to the NRJAN issues and the founding of a new agency. They agreed on the legend for the communication and they also scheduled the future regular exchange encounters. Conrad brought to the meeting held in the CSSR some other secret material, copies of which were also forwarded to the Soviet friends and the Ministry of National Defence.

In connection to the meet carried out in the CSSR, the 18th Department of the 1st Directorate of the National Security Force issued Conrad a diplomatic passport under the name and authority of Ing Richard Novak, 1st secretary of the embassy. The 6th Department of Counter-intelligence Directorate in Bratislava (XIIth Directorate of National Security Force) provided for the monitoring.⁵⁰

After the Bratislava appointment, there were four more encounters; the last of which took place on June 7, 1986 where Conrad was handed over his last

50 ZTÚ DIAGRAM filed on the name of Dr Alois Müller.

reward (\$16 000). After that, complete silence fell.⁵¹ At that time American military counter-intelligence had been watching him for a few weeks at his home address. Several times, the Czechoslovak party had used the agreed schedule and then decided to carry out an operation called LAMBERT early in 1987. The operation concerned a check on Clyde Lee Conrad at his home address in the West German town of Bad Kreuznach Bosenheime (check on his home, free movement, observance of daily schedule, attendance at the barracks, options for his surveillance if caught up, etc.). The intelligence failed to contact the secret co-optee and the Centre finally decided to close the case. Four years later, almost to the day of the last appointment with the Czechoslovak authorities, Conrad was in Germany sentenced to life imprisonment for treason.

In conclusion

*„Throughout the co-operation, a lot of classified documents of unique content were successfully obtained to be used mainly by our Soviet friends. The operation has met its goals.”*⁵² From start to finish, the KGB intelligence service was receiving reliable information on the events and was involved in the evaluation of the material (degree of confidentiality, credibility, topicality, military and political importance, strategic meaning) and of personnel appointments. In the course of the operation, they carried out checks and, as to the materials in question, they directly allocated these to the Czechoslovak party assignments regarding the requirements to pose in the encounters.

51 It is hard to speculate on the reasons for the silence. Some facts, however, do make up a partial picture of the situation. Early in 1986, the Americans managed to identify Conrad as the prime suspect. They launched spying on his home and engaged an agent to watch him (*Controlled Source 170*). In the autumn months, there was a large drug raid at the American troops in Germany. The last member of the group having direct access to the resources, R. Ramsay (RUDOLF) failed the drug tests and had to leave the army. Conrad thus lost his direct access to the resources. Czechoslovak intelligence requested the East German service for assistance in obtaining a roster of the people 'mixed up in' the drug affair. The information from the East Germans did not confirm the participation of Conrad, or Ramsay in their case. The last document of KGB filed under TS MESON is dated July 3, 1986.

52 RENDEK, P.: *Červení kovboji...*(Red Cowboys), pp. 27.

The analysis of the material was also carried out by the GRU specialists, and the reports from Moscow acknowledged the existence of identical material in the archives of the Ministry of Defence of the USSR. Mutual co-operation conducted by and between the security forces clearly showed the reality and „modus operandi” of the East-European intelligences. In fact, *state of subordination* lasted from the formation of the communist state security till its dissolution, and was based on bilateral agreements, which was, ultimately, underlined by the presence of the Soviet officers at the departments of the Ministry of the Interior. This phenomenon was much more characteristic of the intelligence itself due to its position and responsibilities.

The importance of the operation to the Command of the Warsaw Pact was also incontestable. The obtained information formed a solid basis on which to surmise the basic situation of the military facilities of the USA and NATO in the Federal Republic of Germany, and, at the same time, give guidance for further monitoring of the key issues in case of a changeover of the NATO armed forces from peace to warfare.

Some of the material was also beneficial to the East German political and military command. The content of some documents was addressed by Major-General Karel Sochor, Chief of the Ist Directorate of the National Security Force, to his counterpart, Colonel-General Marcus Wolf, chief of East German intelligence.⁵³

By the quantity of the material they had supplied, Szabo and Conrad had a high rating with the communist services who would consider them legends and the best agents of the East block.

Throughout their co-operation, the Conrad group received more than one million dollars from Hungary and 209 000 US dollars from Czechoslovakia, and they had delivered a total of 366 highly valuable, 76 valuable and 20 interesting documents.

The well-known fact that in the years 1974 – 1988 KGB intelligence was led by Vladimir Alexandrovitch Kryutchkov, while GRU was in the years 1963 – 1986 led by Piotr Ivanovitch Ivashutin, both being among the longest serving chiefs in the USSR intelligences, testified that the espionage activity conducted

53 *Ibidem*, pp. 35; *Nation's Memory Institute Archive*, f. Ist Directorate of National Security Force, vol. no.: 47930/022, Handing of Documents, pp. 209 – 210.

by the USSR and its satellites had great achievements over that given period of time.

A few years before the USSR collapsed, the three sources of the American CIA, which had supplied important information leading to the identification of Conrad, were discovered and sentenced to capital punishment. The sources included Vladimir Vasilev, a GRU officer, who was betrayed by Aldrich Ames, a CIA staffer, and KGB agent. Along with Conrad, they belonged to the first-five-spy group,⁵⁴ who received over a million dollars for their operations.

The Hungarian government, which came out of a democratic election in 1990, apologised to Germany and disavowed the case stating it had been „*a part of the fallacy of politics of the former political and military managements which utterly miscarried the issues regarding national interest of the country.*”⁵⁵

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54 Included here: Aldrich Ames, Larry Wu-Tai Chin, Robert Hanssen and John Walker. Compare: HERBIG, K. – WISKOFF M.: *Espionage against the United States by American Citizens 1947 – 2001*. Defence Personnel Security Research Center 2002

55 HERRINGTON, S.: *Traitors among us...*, pp. 387.

PANEL IV

**NKVD/KGB'S CO-OPERATION
WITH SATELLITE STATE
SECURITY SERVICES¹**

¹ Two studies are not to be found in the anthology, but were presented on the conference, both in IV. panel. Mr. László Ritter from Hungary without giving any reason did not delivered his study. Mr. Bernd-Rainer Barth from Germany could not complete his study for the health reasons. Their studies were replaced with abstracts.

Władysław Bulhak – Panel moderator*Institute of National Remembrance**Poland*

Born 1965, is Head of Division of Research, Expertise, Documentation and Library Holdings at the Public Education Office in the Institute of National Remembrance (Warsaw, Poland); one of co-organizers and Deputy Director at the Public Education Office INR (2000 – 2005); project manager in PROFILE Public Relations (1997 – 1999); doctoral candidate at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Science (1991 – 1992, 1994 – 1997); expert at the Center for Eastern Studies (Warsaw, Poland) and at Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland (1992 – 1994).

Graduated in History at Warsaw University (1990). He holds a Ph. D in History (1998). He published on various aspects of Polish-Russian (Soviet) relations in XIX and XX centuries, and on intelligence and counter-intelligence of Polish Home Army (1939 – 1945). His research in progress is on Polish communist civilian intelligence (Department I). He published: „Dmowski – Rosja a kwestia polska. U źródeł orientacji rosyjskiej obozu narodowego 1886 – 1908” (Warsaw 2000) („Dmowski – Russia and the Polish Question. On the genesis of Russian orientation of national camp 1886 – 1908”). Co-author (with A.K. Kunert) „Kontrwywiad Podziemnej Warszawy 1939 – 1944” („Counter-intelligence of the Polish Underground in Warsaw 1939 – 1944”).

László Ritter*Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences**Hungary***The Soviet – Hungarian Intelligence Co-operation in the Early Cold War Period**

The paper attempts to analyse the Soviet role in the establishment of the Hungarian civilian intelligence service and its operations in the West and Tito's Yugoslavia in the Early Cold War period. The service, known as the Eighth (Foreign Intelligence) Department of the Hungarian State Security Authority, then later the Second (Intelligence) Directorate of the Ministry of Interior, can without any exaggeration be described as a subordinate organisation of its Soviet counterpart. Apart from the fact that the organisation itself was established by the initiative of MGB in autumn 1950, all its projects and activities were controlled by the Soviet advisory team first led by Colonel Filatov, then by Colonels Tiskov and Jelisejev.

The paper first provides a brief summary on the activities of the service's predecessors, then analyses the MGB initiative and the following Soviet-Hungarian interstate agreement on intelligence co-operation in May 1950. After the examination of the service's structure and personnel, it deals with the service's main role, which was „*to detect the enemy agents operating in Hungarian territory and penetrate their intelligence and counter espionage organs in order to guarantee the state security of the People's Republic of Hungary.*” It reveals that although Tito's Yugoslavia was the primary target until 1953, the service also conducted complex – including false flag – operations in Western Europe and in the Americas. Finally it shows that there was no equal partnership or productive co-operation (exchange of information, collaboration on specific operations) between the Soviet and the Hungarian parties. The Soviet advisors only gave the know-how to the Hungarians – and took all information and sources they needed.

The presentation is based on documents from the Hungarian National Archives (MOL) and the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security

(ÁBTL). Among them the recently declassified files of the Hungarian State Security Authority have particular importance. The presentation also relies on oral history interviews with key eye-witnesses conducted by the author. These include interviews with late Vladimir Farkas, former head of the intelligence department (1950-54), Miklós Bauer, former head of the department at the Western European Section (1950-53) and late Sándor Fehér, the former head of the *rezidentura* department in Washington D.C. (1950-52).

László Ritter, historian, M.A., 30. He graduated from the Eötvös Lóránd University of Arts and Sciences and obtained his M.A. in History from the Central European University, both in Budapest, Hungary. He is currently a PhD. student. Since 2001 he has been a research fellow of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His main research areas are Yugoslav-Hungarian relations, Hungarian security policy and military planning, and the activities of the British Secret Intelligence Service in Hungary during the Second World War and the early Cold War period. His most recent English-language publications are „War on Tito’s Yugoslavia? The Hungarian Army in Early Cold War Soviet Strategies” for the Parallel History Project on Co-operate Security (PHP) (<http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch/collections/colltopic.cfm?lng=en&id=15463>) and „The 1956 Hungarian Revolution” (with Erwin A. Schmidl) published by Osprey Publishing in November 2006 (http://www.ospreypublishing.com/title_detail.php/title=T079).

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Residency of the Federal Ministry of the Interior in the Soviet Union. Position, Activities and Staffing in 1989

Residency is a term usually used to mark the base of the intelligence service in another country. Czechoslovak residencies are only mentioned in the period before November 1989 in connection with the activity of the communist intelligence (operating under the cover name of Directorate I), which in the early 1950s built an extensive network of representative offices in the countries outside the Soviet Bloc.¹

In reality, the residencies had been operating in a few socialist countries since 1970s, namely in the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria. Counterintelligence units of the secret police controlled their operative activities. Residencies with this agenda arose in other anti-Soviet orientated states over time, such as Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Iraq, Cuba, Libya, Nicaragua, Mongolia and Vietnam. Their position was regulated by internal directives and international agreements, which the Federal Ministry of the Interior² signed with its international partners.

The largest „counterintelligence” orientated residency was located in the Soviet Union- with its primary activities in the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev, where the Czechoslovak representative offices were. This residency played a significant role not merely because it maintained and mediated direct contacts with leadership of the Committee for the USSR State Security (KGB). One of its

1 Compare. CHURÁŇ, Milan et al.: *Encyclopedia of Espionage. From the Backstage of Secret Services, especially the State Security*. Libri, Prague 2005, pp. 295; ROEWER, Helmut – SCHÄFER, Stefan – UHL, Matthias: *Encyclopedia of Secret Services in the 20th Century*. Euromedia Group, Prague 2006, pp. 376.

The Archive of Security Forces (ABS), f. II. SNB Directorate (A 34/1), inv. unit.412; Staffing of the Czechoslovak ZÚ abroad 1988, 1989 (MLR, Nicaragua, Cuba, Iraq, Afghanistan). At approximately same time, operative groups of the Ministry of the GDR State Security were formed. Compare TANTZSCHER, Monika: Grupy operacyjne Stasi w krajach bloku wschodniego, In: *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość*, no. 1 (9), 2006.

main tasks was to monitor thousands of Czechoslovak citizens spread around the Soviet Union working undercover for counterintelligence. Because the relevant archival sources have not been classified in a satisfactory fashion, this study will deal with the position, activity and personnel of the residency only in 1989.³

Position and activity of the residency

Activity of the residencies reporting to the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior located in the member states of the Warsaw pact was regulated by a special directive signed by Minister Kaska on December 16th, 1970. It delimited the powers, tasks and relationships between the functionaries of the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the residency staff in the USSR, Poland, GDR, Hungary and Bulgaria. Local powers of the functionaries of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, workloads and establishment procedures were specifically covered by international interdepartmental agreements.⁴

The Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior nominated the Executive of the Federal Ministry of the Interior based on a proposal of the Chief Executive at the Division of International Relation (OMS) who had, however, first consulted the selection with the Chief Commanders of FMV operative units. The executive of the FMV, on the one hand, was accountable to the Federal Minister of the Interior, but his agency and operative related tasks were assigned to him by the respective Chief Executive of the local operative unit through OMS. The executive of the FMV was responsible for the functioning of the entire residency and he coordinated the work of its individual staff members in agency and operative matters.⁵ They reported to him directly regardless of their rank.

3 This period is documented in the ABS by general documentation in the collection of the II. SNB Directoate (A 34/1) and in an object file, reg. no. 1523 MV, especially subitem IX/1 (Moscow 1989).

4 *ABS*, f. RMV ČSSR, Directives for activity of the FMV officials in the states of the Warsaw Pact, 16. 12. 1970.

5 Operative activity within residencies can be divided into 3 sections: first, it was the „external enemy line”, which encompassed inquires on the activity of the representative office staff and citizens of the “enemy” states (especially USA, FRG, Iran and China), second, it consisted of a „fight against internal enemies”, and last it was concerned with counterintelligence protection of the economy.

He was also a representative of the FMV with regard to respective partners in a state in which he was active. He also fulfilled tasks arising from his legalized position and he discussed all matters concerning security and protection regime of the Czechoslovak representative office with a titular official.⁶

Residency was an organizational unit of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, which consisted of a chief officer, administrative staff, a cryptographer, and sometimes, other technicians from the National Security Corpse. Even though the majority of staff worked at the representative office, there was a directive in place that assumed a possibility of other work besides the diplomatic sphere. The Chief Officer accounted for selection, training and legalization of residency staff who dealt with „the agency-operative activity”, cryptology and dispatching. Residency employees thus performed tasks revolving around „the agency-operative activity” assigned by the chief officer and his respective unit. Tasks of the employees were specified in the annual work plan and in plans set for individual operations. They mainly engaged in intercepting and checking any contact that the Czechoslovak citizens had with westerners. Residency, based on a following quote from a directive, was to be *„established on a foundation of strict secrecy especially with regard to the capitalist counterintelligence.”*⁷

Table no. 1 – Operative workers at residencies of socialist states and in collaborative associations – Number review (October 1988)⁸

Residency (city)	Number of operative workers	Secret collaborators	Candidates for secret collaboration	Confidants
Leningrad	1 + 8	40	6	111
Warsaw	1 + 2	14	0	19
Sofia	1 + 1	4	1	12
Budapest	1 + 1	0	0	8
Berlin	1 + 3	19	1	22
Hanoi	1	0	0	7

6 ABS, f. RMV ČSSR, Directives for activity of the the FMV officials in the states of the Warsaw Pact, 16. 12. 1970.

7 *Ibidem.*

8 ABS, f. A 34/1, inv. unit. 411, On issues of the II. SNB directorate, 31. 10. 1988.

Baghdad	1	0	0	3
Kabul	1	2	0	3
Addis Abeba	1	1	0	3
Havana	1	0	0	6
Managua	1	0	0	2
Ulaanbaatar	1	1	1	7
Total	27	58 (?)	9	206

The next twenty years brought no significant changes to the position of socialist residencies. FMV officials and other residency representatives were classified as active reserves within the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior, and they reported directly to its head. In the late 1980s, the residencies were administered by the Division of International Relations led by lieutenant colonel JUDr. František Kubánek. After the reorganization of the secret police in August 1988, the Central directorate of Counterintelligence at the State Security was established (under a cover name II. Directorate of SNB), which among others, took authority over preparation and control of the operative activities at the socialist residencies.

The work description of some employees of the 3rd Division of Analysis at II. SNB Directorate included elaborating the residency plans in twelve countries,⁹ facilitating the selection of individuals suitable for collaboration once they traveled abroad, and administering their personal files (as of October 31, 1988, the division registered 90 secret collaborators, 9 candidates for secret collaboration, and 206 confidants, out of which approximately half were controlled by the residency employees in the Soviet Union). It also maintained residency operations, elaborated contractual documents with the host country, and provided training to the newly established residents. The list of all their activity seems overwhelming at first, but the reality was undoubtedly less prosaic. In late October of 1988, an employee of the 3rd Department of Analysis at the II. SNB Directorate, Lieut.Col. František Pitra complained that it was virtually impossible to fulfil all his assignments because he had only four operative workers available. Many tasks thus stayed on paper only; others were performed rather mechanically.¹⁰

9 Compare. Appendix, document no 1.

10 *ABS*, f. A 34/1. inv. unit. 411, On the issues concerning work at the II. SNB Directorate, 11. 10. 1988, 10 page A4 format typed.

Staffing

Jaroslav Krtička, a 75-year old colonel was the last boss of the USSR residency prior to November 1989. This position was the culmination of his long professional career at the ministry of the interior. Krtička graduated from a technical secondary school, and received a university degree in economics in 1958. Shortly after his university graduation, he joined the SNB and gradually worked his way up from a common referent to an executive at the State Security. He promoted his power status during the Prague Spring. He did not sway and collaborated with the KGB personally in August of 1968, when the army occupation units overtook the capital of Czechoslovakia. He was rewarded with the position of the Chief Officer at the 4th Division of II. FMV Directorate, and later the deputy Chief Officer at the XI. FMV Directorate (economic counterintelligence). In the mid 1970s, he started his science scholarship at the KGB University of F. E. Dzerzhinsky in Moscow. Upon his return in 1982, he lectured on issues of counterintelligence protection of the Czechoslovak economy to students of the SNB University of the State Security. He got divorced and remarried to an StB employee 20 years his junior, who worked as an interpreter and a secretary to the Soviet advisor and the deputy KGB representative at the XI. SNB Directotote. On August 1, 1987, he was appointed the deputy Chief Officer for the administration, cadre and material care to the bureau of the ČSSR's Ministry of the Interior. Exactly one year later, he was transferred to active duty, and sent to the Soviet Union as a FMV representative in November 1987. On June 30, 1990 he was released from his duty to serve at the SNB upon his personal request and he retired. As the civic commission recommended, the Federal Minister of the the Interior declined to provide him with severance pay.¹¹



Ing. Jaroslav Krtička, CSc. in a photograph stored in his personal file; Source: ABS

11 ABS, Personal file of the SNB officer Jaroslav Krtička (1932).

Tab. 2 – Personnel positions of the FMV residency in the USSR – Review (December 1989)¹²

Employee's name	Date of hire	Legalized position	Unofficial position	Latest rank ¹³
Col. Jaroslav Krtička (1932)	17. 11. 1987	Embassy Board	FMV official	Deputy officer XI. SNB Directorate ¹⁴
Col. Antonín Vřaha (1934)	1. 11. 1987	1 st secretary	FMV official for VB	Chief officer of Regional SNB Directorate Plzeň
Lieut.Col. Stanislav Balcárek (1932)	5. 11. 1986	3 rd secretary		Deputy officer of the District SNB Directorate for political and educational work
Lieut.Col. Andrej Kupec (1933)	30. 6. 1987	Attaché of Commerce		Chief officer of the Division for analysis and information at the XII. SNB Directorate ¹⁵

12 The table was put together using several sources. Compare *ABS*, f. A 34/1, inv. unit. 411, Cadre staffing and work description at the Moscow residency, 29. 6. 1989, 6 pages, A4 format typed.

13 Cover names of the secret police reports correspond with time when he started working at this position.

14 XI. SNB Directorate – in 1987, it was a cover name for the Directorate of Countereintelligence and Protection of the Economy.

15 XII. SNB Directorate – in 1987, it was a cover name for the Directorate of Countereintelligence in Bratislava.

Lieut.Col. Josef Koudelný (1941)	1. 12. 1989 ¹⁶		1 st secretary	Deputy officer IV. Division II. SNB Directorate ¹⁷
mjr. Petr Bucháček (19)	16. 10. 1985 ¹⁸		2 nd secretary	Senior expert referent at the II. Division II. SNB Directorate ¹⁹
cpt. Jan Sloup (1948)	1.8.1988		1 st secretary	Chief Officer of the Division for analysis, information and planning at the X. SNB Directorate ²⁰

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- 16 Lieut. Col. Josef Koudelný was, with respect to an approved proposal, supposed to replace Lieut.Col. Stanislav Šášek (working at the residency since 1983) as early as August 1st, 1989. Nonetheless, the replacement was postponed by three months. Finally, Lieut.Col. Koudelný started working at the Moscow residency on December 1st, 1989. ABS, f. A 34/1, inv. unit. 411, Proposal of the 3rd AO department at the II. SNB Directorate to replace the operative resident of the Moscow residency Lieut.Col. ing. Šášek – submitted, 9. 3. 1989.
- 17 II. SNB Directorate – in 1989, it was a cover name for the Central SNB Directorate of Counterintelligence. Judging by the terminology of the time, the IV. Division officers of the II. SNB Directorate focused on counterintelligence monitoring of specific representative offices of African and Asian states, counterintelligence elaboration on international terrorism, people smuggling groups, and protection of the Soviet army units.
- 18 Mjr. Petr Bucháček was supposed to be replaced in pursuance of the approved proposal on August 1st, 1989 by cpt. Ctislav Hakl (1951). The replacement probably did not take place by December 1989. *Ibid*, Proposal of the 3rd AO department at the II. SNB Directorate to replace the operative resident of the Moscow residency comrade mjr. Bucháček – transfer, 16. 2. 1989.
- 19 II. SNB Directorate – in 1985, it was a cover name for the Directorate of Counterintelligence for Fight with External Enemy. Judging by the terminology of the time, the III. Division officers of the II. SNB Directorate focused on Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany.
- 20 X. SNB Directorate – til 1. 8. 1988, it was a cover name for the Directorate of Counterintelligence for Fight with Internal Enemy.

Lieut.Col. Milan Nováček (1943)	15. 11. 1985		1 st secretary GK-Kiev ²¹	Deputy officer at the District ²² SNB Directorate Poprad
Lieut.Col. Antonín Tábor (1935)	20. 10. 1988		1st secretary K-Leningrad ²³	Director of cadre and personnel division at the FMZV ²⁴ Directorate of the diplomatic corps (legalized position)
mjr. František Caska (1939)	11. 10. 1989		Operative worker at Dolínská criminal service	Senior expert referent at the 2 nd department FKÚ FS VB ²⁵
mjr. Zdeňka Staňková (1935)	1. 9. 1988		Residency administrative worker	Senior referent of the 50th division at the I. SNB Directorate ²⁶
cpt. Jaroslav Pinkava (1948)	1987		Integration operation „Progress“	Regional ²⁷ SNB Directorate Ostrava
Lieut.Col. Jaroslav Šoffr (1943)	1987		Integration operation „Dolínská“	XI. SNB Directorate ²⁸

21 GK – general consulate.

22 OS – district division.

23 K – consulate.

24 FMZV – Federative Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

25 FKÚ FS VB – Federal criminal headquarters of the Federal National Security Directorate.

26 I. SNB Directorate – cover name for the State Security Intelligence.

27 KS – regional division.

28 XI. SNB Directorate – in 1987, the cover name of the Directorate of Countelligence for Protection of the Economy.

Lieut.Col. Miloš Holeček (1942)	1988		Integration operation „Karačagan“	II. SNB Directorate ²⁹
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The residency in the Soviet Union in 1989 employed an overall of 14 people, majority of them men. The only female worked as the residency secretary (she was the only one to have worked at the I. SNB Directorate – intelligence – prior to this position). Lieut.Col. Milan Nováček represented the general consulate at the residency in Kiev; and Lieut.Col. Antonín Tábor. Headed the consulate in Leningrad. According to internal “rules” the employees were supposed to work at the residency for three years, but in reality, some residents kept the same position longer. Mjr. Petr Bucháček, was active at the Moscow residency longest; he started his illegitimate position of the 2nd secretary on October 16, 1985.³⁰

Conclusion

The activity of the residency in the Soviet Union was limited by the number of its employees to a large extent. For this reason, they usually engaged in elaborate work on selected representative offices, surveillance of Czechoslovak institutions and citizens (mostly students, tourists, diplomats, journalists, and others) in the Soviet Union. The assessment of June 1989 listed 3 spheres of

29 II. SNB Directorate – in 1989, cover name of the Central SNB Directorate of Counterintelligence.

30 Compare tab. no. 2. According to a summary report of the 3rd Department at the Division of Analysis at the II. SNB Directorate on activities of residents of June 1989, 1st lieutenant ing. Hladný worked over the appointed time in the position of an operative worker in Moscow: „*The Minister of the Interior at the time [Vratislav Vajnar] issued the decision on his appointment to this position, in respect to the assignment of Hladný's wife (an FMZV employee) to a position of secretary to ČSSR's ambassador. It is assumed that once the work position of comrade Hladná is concluded, comrade Hladný's position will have closed as well.*“ ABS, f. A 34/1, inv. unit. 411, Cadre staffing and work description at Moscow's residency, 29.6.1989, 6 pages, A4 format typed.

work: 1. “along the line of an external worker”³¹, 2. “along the line of the economy”³², 3. “along the line of the internal enemy”³³.

Mediating requirements submitted by the Soviet security apparatus officials, and sending various intelligence reports marked another significant sphere of activity among the residency staff. Based on documentation of July 1989, the headquarters received only 53 summary reports from the Moscow residency for the first 6 months. 32 of them concerned “issues of students, youth, informal associations, and Zionism”. Based on the accounts, the residents were to direct quite a high number of collaborators who were also controlled by eight operative workers: cpt. Sloup – 31, mjr. Bucháček – 21, Lieut.Col. Šašek – 21, Lieut. Col. Kupec – 12, mjr. Hladný – 12, Lieut.Col. Nováček – 22, Lieut.Col. Tábor – 21, Lieut.Col. Balcárek – 3. Most of them were university students. The resi-

31 Mjr. Bucháček shall be accountable for the „line of internal enemy”. He dealt with the protection of the ČSSR representative offices, MGIMO students (future ministry of the interior staff), diplomatic academy, travel agency Čedok, travel agency for youth and the “Czechoslovak colonies”. Mjr. Bucháček was in charge of 2 secret collaborators and 19 confidants. He also „elaborated” following operations: „Filip” (Rep.Office USA), „Jalovec” (Rep. Office China), „Zájem” (Rep. Office China), „Aspirant I.”, „A – II.” (employee of the Czechoslovak Rep. Office in Moscow). *ABS*, f. A 34/1, inv. unit. 411, Cadre staffing and work description at Moscow’s residency, 29. 6. 1989, 6 pages, A4 format typed.

32 1st lieut. Hladný accounted for the secretariat and other CMEA bodies. As of June 1989, he was in charge of 8 secret collaborators, and 5 confidants. He “elaborated” operations such as „Inturist”. Col.Lieut. Kupec accounted for the ČSSR commerce representation; as of June 1989, was in charge of 7 secret collaborators, and 5 confidants. Col.Lieut. Šašek dealt with international banks (International Investment Bank, International Bank for Economic Assistance), Joint Institute of Nuclear Research in April; in June, was in charge of 10 secret collaborators, and 11 confidants. *Ibidem*.

33 Along the line of „internal enemy”, the residency in the USSR secured mostly „counterintelligence protection” of Czechoslovak citizens. Col.Lieut. Nováček oversaw the activity in Kiev, Minsk, and Kishinev; concurrently, he as accountable for „counterintelligence protection” of the Czechoslovak general consulate in Kiev. In June 1989, he was in charge of 3 secret collaborators and 18 confidants. Cpt. Sloup controlled 3 secret collaborators and 28 confidants in Moscow. Lieut. Col. Balcárek secured the „counterintelligence protection” of the Czechoslovak community centre in Moscow, diplomatic courier mail and special airplane, and he was in charge of three confidants in June 1989. *Ibidem*.

dents chose several potential colleagues among them on a regular basis – these were supposed to join the State Security once they returned home.³⁴

Even though the majority of reports from 1989 contain accounts of an amicable relationship with the Committee of the USSR State Security (KGB) and firm control of the state by the communist party, the residents must have still been surprised by the speed with which the situation in the Soviet Union unfolded. Other available information on events in a country, which until then used to be their model, also supports this view. In June 1989, for instance, Lieut.Col. Antonín Tábor commented on the fiery responses of delegates at the Assembly meeting in Leningrad where uncommonly critical words were spoken against the communist party.³⁵ A new stance of the Soviet top-officials to domestic dissent was another characteristic of the time. Since February 1989, the Moscow residents assigned a confidant known as „Jaromír“ to collect information on rather scarce contacts of the Charter 77 signatories with Russian dissidents.³⁶ Finally, conditions at the Soviet universities the Czechoslovak citizens attended started deteriorating. Some of the students, many of who came from trusted communist families, quite often complained of tough social conditions, poor lectures and promises they were given before they left home that never materialized.³⁷

In the end, residents witnessed significant changes taking place within the KGB itself. In October 1989, cpt. Jan Sloup met with the Soviet secret service representatives Lieut.Col. O. N. Kuzmin and Col. V. I. Timoševsky, who advised him on organizational changes. The KGB head official issued an order on August 28, 1989, which liquidated the V. KGB Directorate (political counterintelligence), and established the Directorate of Protection over the Soviet

34 *Ibidem.*

35 *ABS*, OB 1523 MV, Response to negotiations held at the Assembly of popular deputies in Leningrad, 15. 6. 1989, 3 pages A4 format typed.

36 Confidant „Jaromír“ (possibly Jaromír Veselý, file reg. no. 35885) was assigned Petr Pospíchal and Alexandr Podrabinkov by the II. SNB Directorate. He could have also zeroed in on Jan Urban. *Ibidem*, Operation subject „JAROMÍR“ – sharing, 3. 2. 1989, 2 pages A4 format typed.

37 *Ibidem*, Report on a work trip to MINSK in 9.-12. 10. 1989, 7 pages, A4 format typed.

State Establishment (with a cover name Directorate Z).³⁸ A similar title was later used in Czechoslovakia for a newly established secret service. The majority of employees working at the residency – unlike their Soviet colleagues- lost their jobs altogether.

Addendum:

D 1

Prague, 1988, – Work plan of the Federal Interior Ministry residency in the Soviet Union for 1989 worked out by the 3rd Department of the Division of Analysis at the II. SNB Directorate.

[...] ³⁹

I.

The FMV operative group in the USSR (the operative group) follows orders and instructions of the Czechoslovak Interior Minister, the Chief Officer of the II. Central SNB Directorate, and Directives OMS-VOS FMV on activity of the MV ČSSR (The Czechoslovak Interior Ministry) abroad.

Aims and main tasks for 1989 tied in to the primary aims of the service of the SNB, PS,⁴⁰ Borders' Guard and the Interior Army, cooperation agreements on assignments between the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry and the USSR's State Security Headquarters, and plans of the Interior Ministry representative for 1989. The top priorities were the following:

- 1) Direct counterintelligence protection conducted jointly with respective bodies of the State Security Headquarters to resolve specific assignments to counteract actions of enemy counterintelligence services; especially their activity in the sphere of protected interests vested in the ZÚ (OBO),

38 Compare Addendum, document no. 2 a 3.

39 Document submitted by Chief Officer of the Division of Analysis at the II. SNB D Lieut.Col. ing. Miroslav Třoska, and approved by Chief Officer of the II. SNB D Col. PhDr. Karel Vykypěl.

40 Borders' Guard.

the CMEA⁴¹ bodies and organizations, Czechoslovak citizens who perform long-term assignments in the field of science, technology and economic cooperation in the USSR and who study at universities there.

- 2) Direct protective measures to expose enemy plans and activities of antisocialist minded persons in the environment of the „Czechoslovak colony”, as well as attempts to extend antisocialist activity beyond the USSR.
- 3) Organize the counterintelligence protection of state secrets and their bearers in pursuance to the system of classified information at the ZÚ (OBO). Fulfill the analogous task in relation to the Secretariat of a Permanent Czechoslovak Representative to the CMEA.
- 4) During assignment of protecting both national economies, provide in-time warnings, prevent, and expose deliberate violations or other damages inflicted to science & technology and economic cooperation.
- 5) Advise on, and thereby prevent, instances of counterintelligence infringements on protected interests and state secrets, and inform on tendencies, forms, and methods of the enemy to internationalize and spread ideologically divisive activity from one socialist country to another.
- 6) Assist friends⁴² during the execution of counterintelligence assignments to expose intents; to prevent and to avoid potential attempts of national terrorist and extremist groups, organizations, and individuals with the goal of organizing enemy or other violent action on the territory of the USSR.

In 1989, it is necessary to step up to an active model of counterintelligence protection of the Czechoslovak interests and categories of Czechoslovak citizens living in the USSR on a long-term basis. The plans include the main tasks and measures, i.e. measures the operative worker must perform are not listed, as they remain the same every year.

II.

A) Agency operative protection and prevention activities

41 CMEA – The Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

42 Traditional phrase used with the KGB.

1) The main task revolves around the agency operative means used to protect the state secrets and identified interests of the ČSSR at the ZÚ (OBO) in the USSR, and the Czechoslovak citizens who work there, from the action of the enemy. It is also necessary to protect Czechoslovak interests and citizens working in the CMEA bodies and organization in the USSR, along with the Czechoslovak citizens who study at the universities in the Soviet Union. Use the fundamental method of high priority counterintelligence protection grounded on prophylactic and preventive instructional measures. Use it in close connection with a competent executive of the MV KSČ and SSM. Plan the assignments and execute them in a concurrent fashion preferentially:

a) At the ZÚ and the newly established KIS – appoint the executive; establish political, economic, and cultural departments.

Responsible person: mjr. BUCHÁČEK

b) At the consular department in Leningrad and Kiev.

Responsible person: Lieut.Col. TÁBOR

Lieut. Col. NOVÁČEK

c) At the OBO and its 13 particularly assigned divisions related to the KRO of the Czechoslovak economy.

Responsible person: Lieut. Col. KUPEC

1st lieut. HLADNÝ

d) At the division of protection over Czechoslovak interests and citizens working at the CMEA secretariat, bodies and organizations in the USSR, in pursuance to the tasks of this nature, secured by the II. Central SNB Directorate.

Responsible person: Lieut. Col. ŠAŠEK

1st lieut. HLADNÝ

e) With the Czechoslovak citizens who study at universities

- in Moscow

Responsible person: cpt. SLOUP

- in Kiev, Lvov, Odessa, Dnepropetrovsk, Kharkov, the Zaporozh region

Responsible person: Lieut. Col. NOVÁČEK

- in Leningrad

Responsible person: Lieut. Col. TÁBOR

- 2) In reference to the forewarned tendency of the adversary to internationalize antisocialist activity in individual SCs⁴³, and to use it to conduct subversive activity, especially by using agency operative means to expose and prevent Czechoslovak citizens living in the USSR on a long-term basis from being used to activities of this fashion. Monitor youth and citizens studying at the universities in the USSR closely for possible abuse of being used in ideologically divisive activity.

Deadline: cpt. SLOUP

Lieut. Col. NOVÁČEK

Lieut. Col. TÁBOR

Organizational measures draft will be submitted by cpt. SLOUP until 15.1.1989.

B) Searches, checks and criminal record documentation

- 1) Verify the adversary does not use legal channels – diplomatic or other contacts from ZÚ (OBO), FRG, and USA who are accredited in the USSR – to conduct enemy activity against the ČSSR and the USSR, or contact with other citizens living in the USSR on a long-term basis, especially those working in the CMEA bodies, or studying in universities, in cooperation with the III. General State Security Directorate and agency means of the residency.

Deadline: 31.10.1989

Responsible person: organization measures draft will be submitted by mjr. BUCHÁČEK until 15.1.1989 in cooperation with 1st lieut. HLADNÝ,

Lieut. Col. KUPEC

- 2) Complete the check of records registered in SPO:

INTURIST

Deadline: 30.10.1989

Responsible person: Lieut. Col. KUPEC

ALEC

Deadline: 30.3.1989

Responsible person: 1st lieut. HLADNÝ

MATĚJ

Deadline: 30.4.1989

Responsible person:

43 SC – socialist countries.

JANA

Lieut. Col. NOVÁČEK

Deadline: 30.4.1989

Responsible person:

Lieut. Col. NOVÁČEK

- 3) Complete an elementary check on a new piece of information acquired from a collaborator of the residence within 1 month, when the decision is made on its advancement and use.

Responsible person: all OW⁴⁴

- 4) Categories of persons who maintain relations with the CS⁴⁵ – interest organizations and companies established within the USSR. Complete the basic state security screening on these objects and assess degree of utility.

Deadline: 30.3.1989

Responsible person: all OW

C) Work with residency collaborators

- 1) The main task of work with the operative workers lies in trying to expand their possibilities, or possibly complete the network of agents, to follow the active policy of the agency towards set interests and categories of Czechoslovak citizens in order to protect them from the activities of enemy special services.

To fulfill the task, one must recruit or train a collaborator:

- a) Along the line of Czechoslovak citizens and the ZÚ aimed to counteract the activity of special services of the leading NATO states (namely USA, FRG).

Deadline: 30.3.1989

Responsible person: mjr. BUCHÁČEK

- b) Along the line of protecting the economy; analogously issues of interest group companies and Czechoslovak citizens who fulfill assignment of economic cooperation in the USSR.

Deadline: 30.5.1989

Responsible person: Lieut. Col. ŠAŠEK

44 OW – operative worker.

45 CS – capitalist states.

- c) Along the line of protecting the CMEA in relation to issues of cooperation with the EEC⁴⁶, and contacts of Czechoslovak citizens with international organizations in the USSR.

Deadline: 30.5.1989

Responsible person: 1st lieu. HLADNÝ

The proposal with the organizational plan on executing the assignment shall be submitted by the operative workers by 15.1.1989.

- 2) It is necessary to sort out the use and management of collaborators in the division of counterintelligence protection over Czechoslovak citizens studying in the USSR, excluding Moscow, Kiev and Leningrad.

Deadline: 30.3.1989

Elaborate the proposal in cooperation with Lieut.Col. NOVÁČEK; responsible person: cpt. SLOUP

D) Information activities.

- 1) OMS VOS and II. Central SNB Directorate shall secure and process information for the Federal Interior Ministry in the following cases:

- Breach of protected Czechoslovak political, economic, and security interests in the USSR;

Responsible person: 1st lieu. HLADNÝ

- Use of the Czechoslovak citizens by an internal enemy;

Responsible person: mjr. BUCHÁČEK

- Anti-socialist activities of Czechoslovak citizens during their long-term stay in the USSR;

Responsible person: cpt. SLOUP

- Deliberate breach or infringement of the Czechoslovak-Soviet and the damage they caused in the ČSSR or the USSR;

Responsible person: Lieut.Col. ŠAŠEK

- Threats to state secrets

Responsible person:

Lieut. Col. BALCÁREK

Lieut.Col. KUPEC

Deadline: concurrently

With respect to this task, prerequisites to fulfilling this task within an operative group were drawn on November 1st, 1988.

List the source of verification, persons who might be acquainted with this information, plus the name of the responsible person.

2) Process the following information:

a) Experience acquired from counterintelligence protection and issues related to Zionists, and nationalists in the territory of the USSR.

Deadline: January 1989

Responsible person: cpt. SLOUP

b) New means and methods used by opposition leaders in the USSR, internalization of their activity within the CSB⁴⁷, especially the ČSSR.

Deadline: April, October 1989

Responsible person: cpt. SLOUP

c) Trends and information detected concerning the interests of internal enemies in the section of protection held over the Czechoslovak secretariat, and representation in the bodies and organizations of the CMEA in the USSR.

Deadline: March, November 1989

Responsible person: 1st Lieut. HLADNÝ

d) Concerning protection held over Czechoslovak citizens who deal with classified information.

Deadline: April, November 1989

Responsible person:

Lieut. Col. BALCÁREK

Lieut. Col. KUPEC

e) Concerning counterintelligence protection of youth, and experience of the V StB and MI⁴⁸ USSR

Deadline: May 1989

Responsible person: cpt. SLOUP

f) Perspective views, problems and state security aspects in the sphere of protection while establishing free economic areas in the USSR.

Deadline: April 1989

47 CSB- countries of the socialist bloc.

48 MI USSR – Interior Ministry of the USSR (translator's note).

Responsible person: mjr. BUCHÁČEK

- g) Status of Soviet Germans in the USSR, their emigration to the FRG, state security aspects on the issue.

Deadline: May 1989

Responsible person: mjr. BUCHÁČEK

- h) Assessment of information gathered on Czechoslovak emigrants and their connection to the SUJV employees.

Deadline: March 1989

Responsible person: Lieut. Col. ŠAŠEK

- i) Information gathered on relations of the Czechoslovak citizens working in the USSR maintained with the representatives of capitalist banks.

Deadline: May 1989

Responsible person: Lieut. Col. ŠAŠEK

E) Other measures

- 1) Specify personal plans of operative employees that were provisionally negotiated in November 1989 in line with the comments to the plans of the FMV representatives and operative groups. Review organizational provision of assignments individually.

Deadline: 20.1.1989

Responsible person: Col. KRTIČKA

2)

- a) Secure cooperation and joint action with respective V StB bodies to fulfill Czechoslovak investment operations KRO in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Ukraine.

Deadline: concurrently

Responsible person:

Lieut. Col. NOVÁČEK

- b) Follow analogous procedure in the investment operation KARACHAGAN

Deadline: concurrently

Responsible person: Col. KRTIČKA

- 3) The representative of the FMI⁴⁹ is accountable for cooperation with respective workers of the MV KSČ, and SSM to secure the protection of Czechoslovak interests, Czechoslovak citizens in the USSR, and execution of the PVO.
- 4) The representative of the FMI in the USSR conducts revisions of assignments 1 x month. A quarterly assessment is conducted at the meeting of the residency.
- 5) Plan fulfillment assessment for the 1st half of 1989 is conducted between May 30th, 1989 and November 15th, 1989

Responsible person: Col. Krtička

- 6) Processes and submission a draft plan for the operative group for 1990 to the II. Central SNB Directorate until 15.11.1989.

APPENDIX

On the work plan of „R“ MOSKVA for 1989 along the line „E“⁵⁰

- direct available AOM⁵¹ to collect prompt information about issues concerning joint enterprises established between Czechoslovak economic organizations and Soviet partners with an aim to establish cooperation with the central bureau of such AO⁵² means that would prevent possible negative impact on Czechoslovak economy;

Deadline: concurrently

Responsible person: Lieut.Col. ŠAŠEK

Lieut. Col. KUPEC

1st Lieut. HLADNÝ

- in respect to the continuously increasing differentiation on the part of the capitalist countries in their approach to the individual socialist countries
- monitor representatives of the capitalist companies in their dealings with our representatives at the OBO in order to acquire prompt information on potential infringement in the unanimous stance taken within the CMEA;

49 FMI – Federal Ministry of the Interior (translator's note).

50 E – Economy (counterintelligence protection along the economy line).

51 AOM – agency operative means.

52 AO – agency operative.

Deadline: concurrently

Responsible person: Lieut. Col. ŠAŠEK

Lieut. Col. KUPEC

1st Lieut. HLADNÝ

- increase operative control over sleeping cars of the ČSD⁵³ operating in express trains PRAGA and DUKLA to Moscow in cooperation with our Soviet friends – to obtain information on transport of ideologically divisive materials, or other violent criminal activity,

Deadline: concurrently

Responsible person: Lieut. Col. ŠAŠEK

Lieut. Col. KUPEC

1st Lieut. HLADNÝ

- execute operative control of the representatives working for the ČSA,⁵⁴ and railroad transportation, including local labor force, and collect information on their relations with representatives of Western companies.

Deadline: concurrently

Responsible person: Lieut. Col. KUPEC⁵⁵

ABS, f. A 34/1, inv. unit. 413, Work plan for the residency in MOSCOW for 1989, 12 pages, A4 format typed.

53 ČSD – Czechoslovak Transport.

54 ČSA – Czechoslovak Airlines.

55 Crossed over by hand. The „organizational letter“ by the 3rd Department of the Division of Analysis at the II. SNB Directorate in June 1989 addressed to the Federal Interior Ministry representative in Moscow, that it complies with his proposal to forego the last two items, as they fell under the jurisdiction of the Prague StB Directorate. Consistent performance of these tasks on the part of the residency in the USSR would also „be rather challenging and ineffective“. ABS, OB 1523 MV, sub-item IX/1 (Moscow 1989), Organizational letter, 29. 6. 1989, 2 pages A4 format typed.

D 2

Moscow, 1989, October 17th— Record of cpt. Jan Sloup on talks with the representatives of the Directorate for protection of Soviet constitutional establishment KGB USSR.

[...] ⁵⁶

I conducted a meeting with the Chief Officer of Unit 12, Lieut.Col. O. N. KUZMIN, and the Chief Officer of Division 4, Col. V. I. TIMOŠEVSKÝ, at the KGB USSR Directorate “Z” on 16. 10. 1988. Subject matters discussed were as follows:

1. Lieut. Col. KUZMIN informed me that changes to titles of sections have been made, and provided the list of filled chief officer positions, as well as a compilation of the line of counterintelligence work within the individual operative divisions – see elaborated information.⁵⁷
2. Col. TIMOŠEVSKÝ specified the range of interest the divisions identified in relation to concrete cooperation with R – Moscow.⁵⁸ He noted that they are interested in the Czechoslovak intelligence information acquired on the Unitarian church in Lvov, Zakarpatí, and Ternopol, i.e. utilize the means of the confidant network to infiltrate identified areas or specific operations.

Consequently, it is necessary to conduct a work trip of c. Nováček to Lvov to assess the situation in cooperation with authorized workers like Ivana FRANKOVSKA, to assess agency and operative means, and propose ranges of potential cooperation in this issue.

The assigned task is documented also in an account of c. Krtička, the FMI representative to the KGB USSR, from his work trip to Kiev.

ABS, OB 1523 MV, subitem IX/1 (Moscow 1989), 1 page, A4 format, typed, microfiche.

56 Document’s header lists it as addendum K-6/12/2/89.

57 Compare Addendum, document no. 3.

58 R – Residency.

D 3

Moscow, 1989, 7 October 17th – Information on liquidation of the V. KGB Directorate in the USSR and establishment of the KGB Directorate of Protection over Soviet State Establishment in the USSR elaborated by cpt. Jan Sloup.

The KGB head official issued an order on August 28, 1989,⁵⁹ which liquidated the V. KGB Directorate⁶⁰, and established the KGB Directorate of Protection over Soviet State Establishment (Directorate Z).⁶¹ Concurrently, the following list of filled chief officer positions and lines of counterintelligence work within the individual division was compiled:

Directorate Z Chief Officer – IVANOV Jevgenij Fjodorovič

1st Directorate Deputy Chief Officer – DENISOV Jurij Vladimirovič

Directorate Deputy Chief Officer – KARBAINOV Alexandr Nikolajevič

Directorate Deputy Chief Officer – PERFILJEV Igor Valentijevič

Directorate Deputy Chief Officer – VOROTNIKOV Valerij Pavlovič

Chief Officer of the 1st Division – DĚKŤJANIKOV Viktor Vasiljevič

Job description – NTS⁶², foreign IDC⁶³ (Radio SVOBODA, RSR, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL)

59 It was a case of command no. 00124, according Russian sources was published later – on 29. 8. 1989. Compare ŽÁČEK, Pavel – KOŠICKÝ, Patrik (eds.): Československo-sovětská agenturně operativní spolupráce. StB a KGB proti tzv. ideodiverzním centrům, 1987 – 1989 (Czechoslovak and Soviet Agency Cooperation of ŠtB and KGB against so-called Ideological Diversionary Centers, 1987 – 1989) In: *Paměť národa*, roč. 2, č. 3 (2006), pp. 38. During 1988 – 1991 Vladimir Alexandrovič Krjučkov (1924) was the head of KGB SSSR.

60 Correctly it should list the V. KGB Directorate of the USSR.

61 Organization chart of Directorate Z was stated by command no. 00140 from 26. 9. 1989. Compare ŽÁČEK, Pavel – KOŠICKÝ, Patrik (eds.): Československo-sovětská agenturně operativní spolupráce. StB a KGB proti tzv. ideodiverzním centrům 1987 – 1989 (Czechoslovak and Soviet Agency Cooperation of ŠtB and KGB against so-called Ideological Diversionary Centers, 1987 – 1989) In: *Paměť národa*, roč. 2, č. 3 (2006), pp. 38.

62 NTS – Narodotrudovoj sojuz.

63 IDC – ideodiversive headquarters.

Chief Officer of the 2nd Division– BALEV Jurij Vladimirovič
[job description]– Internal nationalism and foreign nationalist centers

Chief Officer of the 3rd Division– POPOV Jevgenij Alexejevič
[job description]– Anti-soviet structures, non-formal organizations, Zionism

Chief Officer of the 4th Division– [TIMOŠEVSKIJ V. I.]⁶⁴
[job description]– Church, foreign ecclesiastical and Jewish organizations

Chief Officer of the 5th Division– IMAMBAJEV Bulat Bazerbajevič
[job description]– Organized crime and mass disturbances

Chief Officer of the 6th Division– BASKAKOV Vladimir Konstantinovič
[job description]– Internal and foreign terrorism

Chief Officer of the 7th Division– KASPAROV Eduard Jemeljanovič
[job description]– Searches of anonymous authors of anti-socialist materials

Chief Officer of the 8th Division– BLAGOVIDOV Andrej Pavlovič
[job description]– International exchange channels (culture, sport, science, social organizations, with the exception of students)

Chief Officer of the 9th Division– PETRENKO Viktor Alexandrovič
[job description]– Youth and foreign students' issues

Chief Officer of the 10th Division– MASLENIKOV Vladimír Fadějevič
[job description]– Division for analysis and information

Chief Officer of the 11th Division– MOROZ Alexandr Vasiljevič
[job description]– Joint ventures within the authority of Directorate Z

64 The document „The Chief Officer of the 4th Division“ does not list it, compare. Addendum, document no. 2.

Chief Officer of the 12th Unit – KUZMIN Oleg Nikolajevič
[job description]– OMS⁶⁵ issues

ABS, OB 1523 MV, subitem IX/1 (Moscow 1989), 2 pages, A4 format format, typed, microfiche.

Petr Blažek; Czech historian, PhDr., 34. He works at the Division of the Archives of the Ministry of Interior Security Forces. He deals with the history of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia and the 20th century Czech-Polish relations. He wrote and edited multiple studies, e.g. *Lenonova zeď v Praze (The Lennon's Wall in Prague)*. *Neformální shromáždění mládeže na Kampě 1980 – 1989. An Informal Youth Meeting at Kampa 1980 – 1989 (Praha 2003, co-author)*, *Handbook of the Communist Security Apparatus in East Central Europe, 1944/45 – 1989 (Warsaw 2005, co-author)*, „This time it blows up”. Document edition in organization and responses to campaign against Charta 77 signatories (January, February 1977) and Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1968 (Praha 2006, co-author).

Two new institutions have been recently established to take over the employees as well as tasks of the Division – The Institute of Totalitarian Regime Studies and the Archives of the Security Forces. Division of the Archives of the Security Forces is an archival institution, which collects, classifies, and discloses archival sources pertaining to the provenience of national security apparatus in Czechoslovakia between 1945 and 1992. It performs expert, scientific and publication activities in the fields of archival and auxiliary historical sciences, as well as in scientific domains working with archival funds and collections.

65 OMS – Division of International Relations.

Prokop Tomek

Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes
Czechia

SOUD and its Utilization in Czechoslovak Conditions

The unified registry system of information on the enemy SSEP (Sistema objediněnnovo učeta dannych o protivnike – SOUD) was a unique project. The long name masked a top secret database on the enemies of the Soviet Union and its satellite states.¹ It was one of the first and principal steps towards the integrations of the state security apparatuses within the Soviet Bloc, which was unrivalled in the world at the time of its inception. It still remains a rarely discussed topic, even though it probably still exists.

Until now, only expert studies on SOUD in former Czechoslovakia and the GDR have been published.² Other former participating countries have not publicized information concerning results of their SOUD use.

One cannot purport the nonexistence of an information exchange between the security apparatuses within the Eastern Bloc prior to the agreement on the use of the SOUD, proof of which it is possible to date back to the 2nd half of the 1950s. The exchange of information was regulated by bilateral agreements, which lacked unanimity.

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- 1 Name in Russian: Sistema objediněnnovo učeta dannych o protivnike – SOUD was used in the USSR, GDR and other participating countries. Even though its name was known and used in the translated version from Russian with the acronym SSEP, I lean towards using the internationally established acronym SOUD.
 - 2 TANTZSCHER, Monika – WEGMANN, Bodo: *SOUD – Das geheimdienstliche Datennetz des östlichen Bündnissystems*. BStU, Berlin 1996; TOMEK, Prokop: Ambiciózní, ale neúspěšný pokus. Systém sjednocené evidence poznatků o nepříteli. In: *Opozice a odpor proti komunistickému režimu v Československu 1968 – 1989* (Ambitious, yet Unsuccessful Attempt of the Unified Registry of Information on the Enemy In: *Opposition and Resistance against the Communist Regime in Czechoslovakia 1968 – 1989*), ed. Petr Blažek, Ústav českých dějin FF UK Praha and Dokořán Praha 2005, pp. 223 – 243. RENDEK, Peter: Systém zjednotenej evidencie poznatkov o nepriatelovi (Unified Registry System of Information on the Enemy). In: *Pamät' národa*, 2/2005, pp. 62 – 74.

The information was offered at the party's discretion only. The exchange was based on self-initiative. The other party often had been previously acquainted with the information the later offered at the time of the exchange. SOUD, on the other hand, provided information concerning enemies that were considered a threat to the entire bloc.

The system had been conceived as early as the middle of the 1970s, and it was established in 1978. Undoubtedly, SOUD was a child of the détente period. It was a ramification of the increasing numbers of persons traveling between the blocs for various reasons, and the escalating exchange of information and interest of the West in the events in the East. In the first half of the 1970s, the Soviet Union and its satellites states signed an agreement with the FRG; and reciprocal diplomatic relations had been initiated. In 1975, the final document of the Conference on security and cooperation in Europe was signed. Operating under a slight exaggeration of the facts, the state security considered every Western foreigner traveling to the East an emissary of ideologically diversionary centers, intelligence services, or terrorist organizations. The Eastern Bloc had been successfully sealed off for many decades; and the easing of the climate brought about a new situation. It seemed useful to react to more complex conditions by an initial mapping and subsequent isolation of common Western enemies.

Since the second half of 1950s, the exchange of information had become common practice between the state security apparatuses of the Eastern Bloc. The exchange of information was regulated by bilateral agreements, which lacked unanimity. The information was offered at the party's discretion only. The exchange was based on self-initiative. The other party often had been previously acquainted with the information the later offered at the time of the exchange.

The archive of the Federal Commissioner for Stasi record of the former GDR stores records of negotiations between the Chair of the Board for the State Security of the USSR (KGB) Jurij Andropov and the Minister of the State Security of the GDR (MfS) Erich Mielke dated to late 1973, which stands as evident supporting the existing cooperation between the KGB and the MfS. They signed an agreement on December 6, 1973, which contained an article on establishing a centralized registry. This would allow for verification and searches into the specific circles of persons and subjects within the „socialist

community". This meeting might very well have been the starting point of the SOUD system. In 1975, the Federal Ministry of the Interior of the CSSR tested various versions of integration and the development of cooperation with foreign partners. The place at the top of the priority list belonged to the centrally integrated information system, which indicates that the Czechoslovak state security reached the same conclusion.

The agreement which authorized the use of SOUD was signed in late 1977 by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, the People's Republic of Mongolia, the People's Republic of Poland and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. In 1982, Vietnam joined as well. What was the purpose of the system? The database of persons who were considered a threat to the stability of the communist regime was built. It included employees and agents of enemy special services, employees of ideological centers, terrorists, enemy organizations (Zionists, emigrants, religious organizations), questionable foreigners (their intentions were dubitable), provokers, information dealers, deported persons, diplomats of NATO, Japan, China, Thailand, foreign reporters, smugglers, etc.

SOUD was exclusively used by the security apparatus officers securing the state security of the given state. The first phase consisted of building the database of persons. The second phase should have formed the database of subjects (organizations, services, etc.), this however was not built until 1989, and thus never went live. The only work lab with the SOUD staff, which served as a data hub and concentrated all data, was located in Moscow. It was a computer centre of the I. Directorate of the KGB (intelligence) and it employed 80 people. According to the agreement, the work apparatus should have staffed workers of all participating parties. In reality, it was exclusive to the KGB officers. The system was the first step in the world of modern information technologies, because it operated via computer. Computer EC 1060 was possibly a result of development activities within a joint project of the unified electronic computer system of COMECON³. Professional and political job placements prove the system was initiated by the Soviet KGB, and it was accommodated to fulfill its

3 COMECON – (translator's note); denotes the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, also known as CMEA.

needs. The KGB controlled organizational, personnel, even technical spheres of the project.

The system collected information on enemies, so it primarily served a defense purpose. StB counter-intelligence was the biggest contributor of information on the part of Czechoslovakia. Soud, however, was operated by the KGB. Initially, the Czechoslovak coordination office premises (the unit of combined action with the Soud) were located at the department of information and analysis sited at the Secretariat of the Ministry of the Interior. After a few years, the office was transferred to the I. Directorate of the National Security Corps (SNB), namely as the Division 55 – mechanical registry. In the GBR, the only other country with public reports on the Soud unit of combined action, the office was located at the central analysis and information division that reported to the minister of state security and was never moved.

The Soviet advisors in the individual Eastern Bloc countries were instrumental in mediation activities. In the CSSR, the cooperation between the Soud work apparatus and the unit of action was headed by a KGB official with direct authorization. Lieut. Col. Sergej Alexandrovitsch Generalov held this position in the years 1988-1989. Several bilateral work meetings took place between the KGB and the Federal Ministry of the Interior (FMV). Available information reveals that in the 1980s, three KGB officials visited Czechoslovakia with the purpose of beginning negotiations on the IT, information and Soud issues. Between May 30 – June 3, 1983, Czechoslovakia hosted a four member delegation, including Col. Boris Dmitrijevitsch Jurinov, Chief Official of the Soud work apparatus; between March 2 – 6, 1987, a delegation including Lieut. Col. Alexandr Grigorjevitsch Bulanov; and finally, between October 16 – 19, 1989, a five member delegation, including Col. Anatolij Vasiljevitsch Smirnov, the Chief Official of the Soud work apparatus, and the already mentioned Soviet advisor in the CSSR, Lieut. Col. S. A. Generalov.⁴

The system was supplied with data about persons living outside the territory of the participating countries, but there were exceptions. The contributor had to assign a level of access with designated inputs for other participating countries,

4 ZIKMUNDOVSKÝ, Zdeněk – MÁLEK, Jiří: *Přehled o činnosti a struktuře StB v letech 1988 – 1990* (Review on the Activity and Structure of the StB between 1988 – 1990), manuscript, Prague 1991.

and he/she would monitor it. Queries could be made related to either a specific person or topic (available since September 1985), or related to an unknown person meeting certain criteria.

Even though the system operated as a computer database, there was no direct network access on the part of the participants. All inputs and queries, hand-written or teletype, were sent to Moscow. Between 1978 and 1980, development, the building and testing of the system, was performed; by May 1980 trial operation had begun; and by December 1980 the system was in common operation.

Database building on the part of Czechoslovakia entailed processing of extensive amounts of archived documents. StB analysts were under an enormous amount of pressure to complete a great deal of work in a short amount of time. For that reason, an expanded work force was necessary. The Central Counter-intelligence Directorate of the State Security, II. Directorate of the SNB, employed only three full-time analysts and four retired members of the StB. A single worker proficient in Russian who focused on operative activity, was able to process merely 10 queries a day. Processing the information for the SOUD in the CSSR was thus 5 years behind schedule. The entire process of data entry comprised of a complex, extensive, and detailed questionnaire in Russian, and of acquiring and verifying data coming from several registries. Russian as an official work language, and the Cyrillic alphabet, which was used in mapping countries that exclusively used Latin characters, were obviously very impractical choices.

The quality of information often suffered: the input records varied in precision and detail. Questionnaires were not being filled in a uniform and precise manner, and the problem lingered. In 1985, the Chief Officer of the II. Directorate of the SNB noted that Ostrava was the only regional directorate to send queries in the requested quality consistently.

The rivalry that arose between intelligence and counter-intelligence concerning SOUD was a trait specific to Czechoslovakia. Counter-intelligence was building a special position within the system by channeling information from the counter-intelligence divisions of the StB regional directorates, thus gaining control over it, and even building its own database using all the information combined. Such a duplicate database was not looked upon favorably by intel-

ligence, which was striving to send their findings directly from the regional divisions to their own workplace. That, of course, involved circumventing the II. Directorate of the SNB. In 1985, the II. Directorate of the SNB requested that the I. Directorate present all the inputs made into the SOUD via individual transfers to the intelligence's XII. Directorate of the SNB – Counter-intelligence directorate in Slovakia. Counter-intelligence proposed the building of their own database with a purpose to specify the tasks of its agents leaving for abroad and to analyze foreigners. I. Directorate refused to comply with the request. It even went so far as to attack the building of duplicate counter-intelligence databases.

This disagreement continued on into 1986, despite the fact that it was the counter-intelligence, or the II. Directorate of the SNB, which supplied about 70% of all Czechoslovak inputs into the SOUD. In 1989, intelligence approved counter-intelligence for a lesser interest in feeding data into the SOUD once the three counter-intelligence directorates merged in the summer of 1988.

This ends the discussion concerning the organization of the system and its development for the time being. The rate of success and effectiveness in relation to the effort exerted by the participating countries is yet another level of the SOUD program.

A critical evaluation of the SOUD system rests on the assessment of its actual content in two areas: selection of persons in question and composition of input data. Often, data on persons whose status of being a threat to the participating countries was very dubious was fed into the system. In many instances, there was no evidence of any hostile activity whatsoever, or cases in which merely a very vague hypotheses were present. William Styron, the America writer, is a good example of this phenomenon. He came to visit Prague in April of 1985, and expressed an interest in Václav Havel. Counter-intelligence of the StB had no further information on Styron's hostile activity, and it is hard to determine in which category of the SOUD he was classified. (Styron's ID number in the SOUD is 8100000341, mode of data access A – i.e. no restriction).⁵ Data on Czechoslovak citizens was fed into the system as well – in most cases as convicted for espionage leading to long-term prison sentences. Even after their release from prison it was highly unlikely they would be allowed to

5 *ABS*, fund A 34/1 (II. Directorate of the SNB), inv. unit. 1101, pp. 214 – 215.

travel abroad ever, which caused them to be considered a „threat” within the state borders. The plethora of data on relatively harmless people decreased the overall value of information in the system: even though the result of a query was positive, the information might very well have been worthless, because it did not encode a true threat.

Here is an example of how extremely dubious the information entered into the system on some persons was: In 1988, the MfS of the GDR queried why a film critic and director Monica Maurer, who participated in an annual documentary festival in Leipzig, was registered under the category of terrorists by the II. Directorate of the SNB. StB replied that it entered data off a list, which was presented to the General Secretary and the President of the CSSR Gustáv Husák at a state visit of the GDR in 1978. Subsequently, it became obvious, that the list also included the names of persons designated „progressive thinkers”. These names were then removed from the SOUD system. Even taking into consideration that fact that the line between „progressive thinking” and terrorism overlapped in the case of some persons, this is still a very good example of how reliable and „verified” the information in the system was. In this particular instance, the information even came from the GDR authority source. If their intention was to mislead the Czechoslovak StB, then they succeeded wonderfully.

Nonetheless, one cannot resort to generalizations, because in some cases the SOUD did prove useful, even if only partially. In December of 1986, the Executive apparatus of the SOUD forwarded data on Jan Jakoby Floryan, a Danish reporter of Polish origin, to the X. Directorate of the SNB. In 1986, the X. Directorate of the SNB, classified this information in the system into a „B” information access category. Yet, in 1982, the KGB listed information on the same person under a less restrictive „A” category, and so did the Polish state security in 1985. The system thus accumulated 3 data files that informed on the activity of the same reporter in three countries and in different periods. The data all pertained to his relations with the opposition, and with writing „hostile” articles.⁶

Another evaluation criterion we can consider is the content of the input data. It was personal data, sometimes imprecise, and data describing their activity,

6 *ABS*, fund A 34/1, inv. unit 1101, pp. 246 – 247.

which were frequently merely unverified assumptions. There was no guarantee that a positive result of a query was beneficial to the enquirer in any progressive way.

Once the system was built and contained a certain amount of data, it went into live use at the end of the 1980s. The system was built in a joint international effort. Authorities in Czechoslovakia considered the SOUD useful despite a series of criticisms raised concerning some of its processes. It is quite easy to quantify the degree of use: adding up the number of queries and positive match results. The vast majority of results were negative (which either meant the person was „flawless” in terms of state security, or the system contained no relevant records). Another criterion to consider is the subject value of the positive match results. Relevant information that was valuable to the enquirer emerged only on very rare occasions; and the response time was often so long that even a significant answer arrived too late.

Between 1981 and 1985, the II. Directorate of the SNB processed 701 queries of internal or regional interest of the StB directorates, and arrived at 62 positive match results. Several dozen pieces of information were however forwarded to the „friends” in the USSR and the GBR upon request.

Queries were mostly related to the newly accredited Western diplomats, foreigners with Czechoslovak contacts, foreigners from the West with suspicious behavior etc.

And to take it even further: positive match results were sometimes unclear as well – there were inconsistencies in the transcription of names caused by the fact that the data was recorded phonetically in Cyrillic. It became uncertain at times, whether the data related to the same person: example „Vizental” (Wiesenthal).⁷ Sometimes the data was corrupt, or incomplete.

As of October 1989, the Czechoslovak contribution to the SOUD represented data on 24 833 persons, or 1/7 of all data on 200 000 persons entered into the system by all participants. However, it is noteworthy that the overall number of records increased only by 50 names from 1986!

7 Data of Simon Wiesenthal were entered into the SOUD by the Czechoslovak StB under an ID number 8020001007. He was suspected of hostile activity against the CSSR – espionage for Israel.

On the part of other participating countries, the GDR, a country on an equal footing to the CSSR, entered 74 884 pieces of data into the SOUD system, which exceeded the Czechoslovak contribution threefold

Between October 16 – 19, 1989, Prague hosted the previously mentioned meeting between the delegation of the I. KGB Directorate (led by Col. A.I. Czernikov) and the representatives of the I. SNB Directorate. The Soviet delegation was trying to dispel the concerns of the StB officials that related to the current political developments in Poland and Hungary, which posed the possibility of „abusing” the input data, and raised serious doubts about the system on the part of Czechoslovakia. The KGB officials swore there was no threat and asked the StB for further data. Only one month later, the concerns materialized.

The termination of the SOUD in Czechoslovakia presents many obscurities as well. Completely new information was found in a letter of the Chief Officer at the Analytical and Information Division of the II. SNB Directorate written by Lieut. Col. Miroslav Třoska on December 7, 1989, and addressed to the I. SNB Directorate and its 55th Division. It contained a request to extract all data on the citizens of the CSSR, including all persons born in the the CSSR, out of the SOUD system, which the II., X., and XI. SNB Directorates had entered. It is not clear, whether the requisition was fulfilled, or whether it was merely an alibi.

The original intent to build a functional system of an international exchange of intelligence information evidently was never realized. The first phase of the SOUD (the database of persons) was built, but only 2/3 of the plan. The next phase of the system (database of subjects) had not been even initiated.

Official evaluation of the system was positive, SOUD was considered to be a contribution to work of the StB. What the contribution specifically was, the archive does not reveal. During the period the SOUD was being created the Czechoslovak StB was interlaced with a multitude of problems and critical comments. This discrepancy can thus only be explained by the StB's effort to comply with Moscow's wishes.

The SOUD system must be assessed critically. It was a unique, extensive and very well-kept secret project. Practical results, however, were minimal. In reality, the system was evidently built to extend the KGB's information base. For the satellite StB, it merely brought extra work. Nonetheless, the imperative of an „international task” was inexorable.

The future might have brought a more meaningful extension to the system. In March of 1988, for example, a project of building an information system called the Persons of Interest Registry (EZO) for the StB, was approved. It was supposed to be linked to the Soud system (all persons listed in the category especially dangerous), and to indicate all inputs done by the Czechoslovak government. The link was to be conducted during 1990 and 1991.

The last queries by the II. SNB Directorate, and probably the last ones on the Czechoslovak part, were entered on January 4, 1990, and concerned some foreigners of Arabic origin. There is some uncertainty surrounding the circumstances of terminating the Czechoslovak cooperation on the part of SSEP. Orders to establish an SSEP work lab at the I. SNB Directorate dated 1982 (RNS 8/1982) were revoked by an order issued by the Chief Officer of the I. SNB Directorate in 1990. That would logically imply the termination of the Czechoslovak cooperation on the SSEP system sometime in early 1990. RMV no. 17/1987, however, (Directive on the supply and use of the SSEP) was revoked by Ministerial Decree no. 18/1991. It is highly probable the cooperation ceased all on its own by discontinuing the supply of queries and questionnaires on the part of Czechoslovakia.

Prokop Tomek, graduated in history from FF UK in Prague, (1965). Currently works at the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes. He specializes in the relations between the repressive apparatus of the regime and the citizens of Czechoslovakia in 1948 – 1989. Publications: Czechoslovak uranium 1945 – 1989, Volumes of ÚDV no.1, Prague 1999; Two studies on the Czechoslovak prison system 1948 – 1989, Volumes of ÚDV no.3, Prague 2000; „Object ALFA”. Czechoslovak security forces vs. Radio Free Europe, Volumes of ÚDV no.14, Prague 2006; Ambitious, yet unsuccessful attempt. System of collective register of records on the enemy. In: Petr Blažek (ed.): Opposition and resistance against the communist regime in Czechoslovakia 1968 – 1989, Institute of Czech History FF UK Prague and Dokořán 2005, pp. 223 – 245.

Two new institutions have been recently established to take over the employees as well as tasks of the Division – The Institute for Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the Archive of Security Bodies.

Department of Archives of the Security Forces was an archival institution, which collected, classified, and disclosed archival sources pertaining to the provenience of national security apparatus in Czechoslovakia between 1945 and 1992. It performed expert, scientific and publication activities in the fields of archival and auxiliary historical sciences, as well as in scientific domains working with archival funds and collections.

Bernd-Rainer Barth

Germany

Noel Field Affair

September 1950: *Neues Deutschland* (New Germany) published an explanation of ZK SED (Central Commission of Unified Socialist Party of Germany) pertaining to the »connection of former German political emigrants and the Chairman of the Unitarian Board of Services Noel H. Field«.1 Rajka Case in Hungary and Slánský Affair in Prague were yet to follow (1952). These trials were directed at the communists, who until then were thought of as being upright. Without actual interrogation or indictment, Noel H. Field, a USA citizen, became the main protagonist of the case. He was accused of strategic espionage and creation of network of American spies within the leading group of Eastern European communist parties. Since March 1953, which marked Stalin's death, no further big public trials were initiated, be it in Budapest, Prague or Sofia. But the fact that prominent public figures were defamed and exposed to potential indictment stands out as an extraordinary memento of the time. The declaration of ZK (Central Commission) introduced a humiliating chapter of SED (Unified Socialist Party of Germany) and history of GDR.

***Bernd-Rainer Barth**, university degree in Hungarian philology; historian and translator. Bernd-Rainer Barth was born in GDR in 1957. In 1977, he started studying Hungarian philology in Budapest and he participated in the activities of the underground democratic opposition such as „Fliegende Universität“ (The Flying University) and Samisdat Publication. Barth kept the dissident status even after his return to GDR – the State Security enforced forbiddance for him to do his job. Since the Revolution of 1989/90, he has been conducting in-depth research primarily in the Eastern European communism at Freie Universität and the 1956 Institute in Budapest, with a focus on the Stalinist public trials.*

Georg Herbstritt

*Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service
of the Former GDR
Germany*

Refused Cooperation: The Relation Stasi – Securitate and Romania's Aspirations to Independence

Introduction

On December 22, 1989, Nicolae Ceaușescu, the Romanian dictator, was overthrown. After which shocking news about thousands allegedly killed during the events in Romania was spreading throughout Europe. Responsibility for the massacres was mainly assigned to the Romanian secret service Securitate. Demonstrations were held in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and many other countries to demonstrate feelings of sympathy for the Romanian insurgents. At the same time, many tended to compare the secret service of the GDR – the „Ministry for State Security” (MSS, „Stasi”) with the Romanian Securitate.

In such a tense situation, the secret service eventually made a statement that they disavowed any relationship to the Securitate. The press release of December 23, 1989 read as follows:

„[...] The officers of both emerging services¹ expressly disavow any participation in the crimes committed by the Romanian secret service against their citizens. They assure the Romanian population and the armed forces that they fight shoulder to shoulder with them, with their full solidarity. [...]

Neither the former Ministry of the Secret Service nor the dissolved Office for National Security has ever maintained relations with the Romanian secret service Securitate. They have never cooperated with the said body.”²

- 1 At that time, MSS had already changed their name twice, and was just about to split into the National Secret Service called „Institutional Protection” and the „Foreign Intelligence Service”.
- 2 BStU, MfS BdL/Dok 8407, Bl. 2. This press release was in the GDR, published almost unabridged on December 28, 1989 in the daily „*Neues Deutschland*” („*New Germany*”) – considered an important influence on public opinion, pp. 2.

The East German secret police had enough problems of their own in December 1989. They did not wish to have their name connected to the horrifying news about Securitate in addition to everything else. It is thus easy to understand why MSS repudiated the Securitate so vigorously.

Nevertheless, were the protestations contained in the mentioned press release true indeed? Was it possible that MSS and Securitate had never worked together? The answer to this question seems interesting not only in light of the bilateral Germany-Romania relations. The question is especially interesting when one considers learning what might have happened under the common roof of the KGB. To what extent could an individual Communist secret service, or respective state or party administration, make their decisions freely? This paper intends to seek answers to these questions, relying exclusively on the German records made by MSS which are available at the BStU (the Office of the Federal Commissioner Preserving the Records of the Ministry for State Security of the GDR) in Berlin.³

1. „Romanian friends”. Cooperation of secret services before 1964

Since the mid-1950's Securitate and MSS maintained regular business relations, much like those between MSS and other Communist secret services. This can now even be demonstrated with evidence from some MSS material. For instance, in the 1950's and early 1960's Securitate had a so-called Operative Group working at the Romanian Embassy in East Berlin. The group consisted of Securitate officers who were officially employed by the Romanian Embassy, but in fact they fulfilled tasks of the secret service.⁴ The Operative Group's ac-

3 See also the study in the Romanian language dealing with the MSS and Securitate relations: OLARU, Stejărel, – HERBSTTRITT, Georg: *Stasi și Securitatea* (Stasi and Securitate). Bucharest 2005.

4 *Ost-Berlin. Agitations- und Zersetzungszentrale für den Angriff gegen den Bestand und die verfassungsmäßige Ordnung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Operationsbasis der östlichen Spionagedienste*. Hg.: Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, Köln, 1960, pp. 48. (East Berlin. Agitation and Subversion Centre for Attack against the Present Conditions and Constitutional Order of FRG and Operational Base of East Intelligence Services. Published by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution).

tions were approved and supported by the MSS in Berlin. The group is in the MSS files, referred to as the „Romanian group” and „Romanian friends.”⁵

The „Romanian group” serves as a connecting link between Securitate and MSS. Whenever the MSS wished to send a question or some information to Securitate in Bucharest they would address it to the „Romanian group” in East Berlin.⁶ The Romanian Operative Group was allowed to conduct independent surveillance and investigations.⁷ An important target group was formed by the Romanian and Romanian-German emigrants in the FRG and West Berlin.⁸ When needed, the MSS would provide the Operative Group with technical support. To give an example, at the request of the „Romanian friends”, the MSS would monitor the post sent to certain persons or use their own laboratory to analyse manuscript specimens for hidden messages.⁹

The Operative Group of Securitate also carried on co-operation with the MSS in the 1950's when taking the Romanian exiles from the West back to Romania. Two specific cases have been discovered in the MSS files so far. In March 1953, Theodor Bucur, a Romanian historian living in West Berlin, was abducted from the eastern part of the city. Securitate carried him to Romania where he spent three years in prison with no reason given. Later, he was given an injunction to return to his wife living in West Berlin.¹⁰ In August 1958, as

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- 5 Note in the MSS files of April 3, 1953 on surrendering the abducted Theodor Bucur to the „Romanian friends”; *BStU*, MfS, AS 76/56, D 1, p. 8. Reply of the MSS to the „Berlin Group” of June 4, 1960; *BStU*, MfS, AP 15942/62, pp. 39.
 - 6 See: example given in the preceding note, reply of the MSS to the „Berlin Group.”
 - 7 However, the MSS did not grant the Romanian operative group a permission to carry out arrests; See: note in the file by Willi Damm, Chief of Department X of the MSS, of August 31, 1958; *BStU*, MfS, AP 5638/70, pp. 37.
 - 8 Cooperation between secret services against Romanian emigrants in the late 1950's and early 1960's is documented by „Objektvorgang Balkan” (Object Case Balkans); *BStU*, MfS, AOP 4288/65.
 - 9 MSS, Dep.X Information exchange between sister organisations; *BStU*, MfS, AS 312/83, pp. 97. Letter from the „Romanian Group in Berlin” to the „State Secretariat for State Security” of November 9, 1955; *BStU*, MfS, AS 76/56, D 7, Bl. 5 – 7.
 - 10 Theodor Bucur trial: *BStU*, MfS, AS 76/56, D 1, Bl. 1 – 10; See also OLARU – HERBSTTRITT: *Stasi și Securitatea* (Stasi and Securitate) (note 3), pp. 33 – 36.

part of a joint action carried out by the MSS and Securitate, Olivia Beldeanu, a Romanian exile was lured to East Berlin, where he was arrested. In 1959, a military court in Romania sentenced him to death; in February 1960 he was executed in Jilava. The reason for this abduction was Beldeanu's participation in the 1955 anti-communist armed assault against the Romanian Embassy in Bern, where one of the Embassy staff was shot dead. Beldeanu had already served a sentence in Switzerland for the same offence.¹¹

MSS and Securitate also worked together in some other spheres of activity. For instance, they exchanged their knowledge of spy techniques and of the information obtained when conducting their spy activities worldwide.¹²

The relations between Securitate and MSS seemed to be standard in the late 1950's, which was typical of Communist secret services at that time.

Their cooperation continued to develop at various levels even in the 1960's. In summer 1962, Erich Mielke, Chief of the MSS, and his deputy, Markus Wolf,¹³ visited Romania. Markus Wolf worked as a head of the Foreign Intelligence Department of the MSS, HV A, so-called „General Directorate A,” or „General Directorate Reconnaissance”). In April 1963, Nicolae Doicaru, Chief of Romanian Foreign Intelligence, visited East Berlin. In the same year, both secret services made a written and oral agreement to deepen their cooperation in the area of operative technology.¹⁴

11 „Beldeanu Trial;” *BStU*, MfS, AP 5638/70, Bl. 5f, 27, 34 – 38. See also; OLARU – HERBSTTRITT *Stasi și Securitatea* (note 3), pp. 49 – 53, as well as a short reference made to the trial in TOTOK, William: *Between Authoritative Democracy and Pluralistic Transparency. Secret Services in Totalitarian and Post-totalitarian Romania*. In: *The semi-yearly magazine for South European History, Literature and Politics*. Special edition 8 (1996)1a, pp. 41.

12 Collection of material on technical collaboration between the MSS and Securitate, unnumbered; *BStU*, MfS, Orig, Volume 3112. Lists of delivered information 1957-1973. In: *BStU*, MfS, AS 291/83 and AS 312/83.

13 OLARU – HERBSTTRITT: *Stasi și Securitatea* (Stasi and Securitate) (see note. 3), pp. 78f.

14 MSS, Orig., 16.4.1963: The minutes of the negotiations with the Romanian comrades on the issues of the operative technology; *BStU*, MfS, Orig., Volume 3112, unnumbered.

2. 1964/65: Cooperation of secret services discontinued

In 1964, the relations between the two secret services changed dramatically. The MSS files show that it was approximately at that time when the co-operation was interrupted. At first glance, this does not seem too surprising because in April 1964, the Romanian Labour Party (RLP) announced taking their „own path” to building Communism. In December 1964, the KGB advisors had to leave Romania. The year 1964 brought a reversal of the described relations.¹⁵

There is no rule, however, that a change in the *political* course followed by the party administration also shows at the level of secret services. The Romanian military intelligence continued to work together with other military intelligence services in other countries of the Eastern Bloc until 1989.¹⁶ This was, apparently, not the case with Securitate.

It is advisable to mention now a certain problem of methodology: hardly any reference was made to Securitate in the MSS files after 1965. What can it mean when there are no files on a certain matter of fact? Did Securitate and MSS really carry on no cooperation after 1964, or there are just no records to document it?

There are, in fact, some indicators that can be pieced together like tiles in a mosaic to make a complex picture, even if some gaps detract from a complete understanding. These are six such markers:

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- 15 DELETANT, Dennis: Romania. In: PERSAK, Krzysztof – KAMIŃSKI, Łukasz (Publ.): *A Handbook of the Communist Security Apparatus in East Central Europe 1944 – 1989*. Warsaw 2005, pp. 292f regarding the April announcement of RSP. See: Special edition of the magazine *Dosarele Istoriei* 9(2004)4.
 - 16 The Ministry of National Defence, Chief of Reconnaissance: Report on the Conference of the Chiefs of Reconnaissance at the General Staff of Armies of the Countries of the Warsaw Pact held on April 10-13, 1985 in Prague; *BStU*, MSS; HA I, 4203, sheets 148 – 154, esp. sheets 149 – 152. See also WEGMANN, Bodo: *Die Militäraufklärung der NVA. Die zentrale Organisation der militärischen Aufklärung der Streitkräfte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*. Berlin 2005, pp. 516.

- 1.) From an internal note made in the MSS files in 1969 it follows that the cooperation in the area of operative technology, agreed upon in 1963, did not, in fact, take place.¹⁷
- 2.) A document by an MSS officer taken in 1967 makes a casual reference to the negotiations held in February 1965 in Prague where Securitate proclaimed that they had no further intention to take part in the joint radio counterintelligence conducted by the Communist secret services.¹⁸
- 3.) It can be seen from the list of delivered information that the quantity of information Securitate forwarded to the MSS after 1964 fell sharply. However, in the late 1960's, the quantity went up again.¹⁹
- 4.) The last reference to the Operative Group of Securitate based in East Berlin was made in the MSS files in November 1964. A list of received and sent post of Department X („ten”) at the MSS which dealt with the years 1959-1979, last mentioned the operative group (referred to as the „Berlin Group”) as a sender of a letter of November 3, 1964. All the post, so little in quantity, which was entered into the records in the next years, would always come direct from Bucharest.²⁰
- 5.) In April 1967, Erich Mielke, Chief of the MSS and his two deputies, Markus Wolf and Alfred Scholz, travelled to Moscow. They met there with Vladimir Semitchastny, the Chief of KGB at that time, and with some other KGB managers. They were advised by their colleagues from the KGB on the actual relations with Securitate: the cooperation was limited to an „occasional exchange of information on foreign political and military issues” and was carried out by help of the Romanian Embassy in Moscow. The Romanian Minister of the Interior allegedly visited Moscow in 1966, and then some representatives of the operative and technical sectors of Securitate visited Moscow early in 1967. In ad-

17 MSS, Orig: Meeting of the Chiefs; *BStU*, MSS, Orig. 1620, Sheet 84.

18 Welcome to the attendants of the discussions of the group for coordination of the Radio Counterintelligence in the European Socialist countries held on November 20, 1967; *BStU*, MŠB, ZAIG (Central Evaluation and Information Group – an MSS body) 5101, pp. 6 – 9, herein: 8.

19 MSS, Dep. X: Information Exchange among Sister Bodies; *BStU*, MSS, AS 312/83, pp. 4 – 89.

20 MSS, Dep. X: Kurierbuch SR Rumänien; *BStU*, MSS Dep. X, 1042, pp. 67.

dition, an exchange of holiday-makers was thrown open annually to 20 members of secret service staff from either country.²¹

- 6.) On April 11, 1968, Erich Mielke, Chief of the MSS, imposed a ban on taking private trips to Czechoslovakia and to Romania; the ban applied to all MSS staff.²²

As described in some written resources, Romania took yet another step forward: after the invasion by the troops of the Warsaw Pact of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 Nicolae Ceaușescu ordered the establishment of a new department to come under security services. The duties of the new department involved protecting intelligence from the secret services of other socialist countries. The activity was especially aimed at the Soviet Union and Hungary. In 1972, the department assumed the name UM 0920 (UM = Unitate Militară = Army Unit), and in 1978, the name was UM 0110. The Unit was assigned to work under the Department for Foreign Intelligence of Securitate DIE. In 1989, the department had approximately 300 full-time employees. A small section of the department, employing as few as five employees, performed supervision over the MSS activity against Romania; Ioan Rușan was the last head of the section.²³

The MSS soon learned of the department, yet did not know all the details involved. On February 7, 1969, the department of HV A submitted an analysis entitled „Situation in the Romanian Socialist Republic and the Influence of Imperialism on the Country.” The analysis of HV A, i.e. the intelligence department of the MSS, showed that security bodies in Romania „*only focus on the foreign subversion, or intelligence activity, in general, making no difference between socialist and imperialist countries.*”²⁴ That meant that Romania did

21 Discussions with the Committee for State Security of the USSR held on April 3-6, 1967 in Moscow; BStU MSS, SdM 1432, pp. 1 – 11, herein: 8

22 MSS, Minister: Letter of April 11, 1968; BStU, MSS, BdL/Dok 2946, p. 1. Two years later the regulation was repealed; See: MSS, Minister: Letter of June 10, 1970; BStU, MSS, BdL/Dok 2994, pp. 1

23 On the UM 0920, or UM 0110 activity, See: OPREA, Marius: *Moștenitorii Securității*. Bucharest 2004, pp. 54 – 56, and DELETANT: *Romania* (see note 15), pp. 296.

24 MSS, HV A, Berlin, 7. 2. 1969: Die Lage in der Sozialistischen Republik Rumänien und der imperialistische Einfluss in diesem Land (Situation in the Romanian Socialist republic and the Influence of Imperialism on the Country); BStU, MSS,

not discriminate between the befriended Socialist and hostile Western secret services.

The Department of Foreign Intelligence of the MSS, HV A, responded almost immediately by taking a similar measure. It was probably no later than in October 1968, perhaps a bit later, when HV A established, at the Embassy of German Democratic Republic (GDR) in Bucharest, a „legally protected residence,” in other words an intelligence base, that the Romanian party was not supposed to learn about.²⁵ HV A would gradually establish similar bases at almost all GDR embassies around the world. Romania had a special position as the only country of the Eastern Bloc where HV A established, properly speaking, a truly legally protected residence pursuing the objectives of active intelligence. In relation to that, it is worth mentioning that HV A had categories of their intelligence bases for various countries: Group A to include the NATO countries, Group B included other democratic countries in Western Europe, Group C contained Arabic countries and Israel, Group D covered Africa, Group E referred to Latin America, Group F included parts of Asia, Australia and New Zealand. And, finally, there was also a small Group G which included Albania, China, Yugoslavia, Cuba and Romania.²⁶

Compared to other countries of the Eastern Bloc, Romania was an interesting exception. In the 1970's and 1980's, HV A conducted an act of espionage in Romania and obtained some information from the Romanian state and party apparatuses. The said activity was not too significant because Romania was not

ZAIG (Central Evaluation and Information Group – an MSS body) 5481, pp. 1 – 38, herein: 6f.

- 25 In October 1968, Department III of HV A initiated object case „Memory” under file number XV/1671/68. Several informers are registered under this object case. The informers were engaged as early as in the 1980's in the HV A's intelligence base in Bucharest. This implies that HV A did not consider Romania their ally any more, but an „operating area,” and there is an assumption that the GDR Embassy in Bucharest worked as a „legally protected residence;” *BStU*, MfS, HV A/MD/2-6, SIRA-TDB 11-14, 21.
- 26 HV A, Dep. VIII: Analyse zum Stand, zur Wirksamkeit und den Ergebnissen der Konterarbeit in Objekten legal abgedeckter Residenturen, 25. 11. 1985 (Status Analysis regarding Efficiency and Achievements of the Objects of Legally Protected Residences) *BStU*, MfS, HV A 407, pp. 1 – 31.

a strategically outstanding country, yet the whole action remained quite unusual because it targeted an ally.²⁷

The mentioned indications suggest that regular business relations between Securitate and MSS were discontinued in the second half of 1964. It is evident that the Romanian party initiated this estrangement, against the will of the MSS. Relations did not entirely cease, however. For instance, in the late 1960's, the exchange of intelligence information increased, and did not die down until 1973.

The MSS files do not contain a single reference to an important aspect of the underlying cause, namely, the response of the MSS management to the break in relations, which began in 1964. Apparently, there is a gap. What seems more important, however, are the mentioned indications.

3. 1971: Securitate and MSS renewing their relations

The MSS files contain clear evidence of Securitate's attempts made a few years later to break its isolation. Seeking to meet this target, Nicolae Doicaru arrived in March 1971 in East Berlin to pay an unexpected visit with no prior notice. Among other things, he conversed for several hours with his counterpart, Markus Wolf. Their conversation is very well documented in the files. According to the files, the meeting was meant to produce an agreement between Securitate and MSS on bilateral cooperation. However, Markus Wolf categorically rejected the proposal. Marcus Wolf's reason for his disapproval was that first it was necessary to clarify some baseline political issues at the level of state and party administrations of both countries; only then might he consider some „close Czech-like cooperation.” In conclusion, he added that the German party was not interested in carrying on the purely formal cooperation which had been conducted in relation to some issues.²⁸

27 For the information HV A obtained from Romania, see BStU, MfS, HV A/MD/2-5, SIRA-TDB 11-14, search by country „Länderhinweis Rumänien.”

28 Recording of the discussion with Comrade Colonel-General Doicaru, the Deputy Chief of the Chair of the Council for State Security of the Romanian Socialist Country, held on March 18, 1971, from 10:00 to 13:00 hours in Berlin-Pankow, suite; BStU, MfS, Abt. X, 247, Bl. 196 – 213.

In this decision, the MSS probably adhered to the orders given by Moscow. According to Jordan Baev and Kostadin Grozev, Bulgarian historians, even the cooperation between Securitate and the Bulgarian secret service was allegedly discontinued at the same time. As noted on the files, on June 1, 1968 the secret services of Romania and Bulgaria entered into a three-year agreement of cooperation, and in the summer of 1971 the agreement was due to be renewed for another year. As dictated by Moscow, the agreement of cooperation had to expire by the end of 1971. In his letter to Angel Tzanev, the Bulgarian Minister of the Interior holding the office beginning in July 1971, Yuri Andropov, the Chief of KGB, designated „*such ultimately incautious close relations with the Romanian secret service*” a blunder committed by Tzanev’s forerunners.²⁹

In their records, the staff of the Romanian secret service liked to pass over the fact that other Communist secret services turned their back on Securitate. They would disregard these facts by claiming that the Romanians managed to get free from the irons of the KGB.³⁰

The situation in 1971 looked like this: after Securitate fell into isolation, or became freer, it did not manage for a few years to establish bilateral business relations with various so-called sister bodies. While other secret services would deepen their mutual cooperation in the 1970’s and 1980’s, the Romanian Securitate was out of play. The MSS files which have been examined so far have revealed that the last reference to regular business relations was made in 1973. The MSS and Securitate made a joint intervention against the West German facilitators who tried to smuggle GDR citizens into Western Europe via Romania. It can be assumed that in order to handle these specific cases the two secret services continued to communicate.

The MSS files rarely deal with a special status of Securitate. It appears that many MSS officers were not even aware of such a status. To prove that, there is an example: In December 1986, a certain MSS lieutenant-colonel would draw up some documents on a particular West German organisation specialising in

29 BAEV, Jordan – GROZEV, Kostadin: Bulgaria. In: PERSAK – KAMIŃSKI: *Handbook* (see note 15), pp. 49, 85.

30 TRONCOTĂ, Cristian: *Duplicitarii. O istorie a Serviciilor de Informații și Securitate ale regimului comunist din România 1965 – 1989* (Double-meaning. Story of Intelligence and Security Services under Romania Communist Regime 1965-1989). Bucharest 2004, pp. 126.

the protection of human rights. As the organisation also criticized the abuses committed in Romania, the lieutenant-colonel proposed to his superior officer that he submit the documents to Securitate. The superior officer refused to do so in an abrupt manner, advising his subordinate „*of the non-existence of communication with the Romanians, nor any related spirit.*”³¹

Conclusion

The MSS files give clear evidence of the unusual role Securitate had in terms of the Communist secret services after 1964 which grew even stronger from the 1970's on. However, Dennis Deletant, a British expert on Romania, shows that Romanian foreign intelligence could not fully avoid the KGB's upper hand.³² Nevertheless, this fact is barely supported by recorded evidence found in the archive of the Berlin BStU. The HV A files were almost completely destroyed in 1990. It is impossible to reconstruct them to find out whether or how the MSS and Securitate communicated when carrying out their actions in the Western countries. Broadly speaking, we can only guess at the scope of the Romanian „own path.” Apparently, the MSS's claiming in December 1989 that no cooperation with Securitate ever existed was not true, even if containing certain elements of truth.

The Romanian case is, by all means, worth study. This case may serve as a benchmark for the freedom of decision-making state and party administrations could possibly enjoy in Communist countries within the Soviet sphere of influence, or a benchmark for the options from which the administrations of the referred-to states, parties, or secret services could choose. This seems especially fundamental in respect to political power. The case of Romania seems to be a reference sample which may be used in other expert studies focused on other countries. However, there is a certain point to be remembered: the so-called

31 ZKG: Information über Aktivitäten der IGfM (Information on the activity of the International Society for Human Rights), of December 4, 1986, referred-to note enclosed thereto; BStU, MfS, AOP 6072/91, Vol. 36, pp. 214 – 227.

32 DELETANT: *Romania* (see note 15), pp. 292.

„own path” of Romania was not beneficial to the populace of the country. The opposite is the case.

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PANEL V

**NKVD/KGB ACTIVITIES IN OCCUPIED
EAST GERMANY AND AUSTRIA**

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Jörg Morré*Bautzen Memorial / Sächsische Gedenkstätten Foundation**Germany***The Creation of a Hostile Picture. Arrests Made by the NKVD as an Example Set to Carry Out Political Police Operations in the Soviet Occupation Zone – GDR**

When in March 1948 the officials of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) went to see Stalin, the subject of the Soviet arrests made in Germany also came up for discussion. The Germans appreciated the assistance rendered by the Soviet Union, on the other hand, they also drop a modest hint at a number of arrests, the reasons for which had not been quite evident. Astonished Stalin responded by asking another question: isn't it foreign agents and spies that are being arrested? In return, the German communists assured him absolutely, „Yes, they are”, but they also added that, reportedly, there had also been some cases of arresting persons on whom the SED had laid their hope with respect to the further development of the German society. Stalin, almost furious as the minutes reads, inquired why he had not been informed accordingly in writing. The Germans, showing their subservience, replied that they had not intended to bother him with such pettiness. Then the conversation moved on to some other topics.¹

This paper is going to deal with the arrests made by the Soviet secret police (NKVD)² in the Soviet Occupation Zone and the master role of these arrests on the creation of a hostile picture of the Ministry for State Security (MSS) of the GDR. The scene from the meeting at Stalin's clarifies some baseline aspects of the background which now seems relevant to the rendering of this reflection.

1 Za sovetami v Kreml'. Zapis besedy I. V. Stalina s rukovoditeljami SEPG . Mart 1948 g. (Seeking Advice in Kremlin. The Minutes of Stalin's Talks with the SED Leaders in March 1948). In: *Istoritskij archiv* 2/2002, pp. 9 and thereafter.

2 The „NKVD” shall be hereinafter used to refer to the Soviet secret police, even if in 1946 the 'National Commissariat of Internal Affairs' turned into a ministry (MWD) and, finally, this establishment only formed along with the military counterintelligence (Smersh) and the Ministry of State Security (MGB) one part of the whole Soviet security apparatus.

Firstly: The Soviet arrests made in the German territory were first not discussed with any German communists. The officials of the Communist Party of Germany staying at that time in the Soviet exile (Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht and others) were indeed being prepared for the founding of people's democracy under the communist direction in Germany, however, when they returned to the country in May 1945, the only job they were supposed to do was assisting the Red Army in establishing the Occupation Administration. Their jobs were assigned by Moscow.³

Secondly: In March 1948, the German communists were, basically, not against the Soviet policy, they just wished to take part in the events. They were anxious to tell the 'correct' arrests from the 'incorrect' arrests in order to make the enforcement of their socio-political goals simpler. The SED managed to put through the Moscow exile plans when the Soviet Occupation Zone was on the path towards the socialist dictatorship. Due to all: the unity of the communists and social democrats in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the establishment of some pro-communist central administration agencies (the later ministries of the GDR), the acts of expropriation conducted in industry and agriculture, and the building of functional police and security apparatus, the SED managed to become a state party.

Thirdly: German communists acted as kneelers in Moscow. At best, the SED could render in advance their remarks in the approved form, yet never an open debate, nor discussion arose on the policy.⁴ The activity of the Soviet

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- 3 ERLER, Peter – LAUDE, Horst – WILKE, Manfred (Publ.), „*Nach Hitler kommen wir*“ *Dokumente zur Programmatik der Moskauer KPD-Führung 1944/45 für Nachkriegsdeutschland (After Hitler we Flow in. Documents on the Program Influence of the KPD Management in Moscow 1944-45 on Post-war Germany)*, Berlin 1994; MORRÉ, Jörg: *Kader aus dem Exil. Vorbereitungen der KPD auf eine antifaschistische Nachkriegszeit (Personnel from Exile. The KPD Arrangements for the anti-fascist post-war periods)*. In: HILGER, Andreas – SCHMEITZNER, Mike – VOLLNHALS, Clemens: *Sowjetisierung oder Neutralität. Optionen sowjetischer Besatzungspolitik in Deutschland und Österreich 1945 – 1955 (Sovietization of Neutrality. Options of the Soviet Occupation Policy in Germany and Austria 1945 – 1955)*, Göttingen 2006, pp. 77 and thereafter
 - 4 WOLKOW, Wladimir: *Die deutsche Frage aus Stalins Sicht (German Issues as Viewed by Stalin)*, In: *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 48 (2000), pp. 20 and thereafter; NAIMARK, Norman: *Die Russen in Deutschland. Die sowjetische Besatzungszone 1945 bis 1949, (Russians in Germany. Soviet Occupation Zone*

security apparatuses in Germany can now only be learned from the commands given by the NKVD, judgments rendered by the Soviet military tribunals or from the camp statistics. Some mental pre-dispositions did play an important role. The staff of the Soviet security apparatus arrived in Germany and had already had some 25-year-long constant experience of ruining freedom since the October revolution. Besides, in 1945 the NKVD had a functioning system of discriminatory camps at its disposal. It seemed to be a common practice in the Soviet security policy for people to disappear in 'the Gulag Archipelago' (Solzhenitsyn). Admittedly, the Soviet occupation soldiers, first of all, considered the Germans to be members of a nation whose fascist dictatorship was in a tough war and defeated by the Soviet Union with the help of the allied armies. There was certainly no room for sympathy.

The first well-defined hostile picture made by the Soviet Military Administration Germany (SMAD) was an image of „a fascist”. As early as the Jalta conference held in February 1945, the Soviet Union agreed with the American and British military allies to carry out „denazification”: officials and helpers of the Nazi dictatorship (National Socialism) were supposed to be punished. They agreed on blanket internment of the suspects („automatic imprisonment”), which later took the shape of the so-called NKVD special camps. The NKVD regulations issued in April 1945 specified which persons were subject to an instant arrest and placement into a special camp. In addition, three so-called NKVD front plenipotentiaries stationed in the area of the Soviet occupation zone could dispose of 28,500 soldiers in addition to 150 „experienced czekists” each of them had at his disposal to conduct investigation. The formulation of a „czekist measure to clean the outlets of the fighting troops of the Red Army” was reiterated in all arrest warrants issued by the NKVD early in 1945. This need for security imposed the necessity of prevention against partisan attacks and acts of sabotage until the war ended, and only later was it applied to internal security. 85% of the arrests made by year-end 1945 concerned persons considered to be active national socialists, officers of the national-socialist security apparatus (Gestapo), or mayors and county councillors, who were part of the top national-socialist municipal administration. Most of the persons concerned (75%) only held the lowest offices at the NSDAP (block leaders or cell leaders).

With respect to the efforts of the allies at denazification, these meant little for the NKVD. Starting in 1946, the special camps management made, at regular intervals, proposals to release the detainees, which did not happen until the summer 1948.⁵

A sudden stop of the arrest of the block leaders and cell leaders in January 1946 implied the first change in the NKVD hostile pictures. Shortly, a progress report on the special camps came to show a certain change in the NKVD's activities. Until then, the arrests used to be a form of administrative process. Following some formal accusations, people were taken away from their homes and then, after the NKVD superficially examined their cases, they were placed in a special camp with no judgment delivered. The statistical records registered the prisoners remanded in pre-trial custody who had worked for the operative groups (as many as 5.5%). This meant that the investigation supervisors from the NKVD – operative groups – carried out the interrogation of the arrested persons in order to bring them to a military tribunal. At the end of October 1946, the special camps really only housed as many as 10% of those who had received a sentence from a Soviet military tribunal.⁶ The change in the functional use of the special camps did show during the following year: the camp rules changed so much that blanket internment was not the only factor involved any more, but also 'criminal actions' were considered. Finally, in September of 1946, General Serov, Chief of the Soviet security services in Germany and Deputy Chief of SMAD, officially ordered to receive the convicted in the special camps at Bautzen and Sachsenhausen. In late 1946, about 2 000 prisoners were transferred to Bautzen. Those prisoners had been arrested and interrogated by the NKVD during 1946, and sentenced by the Soviet military tribunal. Almost all of them (96%) were arrested pursuant to Section 58 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic, which designated acts of transgression against

5 MIRONENKO, Sergej – NIETHAMMER, Lutz – PLATO, Alexander v. (Hrsg.): *Sowjetische Speziallager in Deutschland 1945 bis 1950* (Soviet Special Camps in Germany 1945 – 1950), 2 volumes, Berlin 1998; PETROV, Nikita: *Die Apparate des NKVD/MWD und des MGB in Deutschland* (The Apparatuses of NKVD/MWD and MGB in Germany) vol. 1, pp. 143 and hereinafter.; POSSEKEL, Ralf (Publ.): *Dokumente zur sowjetischen Lagerpolitik* (Documents on the Soviet Camp Policy), vol. 2, pp. 145, 178, 205, 209, 216, 264, 279.

6 POSSEKEL, *Dokumente zur sowjetischen Lagerpolitik*, pp. 223 and 247.

the state („crimes of counter-revolution”) as criminal offences.⁷ However, any connection to denazification, i.e. prosecution of the criminals of National Socialism, could hardly be found.

The persecution of „terrorists”, „diversionists” a „saboteurs” was part of the regular activity conducted by the NKVD in line with the provisions of Sub-sections 2, 8, 9 and 14 of Section 58 of the Criminal Code. The specific situation of the Soviet occupation forces in Germany also disposed of a specific picture of an enemy – a „Wolfman”. It was a name of a partisan organisation which the decaying Third Reich called to serve as its last military reserve. Young people from among Hitler Youth, who had taken some semi-military instruction and fanatic national-socialist education, were supposed to prepare various acts of sabotage behind the Red Army’s back. Wolfman did not, actually, have a military effect, but it did cause the Soviet party some anxiety. In the summer of 1945, General Serov, being in charge of security, made a progress report to Stalin and could not deliver any predictions of the state of alert coming to end even one year later. As estimated, the Wolfman members could not cope with the occupation of Germany and organised illegal movements to revolt against the Soviet occupation forces.⁸ Serov made no links between Wolfman and acute military danger, and due to the characteristics of the resistance they managed to arrest persons in the Soviet occupation zone for even a slight manifestation of resistance, and would reference the denazification process. A sample of the persons sentenced by the Soviet military tribunal in Bautzen shows this to be true. What is striking about the referred-to period of arrests was the fact that a significant part of those arrested were Jews (28% of the Bautzen prisoners were under 19).

7 JESKE, Natalja – MORRÉ, Jörg: Die Inhaftierung von Tribunalverurteilten in der SBZ (Arrest of those Convicted by the Tribunal in Soviet Occupation Zone). In: HILGER, Andreas – SCHMEITZNER, Mike – SCHMIDT, Ute (publ.): *Sowjetische Militärtribunale* (Soviet Military Tribunals), vol. 2, Köln 2003, pp. 627; MORRÉ, Jörg: Das Speziallager Bautzen als Instrument sowjetischer Herrschaftssicherung (Special Camp at Bautzen as an Instrument to Ensure the Soviet Power). In: BEHRING, Rainer – SCHMEITZNER, Mike (publ.): *Diktaturdurchsetzung in Sachsen* (Enforcement of Dictatorship in Saxony), Köln 2003, pp. 91.

8 POSSEKEL, *Dokumente zur sowjetischen Lagerpolitik*, pp. 196 and pp. 230.

Corresponding to the arrest times at the special camps, another change was made to the picture of the enemy after 1947. Admission to the camp was, in practice, only possible after the Soviet military tribunal rendered its verdict. The automatic imprisonment was hence stopped with respect to all associated with National Socialism. After the official termination of the denazification process in the spring of 1948, a wave of releasing prisoners occurred. However, the camps were not dissolved in full, not until the GDR was founded and the SED asked Moscow to close down the last special camps. Referring to the Soviet occupation regime, the camps did not fit in the actual political picture of the country any more. SMAD and SED would use the camps as prisons for their political opponents. Not all prisoners were released in 1950 from the special camps. The released were just those who were thought to pose no danger to the SED regime („to the democratic establishment in Germany”).⁹ The example of the persons sentenced by the Soviet military tribunal who were imprisoned at Bautzen out of whom only 2% were released in 1950 reveals the truth behind their imprisonment: apparently, one third of the prisoners were convicted for „espionage” under Section 58(6); another third was found guilty under Section 58 for showing resistance; roughly every other case was justified by the establishment of an „anti-Soviet campaign“. Most of the arrests under Section 58 were made in the years 1948-49. Notably, the arrests concerned many members of the SED and civil parties of the liberals and Christian democrats. The last third was made up of war criminals convicted by the Soviet tribunals under acts on the prosecution of Nazi criminals („Ukaz 43”; Act of the Regulatory Board no. 10).¹⁰

Due to the activities conducted by the Soviet military tribunals, esp. in the years 1948-49, a picture of an enemy changed to assume the shape of „an enemy of the democratic establishment”. The political opposition was in the Soviet Occupation Zone perceived as an „anti-Soviet campaign” and was persecuted. The universal notion of a „spy” took the meaning of being against the special situation in split Germany. Upon a forced dissolution of the Social-democratic party in the Soviet Occupation Zone and because of the SMAD’s marked influence of the weakening of the civil political parties in the zone, some of the

9 POSSEKEL, *Dokumente zur sowjetischen Lagerpolitik*, pp. 358.

10 MORRÉ, *Diktaturdurchsetzung* (Enforcement of Dictatorship), pp. 93.

political parties in West Germany sought to establish political resistance against the SED through so-called East Offices.¹¹ This was not resistance against the Soviet occupation forces. The political system in the Soviet Occupation Zone formed by the parties, elections and county governments composed of non-communists would allow even a legal opposition to exist anyway. The Soviets, however, were not ready to admit the existence of any social forces other than the SED. As the East Offices often made use of various methods of conspiracy, it was easy to designate the social democrats that were operating in the Soviet Occupation Zone and liaising with the SPD in the West, as spies. What was of importance in terms of criminal law was the fact that espionage was normally punished by 25 years, while anti-Soviet propaganda often only imposed a punishment of 10 – 15 years of imprisonment. Observations of practices of 1948-49 show that the Soviet military tribunal would most often impose the 25-year sentence.

In February 1950, the special camps were dissolved and the camp residents designated as „enemies of democratic establishment” were surrendered to the investigative, prosecuting and adjudicating bodies of the GDR. As this applied to approximately half the prisoners at the special camps (14 000 persons), it was clear that the camps had for some time served as political prisons. In the spring of 1950, the allies tried for the last time to demand denazification. Among the surrendered persons were not only those convicted by the Soviet military tribunal, but also about 3 500 prisoners sentenced for suspicion of committing the National Socialism crimes. The Germany court found them guilty under Directive of the Regulatory Board no. 3. The court referred to the SMAD 201 regulation of August 1947 whereby the Soviet occupation forces devolved the prosecution of the National Socialism crimes on the German justice system. The trials were deliberately made to appear as denazification trials. Even so, they did indeed render verdicts against some actual Nazi criminals as well. However, the great majority of those accused were not „fascists” whose conviction would redress some of the National Socialism crimes. So-called Waldheim

11 BUSCHFORT, Wolfgang: *Parteien im Kalten Krieg. Die Ostbüros von SPD, CSDU und FDP* (Parties to the Cold War. East Offices of SPD, CSDU and FDP), Berlin 2000.

trials were just fake trials plotted according to Soviet instructions and serving to reinforce an anti-fascist picture of the young GDR.¹²

The GDR took over the legacy of the Soviet arrest policy. From the talks run by and between the SED management and Stalin in September 1949 it does not follow that the German communists would dispute the SMAD policy of the special camps. Quite the opposite, before 1956 no prisoner convicted by the Soviet military tribunal was released in the GDR without prior consent from the Soviet party.¹³ Neither did the legal policy trends in the young GDR show any signs of continuity. In political trials, the courts tended to refer to Section 6 of the Constitution of the GDR, which, along with the Directive of the Regulatory Board no. 38, was given as grounds for conviction. Section 6 designated statements made against „democratic establishments and democratic organisations, murderous hunts against democratic politicians, manifestations of religious intolerance, racial hatred, nationality intolerance, military propaganda and war hunts and other actions aimed against equality” as „instigation to boycott“, which pursuant to the Criminal Code was deemed a crime. According to the Supreme Court of the GDR, Section 6 served to protect the anti-fascist and democratic state establishment of the GDR.¹⁴ From such a verdict, which implied anti-fascism, the image of „state enemy” emerged: they were enemies because they stood against the establishment of the GDR.

At the birth of this image of the enemy in the young dictatorship of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), the Soviet model was fairly clear to spot, as under occupation conditions SMAD (Soviet Military Administration Germany) had a monopoly on power. The German communists lacked the necessary experience and apparatus to exercise a stand-alone security policy. On the other

12 EISERT, Wolfgang: *Waldheim Trials*, Munich 1993; WERKENTIN, Falco: *Politische Strafjustiz in der Ära Ulbricht* (Political Criminal Justice at the Era of Ulbricht), 2. Publ. Berlin 1998; WENTKER, Hermann: *Justiz in der SBZ/DDR 1945 – 1953* (Justice System in the Soviet Occupation Zone/DGR 1945 – 1953), Munich 2001.

13 HILGER, Andreas – MORRÉ, Jörg: SMT-Verurteilte als Problem der Entstalinisierung, In: *Sowjetische Militärtribunale* (Persons Convicted by the Soviet Military Tribunal as a Problem of Destalinization), pp. 685.

14 SCHULLER, Wolfgang: *Geschichte und Struktur des politischen Strafrechts der DDR bis 1968* (History and Structure of the Political Criminal Law in the GDR before 1968), Ebelsbach 1980, pp. 36.

hand, they immediately began to create a new police apparatus excluding the staff from the Nazi times. From the start, efforts were made to perceive police work from a political perspective, i.e. using the police to achieve the goals of the SED. In the period shortly following WWII, the stated goals harmonised with Soviet objectives since „Moscow personnel“, as mentioned before, had a tendency to think of themselves as helpers to the SMAD. They also wanted locate and arrest the „Nazis“. Denouncements made by the population as well as systematic evaluation of the files made in the era of National Socialism made the situation such that the German police quickly turned into an irreplaceable second hand to the NKVD when it came to the application of the allied denazification decrees.

The acquisition of evidence against the offenders of the Nazi crimes who were later arrested by the NKVD evolved into the politically driven police activity conducted within the Soviet Occupation Zone. The criminal police circles would use a special expression to denote some special, or security assignments: the expression was „Department S“, which later changed into „Commissariat 5 (K 5)“. The duties and responsibilities of K 5 commissariat are described in the proposal made in April 1947. Fulfilling the „tasks given by the occupying powers (*sic!*)“ during investigation and arrest took priority. They also carried out some supervision over the compliance of allied regulations. Another important assignment included fulfilling the tasks given by the Germany authorities of state administration and by the county governments in connection to the exercise of the allied regulations provided for denazification. The aforementioned proposal also indicated tasks set forth in the NKVD regulations of April 1945 providing for 'securing of the outlet': the prevention of acts of assassination and sabotage, prevention of illegal organizations and „other acts of transgression against democratic recovery“. After the devolution of the investigation of the National Socialism criminals in the German police by the SMAD Order 201, K5 from 1945 on engaged in three spheres of activity: violation of SMAD orders, violation of the regulations of the Regulatory Board and prevention of „sabotaging the democratic recovery“. The scope of the K5 operations very quickly narrowed down to the execution of Soviet orders and the protection of the public policy established by the SED. After this change was made to the range of duties in March 1949, the police excluded K5 from general crime

control and made the commissariat a core of the Ministry for State Security established in February 1950.¹⁵

It seems hard to make a single description of the hostile image of the state security created at beginnings of its operation. The reason for that is, even for several of the following years, the state security virtually remained completely under the direction of the previous occupying power. Until 1953, the state security was „lawfully controlled” by Soviet instructors and they continued to have the upper hand. As late as November 1958, the Soviet inspectors, which were often referred to as „friends”, were demoted to liaison officers.¹⁶ The MSS (the Ministry for State Security) also failed to deal with the uprising of June 17, 1953, which they finally managed to suppress only due to the intervention of Soviet tanks. As the state security remained managed by the state secretariat of the Ministry of Interior until November 1955, its position with respect to its competitor investigating, prosecuting and adjudicating bodies (criminal police, office of public prosecution, investigating judges) weakened as well. The state security investigation into political cases, being the activity the state security had always strived for, had no legal grounds until 1963. That led to some conflicts with the office of public prosecution, which constantly succeeded in winning recognition in the 1950's. In practice that meant that not even half of all those arrested by the state security were actually convicted and imprisoned. That could not, however, prevent the creation of a hostile picture of the state security, which, on the other hand, could not be sure how long such an image could hold true.¹⁷

15 TANTZSCHER, Monika: Die Vorläufer des Staatssicherheitsdienstes in der Polizei der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone. In: *Jahrbuch für Historische Kommunismusforschung* 1998 (Forerunners of State Security Service in the Police of the Soviet Occupation Zone. In: The Annual of the Communist History Research), pp. 140.

16 ENGELMANN, Roger: Diener zweier Herren. Das Verhältnis der Staatssicherheit zur SED und den sowjetischen Beratern (Serving two Masters. Relations State Security–SED and State Security–Soviet Advisors) In: SUCKUT, Siegfried – SÜß, Walter: *Staatspartei und Staatssicherheit* (State-party and State Security), Berlin 1997, pp. 51.

17 ENGELMANN, Roger: Staatssicherheit im Aufbau. Zur Entwicklung geheim-polizeilicher und justitieller Strukturen im Bereich der politischen Strafverfolgung 1950 – 1963 (Creation of State Security. On the Development of Structures at the Secret Police and Justice System in the Field of Criminal Prosecution).

There is another reason why the hostile picture of the state security was so unclear in the early 1950's. Despite the founding of the GDR, the Soviet justice system continued to be functioning. By 1955 the system had delivered approximately 6 000 personal judgments regarding German civilians. The verdicts included 960 judgments of death delivered and executed in Moscow.¹⁸ Those, who fell into the hands of prosecution by the Soviet party, could not seek the help of the German criminal code. Therefore, much like under the direct Soviet occupation, people could again be made to disappear. In most cases, the judgments referred to the Section 58 reasoning of „espionage” or „participation in working for an illegal organisation”. The Soviet security apparatus remained faithful to the model of persecution created in the years 1948 and 1949.

The activities of the state security remained closely associated with the Soviet orders. Their joint arrest action, also called a concentrated strike, was carried out in 1953 and 1954 under direct Soviet direction. The action mainly involved arresting the staff of the West Germany state security (Gehlen Organisation) and their contact persons in the GDR; so the Soviets tried to reinforce their sphere of influence. Other „strikes” were then directed against the organisations in West Germany where they focused on a political and propagandistic fight against the SED dictatorship (East Offices, Combat Alignment against Inhumanity). The activities of the state security also included some cases of targeted abduction of individuals from West Germany to East Germany. This method was later often used. On the whole, the setting of the target (image of an enemy) and execution of the „concentrated strikes” still strongly resembled the Soviet style. There was a general tendency to fixate on „spies”. This was in practice, however, rather vague. The number of persons destined for arrest was set in advance, without any direct connection to the stages of investigation; arrests were also ordered according as a direct result of the arrests previously

In: ENGELMANN, Roger – VOLLNHALS, Clemens (Publ.): *Justiz im Dienste der Parteiherrschaft* (Justice System Serving the Party Power), Edition 2. Berlin 2000, pp. 133.

18 *Sowjetische Militärtribunale* [Soviet Military Tribunals], Vol. 2, pp. 20; ROGIN-SKIJ, Arsenij – RUDOLPH, Jörg – DRAUSCHKE, Frank – KAMINSKI, Anne (Publ.): „*Erschossen in Moskau...*” *Die deutschen Opfer des Stalinismus auf dem Moskauer Friedhof Donskoe* („Shot dead in Moscow...” German Victims of Stalinism in the Moscow Cemetery of Donskoe) Berlin 2005, pp. 31.

made as these would reveal some new names of allegedly suspicious persons. That was a style of the Soviet operative groups working in the 1940's, which, however, were not appropriate to the contemporary era any more. It appeared that several cases of arrest were ill-founded, which caused criticism to fall on the Soviet instructors and put the state security in some trouble with the office of public prosecution and courts. Many were released from pre-trial custody and several trials were discontinued due to a lack of evidence.¹⁹

However, the „concentrated strikes” were far from being considered a failure. They gave expression to several model trials which showed, in a very effective way, how the GDR had proceeded against their enemies. The trials rendered convictions on both real and supposed members of the Gehlen Organisation, Combat Alignment against Inhumanity, members of the RIAS staff (American radio station broadcasting in West Berlin), „illegal fractions” within the parties of the LDPD block (liberal democrats) in the GDR, and also individuals criticising the SED. The sentences were harsh. They included the death sentence, readily carried out, or life sentences or 15-year imprisonments. As suggested by the state security, many convicted were in August of 1956 transferred to the prisons at Bautzen II, which was made to serve this specific purpose. This is how a special facility of state security for service of sentences came into existence. Starting in 1963, Bautzen II grew so associated to the orders given by the Central Investigation Department of the state security (Department IX) that it, virtually, served as the MSS facility for service of sentences.²⁰ By means of the „concentrated strikes” the state security proved it was capable of functioning,

19 FRICKE, Karl Wilhelm – ENGELMANN, Roger: *Konzentrierte Schläge. Staatssicherheitsaktionen und politische Prozesse in der DDR 1953 – 1956* (Concentrated Strikes. Activities of the State Security and Political Trials in the GDR), Berlin 1998, pp. 42; ENGELMANN, *Staatssicherheit im Aufbau* (Founding of State Security), pp. 147.

20 FRICKE – ENGELMANN: *Konzentrierte Schläge* (Concentrated Strikes), pp. 122; *Haftbuch Bautzen II, Historische Sammlung Gedenkstätte Bautzen* (Prison Register at Bautzen II, Historic Collection of the Memorial Site at Bautzen); FRICKE, Karl Wilhelm – KLEWIN, Silke: *Bautzen II. Sonderhaftanstalt unter MfS-Kontrolle 1956 bis 1989* (Special Facility for Service of Sentences under the MSS Supervision), Edition 2, Leipzig 2001 (Arranged Edition 3, Dresden 2007 about to be published).

which, actually, made it easier for the establishment to forget its failures during the uprising of June 17th.²¹

The very hostile picture of the state security emerged from the ambition to overcome the weaknesses of the security apparatus and from the orientation of the criminal-law policy to the interests of the SED. By amending the Criminal Code in 1958, the heritage of anti-fascism was removed just to be moved to the constitutional Section 6. Political offences such as treason, anti-state propaganda, communication with criminal organisations (e.g. East Offices), sabotage, and others, received exact definitions in the amended acts of criminal law. After the Criminal Code was remade in 1968, some other supplements were added to the act in the years before 1988 and took the form of „amendment acts of criminal law”. Because of this, the police criminal law could be properly defined.²² Thus the state security received a flexible legal ground, similar to the one provided by the NKVD in the past, to carry out their investigative activities.

The hostile picture of the state security only became absolute after the Hungarian crisis in 1956 was overcome. The intellectuals inside the SED, especially Walter Janka, the cultural official, and Wolfgang Harich, the Marxist philosopher, would criticise the SED’s attitude after the Soviet tanks suppressed the people’s insurgence by force, and they carried on talks with those who had similar opinions on the options for socialism. The party management condemned such activities as „political and ideological subversion activity”, on which the state security later based its policy of persecution.²³ From this it is evident how the state security perceived itself: as part of the GDR state structure; its number one job involved protecting the SED („party’s shield and sword”), rather than

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- 21 ENGELMANN, Roger: Das Juni-Trauma als Ausgangspunkt sicherheitspolitischer Expansion? (June Trauma as the Start of the Security and Political Expansion?). In: ENGELMANN, Roger – KOWALCZUK Ilko-Sascha (Publ.): *Volkserhebung gegen den SED-Staat. Eine Bestandsaufnahme zum 17. Juni 1953* (People’s Uprising against the SED State. Registry as on June 17, 1953), Göttingen 2005, pp. 235.
 - 22 RASCHKA, Johannes: *Justizpolitik im SED-Staat* (Policy of Justice in the SED), Köln 2000.
 - 23 FRICKE – ENGELMANN: *Konzentrierte Schläge*, pp. 241; MAMPEL, Siegfried: *Das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR als Ideologiepolicie* (The Ministry for State Security of the Former GDR Acting as Ideological Police), Berlin 1996.

the protection of the very state of the GDR. As defined by the dictionary of state security, the term political and ideological subversive activity meant harm done to the established political status („coup d'état of real socialism”), and a way of thinking that differed from that of the SED party policy („subversive attacks in the field of ideology”). To be specific, this meant undermining the confidence of the population in the policy of the SED state-party („invading the socialistic self-assurance”) and the solicitation of treason („instigation to anti-socialistic behaviour”); from 1958 on, these terms were becoming more and more legitimate.²⁴ The notion of an enemy was so widely accepted as to be used as a verbal parameter. The state security would recognize „hostile” activity regardless of the intent of the offender. This is the only way to explain the fact that the SED managed, without hesitation, to get rid of their dissidents and send them, like all other „enemies”, to the prison at Bautzen II.

The state security's image of an enemy was created in the late 1950's and held true until the state security's end. Its machinery of persecution spread so wide as to resemble an octopus. And this is exactly the image to which that persecuting machinery has been reduced when we now look back into this period in history.

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24 SUCKUT, Siegfried (Publ.): *Wörterbuch der Staatssicherheit* (Dictionary of State Security), Edition 2, Berlin 1996, pp. 303.

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Soviet Espionage in Austria. Arrests, Sentences and Executions in 1950 – 1953

„I plead with you, an orphan without a home, to spare my life, and rescue me from terrible death. I beg the Supreme Court for mercy and for consideration of the fact that I have been up against a heavy fight for my life despite my young age. [...] If the Supreme Court grants me the favor of life, I will swear a holy oath to the Russian state that I will offer my whole strength, work, diligence and good will to you, and I will prove to you that as a young Viennese woman, who acknowledges having made a big mistake, I am ready to counterweigh it with my work and a good heart.[...] I plead with the Supreme Court to kindly take qualities of mine to heart and mercifully please forego the terrible sentence of death.”¹

This desperate plea for life was sent by an Austrian woman from Vienna, Hermine Rotter, in July of 1951 to the presiding Committee of the Soviet Supreme Court. Rotter, an accountant by profession, had been sentenced on counts of “anti-Soviet espionage” by the Military Tribunal several days earlier in Baden near Vienna. Her appeal of pardon was overruled. Hermine Rotter was transferred to Moscow on a secret transport. She was shot on October 9th 1951 in the prison of Butyrka. Before the act, her executioner V. M. Blochin, had dressed like a slaughterhouse butcher, in a brown cap with a label, a long leather apron and gloves reaching up to his elbows.² Her corpse was burned expedi-

1 GАРF, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 40 , pp. 94 – 97, here: pp. 97, Gnadengesuch von Hermine Rotter, Juli 1951 (Hermine Rotter’s Plea for Pardon, July of 1951). Subject search concerning this topic was conducted in the framework of the APART scholarship proposed by the Austrian Academy of Sciences and by the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Research on War Consequences; in the research project known as Cluster History „Shot in Moscow: Austrian victims of Stalinist regime buried at the Moscow cemetery Donskoje 1950 – 1953“ (supported by the Fund for Future of the Austrian Republic, and the regional government of Styria). Extended version of the paper will be published in an anthology of the project.

2 PETROV, Nikita: Die Todesstrafe in der UdSSR: Ideologie, Methoden, Praxis.

ently in the Moscow crematorium and her ashes buried at a cemetery adjacent to Donskoje monastery in a mass grave. Her relatives received the news about her death as late as 1955, with a report on a „natural” cause of death. The true circumstances of her death only saw the light of the day five decades later.

Rotter was among approximately one hundred persons whom the Military Tribunal in Baden sentenced to death between 1950 and 1953, and who were shot later in Moscow. After the liberation and occupation of Austria, the Soviet Union executed its judiciary authority in the Eastern zone of Austria for ten years. The trial procedures and the execution of the sentence reflect the terror pervasive in the system during Stalin’s rule. At the time, more than 2200 Austrians had to face the repressive Soviet apparatus. About a thousand of them were sentenced to serve a long time in prisons in the USSR. Article 58-6 (espionage) of the RSFSR Criminal Code dominated the instances of death penalty. As in other trials with Germans, the Criminal Code played a decisive role in criminal legal matters in a large majority of cases since 1950.³

On the other hand, accusations based on Articles 58-2 (banditry), 58-8 (terror), 58-10 (anti-Soviet propaganda), 58-11 (organization of counterrevolutionary activities), 58-14 (sabotage) or „Ukaz 43” (heinous crimes) never materialized. The last ones tried by a civil court returned home in December of 1956.⁴

(Death sentence in the USSR: Ideology, Methods, Practice.) 1917 – 1953, In: HILGER, Andreas (pub.): *„Tod den Spionen!“ Todesurteile sowjetischer Gerichte in der SBZ/DDR und in der Sowjetunion bis 1953.* („Death to Spies!” Death Sentences Passed by the Soviet Courts in the SBZ/GDR, and in the Soviet Union until 1953). Göttingen 2006, pp. 37 – 78, here: pp. 58. V. M. Blochin was granted an honorary grave at the Donskoje cemetery, near the mass graves of victims executed by his hand.

- 3 HILGER, Andreas – PETROV, Nikita: „Im Namen der Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken” („In the Name of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics”). *Sowjetische Militärjustiz in der SBZ/DDR von 1945 bis 1955* (The Soviet Military Judiciary System in the SBZ /GDR between 1945 and 1955), In: ROGINSKIJ, Arsenij – RUDOLPH, Jörg – DRAUSCHKE, Frank – KAMINSKY, Anne (pub.): *„Erschossen in Moskau...” Die deutschen Opfer des Stalinismus auf dem Moskauer Friedhof Donskoje 1950 – 1953* (Shot in Moscow...” German Victims of Stalinism buried at the Moscow cemetery of Donskoje 1950 – 1953). Berlin 2005, pp. 19 – 36, here: pp. 31.
- 4 KNOLL, Harald – STELZL-MARX, Barbara: *Sowjetische Strafjustiz in Österreich. Verhaftungen und Verurteilungen 1945 – 1955* (The Soviet Criminal Judiciary System in Austria. Arrests and Sentences 1954 – 1950), In: KARNER, Stefan

Military Tribunals with the Army Unit 28990 and with the Moscow Military District: Sentenced to Death by Shooting

A Military Tribunal of the Red Army (since 1946, the Soviet Army) in Austria, much like in Germany, carried out the death penalty rulings. Namely, it was the Military Tribunal of the „Central Group of Armed Forces”⁵ with its General Staff in Baden near Vienna since June 1945. It was officially designated a „Military Tribunal with the Army Unit 28990“ (Vojennyj tribunal vojennoj časti 28990, VT v./no. 28990). Once the application of the death sentence was reinstated,⁶ the military tribunal sentenced about 95 Austrian citizens to

– STELZL-MARX, Barbara (pub.): *Die Rote Armee in Österreich. Sowjetische Besatzung 1945 – 1955* (The Red Army in Austria. The Soviet Occupation 1945 – 1955). Papers. Graz – Wien – München 2005, pp. 275 – 322; KNOLL, Harald – STELZL-MARX, Barbara: „Wir mussten hinter eine sehr lange Liste von Namen einfach das Wort ‚verschwunden‘ schreiben“ („He simply had to add ‚disappeared‘ to a long list of names“). Sowjetische Strafjustiz in Österreich 1945 bis 1955 (The Soviet Criminal Judiciary System in Austria 1945 až 1955), In: HILGER, Andreas – SCHMEITZNER, Mike – VOLLNHALS, Clemens (pub.): *Sowjetisierung oder Neutralität? Optionen sowjetischer Besatzungspolitik in Deutschland und Österreich 1945 – 1955*. Schriften des Hannah-Arendt-Instituts für Totalitarismusforschung (Sovietization or Neutrality? Options of the Soviet Occupation Policy in Germany and Austria 1945 – 1955. Files of the Hannah Arendt Institute for Research on Totalitarianism). Vol. 32. Göttingen 2006, pp. 169 – 220.

- 5 The 1st Ukrainian Front was included within the „Central Group of Armed Forces“ (CGV), and transferred from Germany to Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia by the Stavka order dated May 29th, 1945. Compare CAMO, F. 148a, op. 3763, d. 213, pp. 129 – 132, The Stavka order no. 11096 for Chief Commanders of the 1st Ukrainian Front to the Central Group of Armed, 29. 5. 1945. Published in: KARNER, Stefan – STELZL-MARX, Barbara – TSCHUBARJAN, Alexander (pub.): *Die Rote Armee in Österreich. Sowjetische Besatzung 1945 – 1955* (The Red Army in Austria. The Soviet Occupation 1945 – 1955). Documents. Graz – Wien – München 2005, Doc. no. 61.
- 6 ROGINSKIJ, Arsenij: „Um unverzügliche Vollstreckung des Urteils wird ersucht“ („Expedient Execution of the Sentence is Demanded“). In: ROGINSKIJ, Arsenij – RUDOLPH, Jörg – DRAUSCHKE, Frank – KAMINSKY, Anne (pub.): „Ererschossen in Moskau...“ Die deutschen Opfer des Stalinismus auf dem Moskauer Friedhof Donskoje 1950 – 1953 (Shot in Moscow...“ German Victims of Stalinism buried at the Moscow cemetery of Donskoje 1950 – 1953). Berlin 2005, pp. 37 – 66, here: pp. 42; HILGER, Andreas: Introduction: Smert’ Špionam! – Tod den Spionen! (Death to Spies!) Todesstrafe und sowjetischer Justizexport in die

death on counts of „high treason, espionage, subversive diversionist activities” from January 1950 until immediately before Stalin’s death in March 1953. In addition, five more death sentence rulings were given, but these were never executed due to subsequent revision.

There were also at least six Austrians who were tried by the Military Tribunal of the Moscow Military Zone, and shot to death in Butyrka prison. Franz Gfornrer, for example, was arrested in April of 1945, and seven years later tried for espionage during the period of national socialism sentenced to death in February 1952.⁷ Alfred Ehn, was arrested for alleged oil espionage in Petronela region in Nether Austria on September 5th, 1950. One year later, on April 29th, 1952, the Military Tribunal of the Moscow Military Zone sentenced the 29-year old Viennese to death.⁸ Johann Groissl who was in contact with Ehn was also tried by the Moscow Military Tribunal, while other „CIC agents” from their neighborhood, such as Kurt Prettenthaler and Kurt Zofka, came under the authority of the MT 28990 in Baden.⁹ Alfred Fockler who was arrested on April 23rd, 1948 in St. Pölten, the crown witness in Margaretha Ottilinger’s case,¹⁰ was

SBZ/DDR, 1945 – 1955 (Death Sentences and the Soviet Justice System Export to the SBZ/GDR, 1945 – 1955), In: HILGER, Andreas (pub.): „*Tod den Spionen!*” *Todesurteile sowjetischer Gerichte in der SBZ/DDR und in der Sowjetunion bis 1953.* („Death to Spies!” Death sentences by the Soviet courts in SBZ/GDR and in the Soviet Union until 1953). Göttingen 2006, pp. 7 – 37, here: pp. 30 and on.

- 7 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 86, pp. 77 – 79, Plea for Pardon of Franz Rudolf Gfornrer Declined, 27. 3. 1952.
- 8 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 96, pp. 80 – 82, Plea for Pardon of Alfred Ehn Declined, 30. 5. 1952.
- 9 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 74, pp. 41 – 44, Plea for Pardon of Johann Groissl Declined, 31. 12. 1951; *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 10, pp. 12 – 14, Plea for Pardon of Kurt Prettenthaler Declined, 25. 1. 1951; *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 66, d. 119, pp. 107 – 109, Plea for Pardon of Kurt Zofka Declined, 21. 11. 1950.
- 10 KARNER, Stefan (pub.): *Geheime Akten des KGB (The Secret KGB Files)*. „Margarita Ottilinger“. Graz 1992; KARNER, Stefan: *Verschleppt in die Sowjetunion (Abducted to the Soviet Union): Margarethe Ottilinger*, In: JAGSCHITZ, Gerhard – KARNER, Stefan (pub.): *Menschen nach dem Krieg. Schicksale 1945 –1955. Ausstellung Schloss Schallaburg 1995.* (People After the War. Stories of Life 1945 – 1955. Exhibition, Schallaburg castle 1995). Innsbruck 1995, pp. 35 – 49.

tried before the Military Senate of the Supreme Court, and was found guilty on October 1st, 1951.¹¹ He was executed a month later.¹²

Five persons of Austrian descent were executed in Moscow after they were tried by the military tribunals of the Soviet forces in Germany in 1950. All of them were arrested in the GDR, and fell victim to the Stalinist judiciary system on counts of alleged espionage. Their death sentences were pronounced by the MT v./no. 48240.¹³

Among those who had been sentenced to death for espionage and were executed were ten women. Half of them fell under suspicion because of their contact with a member of the Soviet occupation. The „scorching love affairs during the cold war” were deemed fatal in some cases.¹⁴

The youngest of these, Hartmut Fechner (1930 – 1951), was not even 21 when he was shot; the oldest, Gustav Grimm (1887 – 1953), was 65 years old. In his plea for pardon, Grimm stated: „*I am an old man with a broken spirit and body [...] I do not ask for mercy but for justice. I also ask you to spare me from undignified torture.*”¹⁵

11 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 45, pp. 194 – 198, Plea for Pardon of Alfred Fockler Declined, 9. 10. 1951.

12 *AdBIK*, Datenbank österreichischer Zivilverurteilter (The Database of Austrian Civilian Convicts).

13 *AdBIK*, Datenbank österreichischer Zivilverurteilter (The Database of Austrian Civilian Convicts); ROGINSKIJ, Arsenij – RUDOLPH, Jörg – DRAUSCHKE, Frank – KAMINSKY, Anne (pub.): „Erschossen in Moskau ...“ Die deutschen Opfer des Stalinismus auf dem Moskauer Friedhof Donskoje 1950 – 1953 („Shot in Moscow...“ German Victims of Stalinism buried at the Moscow cemetery of Donskoje 1950 – 1953]. Berlin 2005, pp. 138, 206, 224, 242, 395.

14 Also compare: STELZL-MARX Barbara: *Freier und Befreier. Zum Beziehungsgeflecht zwischen sowjetischen Besatzungssoldaten und österreichischen Frauen* (Lovers and Liberators. On the Tangled Relationships between the Soviet Soldiers of the Occupation Army and the Austrian Women), KARNER, Stefan Karner – STELZL-MARX, Barbara (pub.): *Die Rote Armee in Österreich. Sowjetische Besatzung 1945 – 1955* (The Red Army in Austria. The Soviet Occupation 1945 – 1955). Beiträge. Graz – Wien – München 2005, pp. 421 – 448, here: pp. 432 – 434. Other abbreviated subject searches were conducted within the APART project in 2005 – 2008 on „Occupation of Austria from the Soviet Perspective: Experience – Implementation – Memories“.

15 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 116, pp. 140–142, here: p. 140, Gustav Grimm’s Plea for Pardon, 30.9.1952.

The first executions by shooting refer to rulings of the MT v/no 28990 of August 28th, 1950. On this day, or on January 21st, or rather January 31st, 1950, Ludmilla Zwinger and Egon Franz were shot in the Moscow prison of Butyrka. The Military Tribunal with the Central Group of Armed Forces in Austria obviously hurried to enforce the Decree of January 12th, 1950, in contrast to the MT with the Soviet occupational forces in Germany, VT v./no. 48240, which started exercising the death penalty on a more gradual basis. It sentenced the first 4 Germans to death as late as May of 1950.¹⁶

About two years after the death penalty was reinstated, namely on February 2nd, 1953, the last two Austrians, Walter Bittner and Franz Drechsler, were executed. Stalin's death changed the state of affairs with a speed of lighting. The Military Tribunals, or rather the Military Senate of the Supreme Court adjusted to a generally more moderate repressive politics and amended the death sentences of previous month to (primarily) 25-year prison terms on multiple occasions.¹⁷ This shift in the execution of judiciary powers marked the end of a dark chapter filled with Soviet imposition of death sentences on Austrian citizens that lasted 8 years.¹⁸

„Out of the frying pan into the fire”: Former prisoners of war

Six persons, who were sentenced to death by the Soviet power, had already experienced its prison system. As conscripts, SS officers, or members of the German war navy, they had been captured by the Soviets and spent several years surrounded by barbed wire until they were repatriated. The Austrian Ministry of the Interior has until recently noted them as repatriates and disregarded their fatal fate that met them later in Moscow.

16 PETROV, *Die Todesstrafe in der UdSSR* (Death sentence in the USSR), pp. 74.

17 HILGER, *Introduction: Smert' Špionam!*, pp. 24.

18 On the other hand, some Germans were executed even after Stalin's death. Last German was executed in Butyrka prison on December 15th, 1953 after the Military Tribunal 48240 passed a death sentence on September 23th, 1953. The Military Tribunal of Zabajkal's miliary area passed the last provable death sentences in trials with Germans in January of 1954. Compare Petrov, *Die Todesstrafe in der UdSSR* (Death Sentence in the USSR), pp. 77.

For Anton Furthmoser, a Viennese by origin, the captivity became an indirect execution: When he returned home from the Soviet Union in 1947¹⁹, he had to build his existence all over again. He continued in his interrupted study of chemistry. He came in touch with the American intelligence service, upon whose request he allegedly led talks with 120 Austrians who returned from Soviet war captivity in August of 1950. He thus acquired accounts of various camp and prisoner of war work brigade locations, as well as much other „relevant espionage information on the economic and political situation in the USSR“.²⁰ According to his plea for pardon he directed at the Supreme Soviet, he had not recognized the „true nature“ of his activities until he was arrested in August of 1950.²¹ Three years after his release from Soviet detainment he was executed in Moscow on January 26th, 1951. The Central Military Prosecutor’s Office of the Russian Federation rehabilitated him on December 8th, 1998, or 48 years later to the day, from the court’s denial to comply with his plea for pardon.

“I find the ruling to be correct “: Procedure from arrest to execution

The practice of Stalinist judiciary procedures in Austria was marked by an almost impeccable classification of concerned information. „*He left early in the morning one day, and never returned,*” says Anna-Maria Melichar about the day her brother Emil Dallapozzo was arrested.²² From the moment these people were arrested, they “disappeared” from sight. Neither their relatives, nor the public courts acquired any information on their further fate.²³ Months and

19 *RGVA*, F. 460, no. 800058, Personal file of Anton Furthmoser.

20 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 4, pp. 129 – 131, here: pp. 130, Plea for Pardon of Anton Furthmoser Declined, 8. 12. 1950.

21 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 4, pp. 135 – 137, here: p. 136 and on, Anton Furthmoser’s Plea for Pardon, 31. 10. 1950.

22 SZYSZKOWITZ, Tessa: Stalins letzte Opfer (Last victims of Stalin), In: *Profil*, 12. 2. 2007, pp. 34 – 41, here: pp. 34.

23 Compare analogous procedures in Germany in HILGER, Andreas: *Strafjustiz im Verfolgungswahn. Todesurteile sowjetischer Gerichte in Deutschland* (Schizophrenic paranoia of criminal justice system. Death sentences by the Soviet courts in Germany), In: HILGER, Andreas (pub.): „*Tod den Spionen!*“ *Todesurteile sowjetischer Gerichte in der SBZ/DDR und in der Sowjetunion bis 1953*. (Death to Spies!“ Death sentences by the Soviet courts in SBZ/GDR and in the Soviet Union

years of waiting and gloomy uncertainty followed. Anna-Maria Melichar, for example, did not find out about her brother's fate until 2007.

The wheels of the Soviet justice apparatus and bureaucracy started turning at the time of arrest – and they turned efficiently and consistently. Even though the arrestees were physically present in Austria, mostly until the trial and verdict, they belonged to a Soviet microcosm following its own rules and separated from the external world almost hermetically. Protracted investigations with countless interrogations, secret interrogations of witnesses, even confrontations broke the resistance of the accused with a systematic precision. Preventing them from any contact with the outside world was a rule. Admitting that they were „guilty” was merely a question of time.

Files of the criminal law suits stored in the Central Archive of the Russian Secret Service at the Interior Ministry [Federal'naja Služba Bezopasnosti – FSB] document a meticulously conducted trial recorded in great detail. Hundreds of pages, mostly in one or two volumes, now in some cases²⁴ reveal an in-depth account of the suffering of those on trial. Trial accounts saturated with factitious monotony suddenly turned into important components of the Stalinist repressive politics. One may also follow the pleas for mercy that almost all those sentenced to death by the Military Tribunal of the Central Group of Armed Forces addressed from the Baden prison cell at first, up the political power ladder, and all the way to Stalin. Currently, these documents are stored in the State Archive of the Russian Federation, GARF. The records of the Presiding Committee of the Supreme Soviet, however, never mention those who did not plead for pardon.²⁵

until 1953.] Göttingen 2006, pp. 95 – 156, here: pp. 97.

- 24 The CA FSB allows the family members of the rehabilitated persons “to get acquainted” with the criminal proceedings file in the archive’s reading room. Thanks to notary authorization by the family members of some Austrians who were executed, the author of the paper acquired permission to view the criminal proceedings records in June of 2007. The Archive also permitted her to make copies of the files.
- 25 Plea for Pardon of those whom the Military Tribunal with Military Unit 28990 sentenced to death, and whose propositions to the Supreme Court to have their plea for pardon considered could be disclosed within a research project “The Red Army in Austria“. Tremendous thanks for that goes to Nikita Petrov and Olga Lavinskaja. Also, compare: KNOLL – STELZL-MARX, *Sowjetische Straffjustiz*

The procedure all the cases followed was similar: Arrest ordered by the Interior Ministry authorities of the Soviet Occupation Zone, collection of personal data, physical examination, interrogations, confrontations with other co-accused, identification of potential witnesses or suspects, handing the case over to the Military Tribunal of the Central Group of Armed Forces (Military Unit 28990), and indictment. Some cases continued with: a court decision to place the convict to the special camp of the Interior Ministry²⁶, closed court proceedings in Baden, death sentence, plea for pardon to the Presiding Committee of the Supreme Soviet headed by Nikolaj M. Šverník, translation conducted by the Department for Counter-agitation with the Ministry of the State Security, the request handed over to the Military Senate of the Supreme Court in Moscow, and “motion” of the Supreme court headed by Anatolij A. Volin. If necessary, the death sentence was confirmed by the Supreme Soviet and Politburo of the Communist Party (since 1952, the Presiding Central Committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party), ruling of the Supreme Soviet, shooting till dead in

in Österreich (The Soviet Criminal Judiciary System in Austria), pp. 279; LAVINSKAJA, Ol’ga: Zum Tode verurteilt. Die Gnadengesuche österreichischer Zivilverurteilter an den Obersten Sowjet der UdSSR (Sentenced to Death. Pleas for Pardon of the Austrian Convicts addressed to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR), In: KARNER, Stefan – STELZL-MARX, Barbara: *Die Rote Armee in Österreich. Sowjetische Besatzung 1945 – 1955* (The Red Army in Austria. The Soviet Occupation 1945 – 1955). Beiträge. Graz – Wien – München 2005, pp. 324 – 337; LAVINSKAJA, Ol’ga: Gnadenverfahren des Präsidiums des Obersten Sowjets der UdSSR, 1950 bis 1953: Eine archivalische Beschreibung unbekannter Quellen des Spätstalinismus (Instances of Reprieve Passed by the Presiding Committee of the Supreme Soviet, 1950 – 1953: Archival accounts from unknown sources on late Stalinism.), In: HILGER, Andreas (pub.): „*Tod den Spionen! “ Todesurteile sowjetischer Gerichte in der SBZ/DDR und in der Sowjetunion bis 1953.* („Death to Spies!” Death sentences by the Soviet courts in SBZ/GDR and in the Soviet Union until 1953). Göttingen 2006, pp. 79 – 94.

- 26 In certain cases, the Military Tribunal made the ruling several days prior to passing the sentence – i.e. ruling to hand the defendant considered a “socially dangerous person” over to the special camp of the Soviet Interior Ministry, once the verdict and sentence are pronounced. Here, compare: CA FSB, P-2194, pp. 338 – 339, Strafprozessakt Margarethe Henfling. The ruling to detain the convict in the special camp of the Interior Ministry, Sentence passed on Margarethe Henfling on April 7th, 1951.

the Moscow prison of Butyrka, immediate cremation at the Donskoje cemetery crematorium, and finally, burial of the ashes in the mass grave.²⁷

The whole coordinated chain of the Supreme Court authorities concurred at ruling of the death sentences – The Presiding Committee of the Supreme Soviet, and the Politburo of the Communist Party (or later Presiding Committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party. The time between the ruling of the Presiding Committee of the Supreme Soviet on declining the request for a pardon, and the execution varied from two weeks to a month and a half. The convicts were escorted to the execution grounds in Butyrka prison, which was a military barracks from the 17th century resembling a fort. It has been serving as a detention center for political prisoners since 1879.²⁸ Those convicts whose plea for pardon was declined in less than a month were often transferred to execution to the Soviet Union in groups. They were shot together as well.²⁹

The pronounced verdict was revised on rare occasions. Thanks to amnesty, some Austrians sentenced to death thus remained alive. There were however instances of reversed sentences: „15 years of imprisonment” read the first sentence of the Military Tribunal 28990 in a trial against Johann Koschitz from Nether Austria for „espionage” for the British intelligence service. General prosecutor of the USSR, however, perceived the sentence to be too moderate, and raised an objection at the Military Senate of the Supreme Court of the USSR, which acknowledged it and revoked the first sentence on February 26th,

27 Review the detailed procedure in Edwin Crevato’s case listed below.

28 RUDOLPH, Jörg – DRAUSCHKE, Frank – SACHSE, Alexander: *Verurteilt zum Tode durch Erschießen. Opfer des Stalinismus aus Thüringen* (Sentenced to Death by Shooting. Victims of Stalinism from Thüringen), 1950 – 1953. Erfurt 2006, pp. 69.

29 *Ibidem*, pp. 335 and on. All pleas for pardon declined on the same day were filed in the same proceedings record of the Presiding Committee at the Supreme Soviet. For instance, Johann Birner, Rosalia Dederichs, Michael Maczejka, and Johanna Vocolka were sentenced by the Military Tribunal 28990 on January 12th, 1951. The Supreme Court of the USSR declined their pleas for pardon on March 6th. The Presiding Committee at the Supreme Soviet passed the final verdict of their execution on March 30th. All four of them were executed on May 5th, 1951. Compare GARF, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 15, pp. 134–138, Plea for Pardon of Johann Birner Declined, Rosalie Dederichs, Michaela Maczejka a Johanna Vocolka, 6.3.1951; ROGINSKIJ et al., „*Erschossen in Moskau...*” („Shot in Moscow...”), pp. 394 and on.

1951 by a court ruling.³⁰ The Military Tribunal in Baden passed a new sentence in this case on April 19th, 1951 that read „death by shooting”.³¹ Koschitz was executed in Moscow on July 24th.³² Jerzy Klimaszewsky met a similar fate when the Military Tribunal 28990, at first, sentenced him to 25 years of camp imprisonment for „espionage”. Due to a protest of the Supreme Court, however, the Military Senate revoked this sentence on the basis of its being „too moderate”. The newly opened trial of the 25-year old Pole proved fatal.³³

The Edwin Crevato „Case” reflected in a KGB file

Edwin Crevato was one of the victims of Stalin’s criminal legal system. He was arrested on November 30th, 1951³⁴ without any warning by the Military Unit 32750 authorities with the Interior Ministry at a sanatorium for state clerks in Waidhofen über Ybbs.³⁵ His relatives found themselves in a state of shock, and at first, they believed it was a case of confused identity.³⁶ Many letters ad-

30 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 26, pp. 1 – 4, here: pp. 4, Plea for Pardon of Johann Koschitz Declined, 28. 5. 1951.

31 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 26, pp. 1 – 4, here: pp. 1, Plea for Pardon of Johann Koschitz Declined, 28. 5. 1951.

32 *AdBIK*, Datenbank österreichischer Zivilverurteilter in der UdSSR (The Database of Austrian Civilian Convicts v ZSSR); Roginskij et al., „Erschossen in Moskau ...“ („Shot in Moscow...“), pp. 394.

33 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 9, pp. 236 – 238, Plea for Pardon of Jerzy Klimaszewsky Declined 25. 1. 1951.

34 According to Austrian sources, the Soviet soldiers detained Edwin Crevato as early as November 29th, 1951. Compare Beamter von den Sowjets verhaftet (State Clerk Arrested by the Soviets), In: *Neue Zeit*, 11. 12. 1951; DÖRNER, Alexandra: „Verschleppt und erschossen durch sowjetische Organe“. *Das Schicksal von Edwin Crevato* („Abducted and Shot by the Soviet Authorities.“ Fate of Edwin Crevato). University course paper, Graz 2007, pp. 10. According to Austrian sources, the Soviet soldiers detained Edwin Crevato as early as November 29th, 1951.

35 *CA FSB*, P-3955, pp. 642 – 646, here: pp. 642, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato’s and Karl Schneider’s case). Anklageschrift (Indictment file), 29. 2. 1952.

36 SZYSZKOWITZ, Tessa: Erschossen in Moskau (Shot in Moscow), In: *Profil*, 11. 6. 2007, pp. 33 – 35, here: pp. 34 and on.

dressed to his wife Hertha by his friends and relatives revealed empathy and puzzlement.³⁷

What they however did not know was that immediately prior to this occurrence the Soviet Ministry of the State Security issued a decision that included: the arrest warrant³⁸, „choice of coercive measures”³⁹, and finally a detention order⁴⁰ on the person of the 50-year old man. This initiated a standard procedure of prosecution. Crevato was accused of performing espionage concerning oil in the Soviet occupation zone of Austria between 1946 and 1949.⁴¹ The Soviet intelligence service stepped in after two years of the alleged espionage activities directed against the USSR. Upon his arrival to Vienna, an obligatory physical examination⁴² was performed, and all valuables⁴³ were taken from him. The recording of his personal data in a personal questionnaire⁴⁴, and two interrogations

37 DORNER, „*Verschleppt und erschossen*“ („Abducted and Shot“), pp. 10.

38 *CA FSB*, P-3955, pp. 2, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Beschluss über die Festnahme Crevatos (Decision to detain Crevato), 30. 11. 1951.

39 *CA FSB*, P-3955, pp. 4, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Beschluss über die Wahl der Zwangsmaßnahme gegenüber Crevato (Decision to take the liberty to choose the coercive measure taken with Crevato), 30. 11. 1951.

40 *CA FSB*, P-3955, pp. 5, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Befehl zur Verhaftung Crevatos (Arrest warrant for Crevato), 30. 11. 1951. The order was preceded by a decision („postanovlenie“): *CA FSB*, P-3955, pp. 3, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Beschluss über die Verhaftung Crevatos (Decision to Arrest Crevato), 30. 11. 1951.

41 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 95, pp. 129 – 130, here: pp. 129, Plea for Pardon of Edwin Crevato Declined, 29. 5. 1952.

42 *CA FSB*, P-3955, pp. 8 – 9, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Protokoll der Leibesvisitation von Crevato (Proceedings record of Crevato's personal examination), 30. 11. 1951.

43 *CA FSB*, P-3955, pp. 10 – 11, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Kopie des Beleges für die Aushändigung von Geld und Wertgegenständen von Crevato (Copy of Confirmation to render Crevato's money and valuables), 30. 11. 1951.

44 *CA FSB*, P-3955, pp. 6 – 7, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider

came next. The second one lasted from 9:10 pm until midnight.⁴⁵ In the course of three weeks, Crevato was interrogated on more than ten occasions – sometimes twice a day, and frequently until very late at night.⁴⁶ On December 12th, he had to identify his former colleague, Karl Schneider, as an accomplice in acquiring information on the Soviet administration of mineral oils in Austria. Schneider was arrested on December 17th by the Soviet secret service and underwent a cross-interrogation with Crevato.⁴⁷

Due to the New Year's celebration, Crevato, or rather the Soviet intelligence service office was given a break until January 10th, 1952. 25 interrogations followed until the end of February. In the meantime, the espionage service submitted records of interrogation performed with two Austrians in 1947 and 1948, as well as with Franz Halama, who was arrested by the espionage service of the Ministry of the State Security (MSS), and his records dated December 1949 – March 1950. In addition, the espionage service highlighted issues on the Soviet oil administration in Austria.

On February 28th, 1952 the Ministry of the Soviet State Security completed the legal investigation of Crevato and Schneider.⁴⁸ Thus, the Head of the

(Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Personalbogen von Crevato (Personal letter of Crevato), 30. 11. 1951.

- 45 CA FSB, P-3955, pp. 14 – 24, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Verhörprotokolle von Crevato (Proceedings record of Crevato's interrogations), 30. 11. 1951.
- 46 The interrogations took place on following dates: 6. 12. 1951; 7. 12. 1951; 11. 12. 1951 (2x); 11. 12. 1951 (2x); 13. 12. 1951; 14. 12. 1951 (2x); 18. 12. 1951; 24. 12. 1951; 25. 12. 1951 (2x). Vgl. CA FSB, P-3955, pp. 30–87, 90–126, 128–179, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Verhörprotokolle von Crevato (Proceedings record of Crevato's interrogations), 30. 11. 1951 – 25. 12. 1951.
- 47 CA FSB, P-3955, pp. 576 – 599, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Protokolle der Gegenüberstellung von Crevato und Schneider (Proceedings records on confronting Crevato and Schneider), 17. 12. 1951, 19. 12. 1951.
- 48 CA FSB, P-3955, pp. 640, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Protokoll über den Abschluss der Untersuchung von Crevato (Proceedings record on concluding the investigation of Crevato), 28. 2. 1952; CA FSB, P-3955, pp. 641, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Protokoll über den Abschluss der Unter-

espionage department of the MSS for Military Unit 32750, Capt. Chatuncev, officially closed the file⁴⁹ and handed the prisoner over from the prison of the Interior Ministry belonging to the military division of the MSS to the respective Military Prosecutor's Office with the Military Unit 28990. The indictment file was elaborated in the meantime. Crevato was charged with collecting and passing on information on Soviet oil facilities in Austria personally and via „agents“ of the French agitation. He was also charged with mediation of „espionage information“ on the Soviet occupation army in the district of Wiener Neustadt to the French.⁵⁰

A secret court proceeding took place on March 11th at the Military Tribunal with the Military Unit 28990.⁵¹ Moments later, the sentence in pursuance with Article 58-6 (espionage) of the Soviet Criminal Code read: Death by shooting.⁵² As in the majority of death sentence cases of other Viennese, the sentence was passed by the Military Tribunal with the Central Group of Armed Forces in Baden.

Crevato, as well as Schneider, took the opportunity to write a plea for pardon addressed to the Presiding Committee of the Supreme Soviet.⁵³ He claimed to have been recruited by the French intelligence service out of economic need and without knowledge of taking a hostile stance toward the Soviet Union.

suchung von Schneider (Proceedings record on concluding the investigation of Crevato), 28. 2. 1952.

49 The folder of the criminal proceedings file contains the following record: „Opened on November 30th, 1951, Closed on 28. 2. 1952“.

50 *CAFSB*, P-3955, pp. 642 – 646, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Anklageschrift (Indictment file), 29. 2. 1952.

51 *CAFSB*, P-3955, pp. 655 – 658, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Protokoll der Gerichtsverhandlung (Record of Court Proceedings), 11. 3. 1952.

52 *CAFSB*, P-3955, pp. 669 – 673, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Urteil und Kopie des Urteils (Verdict and a Copy of the Verdict) 11. 3. 1952.

53 *CAFSB*, P-3955, pp. 677 – 687, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Gnadengesuche von Crevato und Schneider (Plea for Pardon of Crevato and Schneider), 12. 3. 1952.

*„I was passing through my life as an honest, hard-working man without a criminal record. After the two wars, in which I had fought, I worked and lived very modestly. I would like these facts to be also taken into consideration when my plea for pardon is reviewed.”*⁵⁴ Schneider’s plea for pardon was acknowledged on May 10th, 1952, and his sentence reduced to 25 years in a work correctional camp (ITL) GULAG.⁵⁵ He was among the few Austrians to have escaped execution.

Crevato’s plea, however, fell on deaf ears – on May 29th, 1952 the Supreme Court of the USSR declined it. The presiding chair of the Committee of the Supreme Soviet, Nikolaj M. Šverník, pointed out: *„Trial files, hearings with Schneider and Crevato’s confession to the crime at the preliminary interrogation and at the legal proceedings validate his guilt.”* The Presiding Judge of the Supreme Court Anatolij A. Volin used Crevato’s plea for pardon to establish his „motion” in order to decline it: *„Crevato in his plea does not deny that he conducted espionage activities for the French agitation against the Soviet Union. He asks the court to consider the lack of hostile motive toward the Soviet Union during his espionage activities, and regard his economic need, in which he found himself upon his return from captivity. On this basis, he asks the court to revoke the sentence of death by shooting and to pass another sentence.”* Volin, finally, brushed the plea off the table when he uttered a stereotypical phrase: *„I find the ruling of the military tribunal in the case of Edwin Crevato to be correct.”*⁵⁶ Hereby, he acknowledged the Supreme Court’s approval with the sentences passed by the military tribunal.

On June 20th, 1952 the „motion” of the Supreme Court of the USSR, and its confirmation by the Presiding Committee of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet

54 GARF, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 95, pp. 135 – 137, here: pp. 136 and on, Gnadengesuch von Edwin Crevaton (Edwin Crevato’s Plea for Pardon), 12. 3. 1952. Plea for Pardon to the Presiding Committee of the Supreme Soviet is not included just in the criminal proceedings files archived at the CA FSB, but also in the inventory F. 7523 (The Supreme Soviet of the USSR) in the Russian State Archive (GARF).

55 CA FSB, P-3955, pp. 698, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato’s and Karl Schneider’s case). Bescheinigung über Karl Schneider (Acknowledgement of verdict over Karl Schneider), 10. 5. 1952.

56 GARF, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 95, pp. 129 – 130, Plea for Pardon of Edwin Crevato Declined, 29. 5. 1952.

Poliburo of the Presiding Central Committee of the Soviet Union was finalized with definite validity.⁵⁷

It was yet another formality, as in the cases in which the Politburo were to decline the proposition of Švernik, the Presiding Chair of the Supreme Soviet, are nonexistent.⁵⁸ Crevato was shot in Butyrka on July 11th, 1952.⁵⁹ On the same day, his corpse was cremated at Donskoje cemetery and his ashes buried in an anonymous mass grave a short walk away from the crematorium.

According to a very detailed document, his personal documents and things were liquidated three weeks later.⁶⁰ The Ministry of the State Security had performed its work, and the case had been tentatively close. The Soviet justice system / MSS did not inform the relatives or the Austrian authorities – a characteristic trait of the system. Since the second half of 1930s, the Soviet security apparatus lied to the family members of the convicts on a systematic basis, and kept the information strictly classified.⁶¹ As late as 1955, i.e. two years after Stalin's death, the Soviet „Central Directorate of the Militia – Archive of the registry records” started presenting the foreign authorities, with the Austrian Interior Ministry being among them, with the „testimonies of decease” of the executed. Embellished notifications, however, never listed the cause of death as execution, but rather resemble an excursion into the pathology ward: „military

57 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 95, pp. 129 – 130, here: pp. 129. Plea for Pardon of Edwin Crevato Declined, 29. 5. 1952.

58 LAVINSKAJA, *Zum Tode verurteilt* (Sentenced to Death), pp. 333.

59 *CA FSB*, P-3955, pp. 691, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Bestätigung über die Urteilsvollstreckung von Edwin Crevato (Confirmation of executing the sentence on Edwin Crevato), 11. 7. 1952.

60 *CA FSB*, P-3955, pp. 693 – 697, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Akt über die Vernichtung von persönlichen Unterlagen von Edwin Crevato (File on Eliminating Edwin Crevato's Personal Documentation), 12. 7. 1952.

61 HILGER, *Strafjustiz im Verfolgungswahn* (Schizophrenic Paranoia of the Criminal Justice System) pp. 102 and on.

pneumonia”⁶², „cancer of the urinary bladder, sepsis”⁶³, „tubercular meningitis”⁶⁴, „inflammation of the peritoneum”⁶⁵, or „aortic dissection”⁶⁶, which were all correct medical findings, but were rather cynical accounts of the cause of death. Death records of the Austrian victims usually corresponded with the true cause of death.⁶⁷

In late 1956, Crevato’s widow Hertha received relevant and seemingly substantive confirmation on the cause of death of “Citizen Edwin Crevato“, as listed in a translation from Russian, died on July 11th, 1952 from „a brain hemorrhage caused by an arteriosclerosis “.⁶⁸

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- 62 Compare: *AdBIK*, Anton Furthmoser’s Certificate of death by ZAGS, 19. 3. 1956. Translation by BMI, 24. 9. 1956.
 - 63 Compare: *AdBIK*, Alois Kolber’s Certificate of death by ZAGS, 19. 3. 1956. Translation by BMI, 24. 9. 1956.
 - 64 Compare: *AdBIK*, Stefan Buger’s Certificate of death by ZAGS, 13. 9. 1956. Translation by BMI, 27. 11. 1956.
 - 65 Compare: *AdBIK*, Friedrich Wiedemann’s Certificate of death by ZAGS. Translation by BMI, 8. 6. 1959.
 - 66 Family of Leo Thalhammer received a report with this cause of death in September of 1956. His widow was also granted a widow’s pension, disbursed with retrospective effect since March 1st, 1952 – the alleged date of death. Also Compare EBNER, Johannes: „*Der hat sich nichts dabei gedacht...*“ *Die Lebensgeschichte von Helmut Thalhammer* („He did not think of anything then ...“ A Story of Helmut Thalhammer’s Life). University course paper. Graz 2007, pp. 33.
 - 67 This is obviously in direct opposition to Germany and to the Soviet Union, where Moscow did not deliberately list the correct dates of death. The KGB did not inform the Soviet interpellators on the true circumstances of death of their family members until 1963. The official accounts of death in cases of deceased foreign citizens (not excepting the Austrians), however, remained embellished until the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Compare HILGER, *Strafjustiz im Verfolgungswahn* (Schizophrenic Paranoia of the Criminal Justice System) [Te, pp. 104; RUDOLPH, Jörg: „*Verstorben auf dem Territorium der UdSSR*“ Das lange Warten auf die Wahrheit („Died on the Territory of the USSR” The Long Waiting For Truth”), In: ROGINSKIJ, Arsenij – RUDOLPH, Jörg – DRAUSCHKE, Frank – KAMINSKY, Anne (pub.): „*Erschossen in Moskau ...*“ *Die deutschen Opfer des Stalinismus auf dem Moskauer Friedhof Donskoje 1950 – 1953*. („Shot in Moscow...” German Victims of Stalinism Buried at the Moscow Cemetery of Donskoje 1950 – 1953). Berlin 2005, pp. 67 – 84, here pp. 74 and on.
 - 68 *AdBIK*, Edwin Crevato’s Certificate of death by ZAGS, 8. 10. 1956. Translation by BMI, 18. 12. 1956.

At the time of her own death in May of 2004, Hertha Crevato had not yet found out the true fate of her husband.

In response to the list of names of Austrians⁶⁹ executed during that era published in the beginning of 2007, her nephew Stefan Haidenthaller addressed the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Research on War Consequences with a request to have the sentence of death of Edwin Crevato clarified, and the place of burial disclosed.⁷⁰ Thanks to the full right of disclosure, he was able to review about 700 pages of criminal trial proceedings in June of 2007 stored in the Central Archive of the FSB, and to make copies. The last document filed in the dossier dated January 19th, 2001, when the Main Military Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation rehabilitated Edwin Crevato in pursuance of Article 3-a of a Russian Federation Act on "Rehabilitation of victims of political repression" passed on October 18th, 1991⁷¹. Evidently, the forwarded information of this case was then considered "open to general access, and commonplace", and "not subject to state or military secret classification".⁷² The sentence passed in this case has been revoked posthumously.

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69 SZYSZKOWITZ, *Stalins letzte Opfer* (Last Victims of Stalin's), pp. 41.

70 AdBIK, Schreiben von Stefan Haidenthaller an das BIK (Stefan Haidenthaller's Letter to the BIK), 18. 2. 2007.

71 GVP, 7u-7558-52, Rehabilitierungsbescheid Edwin Crevato [Notification on Rehabilitation of Edwin Crevato], 19.1.2001; CA FSB, P-3955, pp. 699, Strafprozessakt Edwin Crevato und Karl Schneider (Criminal trial record in Edwin Crevato's and Karl Schneider's case). Rehabilitierungsbescheid Edwin Crevato (Notification on Rehabilitation of Edwin Crevato), 19. 1. 2001.

72 CA FSB, P-2680, pp. 150 – 151, Strafprozessakt Emil Dallapozza. Erläuterung zum Rehabilitierungsbescheid durch L. P. Kopalin (Criminal trial record of Emil Dallapozza. Clarification to the Notification of Rehabilitation by L.P. Kopalin), 15. 5. 1998.

bara Stelzl-Marx, Zwischen Fiktion und Zeitzeugenschaft. Amerikanische und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im Stalag XVII B Krems-Gneixendorf. Tübingen 2000. Stefan Karner – Barbara Stelzl-Marx – Alexander Tschubarjan (Hg.), Die Rote Armee in Österreich. Sowjetische Besatzung 1945–1955. Dokumente. Graz – Wien – München 2005.

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Communist „Intelligence Internationale”? Contacts between KGB and the KPÖ at the Beginning of the Cold War¹

Supporting conditions in Austria

The area of the Austrian Republic was an important operation field of intelligence services of Eastern as well as Western Europe throughout the Cold War. Austria played an important role thanks to its geographical location in the middle of Europe, thanks to its political and military configuration (Austria was neither a member of NATO² nor of the Warsaw Pact) and thanks to its location by the „Safety curtain” border. It was primarily Vienna that gained the key position. Based on its location it became „the gate to Western Europe” for the intelligence services of the Eastern Bloc and vice versa. Moreover, Vienna embassies of both blocs’ countries were used as monitoring stations. Vienna was also interesting thanks to the international organizations³ headquartered there (e.g. IAEA⁴).

At the beginning of the Cold War, in the first decade after World War II, work of some intelligence services in Austria was also favoured by the fact that, at that time, Austria was divided into four occupation zones. This, on one hand, helped intelligence services of allies to carry out their operations in the Aus-

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- 1 Searches to this paper were acquired as a part of „The Shot Death in Moscow; Austrian victims of Stalin at Donskoje Cemetery in Moscow 1950–1953 project funded from Zukunftsfonds Österreich fund and by Styria Regional Government;
 - 2 „North Atlantic Treaty Organization“.
 - 3 IRNBERGER, Harald: *Nelkenstrauß ruft Praterstern; Am Beispiel Österreich: Funktion und Arbeitsweise geheimer Nachrichtendienste in einem neutralen Staat*; (Nelkenstrauß is calling Praterstern. Austrian example: Function and Method of Intelligence Services Activities Performance in a Neutral State); Vienna 1983, pp. 34 et seq.; MÖCHEL, Kid: *Der geheime Krieg der Agenten. Spionagedrehscheibe Wien*. (Secret War of Agents; Turntable of Vienna espionage.); Hamburg 1997, pp. 9 – 16;
 - 4 „International Atomic Energy Organisation“.

trian territory. On the other hand, it resulted in the building of a front line along borders of occupation zones, leading to more intensive espionage defences on all sides. What Imberger said about the Second Republic in general, i.e. that „*the main combat lines of foreign intelligence services did go through Austria, yet they were not primarily oriented against Austria*“⁵ applied even more from 1945 to 1955. Therefore, it seems to be quite logical that most of intelligence movements were instigated in the 50s, i.e. prior to the conclusion of the State Treaty; since in that period of time, the intelligence activities' performance was favoured structurally. That is the reason why it is important to look at the organizations⁶ that were predecessors of KGB,⁷ NKGB,⁸ or MGB,⁹ SMERSH¹⁰ and NKVD.¹¹

In order to perform their activities, the intelligence services of all four occupying powers were employing Austrian state citizens or others living in Austria.

This paper further details the life story of a person who was hired by western intelligence services, was discovered by the Soviet occupation power, was charged with espionage, and sentenced to death by shooting.¹²

5 IRNBERGER, *Nelkenstrauß*. pp. 26; also compare MÖCHEL, *Krieg*. pp. 15

6 As for activities of these intelligence services in Austria during the period of occupation compare inter alia BEER, Siegfried: *Nachrichten- und Geheimdienste in Österreich*. (Intelligence and Secret Services in Austria); 1945–1955. In: KARNER, Stefan – STANGLER, Gottfried (Publ.): „*Österreich ist frei!*“. *Der Österreichische Staatsvertrag 1955*. („Austria is free!“ Austrian State Treaty dated 1955.) Horn – Vienna 2005, pp. 220 – 226.

7 „Komitet gosudarstvennoj bezopasnosti“ = „Committee of National Security“, Soviet State Security Service.

8 „Narodnyj komissariat gosudarstvennoj bezopasnosti“ = „National Commissariat of State Security“, organization that was KGB's predecessor.

9 „Ministerstvo gosudarstvennoj bezopasnosti“ = „Ministry of State Security“, organization that was KGB's predecessor.

10 „Smert špionam“ = „Death to Secret Agents“, the Soviet military Espionage Defence, compare with ROEWER, Helmut – SCHÄFER, Stefan – UHL, Matthias: *Lexikon der Geheimdienste im 20. Jahrhundert*. (Lexicon of Secret Services in the 20th Century) Munich 2003, p. 423 et seq..

11 „Narodnyj komissariat vnutrennych del“ = „National Commissariat of Interior“.

12 Publication to the project mentioned in Note 1 „Shot Dead in Moscow“ is in the process of preparation. It will deal primarily with this topic.

The Soviet power often consisted of people who were also members of the Communist Party of Austria (KPÖ). This ideology-based cooperation was nothing unusual in Europe. Five contacts known as „Cambridge Five” were hired in the 30s thanks to the enthusiasm for communism they showed at university.¹³ In 1942 the American Intelligence Service „OSS” was founded, in which some members of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. worked from the very beginning. The same people subsequently worked for the Soviet Intelligence Service called NKVD. Earl Browder is listed as an example.¹⁴ When PCF¹⁵ became the most powerful party in October 1945 in the first post World War II election, NKVD saw this political situation as convenient for increasing the intensity of their activities.¹⁶

The KPÖ also had a comparably better position once World War II was over. This party proposed two ministers (Minister of Interior and Minister of Education) and three state secretaries for the first temporary government with Dr. Karl Renner in charge.¹⁷ The fact that Franz Honner, the Minister of Interior who was nominated by the KPÖ, also used his position for conferring some higher posts in the police machinery to some of his party colleagues, is important for this paper.¹⁸

13 ANDREW, Christopher – MITROCHIN, Wassili: *Das Schwarzbuch des KGB. Moskaus Kampf gegen den Westen*. (Black Book of KGB; Moscow's fight against West); the 2nd edition; Munich 2001; pp. 84 – 101; ANDREW, Christopher – GORDIEVSKIJ, Oleg: *KGB. Die Geschichte seiner Auslandsoperationen von Lenin bis Gorbatschow*. (KGB; History of its abroad-executed operations from Lenin's to Gorbatschow's times); Munich 1990, pp. 252 – 256.

14 ANDREW – MITROCHIN, *Schwarzbuch*, (Black Book) pp. 158 et seq..

15 „Partie Communiste Française“ = The Communist Party of France.

16 ANDREW – MITROCHIN, *Schwarzbuch*, (Black Book) pp. 217.

17 ZÖLLNER, Erich: *Geschichte Österreichs*. (History of Austria); the 8th edition, pp. 530 et seq.; compare also with KARNER, Stefan – RUGGENTHALER Peter: Unter sowjetischer Kontrolle. Zur Regierungsbildung in Österreich 1945. (Under Soviet Control; About Government Formation in Austria in 1945); In: KARNER, Stefan – STELZL-MARX Barbara (Publ.): *Die Rote Armee in Österreich. Sowjetische Besatzung 1945 – 1955*. (The Red Army in Austria; Soviet occupation in 1945 – 1955.); Graz – Vienna – Munich 2005, pp. 105 – 148;

18 Compare with WETZ, Ulrike: *Geschichte der Wiener Polizei-Direktion vom Jahre 1945 bis zum Jahre 1955. Mit Berücksichtigung der Zeit vor 1945*; (History of Control of Vienna Police from 1945 to 1955; In View of the Period before 1945) Phil. Diss., Vienna 1970, pp. 348 – 365.

Even though the KPÖ was disappointed by the result of the first election held on November 25, 1945 (5.42%) the party kept one ministerial post in the government (Minister of Power Management and Electrification)¹⁹ and they had a very important position as a political partner of the Soviet occupation power. The political cooperation the KPÖ had with the Soviet occupation power raised interest in the KPÖ not only within Soviet intelligence services but also within the western intelligence services pursuing infiltration.²⁰

When examining relations between the KPÖ and Soviet intelligence services during the fifties, it is vital to consider conditions related to that era. These relations can basically be divided into two categories: Firstly, as mentioned before, until 1955 the KPÖ was very important for the Soviet occupation power, secondly Soviet authorities tried to prevent this party being subverted by western intelligence services. These suppositions fully correspond with the reality of the time as shown in the following examples.

Policemen of the communist party as a support of the Soviet espionage defence

This activity relating to the KPÖ can be seen in some examples of people who lived in Austria and who were imprisoned for anti-Soviet espionage in Austria and sentenced to death in the early fifties. Individual cases can be reconstructed based on Russian archived files. Out of 106 cases reviewed by the year 1953, fourteen people were members of the KPÖ. Three of them were already party members before they started to carry out espionage activities, ten of them became party members later on. In one of the cases this fact could not be verified using the documents available. Apart from that, another eight people were given tasks related to the KPÖ. They, however, never became KPÖ members. (Six of them were hired from the U.S.A., one from France and one

19 MUELLER, Wolfgang: *Die sowjetische Besatzung in Österreich 1945 – 1955 und ihre politische Mission*. (Soviet occupation of Austria in 1945 – 1955 and its political mission) Vienna – Köln – Weimar, 2005 pp. 146; RAUCHENSTEINER, Manfred: *Stalinplatz 4; Österreich unter alliierter Besatzung* (Stalin's Square No. 4, Austria during allies' occupation), Vienna 2005; pp. 23.

20 MUELLER, *Besatzung*, (Occupation.) pp. 163 – 198.

worked for NTS,²¹ which very likely means that the last person worked for the U.S.A., too). Their willingness to use the services of the CIC²² intelligence service exemplifies the significant interest the U.S.A. had in gaining information related to the KPÖ. From verdicts and rejected petitions of clemency of the part of the sentenced, it appears that American authorities showed a big interest in gaining information, especially information about KPÖ activities as well as precise identification of the members of the KPÖ. Sabotage of KPÖ events was only proved in three cases.

Three Austrians, namely Otto Schwab, Kurt Zofka a Johann Groissl were given the task of getting into the KPÖ party's premises located in Vienna zone 10 on the nights of the 9th and 10th February 1950 in order to steal confidential documents and the file of its complete membership, which was kept there. Being a KPÖ member, Zofka took a substantial role in the break-in preparation. Because of Zofka's injury police investigation officers, who were (according to an article dated February 12, 1950 and released in „Arbeiterzeitung“ a working class newspaper a press authority of the SPÖ) politically close to communists, soon tracked Zofka down and shortly after that he was arrested.²³ A year later, Groissl²⁴ was arrested and a year after that Schwab was arrested as well.²⁵ There were another nine people arrested and accused of espionage in Vienna, Linz, Bad Ischl, Wiener Neudorf and Baden, on similar charges in 1950 – 1952. In seven cases the accused had been ordered to get information on USIA²⁶ and

21 „Nacional'nyj trudovoj sojuz“ = „National Union of Proletariat“, an organization of Russian dissidents, headquartered in Frankfurt in the 50s, close relations also with American CIC, compare with ROEWER – SCHÄFER – UHL, *Lexikon*. pp. 322.

22 „Counter Intelligence Corps“, compare with ROEWER – SCHÄFER – UHL, *Lexikon*. pp. 93.

23 GARF, F. 7523, op. 66, d. 119, Ablehnung des Gnadengesuches von Zofka Kurt; (Rejection of the Petition of Clemency for Kurt Zofka), pp. 107 – 109; Die kommunistischen Meisterdetektive von Favoriten; (Communist masters-detectives as Favourites) In: Arbeiter-Zeitung (Workers' newspaper), 12. 2. 1950, pp. 3.

24 GARF, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 95, pp. 42 – 45, Ablehnung des Gnadengesuches von Schwab Otto und John Erich; Rejection of the Petition of Clemency for Otto Schwab and Erich John).

25 GARF, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 74, pp. 41 – 44, Ablehnung des Gnadengesuches von Groissl. (Rejection of the Petition of Clemency for Groissl).

26 „Upravlenie Sovetskimi Imuščestvom v Avstriji“ = „Management of Soviet Assets

SMV²⁷ facilities in Austria. In order to accomplish this mission four, i.e. more than a half of them, reputedly used their position or contacts in the KPÖ.²⁸

The KPÖ party was an interesting target for intelligence services of western occupation powers, especially the U.S.A., for several reasons. It seems logical for the Soviet occupation power to have instigated countermeasures focused on thwarting espionage attempts.

From the documentation available, it is not possible to find out to what extent the espionage defence measures were implemented in the KPÖ bodies. It is, however, certain that in some cases, members of the KPÖ gave information to the Soviet occupation power, namely to SMERŠ or the MGB, as can be seen in the examples of Ferdinand Steinkellner and Johann Groissl.

Ferdinand Steinkellner, was born in Vienna, and maintained a permanent address in Vienna; in January 1951 Johann Groissl persuaded Steinkellner to become a CIC informer. In addition to Soviet troop movement monitoring at the Vienna North Train Station and economic espionage in the SMV, his activities included gathering information on the KPÖ. He was accused of leaking political course manuals used by participants in the KPÖ by ZK to the Soviets, as well as establishing an armed camp as a base for operations against the KPÖ. It is interesting that, despite this, Steinkellner became a member of the KPÖ in February 1951, not even a month after his agreement with Groissl. Two months later, on April 20, 1951, he was arrested and on August 4, 1951 was sentenced

in Austria“.

27 „Sovetskoe Neftjannoe Upravlenie“ = „Management of Soviet Mineral Oils“.

28 In relation to some of the stated examples compare with KNOLL, Harald – STELZL-MARX, Barbara: *Sowjetische Strafjustiz in Österreich. Verhaftungen und Verurteilungen 1945 – 1955*; (Soviet criminal jurisdiction in Austria; Arrests and verdicts in 1945 – 1955), In: KARNER, Stefan – STELZL-MARX Barbara: (Publ.), *Die Rote Armee in Österreich. Sowjetische Besatzung 1945 – 1955*; (The Red Army in Austria; Soviet occupation in 1945 – 1955), Graz – Vienna – Munich 2005, pp. 275 – 321; and LAVINSKAJA, Ol'ga: „Zum Tode verurteilt; Gnadengesuche österreichischer Zivilverurteilter an den Obersten Sowjet der UdSSR“ (Sentenced to death; Petitions of Clemency for Austrian sentenced civilians addressed to the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Social Republics). In: KARNER, Stefan – STELZL-MARX, Barbara (Publ.): *Die Rote Armee in Österreich. Sowjetische Besatzung 1945 – 1955*. (The Red Army in Austria; Soviet occupation in 1945 – 1955), Graz – Vienna – Munich 2005, pp. 323 – 337.

to death by shooting.²⁹ Steinkellner joined the KPÖ party only after he had become Groissl's informer; probably in order to have easier access to information. His arrest, which took place shortly after that, could be connected with the investigation held against Steinkellner after the party joining.

A similar situation occurred in the case of Johann Groissl, who was also born and had permanent address in Vienna and who started to work for the CIC in April 1948. Later, he was recruiting other informers himself for the intelligence service and conducted several activities in order to gather information on the KPÖ. He also took part in the above mentioned break-in at the premises of the KPÖ party on the nights of February 9th and 10th, 1950. In 1948, he also became a member of the Communist Party for three months and was probably assigned to do so by the CIC. However, after he was listed as being under „suspicion of espionage“³⁰ he had to leave the party. Based on the available file materials, it is unfortunately impossible to define to what extent the investigation continued following his expulsion from the party and whether it led to his arrest three years later on March 6, 1951. However, it can be assumed that the arrest of Kurt Zofka, related to the break-in 13 months earlier, made the situation worse for Groissl.³¹

These events exemplify that there is definitely a connection between the membership of both of them in the KPÖ and their arrests. (In the case of Steinkellner, it was the basis of his short membership and, in the case of Groissl, it led to his expulsion on suspicions of espionage). It is possible that there was data which emerged from within the circles of the KPÖ used during Soviet occupation power investigations.

In Groissl's case it also opens another important aspect of this era. The handing of information related to the KPÖ over to the Austrian police was one

29 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 42, Ablehnung der Gnadengesuche von Ferdinand Steinkellner und Franz Wahsmann. (Rejection of the Petition of Clemency for Ferdinand Steinkellner and Franz Wahsmann) pp. 144 – 147.

30 *GARF*, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 74, Ablehnung des Gnadengesuchs von Johann Groissl. (Rejection of the Petition of Clemency for Johann Groissl) pp. 41.

31 *Ibidem*, pp. 41 – 44; EREMINA, L. S. (Publ.): „*Rasstrel'nye spiski. Moskva 1935 – 1953*. Donskoe Kladbišče (Donskoe Krematorij). Kniga žertv političeskich repressij. Moscow 2005, pp. 134.

of the activities against the KPÖ with which he was charged³². With the end of the war in 1945, there were many people with a close relationship to the KPÖ employed in the Austrian police, especially in Vienna, by the Minister of Interior of the temporary government of Dr. Franz Honner. The Office of Police Vice President and many other leading posts were given to members of the KPÖ. 17 out of 26 police district commissariats in Vienna had communist police superintendents. The 50% of the criminal police force were members of the Communist Party and in the state police the number of Communist Party members was even higher.³³ The KPÖ did not fare well in the National Council election results of November 1945. Following this, Oskar Helmer (SPÖ) became the Minister of Interior. Together with Ferdinand Graf (ÖVP), a state secretary, he tried to accomplish a personally motivated restructuring in the years that followed, despite resistance from the KPÖ and the Soviet occupation power. These attempts were not very successful. One of the reasons for his limited success was the fact that following the October riots in 1950 in Vienna there were 200 policemen fired for refusing to obey, yet their notice was blocked by the Soviet occupation power. At the beginning of the year 1951 people close to the communist party became superintendents (two commissariats excluded) in the soviet occupation zone. Only after the State Treaty of 1955 was concluded did non-communists replace all circuit superintendents, positions formerly filled by members of the KPÖ. There were still people close to the communist party left at their posts in certain commissariats. They had, however, only minor influence.³⁴

To what extent was the influence of the KPÖ comparable with the influence of the intelligence service of the Soviet Union? There were several people amongst the above mentioned 106 cases of persons arrested and sentenced to death for espionage in Austria, who were arrested by the police and later handed over to the military headquarters of the Soviet occupation power. One such example was the case of Maria Subatsch.

32 GARF F. 7523, op. 76, d. 74, Ablehnung des Gnadengesuchs von Johann Groissl. (Rejection of the Petition of Clemency for Johann Groissl) pp. 42.

33 WETZ, Ulrike: *Geschichte der Wiener Polizei-Direktion vom Jahre 1945 bis zum Jahre 1955. Mit Berücksichtigung der Zeit vor 1945*; (History of Control of Vienna Police from 1945 to 1955; With Respect to the Period before 1945) Phil. Diss., Vienna 1970, pp. 348 – 360.

34 WETZ, *Wiener Polizei*. (Vienna police) pp. 408 – 421.

Maria Subatsch, born in 1923 in Vjaz'ma pri Smolesk, ran away with one of the German city commanders to Vienna in the year 1944 when German military forces were in retreat. Here she was hired by the CIC in 1949, for which she was providing information she gained while working as an interpreter for the Soviet military headquarters. She was arrested in October 23, 1950. In „Arbeiterzeitung“, a workers' newspaper, an article appeared on July 7, 1951 which ascribed her arrest to a certain Miroslav Cmejrek, an investigating officer and member of the KPÖ. He reputedly spied on Maria Subatsch, contacted her on October 22, 1950 and during their meeting handed Maria over to a Soviet officer.³⁵ This was the day she was listed as having gone missing. The military tribunal of Squad 28990 sentenced her to death by shooting for the crime of espionage on March 29, 1951 in Baden near Vienna. She was executed in Moscow on June 14, 1951.³⁶ Cmejrek was arrested shortly after Subatsch's disappearance and the Regional Court in Vienna sentenced him to two years of close imprisonment, which was, according to the „Arbeiter-Zeitung“ newspaper, a very mild punishment for the person accused of an abduction.³⁷

All the circumstances of this case show that the Soviet military headquarters used one of their investigating officers, who were closely connected to the KPÖ to cause a person suspected of espionage to be arrested in Austria, and ultimately handed over to the Soviet military headquarters. Similar situations have been documented in Soviet files in another 11 cases of persons who were arrested in Austria, but were executed in Moscow.³⁸

It should be stated that the occupying powers reserved the right of direct trial in connection with some torts (arrest of war criminals, crimes against occupational troops' security) on the basis of the Second Agreement on Control

- 35 Die kommunistischen Meisterdetektive von Favoriten. (Communist masters-detectives as favourites) In: Arbeiter-Zeitung (Workers' newspaper), 7. 7. 1951, pp. 3.
- 36 GARF, F. 7523, op. 76, d. 23, Ablehnung des Gnadengesuches von Maria Subatsch; (Rejection of the Petition of Clemency for Mária Subatsch); p. 88–91; Eremina, spiski. pp. 443.
- 37 Der KP.-Polizist Cmejrek als Menschenräuber. (Policeman of the communist party Cmejrek as an outlaw) In: Arbeiter-Zeitung (Workers' newspaper), 7. 7. 1951. pp. 3; As for similar „arrests and drags “ also compare with WETZ, Wiener Polizei, p. 561–594; about verdict on Cmejrek especially p. 588.
- 38 AdBIK, Database of Austrian civilians sentenced in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

dated June 26, 1946 without any duty to inform Austrian authorities. As for the rest of the torts, they had to act through Austrian authorities. For some delinquencies the allies relinquished jurisdiction to Austrian authorities. Yet they reserved the right to take over investigation and prosecution of such persons if required.³⁹

There were no common regulations related to the merit of sentences that were under the jurisdiction of the Soviet occupation power in the Soviet zone.

Those decisions were made individually on the district level. In order to have control over jurisdiction it was decided that infractions committed in the Soviet zone territory should be also taken tried in the Soviet zone territory. That allowed the Soviet occupation power to intervene in trial proceedings that interested them.⁴⁰ The Second Agreement on Control, however, only prohibited arrests made by Soviet authorities. Austrian authorities had to be involved in all arrests. Nevertheless, there were arrests that were in conflict with these provisions. The Austrians confirmed this fact in the communiqué of the Austrian Ministry of Interior dated April 19, 1951, in which it is stated that „*Occupation authorities were trying to induce or force Austrian security authorities [...] to disrespect official regulations and to even breach the Criminal Act*“⁴¹. According to Wetz, the last abduction of this kind happened in 1955. Only then was it possible to stop these activities.⁴² Employees, with few exceptions (e.g. Cmejrek sentenced in connection with the arrest of Maria Subatsch), avoided criminal prosecution.⁴³ Many of them were arrested and sentenced only after the signing of the 1955 State Agreement, as in the example of two members of the KPÖ: Adolf Kothbauer, former head of Federal Police Commissariat in St. Pölten and Armando Frisch, a former head of Vienna Police Commissariat (Innere Stadt).⁴⁴

39 WETZ, *Wiener Polizei*. (Vienna Police), pp. 431 a pp. 476 – 494; RAUCHENSTEINER, *Stalinplatz* (Stalin's Square), pp. 96 et seq..

40 WETZ, *Wiener Polizei*. (Vienna police), pp. 493 et seq..

41 *Ibidem*, s. 586; also compare with: Die Menschenräuber: alle Enthüllungen von den österreichischen Behörden bestätigt. (Outlaws: All detections confirmed by Austrian authorities) In: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers' newspaper), 20. 4. 1951, pp. 1.

42 WETZ, *Wiener Polizei* (Vienna police), pp. 582 – 584.

43 *Ibidem*, p. 588 et seq.

44 *Ibidem*, p. 593.

Although the KPÖ as well as KGB retained a position of influence in Austrian executive authorities, following the year 1955 this influence was substantially weaker. Ladislav Bittmann, a deserter, proceeds from the fact that until the seventies „*the Austrian police and counterespionage [...] were largely subverted by Eastern European agents*“⁴⁵, implying that he assumes cooperation with intelligence services even after 1955. Mitrochin in his documents talks about infiltration continuing into the eighties and mentions the cover name of one of the agents from the fifties („Peter“) as well as the recruitment of two conscripts in 1955⁴⁶. None of these authors, however, state any links between activities of the Soviet intelligence service and the members of the KPÖ who stayed in the police service after 1955. It is, therefore, possible to conjecture that informers who stayed in the Austrian executive branches were used expressly for gathering information and they were probably controlled via KGB residences in Austria, e.g. the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Vienna, meaning the KPÖ itself played only a small role here.

The fulfilment of „Special tasks“

Apart from the mentioned cases that fell more or less under the prevue of counterespionage, the number of offensively oriented „special tasks“ of the member of the KPÖ increased. This means that persons in Austria helped relevant the Soviet intelligence services (MGB and from 1954 KGB) when planning and fulfilling these tasks in Western Europe. One exceptionally well documented and, therefore, viewable example is the case of Nikolaj Chochlov, who was an MGB employee and deserted to Western Europe. Even as early as during World War II he was sent behind the German front line. At the beginning of 1954, Chochlov got instructions to assassinate a prominent person of NTS, Georgij Okolovič. At that time, NTS' organization was headquartered in Frankfurt and Chochlov was supposed to get into Germany through Austria. Chochlov however, decided not to carry out this assassination. On February 18, 1954 he met with Okolovič to inform him about the planned assassination and

45 BITTMANN, Ladislav: *Geheimwaffe D.* (Secret weapon D.) Bern 1973, p. 19, quoted based on: IRNBERGER, *Nelkenstrauß*. pp. 115;

46 ANDREW – MITROCHIN, *Schwarzbuch*. (Black book) pp. 384.

shortly after that he sought refuge with the CIA. In 1957, somebody (probably a KGB member) tried to poison Chochlov using radioactive thallium, yet they were unsuccessful.⁴⁷

The extent to which Austria and members of the KPÖ were involved in this matter is approached in Chochlov's memoirs and by the card he showed to American investigating officers. In his memoirs, which were published several years after his defection, Chochlov describes that he had been sent to Vienna and St. Pölten as early as 1951 to get an Austrian passport using fake documents and to subsequently check how close border controls were for entering the country using an Austrian passport when travelling through Switzerland, France and Denmark.⁴⁸ Chochlov was given fake documents (ID card, certificate of origin, birth certificate, registration card) by Austrian contact persons for this purpose shortly after his arrival in Vienna. Apart from that, he was informed that he should try to arrange an application for an Austrian passport issuing via Soviet agents in St. Pölten.⁴⁹ The contact person who helped Chochlov get the passport in St. Pölten Chochlov was simply called „the old man”, which was „a cover name of our person at the police in St. Pölten”⁵⁰.

About a month after Chochlov's desertion, April 23, 1954, „Arbeiter-Zeitung” a workers' newspaper focused on this topic and they subsequently published several articles.⁵¹ In these articles it was even more vividly described how

47 ANDREW – MITROCHIN, *Schwarzbuch*. (Black book) pp. 451 – 455; ANDREW – GORDIJEVSKIJ, *KGB*, pp. 554 et seq.; about his activities during WWII compare SELEMENEV, Vjačeslav – ŠIPOLIN, Viktor: *Ochota na palača*. Minsk 2007, pp. 96 – 106.

48 CHOCHLOW, Nikolaj: *Recht auf Gewissen. Ein Bericht*. (Right of Conscience ; Report) the 2nd edition, Stuttgart 1959, pp. 135.

49 *Ibidem*, p. 140.

50 *Ibidem*, p. 145.

51 Ein zweiter Fall Petrov. (Peter's Second Case) In: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers' newspaper), 23. 4. 1954, pp. 1; Der Mordbeauftragte Chochlow reiste mit österreichischem Paß. (Hired killer Chochlov travelled using an Austrian passport) In: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers' newspaper), 24. 4. 1954, pp. 1; Auf den Spuren des Herrn Chochlow-Hofbauer (Hot on Mr. Chochlov-Hofbauer's track) In: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers' newspaper), 25. 4. 1954, pp. 3; Ingenieur Lampel schmuggelte Chochlows Mordwaffen. (Lampel, an Engineer Smuggled Chochlov's Murderous Weapons) In: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers' newspaper), 27. 4. 1954, pp. 1; Woher stammt Chochlows österreichischer Paß? (Where does Chochlov's Austrian pass-

Chochlov, under the cover name „Josef Hofbauer” got an Austrian passport, which was issued in St. Pölten according to *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.⁵² This data corresponds with that of Chochlov’s.

According to „*Arbeiter-Zeitung*” the position of the head of the Police Commissariat in St. Pölten was occupied by a member of the KPÖ at that time. This fact is also confirmed by Wetzov’s study.⁵³

Another reference can be found in connection with the registration card, which is required when applying for a passport issuing. This registration card was signed by Mr. Reszner, who was a care-taker on the given address in St. Pölten: Schwammelstraße Nr. 18, a house, which was owned by USIA in 1951. This registration card forms a connection to the Police Commissariat in St. Pölten. The registration card was valid until 1948. According to *Arbeiter-Zeitung* the above mentioned Mr. Reszner was not a care-taker at that time, but an employee of the Police Commissariat in St. Pölten, which means he was probably involved in this registration card being issued.⁵⁴ It was proved that the rest of the documents were also fakes.⁵⁵

This example is almost unique for Austria based on the fact that, for that time, the case was very well documented and there are thus high-quality sources of information available for this case. It enables an excellent overview of the mechanisms involved, which were being used by Soviet intelligence services

port come from?) In: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers’ newspaper), 12. 5. 1954, pp. 3; Chochlows Paß in St. Pölten ausgestellt. (Chochlov’s Passport Issued in St. Pölten) In: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers’ newspaper), 13. 5. 1954, pp. 2; Die österreichischen Kommunisten als Helfershelfer des Komplotts. (Austrian communists as the complot accomplices) In: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers’ newspaper), 18. 5. 1954, pp. 1; Die Komplizen (Accomplices); In: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers’ newspaper), 19. 5. 1954, pp. 2 et seq.

52 Woher stammt Chochlows österreichischer Paß? (Where does Chochlov’s Austrian Passport Come from?) In: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers’ newspaper), 12. 5. 1954, pp. 3.

53 According to Wetz the place was occupied by THE KPÖ member since 1947, compare with WETZ, *Wiener Polizei*. (Vienna police) pp. 388 – 421.

54 Die österreichische Kommunisten als Helfershelfer des Komplotts. (Austrian Communists as the Complot Accomplices) In: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers’ newspaper), 18. 5. 1954, pp 1.

55 *Ibidem*.

by 1954 so that the activity of their co-workers in Central and Western Europe could stay hidden. It is also confirmed by the character of Vienna and Austria, which were known as „a turntable” for intelligence service activities.

There was also noticeable censorship in this field, yet not as striking as in the case of arrests made by the Austrian police, made known by the 1955 State Treaty signing. After 1955 the available file of sources on operations of Soviet intelligence services got thinner, which is also the reason, why there were only few publications released at that time. Even in Mitrochin’s and Gordievsky’s documents there are only brief references to Austria. After 1955 Austria stayed an important operating field of KGB, yet there is no definite information on cooperation with the KPÖ available.

Conclusions and topics for further research

The above mentioned examples imply that at least by the end of the occupation period in 1955 the KPÖ members were cooperating with Soviet intelligence services. Following the 1955 State Treaty signing the political position of the KPÖ got considerably worse; the party lost power positions in police bodies and its support from the Soviet Union’s side got weaker as well. This probably the reason the KPÖ was no longer an important political partner and operational platform for the point of view of the Soviets.

From the available documents, however, it is possible to view the activities of Soviet intelligence services in Austria in the years 1950 to 1955 and form conclusions on their interconnection with the KPÖ. Notwithstanding this fact, the information is still incomplete. There are still too many blank pages; especially in the area of Austrian networks consisting of bodies of Soviet intelligence services, their Austrian informers and of the sphere of their activity. Comprehension of the exact mechanism, methods of functioning processes, which led to arrests as well as „special tasks” fulfilment, should become the main focus of future researches in this field. This goal setting requires analysis of Austrian internal, as well as Soviet internal, processes and development.

Such analysis could clear up the partial documentation of this activity that survived the 1955 „censorship” and in what form similar activities continued after 1955. In the secondary literature there are repeated references to the fact

that such activities still existed after 1955. Unfortunately, sources that would explain the basis of these conclusions are missing. Research on this topic would definitely help us to gain a better understanding and outline of the position of Austria as „a turntable” and „counterpoint” of intelligence services of Eastern and Western Europe.

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Jan Foitzik*Institute of Contemporary History**Germany***Nikita V. Petrov***Memorial**Russia***The Soviet Security Apparatus in the Soviet Occupation Zone of the GDR (1945-53). Structure, Tasks, and Cooperation with the East-Germany Authorities**

Political secret police agencies in totalitarian regimes are considered an illegitimate and illegal apparatus. This unique combination is present also in its file-keeping procedures and its „archival policy“. The state of affairs in the Soviet Occupation Zone in the GDR (SBZ)¹ were weighed down by the fact that the East-German political police emerged directly out of the Soviet State Security as its branch, without the Soviet apparatus terminating its independent activities in SBZ/GDR, as it did in other „people’s democracies“ in the summer of 1949. These oddities exaggerate the problems which arise when an effort is made to reconstruct the situation based on empirical evidence.

It is necessary to note that the political police had direct access to the state and party archival sources until 1989/90. The discrepancies between files in the archives of the secret services and in the state or party archives will attest to this fact. Gaps between file volumes can inadvertently cause serious problems by posing a dilemma whether they are based in institutional history or a virtual archival political background. There are also problems the causes of which one may merely speculate. So far, it is unclear why the East-German state security originated in a formal framework of the Soviet Ministry of the Interior in the SBZ, as both Soviet and German source sustain, and not in an organizational framework of the Ministry of the USSR State Security, which was truly competent from a logical aspect.

1 From German Sowjetische Besatzungszone Deutschlands (SBZ).

These minor issues should not be a great aggravating factor in this presentation, because it will primarily deal with the organization of the Soviet security apparatus in the SBZ/GDR in a broad consideration of its immediate, as well as indirect “state” roles in relation to the East-German security organization that emerged under its supervision.

Much has been published on the beginnings of the East-German political police.² For understandable reasons, the Soviet-German relations and circum-

- 2 Compare: MARQUARDT, Bernhard: Die Zusammenarbeit zwischen MfS und KGB (Cooperation between the MfS and the KGB), In: Deutscher Bundestag (German Bundestag) (pub.): *Materialien der Enquete-Kommission „Aufarbeitung von Geschichte und Folgen der SED-Diktatur in Deutschland“* (Documents by the Advisors’ Commission – „Elaborate History and Consequences of the SED Dictatorship in Germany”), vol. VIII, Baden-Baden 1995, pp. 297 – 361; KUBINA, Michael: „Was in dem einen Teil verwirklicht werden kann mit Hilfe der Roten Armee, wird im anderen Teil Kampffrage sein.“ „Zum Aufbau des zentralen Westapparates der KPD/SED 1945 – 1949 (What can be achieved with the assistance of the Red Army on the one side, will raise an issue of war on the other”, “The Establishment of the Western Central Party Apparatus of the KPD/SED 1945 – 1949). In: WILKE, Manfred (pub.): *Die Anatomie der Parteizentrale. Die KPD/SED auf dem Weg zur Macht* (The Anatomy of the Party Headquarters. The KPD/SED on the Path to Power), Berlin 1998, pp. 413 – 500; SACHAROV, Vladimir V. – FILIPPOVYCH, Dmitrij N. – KUBINA, Michael: Tschekisten in Deutschland. Organisation, Aufgaben und Aspekte der Tätigkeit der sowjetischen Sicherheitsapparate in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands (1945 – 1949) (Czechs in Germany. Organization, Tasks and Activities of the Soviet Security Apparatus in the Soviet Occupation Zone in Germany (1945 – 1949)), In: WILKE, Manfred (pub.): *Die Anatomie der Parteizentrale. Die KPD/SED auf dem Weg zur Macht* (The Anatomy of the Party Headquarters. The KPD/SED on Its Way to Power), Berlin 1998, pp. 293 – 335; KUBINA, Michael: Kontrolle und Repression als integraler Bestandteil der Parteiarbeit. Zu den Anfängen der parteiinternen Kontroll- und Repressionsapparate (Control and Repression as Integral Parts of Party Activity. On the Beginnings of the Intraparty Control and Repressive Apparatuses) In: BAUMANN, Ulrich – KURY, Helmut (pub.): *Politisch motivierte Verfolgung: Opfer von SED-Unrecht* (Politically Motivated Persecution : Victims of the SED Oppression) Freiburg i. Br. 1998, pp. 203 – 224; KUBINA, Michael: Ifo-Dienste und andere parteiinterne „Vorläufer“ des MfS (Information Services and Other Intraparty Predecessors of the MfS), In: *Deutschland Archiv 1998* (The German Archive 1998), pp. 994 – 1006; GIESEKE, Jens: Von der Deutschen Verwaltung des Innern zum Ministerium für Staatssicherheit 1948 bis 1950 (From German Directorate of the Interior to the Ministry of the State Security 1948 – 1950), ENGELMANN, Roger: Aufbau und Anleitung der ostdeutschen Staatssicherheit durch sowjetische Organe 1949 – 1959 (The Establishment and Direction of

stances have been clarified less, which implies this presentation can merely outline them due to its challenging and complex subject matter.

The paper focuses on the extensive introduction to the documentation on the activity of the Soviet security apparatus in the SBZ/GDR between 1945

the East-German State Security through the Soviet authorities 1949 – 1959), In: HILGER, Andreas – SCHMEITZNER, Mike – SCHMIDT, Ute (pub.): *Diktaturdurchsetzung. Instrumente und Methoden der kommunistischen Machtsicherung in der SBZ/DDR 1945 – 1955* (Enforcement of Dictatorship. Tools and Methods of the Communist Power Enforcement in SBZ/GDR 1945 – 1955), Dresden 2001, pp. 55 – 64; HERZ, Andrea – FIEGE, Wolfgang: *Haft und politische Polizei in Thüringen 1945 – 1952* (Imprisonment and Political Police in Thüringen 1945 – 1952), Erfurt 2002; SCHMEITZNER, Mike: *Formierung eines neuen Polizeistaates. Aufbau und Entwicklung der politischen Polizei in Sachsen 1945 – 1952* (Formation of a New Political State. Establishment and Development of the State Police in Sachsen 1945 – 1952); In: BEHRING, Rainer – SCHMEITZNER, Mike (pub.): *Diktaturdurchsetzung in Sachsen. Studien zur Genese der kommunistischen Herrschaft 1945 – 1952* (Enforcement of Dictatorship in Sachsen. Studies on the Genesis of the Communist Power 1945 – 1952), Köln 2003, pp. 201 – 267; TANTZSCHER, Monika: *Die Vorläufer des Staatssicherheitsdienstes in der Polizei der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone. Ursprung und Entwicklung der K 5* (Predecessors of the State Security Service in the Police Force in the Soviet Occupation Zone. Beginnings and Development K 5); In: *Jahrbuch für Historische Kommunismusforschung 1998* (The Yearbook of Historical Research on Communism 1998), pp. 125 – 156; TANTZSCHER, Monika: „In der Ostzone wird ein neuer Apparat aufgebaut“. Die Gründung des DDR-Staatssicherheitsdienstes („New apparatus is Built in the East Zone“. Establishment of the State Security Service in the GDR] In: *Deutschland Archiv 1998* (The German Archives 1998), pp. 48 – 56; GIESEKE, Jens: *Der Mielke-Konzern. Die Geschichte der Stasi 1945 – 1990* (History of the State Security 1945 – 1990) München 2006; LÜBECK, Wilfried: „Fortwährende Überprüfungen aller Bevölkerungsschichten“. Der Informationsdienst der KPD/SED als Vorläufer der Staatssicherheit („Intermittent Verification of All Population Strata“. Information Service KPD/SED as a Predecessor of the State Security), In: *Deutschland Archiv 1998* (The German Archive 1998), pp. 629 – 634; LAUFER, Jochen: *Die Ursprünge des Überwachungsstaates in Ostdeutschland. Zur Bildung der Deutschen Verwaltung des Innern in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone (1946)* (Beginnings of the Control State in East Germany. Establishment of the German Directorate of the Interior in the Soviet Occupation Zone) (1946)), In: FLORATH, Bernd and assoc. (pub.): *Die Ohnmacht der Allmächtigen. Geheimdienste und politische Polizei in der modernen Gesellschaft* (Powerlessness of the Almighty. Secret Services and the Political Police in Modern Society), Berlin 1992, pp. 146 – 168; and others.

and 1953. It should come out in Russian next year, and possibly in German the following year.

The presentation shall take the issue of translation into consideration, and shall therefore lay out the development of the Soviet security apparatus in a condensed form.

1. Structure of the Soviet Security Apparatus in the SBZ/GDR

The tasks of the security and secret services in the SBZ initially concentrated in a position of a NKVD commissioner (since 1946 a MVD commissioner)³ in Germany. In 1946, it formally was transferred under the authority of the MGB emissary of the Soviet Union.⁴ It was supported by 2,629 workers in 1946 and by 4000 workers in 1949. Their numbers dropped in 1952 to approximately 2200. After Stalin's death their number decreased to 328, but increased to 540 on June 17, 1953. In 1946, and again in 1952, the commissioner was responsible for foreign intelligence, and concurrently for the „SMERŠ“ counterintelligence unit. The Directorate of the Counterintelligence for the occupation forces turned into the 5th department, which observed the staff of the occupation army and other Soviet SBZ establishments. This department employed approximately 156 people who were assigned to the occupation directorate. The military counterintelligence remained separate.

The MVD/MGB armies, as an executive body, reported to the MGB commissioner. In 1946, it was 6,688 men, and in 1951, it was 5,385 men. In 1952, their number was reduced, and in February 1957, they were withdrawn from the GDR altogether.

Until August of 1948, the commissioner directly accounted for a special camp subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior in Germany that was originally intended to detain alleged war criminals and leaders of national socialists. The need to secretly monitor all communications evolved into a Soviet NKVD department of military censorship in Germany. Until 1947, it staffed 776 mili-

3 Narodny kommisariat/ministerstvo vnutrennykh del (NKVD/MVD) ZSSR – USSR Ministry of Interior.

4 Ministerstvo gosudarstvennoj bezopasnosti (MGB) – USSR Ministry of State Security.

tary personnel and 22 civilian officers in the territory of SBZ and East Berlin. In the autumn of 1947, the East-German police received permission to use telex communication, naturally subjected to censorship. This fact reveals the intensity of the conducted communication inspection.

The extent of ties between the secret Soviet security apparatus and the „normal” occupation army was enormous. According to the „integral functional principle” the secret service officers worked undercover as an expert heading the occupation army authorities. For example, the office of a political advisor, namely its Deputy Chief position, was filled⁵ by the head of the Soviet foreign intelligence that was responsible for Germany: in 1945-46 it was Col. A. M. Korotkov,⁶ in 1946-48 Major General L. A. Malinin,⁷ in 1947-50 V. F.

- 5 MURPHY, David E. – KONDRASCHEV, Sergei A. – BAILEY, George: *Battle-ground Berlin. CIA vs. KGB in the Cold War*, New Haven, London 1997, pp. 21, pp. 33, pp. 47.
- 6 Korotkov, Alexandr Michailovitch (1909 – 1961). Colonel; after finishing high school in 1928, he joined the State Security; since 1933, he worked for political intelligence in Western Europe; between 1934-38 in Paris, in 1939, he was temporarily dismissed from the State Security; between 1940-41 the NKGB resident in Berlin; between 1941-45, Head of the first (German) department of the 1st NKGB Directorate. Since April 1945 worked as a resident of the 1st NKVD Directorate in Germany, October 1945-February 1946 Head of the Soviet Foreign Intelligence in the SBZ's planning division of the political advisor SMAD, between 1946-50 Deputy Chief Officer of the Foreign Intelligence Directorate, or rather illegal foreign intelligence, of the MGB/USSR; he held a similar position between 1947-50 on the Information Committee at the USSR Ministry of the Foreign Affairs, to which he was appointed in 1950; between 1950-53 – Deputy Chief Official of the MGB bureau no. 1 (executing diversionary and terrorist operations abroad); in 1953, Chief Officer of the Foreign Intelligence MGB Directorate; between 1953-54 – Chief Officer and between 1954-57 Deputy Chief Officer of the 1st Central Directorate of Foreign Intelligence KGB /USSR; 1956 Major General; between 1957-61 Chief KGB Official at the GDR Ministry of the State Security. Biography: GRADKOW, Teodor: *Lift w raswedku. „Korol nelegalow” Alexandr Korotkov*, Moscow 2002.
- 7 Malinin, Leonid Andrejevitch (cover name General Georgiev) (1907 – 1982). Major General; graduated from a technical school in 1930 and from Frunze's military academy in 1939; since 1933 in State Security; 1941-45 – Chief Officer of the NKVD/NKGB Territorial Directorate; 1943 – The State Security commissar. Employee of the NKVD Directorate of Foreign Intelligence, between 1946-48 – Deputy Political Advisor of SMAD for Special Assignments, concurrently Chief Official of the Soviet Foreign Intelligence in Germany. Since 1946, the American

Razin,⁸ and between 1949-52, it was Lieutenant General I. I. Il'jičov.⁹

The fact that the Head of the Soviet security apparatus in 1945 and 1946 simultaneously held the position of Deputy Chief Commander of the whole German Administration Zone in the SBZ had wide spread effects and a deep impact. In 1947, the general authority over administration and control of the East German administration, which previously served the security apparatus, was retracted from him. The MGB apparatus became responsible for security screening checks of the occupation administration personnel, which gave it an

Intelligence Agency in charge of a Berlin operative base listed him as a liaison of under a cover name „Desoto“. In 1948, he worked at Information Committee at the USSR Council of Ministers, later active in railway security. Lit.: BAILEY, George – KONDRASCHOW, Sergej A. – MURPHY, David E.: *Die unsichtbare Front* (The Invisible Front), Berlin 1997.

- 8 Razin, Vasilij Fjodorovitch (also: Vasilij Trifonovitch Razin a Vasilij Petrovitch Roshtchin, real name: Jakov Vasilij Tischchenko) (1903 – 1988). He graduated from teachers' academy and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in 1940; since 1925 in the Red Army intelligence; since 1925 he worked at the General USSR Consulate in Charbin, China, where he was active as a resident of the Soviet Foreign Intelligence between 1926-29; in 1929 he worked for the foreign intelligence in Vladivostok ; in 1930-32 – Deputy Chief Officer of the Central NKVD Directorate, 5th Division. Since 1932 in Soviet NKVD Foreign Intelligence in Germany, 1935-38 – resident in Austria; 1938 dismissed from the State Security, recalled in 1941, since 1941- Head of the 4th Sub-department at the NKGB Directorate; 1943-45 – foreign intelligence resident in Sweden, in 1945-47 in Finland and between 1947-50 in Berlin. In 1947-49 official fourth deputy political advisor of SMAD for Special Assignments, and Head of the Consular Department. In 1950-53 in the central apparatus of foreign agitation in Moscow; in 1953 he retired.
- 9 Iljitchov, Ivan Ivanovitch (1950 – 1983). 1926 WKP(B), since 1929 in the Red Army, in 1938 – graduated from the Lenin's Academy, in 1938 – Head of the Political Department at the General Staff of Foreign Intelligence (GRU), 1942 Lieutenant General, 1942-43 Head of the GRU, 1943-47 Deputy head of the GRU, 1948-49 Deputy Head of the 3rd European Department at the USSR Ministry of the Foreign Affairs. Since July 1949 Secretary to the Political Advisor of SMAD, since October 1949 Chief Secretary námestník politického poradcu SMAD, 1952-53 – Head of the USSR Diplomatic Mission in the GDR (since June 1952 in a position of special and mandatory ambassador), in June 1953-July 1955 Highest Commissioner of the USSR in Austria, 1956-66 Head of the 3rd European Department at the USSR Ministry of the Foreign Affairs. In 1966-68 – ambassador in Denmark, in 1968-75 – Head of the Directorate for Planning with the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs, in 1957, he retired

indirect control over monitoring authority. Since 1948, one might observe that the “proper” occupational administration secretly delegated expert tasks to the MGB apparatus in the department of the interior and state representation.

This process took place against a background of transferring authority from the Soviet occupation administration to the East-Germany administrative bodies, which were dependent on it. All personnel and political decisions of the East-Germany authorities, as a matter of principle, required the approval of the Soviet apparatus, which gained direct influence on the overall staffing policy in the SBZ/GDR. Strict confidentiality was omnipresent – „*discussing big issues of politics with anyone was forbidden*“¹⁰. Even after the war, “the rules of conspiracy were fully valid” in order to keep important issues on a need to know basis.¹¹

When the Soviet Control Council in Germany was set up in 1949, it was headed by the chief official of the Soviet security apparatus in the GDR (nicknamed „Inspection”) as a deputy chief of an occupation authority. After 1949, the classification tightened and the overall internal and external correspondence became classified as „strictly”. Once the Soviet Ministry of the State Security (MfS) was liquidated in 1953, its agenda in the GDR transferred to the authority of the Ministry of the Interior. In May of 1953, the new Minister of the Interior, Berija, proposed to reduce the number of workers in the apparatus to 328; and on June 9th, he ordered the liquidation of the advisor positions active at the regional MfS offices. The new chief representative of the Soviet Ministry of the Interior in GDR, Major General Jevgenij Petrovič Pitovranov¹² increased

10 SEMJONOW, Wladimir S.: *Von Stalin bis Gorbatschow. Ein halbes Jahrhundert in diplomatischer Mission 1939 – 1991* (From Stalin to Gorbatshev. Half a Century in a Diplomatic Mission 1939 – 1991), Berlin 1995, pp. 157.

11 *Ibidem*, pp. 232.

12 Pitovranov, Jevgeni Petrovitch (1915 – 1999), 1945 Major General, 1956 Lieutenant General, graduated from the Institute of the Communication Sciences; during war – Chief NKVD/NKGB Official in the districts of Gorki, Kirov a Kujbyshev, 1945-46 NKGB Uzbekistan, 1946-51 – Chief MGB Officer of the 2nd Central Directorate and in 1950-51 MGB/USSR representative, 1951-52 in investigative detention; in 1953 – Deputy Chief Officer of the MWD Directorate of Counterintelligence. 1953-57 – MWD Commissioner in Germany / since 1954 – envoy of State Security Committee at the USSR Council of Ministers (KGB) / Head of the „the chief of the inspection for security affairs with the office of the High USSR

the number of the Soviet advisors in the GDR to 540 in the summer of 1953.¹³ At first, Pitovranov held the office of the commissioner for the State Security Committee (KGB), or namely „the chief of the inspection for security affairs with the office of the High USSR Commissioner in Germany”. Since 1955, he had led the apparatus of the „high KGB advisor with the USSR Council of Ministers working at the authorities of the Ministry of the GDR State Security” (MfS)¹⁴. After November 1st, 1958, only 32 KGB contact officers were active at the MfS GDR: 4 agitation specialists, 9 intelligence officers, 2 investigators, who were spread out one by one to cover the 15 districts.¹⁵

2. Tasks:

As early as June 4th, 1945, the NKVD order, number 00780, broaden the power of the Soviet authorities in SBZ/GDR to the full extent, which allowed them to liquidate „*new anti-Soviet organizations and groups that emerged after Germany capitulated*”¹⁶. The NKVD Commissioner in the SBZ was entrusted with the following major tasks:

1. Organization and administration of the operative agent activity
2. Exposure and liquidation of spies, diversionists, terrorists, and enemy organizations and groups, including “the newly established” ones
3. Search of war criminals, political and war officials of the Third Reich

Commissioner in Germany”. Since 1955 he had led the apparatus of the „high KGB advisor with the USSR Council of Ministers working at the authorities of the Ministry of the GDR State Security”. In 1957-60 Chief KGB Official of the 4th KGB Directorate, 1960-62 representative in China (Beijing), 1977-83 representative, and in 1983-88 Chair of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

13 CHLOBUSTOV, Oleg: Na perednjem kraje „choloednoi wojny”. In: [Http://www.chekist.ru/article/1251](http://www.chekist.ru/article/1251) (June 12th, 2007), pp. 32, pp. 34.

14 From German. Ministerium für Staatssicherheit der DDR.

15 Lieutenant General E. Mielke and Major General A KOrotkov/Converntion on provisioning for the officers of the State Security with the USSR Council of Ministers for coordination and alliance with the MfS GDR dated October 30th, 1959. In: *BSIU* Secretariat of Ministers, pp. 423.

16 Verbatim wording in: MIRONENKO, Sergej and assoc. (pub.): *Sowjetische Speziellager in Deutschland 1945 bis 1950* (The Soviet Special Camps in Germany 1945 – 1950), vol. 2, Berlin 1998, pp. 201 – 203.

4. Exposure and demolition of illegal radio stations, stores of ammunition and such arsenal as illegal printing presses
5. Screening of the Soviet repatriates
6. Administration of work with the German prisoners of war in the SBZ.¹⁷

This regulation remained in effect until February 1954.¹⁸

In the SBZ/GBR, extension of criminal legislation of the RSFSR and execution of extra judiciary sentences of criminal legislature. Judicial powers of the occupation forces rested on the military authority of the occupation army, and they were affected by it until 1955 when they were terminated.

In pursuance of the Soviet legal system, it was the task of the security apparatus also to fulfill the aforementioned special assignments. Directive of the Soviet Central Headquarters for the Land Army dated April 20th, 1945¹⁹ entitled the security apparatus to exert power over „*organizing the local administration [a] at appointing mayors, police chiefs, town chiefs, court officials, and state representative offices*“.²⁰

Extensive powers granted to the occupation forces secured them with participating in making the allied decisions in cardinal issues. They became formally acknowledged in regulations stated in Act no. 4, Article III of the Control Council of October 30th, 1945 on „reorganization of the German legal system“. German courts hereby lost their legal supremacy at prosecuting „*criminal acts against allied occupation forces*“, as well as „*criminal acts committed by the Nazis or other persons against nationals of the United nations or their property, as well as attempts to restore the Nazi regime or reinstatement of the Nazi organizations and their activities.*“²¹

17 *Ibidem*.

18 The MWD Regulation no. 099 annulled it on February 16th, 1954.

19 Pressed in: SCHERSTJANOI, Elke (vyd.): *Rotarmisten schreiben aus Deutschland. Briefe von der Front (1945) und historische Analysen*, Mnichov 2004, pp. 145.

20 GKO head Stalin / regulation of April 22nd, 1945. In: *Gossudarstvennyy arkhiv Rossijskoi Federazii* (The State Archive of the Russian Federation; Moscow, abb. GARF) R-9401/2/95, pp. 319 – 320.

21 Verbatim wording: Official Letter of the Control Council no. 2 dated November 30th, 1945, pp. 8 – 9.

These regulations were based on the Control Council Act no. 2 of October 10th, 1945 on liquidation of the NSDAP, as well as its structure and a punitive ban on its reinstatement. According to Act no. 10, Article III of December 20th, 1945, the occupation forces were entitled to prosecute crimes against peace, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and adherence to criminal organizations in their own courts,²² pursuant to the verdict of the international military tribunal. Military courts were entitled to prosecute possession of weapons, in pursuance of the Control Council Directive no. 2 of January 7th, 1946, and violation of the strict ban to make, import, export, transport and store weapons arsenals²³, in pursuance of the Control Council Act no. 43 of December 30th, 1946. The Control Council Directive no. 38 of October 12th, 1945 declared full extent of punitive powers to prosecute war criminals, national socialists and militarists.²⁴ Article III section III very clearly defined that „*an activist is a person who after May 8th, 1945 still threatens the peace of the German nation or the world peace [...] by spreading nationalist or militarist propaganda, or tendentious rumors.*“ It was generally banned to „*spread rumors [...] which undermined the unity of the United nations*“, or „*to rise up against democratic measures the chief officers take in the zones they administer.*”²⁵

When the GDR was established on October 7th, 1949, the tasks formerly executed by the occupation forces were transferred on the provisional GDR government. The Soviet Control Commission in Germany, however, reserved the right „*to control fulfillment of the Postupim and other joint agreements among the four allies that concerned Germany*”²⁶ In 1953, its tasks passed to the

22 Verbatim wording: Official letter of the Control Council no.3 of January 31st, 1946, pp. 50 – 55.

23 Verbatim wording: Official letter of the Control Council no.12 of November 30th, 1946, pp. 234 – 239.

24 Verbatim wording: Official letter of the Control Council no.11 of October 31st, 1946, pp. 184 – 194.

25 Regulations set for German politicians and German press. In: Official letter of the Control Council no.11 of October 30th, 1946, pp. 212.

26 Declaration of the Chief SMAD Official, Army General Tschujkov dated October 10th, 1949. In: *Dokumente zur Aussenpolitik der Regierung der DDR* (Documents on the foreign policy of the GDR government), vol. I, East Berlin 1954, pp. 229 – 231. here pp. 231. Also, the main points of the declaration of Tschujkov from November 11, 1949 support the establishment of the Soviet Control Commission.

Supreme USSR Commission in Germany. The Soviet government declaration of March 25th, 1954, granted sovereignty to the GDR under a condition that it would keep to its commitments toward the four allied powers,²⁷ and terminated the control of the Supreme Commission. Once the state of war with Germany ended, the Declaration of the Soviet government on January 25th, 1955 entailed an international arrangement of relations between the GDR and the USSR, effected in the Agreement of September 20th, 1955.²⁸ At the same time, the USSR Council of Ministers dissolved the Supreme USSR Commission in Germany and ordained that „all acts, directives, orders, and other regulations in the GDR territory that the Control Council of Germany stipulated between 1945 and 1948 to enforce the occupation rights of the four allied powers, were no longer effective.“²⁹

3. Cooperation of the Soviet State Security with the East German Authorities:

3.1. Independently of the occupation powers, the German communists re-established „the KPD counterintelligence“, antifascist committees and departments „S“ for „special/security issues“, and staked out a claim of a political police authority. „Upon SMA's request“, the KDP cadre department included an information service as early as 1945 to „cover public surveys“. When the SED Co-Chair Grotewohl found out about its illegal existence in the Westberliner Presse (The East Berlin Press) in March 1947, he ordered its immediate liquidation.³⁰ As expected, his order was not executed. In 1945, marshall Schukov, Chief Officer of the Occupation Administration, allegedly gave an oral order

In: *Ibidem*, pp. 236 – 237.

27 Declaration of the Soviet government establishing full sovereignty of the GDR dated March 25th, 1954. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 303 – 304.

28 *Ibidem*, pp. 48 – 50.

29 The USSR government resolution on the dissolution of the Supreme USSR Commission in Germany e, In: *Dokumente zur Aussenpolitik der DDR* (Documents on the GDR foreign policy), Vol.III, East Berlin 1956, pp. 284 – 285.

30 The SED Province of Sachsen/ The General SED Secretariat/Halle, March 24th, 1947. In: *Bundesarchiv* (The Federal Archive), SAMPO, ZPA/NL Grotewohl/305, pp. 88.

to establish German bureau of intelligence and information at the the regional SBZ directorates. In 1947, a „*highly sophisticated network of confidants and informants was considered necessary*” even in industrial centers of Western Europe.³¹ Multiple „joint” Soviet-East German establishments, which (as the officially declared legitimate Soviet organizations) employed German workers, were not active merely in the „information domain”. Such establishments purposefully rearranged its institutional and personnel status (usually several times) to finally profile themselves as East German institutions. Such was the case, for example, of the „Soviet Intelligence Bureau” in SBZ, which maintained a wide network of correspondence in the SBZ under Soviet control since 1946. These establishments of the Soviet Secret Service and the GDR State Security later established copious personal ties.³²

Oral orders of the occupation powers and information conventions between the Soviet and East-German officials became a standard once the Control Commission passed Act no. 31 of July 5, 1946 abolishing “all German police authorities and agencies that oversaw or monitored the political activity of persons”, and their restoration was declared criminal.³³ From a legal stance, the East German authorities acted as auxiliary bodies, and as such did not exert any sovereign powers. On July 30th, 1946, a secret Order by the Chief Officer of the Occupation Administration no. 0212, initiated the establishment of German Directorate of Interior in the SBZ, and the extension of legal authority to East German bodies. It was Colonel General Serov,³⁴ the Deputy Chief Commander

31 Territorial government Sachsen/Establishment of a Territorial Intelligence Bureau and its Tasks, December 5th, 1947. In: Archiv der Bundesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (The Archives of the Federal Commissioner for Stasi Records of the Former GDR) (abbr.: *BStU*) AS 299/66, pp. 273.

32 Compare: FOITZIK, Jan: *Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland (SMAD) 1945 – 1949. Struktur und Funktion* (The Soviet Military Administration in Germany(SMAD) 1945 – 1949. Its Structure and Function), Berlin 1999, pp. 192 – 195.

33 Verbatim wording: Official letter of the Control Council no.8 of July 1st, 1946, pp. 163.

34 Serov, Ivan Alexandrovič (1905 – 1990),Colonel General. In the Red Army since 1925; in 1939 – graduated from the Frunze’s Military Academy; 1939–41NKVD of Ukraine, 1941 first USSR NKGB Deputy, and since July 1941 USSR NKVD Dep-

of the Occupation Zone, and the Head of all Soviet SBZ security apparatuses, who determined the necessity to centralize „*the police we control in the SBZ*”, so „*it could master the required skills, and prepare to report to the future Ministry of the Interior*.”³⁵ In order to comprehend the significance of this step to the full extent, we must keep in mind that in June of 1946, the Soviet occupation administration announced the municipal elections in the SBZ to take place in September of 1946, and the regional assembly elections to be held in October of 1946. In the course of preparation for the Soviet elections, the communists and the social democrats in the SBZ merged into the United Socialist Party of Germany [SED] several months prior.

A process of a gradual delegation of tasks from the Soviet to the East German establishments was connected to the centralization of formerly federal German state structures. The territorial unification of commissariats/official bureaus of the East German Criminal Police known as the K5, which executed „orders of the occupation force” and dealt with political crimes, started as early as 1946. In the process of denazification, these commissariats acquired legal criminal authority, namely by Order no. 201 of August 16th, 1947.³⁶ Since October 1947, the K5 „specialized” in executing the political police tasks related to „directive issues of the occupation force”³⁷. The number of the K5 collaborators increased

uty ; concurrently in Jan-July 1945 The NKVD Commissioner with the 1st Belorus front and Deputy Chief Commander for Civilian Affairs. Since July 1945 to February 24th, 1947 The USSR NKVD/MVD Commissioner in Germany; Deputy Chief Commander of the Occupation Army for Civil Administration, and Deputy Chief Commander of the Soviet Occupation Army in SBZ. 1947- March 1954 First USSR MVD Deputy, 1954-58 Chief KGB Official to the USSR Council of Ministers; 1955 Army General, 1958-63 Chief Officer of the Directorate of Intelligence (GUR) with the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. 1963 demoted to Major General, 1965 expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

- 35 Serov/Kruglov/June 26th, 1946, as well as Kruglov/Stalin, Molotov, Beria, Shdanov/July 6th, 1946, In: *GARF*, R 9401/2/138, pp. 49 – 57.
- 36 Verbatim wording: Zentralverordnungsblatt. Hg.namens aller Zentralverwaltungen von der Deutschen Justizverwaltung der SBZ in Deutschland (Official Central Office letter: issued on behalf of all central SBZ directorates of German administration of justice in Germany), Berlin 1947, pp. 185 – 186.
- 37 Wagner –Vice-Chair of the German Interior Administration to Hauptman Patoka on SMAD/June 15th, 1948. In: Bundesarchiv (The Federal Archive) D 01/7/365/, pp. 285.

to 160 in 1946, to almost 700 till April 1948, and to cca. 1600 up to June 1949. A mere 10% of them passed the checks of the Soviet security apparatus and started working at the „Central Directorate for Protection of the National Property” with the GDR Ministry of the Interior.³⁸ On February 8th, 1950, they were transferred to an independent Ministry of the State Security MfS.

3.2. Since autumn of 1946, the SED leadership set the following primary tasks: Securing the insofar-procured means by police – outcome of political purging in the context of denazification, dispossessions based on the land reform and expropriation of industrial property. Between the end of 1946 and beginning of 1947, the intraparty discussion within the SED drafted a „new democracy”, which despite internal criticism projected into the „*SED [...] being the state building party of the SBZ, even Berlin*“, and into representing „the leading role”.³⁹ This political course started accelerating in mid 1947, and cemented itself thanks to „*continuously escalating battle between the reactionary forces and the new democratic order*”. Slogans such as „the black market”, „speculations”, and „sabotage via compensation trade” aired. They touched upon economic-political issues, but also state politics concerning Germany, as the regional governments were accused of conducting compensation trade with West Germany, thus avoiding central control. Werner Eggerath, Minister of the Interior for the federal state of Thüringen, expressed it quite specifically, when he said: „*Bribes play a big role; and with the Russians even more so than with us.*”⁴⁰

Goals of state politics were suddenly at stake along with the East Germany-Soviet relations. In the mid 1947 Ulbricht formulated an ambitious goal. He aimed to connect the entire public administration network to the ministries con-

38 GIESEKE, Jens: *Die hauptamtliche Mitaaarbeiter der DDR-Staatsicherheit. Personalstruktur und Lebenswelt* (Employees of the GDR State Security. HR Stucture and Space for Living), Berlin 2000, pp. 58.

39 Report in Dahlem: Statutes of Party Organization, v: Stenographische Niederschrift der 8. Tagung des PV am 22. /23. jan.1947 (Stenographic minutes of the 8th PV assembly on January 22.-23., 1947). In: *Bundesarchiv* (The Federal Archive), SAPMO, ZPA/IV 2/1/9, pp. 202.

40 Stenographic report on the Conference of Ministers of the Interior held on August 11.-12., 1947. In: *BStU AS 229/66*, pp. 6.

trolled by communists. He wanted to enforce a central intelligence bureau with the German Interior Administration. In October of 1947, he requested: „*We must have confidants everywhere, and we must know what is happening.*“⁴¹

Despite immense political pressure from the occupation power, the SED acted very reticently when ambitious East German projects were expecting approval. Since the beginning of 1948, Ulbricht had intensified his activities, and despite severe conflicts with the occupation administration in 1947-48, he speedily enforced the building of „a state as an instrument of the ruling class“, hand in hand with the Stalinist „legitimate escalation of class battle“.⁴² He envisioned all parliaments to function as „auxiliary executive bodies implementing economic measures“, with the centralized police administration serving as template of „state organization“.

The Soviet security apparatus was not the only one to express strong opposition to such police-state visions, notwithstanding its involvement in the occupation administration of Germany since 1947, and quarrels over authority with the Soviet government. Western press covered the political terror in the SBZ on a quite regular basis, which aided to further East German isolation. Abakumov, the Minister of Security sent a report of Colonel General Kovaltchuk, the MGB Commissioner in Germany, to Molotov in 1948 filled with complaints over German judiciary system, which seemed to be incompetent to execute „democratic reforms“ because it caved in under the influence of „civic party“ members.⁴³ During his visit with Stalin, Molotov and Kuznecov on December 11th, 1948, Abakumov intervened to have the official bureaus of German criminal police K5 liquidated entirely, since the Americans and the British labeled them “the German Gestapo” because of their spy network. The Soviet MGB considered Ulbricht’s wish to establish German authorities of state security,

41 Report on the Conference of Ministers of the Interior held on October 12th, 1947. In: *Bundesarchiv* (The Federal Archive), SAPMO IV 2/13/109, pp. 71 a pp. 74.

42 Waltera Ulbrichta’s report. In: *Die neuen Aufgaben der demokratischen Verwaltung* (New Tasks of the Democratic Administration), Berlin 1948, pp. 9 – 37.

43 PETROV, Nikita: Die Apparate des NKVD/MVD und des MGB in Deutschland 1945 – 1953. (The NKVD/MVD and the MGB apparatuses in Germany 1945 – 1953]. In: MIRONENKO, Sergej and assoc. (pub.): *Sowjetische Speziallager in Deutschland 1945 bis 1950* (The Soviet Special Camp in Germany 1945 – 1950), vol. 1, Berlin 1998, pp. 143 – 157, here pp. 153.

which he presented in Moscow, as inexpedient, because they would induce new intelligence bodies in Western zones. Also, one could not work around an issue that a reliable German general was not available. As long as the MGB bodies provide protection from espionage in the SBZ territory, the Minister of Security found it „*unnecessary to establish a German apparatus for this purpose.*”⁴⁴

The SED leadership acted willing to strike a compromise in this conflict. In December 1948, Pieck even proposed to disband K5 altogether. In the summer of 1949, it became a reality.⁴⁵ He then proposed to establish “a central department for the protection of the economy and democratic order” under direct control of the Soviet occupation forces and the Chair of the Interior Administration.⁴⁶

On July 6th, 1948, the Soviet Council of Ministers drafted a resolution to „strengthen the German police in the Soviet Occupation Zone”. On December 28th, 1948, the Soviet Politburo complied with the proposal of Pieck and Grotewohl to strengthen the „State security” in the SBZ.⁴⁷ The Politburo also issued an order to start building a secret East-German army⁴⁸. In his executive report to Stalin dated April 2nd, 1949, Minister Abakumov stressed the need to transfer 115 MGB employees „to direct and monitor German security bodies” within the SBZ, and to establish relevant MGB apparatus establishments with all regional directorates of the German State Security.⁴⁹ In May 1949, some K5 units

44 *Ibidem.*

45 Bundesministerium für gesamtdeutsche Fragen (The Federal Ministry for All-German Affairs) (pub.): *Der Staatssicherheitsdienst. Ein Instrument der politischen Verfolgung in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands* (The State Security Service. Instrument of olitical Persecution in the Soviet Occupation Zone in Germany) ,Bonn, 1962, pp. 17.

46 Compare PIECK: „Antwort auf die Fragen zur Besprechung am 18. 12. 48” („Responses to Questions during the Talks held on December 18th, 1948”). In: BAD-STÜBNER, Rolf – LOTH, Wilfried (pub.): *Wilhelm Pieck – Aufzeichnungen zur Deutschlandpolitik 1945 – 1953* (Records on German Politics), Berlin 1994, pp. 247 – 259 as well as p. 261, and further on.

47 Compare PIECK: Ergebnis der 4-stündigen Besprechungen am 18. 12. 1948 (Outcome of 4-hour talks on December.12th, 1948). In: *Ibidem*, pp. 261, and further on.

48 PETROV, Nikita: *Formirowanije nemezkich organow gosbesopasnosti*, Manuscript 2007, pp. 5.

49 Petrov, Nikita: Die Apparate des NKVD/MVD und des MGB in Deutschland 1945-1953 [The NKVD/MVD and MGB Apparatuses in Germany 1945-1953], v: Mi-

transferred from the general police structures and transferred to the central K5 department in Berlin. Concurrently, all economic processes relating to police work were taken out of its authority.

Implementation of the SED goals was promoted by general political situation. The Soviet security apparatus conducted extensive arrests in March of 1948 among former social democrats in Berlin, Sachsen, and Thüringen. They were charged with keeping contacts in the East SPD bureau and alleged collaboration with the American and the British secret services.⁵⁰ At the same time Walter Ulbricht constantly put the party purges question to central SED secretariat.⁵¹ Resolution of the Kominform (Communist Bureau of Information) on Yugoslavia accelerated the transformation of the SED into a „party of a new kind”. In July of 1948, the SED leadership decided to „*fortify the party organization and to purge the hostile and depraved elements.*”⁵² In September of 1948, the party commissions to control and to “keep the party pure” were established.⁵³

3.3. Once the independent Ministry of the GDR State Security was established, the Soviet Politburo chose to transfer the existing KPD/SED apparatuses of counterintelligence to foreign intelligence, which reported to the GDR Council of Ministers on July 14th, 1951.⁵⁴ „Intelligence Service of the Foreign Policy”(APN)⁵⁵ that followed the Soviet mimicry tactics and masked itself as

ronenko, Sergej and assoc. (pub.): Sowjetische Speziallager in Deutschland 1945 bis 1950 (The Soviet Special Camp in Germany 1945 – 1950), Vol. 1, Berlin 1998, pp. 143-157, here p. 153.

- 50 Compare Pieck-Notizen. Besprechung bei Semjonow am 5. Juni 1948 (Pieck's notes. The Talks at Semjonov's on June 5th, 1948), v: Bundesarchiv (The Federal Archive), SAPMO, ZPA/NL 36/735. Compare also: The Talks of September 9th, 1948, *Ibidem*.
- 51 MALYCHA, Andreas – HEDELER, Wladyslaw: *Die Stalinisierung der SED* (Stalin's influence in SED). Mainz 1991, pp. 41.
- 52 *Ibidem*, pp. 25 and further on.
- 53 *Ibidem*, pp. 19.
- 54 PETROV, *Formirovanije nemeckich organov gosbesopasnosti*, Manuscript 2007, pp. 13.
- 55 From German Außenpolitischer Nachrichtendienst.

the „Research Institute for Economy and Science” (IWF),⁵⁶ was officially joined with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Head of the Intelligence Service was a German man whom the internal Soviet documents marked as highly incompetent. The Service was in reality controlled by the representative of the Soviet Committee for Information. In 1949, the structure of the MGB apparatus reorganized into 40 municipal and 91 district departments, and in 1952, it adjusted to the regional structure, to ensure the control of the German state security. In 1953, the incorporation of the „Intelligence service of the Foreign Policy” into authority of the GDR Ministry of the State Security followed. The Ministry employed 10 000 people that year; till 1956, the number increased to 16 000 salaried employees. In 1952, it could use the service of 21 034 informers.⁵⁷

Activity of the Soviet Security Service in the GDR in August of 1949 did not end as was the case in other „people’s democracies”. The MfS remained under complete control of the Soviet service till Stalin’s death. The Soviet instructors worked as advisors to the the regional MfS bureaus. They were included in town budgets, were paid from the state budget of the GDR, controlled the entire HR politics, and were directly responsible for work at the bureau.⁵⁸ It seemed the division of labor profiled the Soviet apparatus to specialize in the „intelligence” and the „anti-Soviet” offences, which left all other „traitors” to German authorities. While the MGB arrested 4 500 people in SBZ in 1948, in 1949 this number dropped to approximately 3 000, and the next year to 2 000. The MfS, on the other hand, doubled its statistical records in comparison to the first half of 1952, with a record 3 300 arrests in its second half.⁵⁹ On June 9th, 1953, the position of Soviet advisors at the regional MfS bureaus was cancelled.

On June 17th, 1953, the GDR was caught up in a national uprising, which brought the Soviet Ministry of the Interior to face unparalleled operative tasks.⁶⁰

56 From German Institut für Wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Forschung.

57 PETROV, *Formirovanije nemeckich organov gosbesopasnosti*, manuscript 2007, pp. 15.

58 CHLOBUSTOV, Oleg: Na perednjem kraje „chłodnoi wojny“. In: [Http://www.chekist.ru/article/1251](http://www.chekist.ru/article/1251) (June 12th, .2007), pp. 20

59 PETROV, *Formirovanije nemeckich organov gosbesopasnosti*, manuscript 2007, pp. 13, pp. 9 and pp. 15.

60 Porov. also: FOITZIK, Jan: „Hart und konsequent ist der neue politische Kurs zu realisieren“. Ein Dokument zur Politik der Sowjetunion gegenüber der DDR nach

When 38 special units of the Soviet Ministry of the Interior (with 60 people each) examined the state of security in the GDR, Pitovranov, the new Chief Official of the Soviet Ministry of the Interior in the GDR increased the number of his employees to 540 in the summer of 1953.⁶¹ After the GDR joined the Warsaw Pact in 1955, it matched the professional services in other „people’s democracies”.

4. Outcome of Repressive Policies in SBZ/GDR:

Establishment of the East-German State Security within the Soviet security apparatus directly reflected Soviet interests in Germany, and unusual national and constitutional law conditions, which aided to their implementation. Soviet interests corresponded to the political ambition of German communist along basic lines. Even though the occupation power found it hard to share their extensive authority with the SED, the German communists quickly realized that a separate German divided state can not function without a „German State Security”. In comparison to other „people’s democracies”, one can view a structural difference here, especially from the aspect of further MfS development.

The State Security in the SBZ/GDR served as a template for organization of the state, even from a perspective of historical genesis. Firstly, the GDR did not have to transform to a dictatorship, like other countries did, but was founded as a „planned” police dictatorship. Checking its own population did not reach such an excessive extent as it did in the GDR, where it even overshadowed its original historical Soviet model.

On the other hand, it must be noted that other „people’s democracies” implemented repressive measures via „their own” national coercive apparatuses, especially in the time of establishing a one-party rule, that sometimes took even more brutal form than in the SBZ/ GDR. The communist leadership in the GDR even used the memory of „foreign” Soviet services and „Stalin’s terror” as a

Berias Verhaftung im Juni 1953 („It is tough to consistently establish a new political course”. A document on the policy of the Soviet Union towards the GDR after Beria was arrested in June of 1953). In: *Deutschland Archiv* 1/2000 (The German Archive 1/2000), pp. 32 – 49.

61 CHLOBUSTOV, Oleg: Na perednjem kraje „choloednoi wojny“. In: [Http://www.chekist.ru/article/1251](http://www.chekist.ru/article/1251) (12. 07. 2007), pp. 32, pp. 34.

part of its political propaganda to increase its legitimacy. Such considerations were present as early as 1947-48, as the conflicts concerning the establishment of East-German security bodies raged against the background of intensive coverage on the political terror in the GDR by the West-German media. Some high officials of the occupation power, as well as the SED leadership attempted to „make the situation better”, despite the resistance from the Soviet security apparatus. The factors that were supposed to act in unison collided greatly instead: on the one hand, they favored the position of the East-German political police and amplified social impact of political harassment measures, on the other hand, they contributed to a heightened sensitivity to threat due to their initiators and political opportunists.

According to official Soviet data in 1945-49, 122 700 people were interned by the occupation power in the SBZ. The latest calculations tally 154 000 German citizens. 43 000 of them died in detention. Based on the estimate of the Russian Military State Representative Office, war tribunals held in the SBZ/GDR until 1955, sentenced 35,000 to 40 000 Germans pursuant to „laws of wartime”.⁶² Approximately 20 000 to 25 000 of them were deported to the USSR.

The proportion of German citizens tried by war tribunals on accounts of specific national-socialist offences and interned in the GDR in 1949/50 reached 25-30%. After May 8th, 1945, the proportion of German citizens convicted various political offences climbed to 48%.⁶³ Out of more than 25 documented verdicts pronounced by the Soviet war tribunal over German civilians in the SBZ/GDR

62 KOPALIN, Leonid: Die Rechtsgrundlage der Rehabilitierung widerrechtlich repressierter deutscher Staatsangehöriger (Legal Documents on Rehabilitation of the Illegally Persecuted German Nationals). In: HILGER, Andreas – SCHMIDT, Ute – WAGENLEHNER, Günther: *Sowjetische Militärtribunale* (The Soviet Military Tribunal), Vol. 1: Die Verurteilung deutscher Kriegsgefangener 1941 – 1953 (Verdict over German Prisoners of War 1941 – 1953), Köln 2001, pp. 353 – 384, here pp. 366.

63 Compare also: MORRÉ, Jörg: *Speziallager des NKWD. Sowjetische Internierungslager in Brandenburg 1945 – 1950* (The Special NKVD Camp. The Soviet Internment Camps in Brandenburg 1945 – 1950), Postupim 1997, pp. 20. Quoted from: WENTKER, Hermann: Die juristische Ahndung von NS-Verbrechen in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone und in der DDR (Legal Verdict over Criminals in the Soviet Occupation Zone in the GDR). In: *Kritische Justiz* (Critical Justice) 2002/Fascicle 1, pp. 60 – 78, here pp. 62.

in 1945-55, 3,140 verdicts (=12,4 %) listed accounts of war and violent crimes, 243 cases (1,0 %) listed illegal possession of weapons, 18,176 verdicts (=71,9 %) listed the so-called counter-revolutionary crimes pursuant to Article 58 of Coll. of Criminal Law of the RSFSR. All others referenced different ordinances of the Coll. of Criminal Law.⁶⁴

Between 1945 and 1950, 2,943 persons were sentenced to death, and 2,223 were actually executed.⁶⁵ 529 of them received the death sentence on accounts of war and violent crimes; further 26 persons were executed for illegal possession of weapons.⁶⁶ The greatest number of death sentences were on charges of so-called counter-revolutionary crimes, pursuant to Article 58 of Coll. of Criminal Law of the RSFSR; and alleged espionage.

These figures are not exact. For example, Nikita Petrov lists some cases in his latest manuscript, where the regional Soviet war tribunal sentenced German citizens to death after their deportation in the USSR as late as 1953. Nonetheless, Germany's overall social remembrance has been scarred most significantly by the human tragedy of war that still overshadows its remembrance of the political terror of the „Soviet state security”.

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Main publications: Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 / Bibliographical manual of German speaking emigra-

64 According to: HILGER, Andreas – SCHMEITZNER, Mike – SCHMIDT, Ute (pub.): *Sowjetische Militärtribunale* (Sovietske vojenské tribunály), Vol. 2: Die Verurteilung deutscher Zivilisten 1945 – 1955 (Verdict over German Civilians 1945 – 1955), Köln 2003, pp. 21.

65 ROGINSKI, Arsenij – RUDOLPH, Jörg – DRAUTSCHKE, Jörg – KAMINSKY, Anne (pub.): *„Erschossen in Moskau....“ Die deutschen Opfer des Stalinismus auf dem Moskauer Friedhof Donskoje 1950 – 1953* („Shot in Moscow...” German Victims of Stalinism at the Moscow Cemetery Donskoje 1950 – 1953), Berlin 2005, pp. 31.

66 *Ibidem*, pp. 31.

tion after 1933, München/New York 1980 – 1983 (co-author); *Zwischen den Fronten. Zur Politik, Organisation und Funktion linker politischer Kleinorganisationen im Widerstand 1933 bis 1939/40 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Exils*, Bonn 1986 / *Between the fronts. On Politics, Organistaion and Role of Minor Left-wing Political Organisatins in the Resistance 1933 to 1939/40, with a special consideration of exile*, Bonn 1986; *Berichte des Hohen Kommissars der UdSSR in Deutschland aus den Jahren 1953/54 / Reports of the High ZSSR Commissioner in Germany in 1953/54. Dokumente aus dem Archiv für Außenpolitik der Russischen Föderation / Documents from the international politics archive of the Russian Federation. Ausgewählt und eingeleitet durch Jan Foitzik / Selected and foreworded by Jan Foitzik: Materialien der Enquete-Kommission des Deutschen Bundestages „Aufarbeitung von Geschichte und Folgen der SED-Diktatur in Deutschland“ / Materials of the Enquete Commission at the German Federative Assembly „Elaboration on History and Repercussions of Unified Socialist Party of Germany Rule“, issued by German Federative Assembly, Baden-Baden 1995; *Inventar der Befehle des Obersten Chefs der Sowjetischen Militäradministration in Deutschland (SMAD) 1945 – 1949 / Inventory of orders of the Top Military Administration Official in Germany*, Munich 1995; *Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland (SMAD) / Soviet Miilitary Administration in Germany 1945 – 1949. Struktur und Funktion / Structure and Role*, Berlin 1999; Foitzik, Jan (publisher): *Entstalinisierungskrise in Ostmitteleuropa / The Crisis of Destalinisation in Central and Eastern Europe 1953 – 1956. Vom 17. Juni bis zum ungarischen Volksaufstand / Politische, militärische, soziale und nationale Dimensionen. / From 17th of June to the Hungarian Uprising. Political, Military, Social and National Dimensions*. Schöningh-Verlag (Publishing house Schöning) Paderborn 2001; Foitzik, Jan/Künzel, Werner/Leo, Annette/Weyrauch, Martina (Hg.): *Das Jahr 1953 – Ereignisse und Auswirkungen / 1953 – Events and Impacts*. Potsdam 2003; *Die Politik der Sowjetischen Militäradministration in Deutschland (SMAD) : Kultur, Wissenschaft und Bildung 1945 – 1949, Ziele, Methoden, Ergebnisse. Dokumente aus russischen Archiven / Politics of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany. Culture, science and education, 1945 – 1949, goals, methods, and results. Russian archives documents*, München 2005. (Verantwortlicher Bearbeiter / Competent elaborator); *Политика СВАГ**

в области культуры, науки и образования: цели, методы, результаты. 1945 – 1949 гг. Сборник документов. Под общей редакцией Х.Мёллера и А.О.Чубарьяна. В сотрудничестве с Х.Вебером, В.П.Козловым и С.В.Мироненко. Ответственные редакторы и составители: Н.П.Тимофеева и Я.Фойтцик. При участии: Ю.М.Коришнова, К.Кюнцель, Д.Н.Нохотович, Ю.Г.Орловой, Е.Пош. Verlag (vydavatel'stvo) Rossphen, Moskwa 2005; *POLITICKÉ PROCESY V ČESKOSLOVENSKU PO ROCE 1945 A „PŘÍPAD SLÁNSKÝ“*. *POLITICAL TRIALS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AFTER 1945 AND THE SLÁNSKY AFFAIR*. Anthology of conference papers from a conference held under the same title in Prague on 14th -16th April 2003. Issued by JIŘÍ PERNES AND JAN FOITZIK. Brno 2005.

Nikita Vasilyevich Petrov was born in Kiev on January 31, 1957, and moved to Moscow in 1967. After he finished high school in 1974, he entered the Moscow Mendeleyev Technical Institute. His dissertation dealt with research on uranium and uranium particles. In 1980, he was awarded the university degree. During his time at the university, he started studying history of the Soviet Union, focusing on punitive and legal authorities. He started working at the department of periodical print at the Lenin library in 1977, taking full advantage of the opportunity to thoroughly study the historic period of 1925 – 1982. During his studies he uncovered a considerable amount of information on the Soviet State Security. In an effort to continue gathering information, he acquired access to the state archives in 1990.

He became the vice-chair of the Board of Memorial Scientific Research Center in the same year. In August 1991, he was appointed an expert consultant to the Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation dealing with processing the archival documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the KGB. In 1992, he was appointed an expert consultant to the Constitutional Court to assist at the „CPUS” case. Petrov frequently worked in the archives of the CPUS and the KGB; and helped to prepare a number of publications on the history of the Soviet regime of terror. Between 1992 and 1993, he taught a liberal arts’ course on the history of the KGB at the Russian State University. He presented papers on the history of the state security and its history of terror in the USSR at numerous international conferences, such

as : Warsaw (1992, 1994), Moscow (1992, 1995, 1997, 2007), London(1993), Mulheim-am-Ruhr (1995), Torino (1997), Siena (1997), Hamburg (1998), Weimar (1998), Rome (1999), Trento (1999, 2002), Paris(2000, 2001, 2002), and Berlin(2001, 2005, 2006).

He also presented papers concerning the historical background of trials held with the Germa war prisoners in Bonn(1993), Linz (1995), Shallaburg, Austria (1995, 2005), Dresden (1997, 1998, 2000, 2003), Graz (1997, 2005, 2006) and Salt Lake City (1998).

In the spring of 1996, Nikita V. Petrov spent 2 months at the International Institute of Social History as a visiting academic, where he also assisted in organizing the Memorial Collection, and lectured on various topics, including declassifying the archival documents of the NKVD. He also studied Western historiographical literature. He wrote over 60 scientific articles, and engaged in the following publications : „Lubjanka” – on the structure of the VChK-KGB (1997); „Who’s Who in the NKVD: 1934 – 1941” (1999); „GULAG in documents” (2000); *Stalin’s Loyal Executioner: People’s Commissar Nikolai Ezhov, 1895 – 1940* (with Marc Jansen, 2002); „Lubjanka” – newsletter 1917 – 1991 (2003); *History of Stalin’s GULAG, Vol. 2, Penal System: Structure and Personnel* (2004); *The first chair of the KGB Ivan Serov* (2005).

PANEL VI

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

Miroslav Lehký*Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes**Czechia*

Ladies and gentlemen,

We have hereby completed the official agenda of the conference. In the last panel, I will try to briefly summarize what we have heard, and give the floor to the partner institutions participating in the conference in alliance with the Nation's Memory Institute, as well as Mr. Petrov from Russia, because I consider his presence and his address to the conference very significant. Then, we will open the discussion forum. First, I would like to comment on the questions which were raised, and which extend beyond the content of this conference. I would like to say, that it was Mr. Ján Langoš, the founder of the Nation's Memory Institute, who envisioned such a conference taking place and in so doing made it possible. We set our priorities for 2007 in 2006, and listed the conference on the top of the list. We want to continue the international discussion on the KGB, its satellite information services, security services, and the phenomenon of communism in all its aspects. This conference is just the first step in our journey. We sought to initiate presentations on the topic, map the resources, map the possibilities, and establish networking, which will hopefully become a basis of future shared activities.

Let me briefly summarize what has been presented. I found Mr. Petrov's contribution on the status of the archives in the Russian Federation highly valuable, including the disclosure of information and data on the activities of the KGB and other segments of the totalitarian state structure. Professor Karner, also, delivered some highly significant information. I would like to point out some substantial issues, which were mentioned in the context of processing archival information. It appears, that in this process, which is already underway in many countries, it is imperative to digitize, create database listings, databanks and registers, utilize old registers, which we in Czechoslovakia took over from the State Security, and to establish new ones. All this is necessary to make our research more efficient in covering the era of communism, which lasted 50 years in Czechoslovakia and 70 years in the Soviet Union, and to incorporate

the period since the fall of communism 18 years ago. It is imperative to achieve as high a level of access to archival data as possible, be it in the research community, or in the wider public arena, because issues of communism as a totalitarian regime have become a common historical heritage of the united Europe, which was divided by the Iron Curtain for many decades. It is up to us to share this unique and rare experience with Western Europe. In this respect, Marianne Birthler, has repeatedly presented the necessity of discussion on communism on a European level.

The next topic of the conference revolved around Soviet counselors. In the Slovak and the Czech Republics, we have established a law which addresses the illegality of the communist regime. However, practice and application of this law on the level of criminal justice, especially concerning the legitimacy and legality of communist power, are tangled in inconsistencies, which seem to deem the reality of prosecution to being equivocal. We prepare and discuss the laws on the resistance against communism, on its justifiability and legitimacy. Here, the existence of the Soviet counselors, and their role in the beginnings of the communist regime in Central and Eastern Europe, or their activities in the NKVD/KGB beforehand, poses questions of increasing importance. It is inevitable that further research into the activities of the KGB and their satellites, mutual relationships, common activities, or their professionalism vs. cynicism will be necessary. It is necessary to map the offensive activities of the KGB and all its satellite information services, namely the jeopardizing of safety and freedom of citizens, not just in terms of exile, but also citizens of the free world. I can remember the menace of Eastern information services and the KGB being underplayed. I can remember senator Robert Kennedy, who realized the peril the communist information services posed towards the United States and the free world, and he, in response, proposed a bill in the USA in the early 1960s, to guarantee the safety of agents and other employees of the communist services if they were to cross over to the American side, and enjoy life-long security and personal safety. It was a historic twist even in the United States.

Another topic, which the conference dealt with were the activities of the KGB and their satellite information services against the Vatican and various churches. Our research in this field is still in its beginnings. At the World Council Meeting of Churches in Harare in 1993, the Norwegian delegation raised a

request to map the infiltration of the World Council of Churches by the KGB and its satellites. For this reason, the activities of the KGB and its satellites concerning acquiring technologies from abroad, recorded in the materials of scientific and technical counter-intelligence remain restricted or confidential, at least in the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

Another topic relates to the Vatican and the Catholic Church, also known as Vatican Ostpolitik. It explores the extent to which the Vatican was influenced by the KGB and the intelligence services, the support and the cover-up, be it active or passive, of terrorism in the world of the 1970s and the 1980s by the KGB and its satellites. Our Czech counterparts already work with some findings in this field, and we are hoping to make new discoveries when the archives on the Czech part open up.

The presentations of our Austrian colleagues were a great contribution to those, who are from the Czech and the Slovak Republic, because they revealed some facts previously unknown to us. I am pleased about the Austrian participation in the conference, because I was personally involved in investigating border-line incidents on the Czechoslovak-Austrian border between 1948 and 1989. The collaboration with the authorities and bureaus of the Federative Republic of Germany was fantastic. We had no contact network established with Austria whatsoever and any response on their part was non-existent. For this reason, I asked the Austrian ambassador to the Slovak Republic for help and mediation of communication five months ago. And as I said at the beginning of my speech, this conference is a first step. It should be continued. I hope that the contacts between institutions which organized the conference will extend and that we will all discuss the whereabouts and time of the future conference. Despite the situation in the Russian Federation, as presented by Mr. Karner, we succeeded in making more than one step forward. We need to continue our work despite the current climate in that country. When I visited Mr. Wiesenthal in the Viennese documentation centre in 1996, he asked us what was our perception of the situation in Russia. Mr. Benda, then a senator, stated that it is a bulletproof wall. Mr. Wiesenthal smiled foxily and replied that we did not think so. We must present our unique experience with communism in concrete facts and pass it on. All views on communism in all its aspects are necessary.

In conclusion, I would like to ask – is communism still a menace or is it irrecoverably a thing of the past? I am convinced that when we try to come to terms with communism, we are dealing with the present and the future, not the past. Last week, we commemorated a sad anniversary of the ‘Crystal night’ in Germany, which marked the beginning of the great tragedy of the Holocaust. At this occasion, Mr. Václav Havel said in Prague, that the Holocaust and the totalitarian regimes such as communism cannot be eliminated in the present or the future, because in present terms, all you need to materialize them, is a competent manager, efficient advertising campaign and manipulated masses. Thank you for your attention.

Miroslav Lehký (1947), completed two years of studies at the Catholic theological faculty in Bratislava in the late 60s, but he was not allowed to finish his studies. He was submitted to political persecution. He was involved in various Slovak independent initiatives. Between 1972 and 1989, he worked as a programmer at the Research Institute of Social and Economic Information and control automation. He was a signatory of Charter 77. Since January 6, 1990, and he acted as its speaker. He worked for the Czech and Slovak Helsinki Committee between 1990 and 1995. Since 1995, he worked as an investigator at the Office for the Documentation and Investigation the Crimes of Communism (Czech Republic Police Force). Between 2003 and 2007, he headed the Section for Documentation at the Nation’s Memory Institute in Bratislava. He currently works at the The Institute for Study of Totalitarian Regimes.

Two new institutions have been recently established to take over the employees as well as tasks of the Division – The Institute for Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the Archive of Security Bodies. Department of Archives of the Security Forces was an archival institution, which collected, classified, and disclosed archival sources pertaining to the provenience of national security apparatus in Czechoslovakia between 1945 and 1992. It performed expert, scientific and publication activities in the fields of archival and auxiliary historical sciences, as well as in scientific domains working with archival funds and collections.

Walter Süß *

*Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the Former German Democratic Republic
Germany*

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Let me first thank the Nation's Memory Institute for organizing this highly interesting conference on behalf of the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the Stasi. We all know that a successful conference requires the participation of many who remain unseen, but without whom such an event would not be possible. I would like to mention the names of two such participants: Ms. Grůňová, who did an enormous amount of organizational work, especially in the last few weeks, and still remained highly cooperative and pleasant. I was also glad to have met Mr. Lehký, who was substantially involved in the initial planning of the conference.

When I think back to the first panel, which dealt with the situation surrounding the archives, I must confess, I remember feeling a bit frustrated. Dr. János Rainer explained the cause of that frustration very well: „*Instead of hearing about information sources, we were hearing about their lack.*” He also asked: „*How can we write history this way?*”

In the last two days, however, we have not been listening merely to stories inspired by imagination, but to documents that were supported by many sources and that were quite interesting from both chronological and historical perspectives. Some consensus could have thus been made. The discrepancy between the estimates of archivists and the papers of historians appears to be the following: no archive contains any conclusive documents describing the collaboration of the secret service with the KGB. This does not, however, mean that all have been destroyed. The information is simply undisclosed. Let me use the example of the German State Security to clarify my point. There was the Department X that was responsible for collaboration with other secret services – except the

* Professional curriculum vitae of Mr. Walter Süß is at disposal with his study in Panel III.

collaboration with the KGB. Some documents on lectures, protocol procedures, recreational trips etc. were found, but nothing else. This shows the special status of the KGB. It demanded direct connection to the operational unit involved, and it had the power to get it. Liaison officers of the KGB in the service units completed the circle.

The following circumstances need to be taken into consideration when research perspectives are being developed:

- Material to develop them can be found (as the various lectures proved), especially when dealing with specific, joint operations.
- To us, the scientists who have gathered here, the focus on specific operations creates a meaningful cooperative perspective. Both Dr. Stefano Bottoni and Dr. Andrzej Grajewski presented lectures on the Vatican in this context, which were good examples of such an initiative.
- I spoke about the Conference on security and cooperation in Europe and its consequences in my paper from a perspective of the GBR State Security, in which all secret services of the Eastern Bloc were involved.
- Operative elaboration on Radio Liberty / Radio Free Europe, which already has been researched by Pawel Machcewicz, would be a highly promising topic to explore. It would be worthwhile for the Institute of National Remembrance to have it translated into English.

I could list more examples but I conclude with this one.

The fact that the Moscow archive remains inaccessible is not a reason to give up. It was not accessible even before 1989, and yet many interesting research papers had been written at that time. Today the situation is much better, although it is still not satisfactory. It is necessary to keep the focus on research in this area and cooperate whenever possible.

Even though the time and place of our next conference have not been set, we should keep in mind the following points in the meantime: we should classify topics in the context of two or three of these operations or „operative games” as the KGB used to call them, and list them in the Call for Papers. We will be able to decide what to explore further depending on the response.

Nikita V. Petrov**Memorial, Moscow**Russia*

This conference is the first of its kind. It is, most of all, an excellent opportunity for researchers from various countries to share their knowledge and information on their historical research of the Soviet state security in Central and Eastern Europe. It is a complex topic in terms of content and in connection to the inaccessibility of many archival collections located in Moscow, be it state or departmental archives. Such an event is a superb example of cooperation among historians that are coming to terms with the totalitarian past.

Having knowledge of historical events is not currently a factor having any effect on the current events. Informing the general public about this understanding, about specific facts and crimes that took place during the communist dictatorship to the fullest extent possible can develop into a significant factor affecting our future. In my opinion, meetings of this kind must become a regular and steady base for cooperation among historians researching the activity of the secret police in their countries. We must join in our efforts to conduct in-depth research of the KGB activities in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the activities of their national state security authorities, but we must also take the necessary steps to inform the general public about the results of our research.

* Professional curriculum vitae of Mr. Nikita V. Petrov is at disposal with his study in Panel V. Russian text of Mr. Nikita V. Petrov was translated into Slovak language by Mgr. Patrik Košícký.

Łukasz Kamiński*

*The Institute of National Remembrance
Poland*

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Let me start with saying a great „thank you” to our Slovak friends for the initiative to organise this conference, and for inviting the Polish Institute of National Remembrance to be its co-organiser. It was undoubtedly an important scholarly event, and a good occasion for unofficial meetings and discussions, too. It was also a fine example of co-operation between our institutes, and I am sure not the last one.

This conference was originally Jan Langoš’s idea. He didn’t see it as the end of the road, but as its beginning, though. His main way of thinking was that we, the East-Europeans, should find a method to share our common experience of totalitarian communism with the western part of our continent. This conference was supposed to be the first one from a series of similar events, addressed not only to the public opinion of East and Central Europe, but also to the people of Western Europe.

Co-operation between institutions dedicated to the research and commemoration of the communist past is an essential precondition of fulfilling these ideas of Jan Langoš. We shared his convictions when we organised an international conference on the communist security apparatus in Warsaw in 2005, jointly with the Nation’s Memory Institute of Slovakia, the Institute of Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, and the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the National Security Service of the former GDR as well as other partners from Poland, Czech Republic and Germany. *A Handbook of the Communist Security Apparatus in East Central Europe, 1944 – 1989* which we prepared specially for that occasion will be soon published in German. Hopefully, other national editions will follow.

Marianne Birther, the Federal Commissioner for Stasi records, during her last visit to our institute suggested that we should jointly organise a conference on ‘Communism in Europe from 1917 to 1991’ addressed to the Western pub-

* Łukasz Kamiński is IPN’s Public Education Office deputy director.

lic. It could be a good method of disseminating knowledge and showing our historical experience to the West.

Jan Langoš left us his legacy. I am sure that one day we will find the right way to fulfil his testimony. One day our neighbours in the West will fully appreciate and understand our historical experience of communist totalitarianism, and this will be the day of true unity of Europe. I am convinced that this conference, here in Bratislava, was an important step on the way in that direction.

Document exhibition – An accompanying event of the conference*Radoslav Ragač*

The exhibition of archival documents was organized as an accompanying event of the international conference *The NKVD / KGB Activities and its Cooperation with other Secret Services in Central and Eastern Europe 1945 – 1989*. Copies of the archival documents were placed on panels around an exterior circumference of the main negation hall in the building of the Directorate for special-purpose establishments in the authority of the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The exhibition aimed to present evidence of the activities and cooperation of the KGB recorded in the documents from the Archives of the Nation's Memory Institute, with an emphasis on Slovak life and institutions. In respect to the space and conditions available for the presentation (traditional free access panel boards with textile base material), we could focus on no more than some aspects of cooperation between the State security forces, and display only copies and not originals. The exhibition was accessible to all during the course of conference. Upon request, expert lecture on the exhibits was available.

The concept of the exhibition started with PhDr. Radoslav Ragač, PhD. who collaborated with Norbert Gašaj, MPhil. (translation of texts into English), PhDr. Ján Ondriaš and Mgr. Ingrid Tišliarová, on the preparation and installation of the material.

The exhibition was divided into five thematic parts, namely: Official Relationship between the ŠtB and the KGB; Cooperation between the ŠtB and the KGB on Elaboration and Implementation in Specific Cases; Methodical Assistance of the KGB. Educating the ŠtB Officers in the KGB Training Facilities; Specific Instances of Cooperation between the ŠtB, the KGB, and the Czechoslovak Military Counterintelligence Service (VKR) with an Aim to Protect the Military Training Area Lešť, where the Soviet Army units were relocated; Official and Unofficial Contacts of the Military Counterintelligence and the KGB Personnel.

Official relationship of the ŠtB and KGB

The panel was dedicated to the official contact between these bodies. It included photographs of official visits in Moscow and Prague depicting the signing of the framework agreements of mutual cooperation.¹ Official visits included ceremonious receptions and presentations of *historic* successes, which sometimes took the form of permanent exhibitions in the institution headquarters.

Reciprocal awarding of medals constituted a firm part of the official relations. For example, in February of 1989, the XII. Directorate of the National Security Corps (ZNB) located in Bratislava, submitted a proposal to award an interdivision honorary *ZNB Medal* to Colonel Anatolij Ivanovitsch Povshedjuk, the head of the KGB at the XII. Directorate of the ZNB.² The diploma that the Chief Officer of the Special Division (KGB) and the Secretary of the USSR Communist Party organization (Irkutsk-Pinsk Guard Division stationed in Zvolen) sent to the Chief Officer of the ŠtB Directorate, Ladislav Horák, at the 44th Anniversary of the SNP (Slovak National Uprising), was visually very impressive. The Chief Officer of the ŠtB Directorate in Bratislava sent a letter to Col. Vladimir Ivanovitch Belokurov, a KGB official at the XII. Directorate of the ZNB, to wish him well at the commemoration of the 65th anniversary of the establishment of the KGB.³

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- 1 Scans of the photographs had been kindly lent to us by our partner institutions in the Czech Republic.
 - 2 *Archives of the Nation's Memory Institute* (A ÚPN), f. XII. ZNB Bratislava, Cadre report (Cadre and Education Department), no. KR-040/KS-89; proposal was submitted on February 17th, 1989, and the reasons listed were the exchange and passing on of the experience to the KGB; resolution of the problems the ŠtB was facing; tasks assigned by the counterintelligence units via the Division for the International Relations at the Federal Ministry of the Interior.
 - 3 A ÚPN, f. Regional Directorate ZNB of Bratislava and Western region of Slovakia – The ŠtB Directorate Bratislava (RD ZNB- ŠtB D Bratislava), Chief Officer of the ŠtB D, (no inv. no.).

Cooperation between the ŠtB and the KGB on the Elaboration and Implementation of Specific Cases

We presented some examples of cooperation between the ŠtB and the KGB using available archival documents. A two-way flow of information is generally accepted as the most probable method of cooperation. We provided several pieces of information and proposals to implement profiling on specific individuals, which Major, later Lieutenant Colonel I. I. Šatkovskij rendered to the Irkutsk-Pinsk Division of the KGB detachment located in Zvolen between 1986 and 1988 on the local ŠtB. Out of the three presented cases, the offer to elaborate on a Vietnamese national living in Zvolen who maintained contact with the Soviet soldiers and on whom the KGB collected comprising information in 1988, appears to be the most interesting.⁴ The KGB also seemed to be interested in information, assignments, related to the performance of the ŠtB collaborators. We presented the case TS OLEG, reg. no. 18 846, which shows the interest of the KGB to initiate collaboration with the secret source of the elaboration report from December 1983.⁵ After a meeting the KGB officer attended, they identified TS as a potential collaborator who passed their selection criteria, and whose services they would use once the proper measures were taken. Another specific subject area of collaboration was service for the KGB. The ŠtB Directorate Bratislava, for example, lent the conspiracy apartment LUX, reg. no. 10 611 to the KGB operative working at the Soviet Military Headquarters in Bratislava in 1980s.⁶

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- 4 *A ÚPN*, f. District Directorate ZNB- ŠtB Dep. Zvolen, no. DD-0450/86 – request of the KGB Zvolen to designate a salesman in a Tesla store in Zvolen; DD-0100/88 – Information of the KGB Zvolen presented to the ŠtB Dep. Zvolen to designate the car crew in the Yugoslavian motor vehicle roaming the suburb of Podborová in Zvolen; DD-0139/88 – offer of the KGB Zvolen extended to the ŠtB Dep. Zvolen to elaborate on a Vietnamese national keeping in touch with Soviet soldiers, on whom the KGB gathered comprising information.
 - 5 *A ÚPN*, f. XII. ZNB Directorate, Agency files – unfinished, reg. no. 18 846 (PO, A, cover name IVAN, later OLEG)- assessment of cooperation with the secret collaborator from December of 1983.
 - 6 *A ÚPN*, f. XII. ZNB Directorate, Agency files – unfinished, reg. no. 10 611 (KB, cover name LUX) – assessment of the meeting activity in a conspirators apartment for the year 1985.

Methodical assistance of the KGB. Education of the ŠtB personnel in the KGB training facilities

The KGB was providing the ŠtB personnel with education in its training facilities until 1989. The courses varied in time, and extended from several weeks to several years (at the KGB USSR university – The FED Academy) in Moscow. Several thousand ŠtB members had attended the courses in the time span. We presented the certificates of the ŠtB workers – Michal Škarba and Štefan Sarnovský – attending these courses;⁷ along with the authenticated work book of Marián Čambálík, who used it during his Moscow training, and to whom the KGB sent it once he completed his studies.⁸

Specific Instances of Cooperation between the ŠtB, the KGB, and the Czechoslovak Military Counterintelligence Service (VKR) with an Aim to Protect the Military Training Area Lešť where the Soviet Army units were relocated

This panel comprised of a single document – customized military map of the Military Training Area Lešť from 1984 where the Soviet military units were dislocated. It included its surroundings, graphical marking of the agency-colaborator networks utilized by the ŠtB and the VKR in the neighboring towns and access roads, marking of posts of possible infiltration into the MTA, targets, traps, bottlenecks, but also zones under the KGB patrol.⁹

7 *A ÚPN*, Personal registration materials – Štefan Sarnovský's personal file (b. 1940), p. 313 – certificate on attending a monthly course at the KGB USSR university in Moscow in 1983 dated June 30th, 1983; Michal Škarba's personal file (b. 1945), p. 92 – certificate on attending a monthly course at the KGB USSR university in Moscow in 1985 dated January 20th, 1986.

8 *A ÚPN*, ZNB Regional Directorate- ŠtB D Bratislava, 1st Division, Authenticated work books of the ŠtB D, 1st Division- Marián Čambálík's work book from his scholarship in Moscow, (no inv. no.).

9 *A ÚPN*, The VKR Department at the Regional Military Directorate in Banská Bystrica, box 13/ item no. 0342/1- document elaborated by Cpt. Ing. Boris Petrovič; approved by The Chief VKR Officer of the East Military Area Trenčín as item no. 00467/10-15/84 (no inv. no.).

Official and Unofficial Contacts of Military Counterintelligence (VKR) and KGB Personnel

We exhibited several photographs from a joint meeting between the ŠtB, the VKR and the KGB held to discuss the external protection of the SSkV Kežmarok in 1980 and the *Meeting on Applying the Experience of the Soviet Military Counterintelligence Officers* from March of 1983.¹⁰ Such international meeting would commonly include social and sport activities, known simply as *družba* (friendship) that some of the photographs documented.

In conclusion, I can note with delight that the participants of the conference expressed avid interest in this exhibition. Displayed documents attracted the attention of the viewers. Several dozen people took advantage of the offered expert lecture. Finally, I would like to thank all who engaged in preparing the exhibit.

10 *A ÚPN*, The VKR Division of the East Military Area Trenčín, Photo album (no inv. no.).



Document exhibition: KGB Zvolen Division Commemorative letter on 44th SNP anniversary addressed to S ŠtB Bratislava chief Ladislav Horák. Source, photo: A ÚPN.

С-1990 0-523 Zvolen = секретно =
ЗК № 1

1 лист
Вс. № 1344
18. 03. 1988 г.
Войск. часть п/л 98200

Начальнику районного государственного КНФ
напоручику Мелихерчику Душану
г.Зволена

13 марта 1988 года в утренние часы, возле дома №2 жилого массива "Подборово" г.Зволена, нашим источником был зафиксирован автомобиль марки "Застава" кремового цвета № 261205. Через некоторое время из дома вышло пять молодых людей, сели в машину и направились в сторону центра города. Через 30 минут автомобиль возвратился. Всадил возле дома двоих пассажиров и опять уехал в сторону центра Зволена. Вышедшие из машины лица нами устанавливаются.

10 марта 1988 года указанные автомобиль видел другой наш источник строящим в вечернее время перед гостиницей "Поляна" г.Зволена.

Просим Вас установить по возможности находящихся в автомобиле лиц, сообщить на них установочные данные и время нахождения их в Зволена.

Начальник отдела
подполковник И. Шатковский

Выходной срок: 8.10.90
Выдающая служба: 1004

ОКРЕСНА СРОВА ЗВОЛЕНА
ЗВО
Дата: 23. III. 1988
Сл. п. 0-100/1988
Получу: а

Служба: 1004
Вход: 1004
Выход: 1004

Получу: 23. III. 1988
Сл. п. 0-100/1988
Получу: 1004

*Document exhibition: KGB Zvolen information submitted O ŠtB Zvolen for utilization.
Source, photo: A ÚPN.*

Screening of Documentaries – An accompanying event of the conference

In the course of the conference, all participants had the opportunity to watch a documentary on person forcibly abducted from the territory of Slovakia to Russian gulags, as well as documentaries and instructive films on the StB and the KGB whose synopses prepared by Ondrej Krajňák follow. The screening of the films was organized by the employees of the ÚPN and film co-creators: Štefan Badura and Peter Šimko.

We survived GULAG

Produced by: Ústav pamäti národa (Nation's Memory Institute), 2007; Author and Director: Ondrej Krajňák; Time: 46 min.

This documentary offers authentic accounts of five citizens forcibly abducted to a Russian GULAG and spent many years there. After they returned to Slovakia, they met with an animosity from the state authorities. They had to wait until 1998 to experience true freedom. These are accounts of now eighty-year old men exposing the tangled path of their bitter fate. They describe the circumstances of their arrest, their painful journey to far Siberia and the hardship they underwent in the forced labor camps. The final part of the documentary depicts their happy return home. This documentary and its contents stand as a memento to future generations.

Principles of protection over state secrets in contact with foreign countries

Produced by: Československý armádní film, 1983, ČB, 25 min.; The Nation's Memory Institute acquired the film from the Slovak Intelligence Service.

This is an instructive film produced upon order of an interior minister dealing with issues of protection of state secrets of an economic nature. The main story line unfolds as a work trip of some comrades to a capitalist country.

Upon their return to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, one of them engages in espionage in a domestic electro-technical company.

The film warns about deliberate or inadvertent disclosures of state secrets.

Operation Explosion

Produced by: Československá televize Praha, 1975, ČB, 12 min.; The Nation's Memory Institute acquired the film from the Slovak Intelligence Service.

This film, starring Jiří Adamír, tells the story of a scientist who prevents a leak of scientific information subject to state secrets through his intuitive actions.

Instruction of uses of operative technology

Loaned to the Nation's Memory Institute by the ÚDV; ČB, 19 min.

A medley of instructive and propaganda film used by the StB that elaborates on espionage methods and the uses of operative technology.



A scene from We survived the GULAG; Jozef Bobalik with his mother just before his arrest.



A scene from We survived the GULAG; Jozef Bobalik in a discussion on his experiences in Russia.



A scene from We survived the GULAG; A watch tower in Norilsk.

Conference Partners

Nation's Memory Institute

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The Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) is a public-law institution founded by the Act of the National Council of the Slovak Republic No. 553/2002 Coll. of 19th of August 2002 on Disclosure of Documents Regarding the Activity of State Security Authorities from 1939 to 1989 and on Founding the Nation's Memory Institute (Act on the Nation's Memory). Its has set about to disclose documents to public, perform unbiased evaluation of the period marked with loss of freedom, accumulate and process all types of documents pertaining to the period of oppression, publicize information on the agents of persecution, perform publication activity, organize exhibitions, seminars, conferences, pedagogical activities etc.

In the four years of its existence, ÚPN received nearly 9 thousand request to disclose documents on former security forces. Approximately 150 thousand pages worth of documents were released and disclosed. Almost half of all requests were filed at the foundation of ÚPN.

The Nation's Memory Institute Archive represents public archives of the Slovak Republic. It contains archival funds and documents on repressive authorities from the period of the Slovak Republic between 1939 and 1945 and unitary, later federal Czechoslovakia. The archive's research premises are used by historians, archivists, journalists and general public from Slovakia and from abroad.

The Nation's Memory Institute fulfils the task of publishing information on persecutors and their activities, prompting criminal prosecution of crimes and

criminal offences. It also systematically collects, expertly processes and analyses documents relating to the period of oppression.

The Nation's Memory Institute has been conducting primary systematic historical research of the period of oppression within its individual organizational units since 2007. Scientific workers of the Institute represent ÚPN at domestic and international scientific conferences.

**The Institute of National Remembrance
Commission of the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation**

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www.ipn.gov.pl*



The Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (IPN) was established in 2000 by an act of Polish parliament with a threefold mission: scientific research and education, administering archives of the former communist Security Service, and prosecuting Nazi and communist crimes. The Institute's Public Education Office initiates research projects on contemporary history of Poland (1939-1989) and disseminates knowledge by conferences, exhibitions, training teachers and students, lectures, publications, etc.

The IPN Archive provides access to documents of the communist Security Service to people who were subjected to surveillance measures as well as to scholars and journalists. The public prosecutor's department of the IPN conducts investigations into Nazi and communist crimes as well as other crimes committed on Polish nationals between 1939 and 1989, including war crimes and other crimes against humanity. In 2007, the IPN has been charged with vetting individuals holding public functions for their former connections with the communist Security Service, and a new department of the IPN, the Lustration

Office, has been established to perform this task. The IPN has headquarters in Warsaw and eleven branch offices in major cities of Poland.

Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the Former German Democratic Republic

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Die Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen
des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen
Deutschen Demokratischen Republik

Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service preserves records of the Ministry of the State Security in GDR and it discloses them to public pursuant to strict legal provisions. Persons, whom the State Security spied upon, have a right to view their files to discover how the Ministry of the State Security affected their lives.

BStU Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service for the former GDR also engages in screening top public officials. Access to files can also be granted to scientists and journalist.

During the November Revolution of 1989/90 against the communist regime in Eastern Germany, the demonstrators took over the offices of the State Security and demanded that this repressive apparatus be disbanded.

The Federal Commissioner's office was established on October 3, 1990, at the unification of Germany. In 1991, legal framework of various types of disclosure was created.

The Archive is the Federal Commissioner's office centre of gravity. It contains records capturing repressive practices of the former SED (Unified Socialist Party of Germany), the communist national party of GDR and its secret police, Ministry of the State Security: files, registers, films, voice records, and microfiche. They collectively amount to 167 km of records and thus create one of the largest archives in Germany. BStU's web site (www.bstu.bund.de) presents

a review of legal provisions, stock, research projects and scientists, who have worked in the department of education and research since 1992.

The Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security

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The Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security were established upon Act III of 2003 to preserve and maintain the documents of the state security organizations of the period 21st December 1944 – 14th February 1990.

According to the statutory regulations the Historical Archive enables citizens to inspect data made by the former state security organs. A request for inspection can be handed in on an Archive form or in a traditional or electronic letter or personally at the customer service of the institution. According to the law the person observed can find out the personal data of the network person, operative link and the professional employee. If identification of the network person can be unambiguously carried out on the basis of the documents in the Archive the data necessary for identifying the network person will be handed over to the person who wants to inspect them. Act III of 2003 enables those interested two possible ways of research. One of those is the scientific research and the other is the so-called private research.

According to law anybody who owns a research license issued by the Archive's Board of Trustees can be looked upon as a scientific researcher. The Act of Archives under section 23. § in the (2) – (3) paragraphs regulates the Board of Trustees. Those who have no license from the Archive's Board of Trustees may research as private researchers according to 5. § of Act III of 2003. Researchers may get a copy of the material they studied on payment of the current fee displayed in the research hall.

Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes

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**ústav pro studium
totalitních režimů**

On November 1, 2006 the decision of the Czech Minister of the Interior, transformed the division of archival and documentation services at the Ministry of the Interior into the Division of the Archives of the Ministry of Interior Security Forces.

Pursuant to Act no. 181/2007 Coll. two new institutions were established on August 1, 2007 – The Institute for Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the Archive of Security Bodies. The Institute seeks mainly to engage in the examination of history of the totalitarian regimes and events, which led to their establishment. The Archive seeks mainly to take over, classify and disclose documents compiled by the communist security apparatus. Director of Division of the Archives of the Interior Security Forces, PhDr. Pavel Žáček, Ph.D. was appointed by the government to initiate the establishment and operation of both institutions. On February 1, 2008, when the delimitation of archival funds, property and institution staff of previous institutions will have been completed, the new institutions (including the Division of the Archives of the Ministry of Interior Security Forces) will take over their full legal responsibilities.

Donors

International Visegrad Fund

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The International Visegrad Fund (IVF) is an international organisation based in Bratislava, founded by the governments of the countries of the Visegrad Group (V4) – the Czech Republic, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Poland, and the Slovak Republic – on June 9, 2000.

The purpose of the Fund is to promote development of closer cooperation among the V4 countries through supporting common cultural, scientific and educational projects, exchanges between young people, cross-border cooperation and tourism promotion. The budget of the Fund (5 million Euro from 2007) consists of equal contributions from the governments of the V4 countries. The IVF provides support through three grant programmes, scholarship schemes and artist residencies. Among the recipients of the Fund's support are mainly non-governmental organizations, municipalities and local governments, private companies, schools and universities and individual students and artists.

The governing bodies of the Fund are the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Council of Ambassadors. The executive body of the Fund is composed of the Executive Director and the Deputy Executive Director. The administrative body of the Fund is the Secretariat.

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

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**Konrad
Adenauer
Stiftung**

We are a political foundation which operates two education centres and 16 education institutes nationwide. Around the world, our offices abroad look after more than 200 projects in more than 120 countries. We have two headquarters, one in Sankt Augustin near Bonn and one in Berlin, where we opened the Academy as a conference building in 1998. To us, the name and the principles of Konrad Adenauer are a precept, a mission, and an obligation. The Stiftung has been bearing the name of the first Federal Chancellor since 1964, having evolved from the Society for Christian Democratic Educational Work that was established as early as 1955.

On the national and international level, we employ political education to promote peace, freedom, and justice. Our key concerns include consolidating democracy, promoting the unification of Europe, intensifying transatlantic relations, and development-policy cooperation. As a think-tank and consulting agency, we develop scientific background information and current analyses, breaking the ground for political action.

The Foundations's Academy in Berlin provides a forum for discourse about issues of future relevance in politics, the economy, the church, society, and science.

Exhibitions, readings and awards complement our portfolio. We support young artists, and the renowned literature prize of the KAS is awarded once a year. There are dedicated projects to promote young journalists. Since 1980, we have been awarding a prize for local journalism. The Social Market Economy Prize of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has been awarded since 2002 to personages of outstanding merit in preserving and developing social market economy.

Afterword

Dear readers!

Let me conclude with a few lines of a technical nature. The anthology of the international conference *NKVD/KGB Activities and its Cooperation with other Secret Services in Central and Eastern Europe 1945 – 1989*, which the Nation's Memory Institute publishes, is comprised of papers that were presented in the three days of the conference, between November 14th and 16th, 2007, at the Congress center SÚZA in Bratislava. The concept of this conference originated with its founder and the First Chair, Mr. Ján Langoš. Consequently, Mr. Miroslav Lehký elaborated the so-called *Declaration on a Conference* that facilitated the cooperation between the Nation's Memory Institute and its international counterparts – Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the Former GDR, Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security, Institute of National Remembrance in Poland and Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes in Czechia – and materialized in this conference. In April of 2007, he also held a preparatory meeting with the representatives of the Nation's Memory Institute's partner institutions where they agreed on the six panels of the conference and assigned particular papers to respective panels.

The contents of the anthology match that pre-determined line-up. The individual studies are followed by brief professional biographies; panel moderators are introduced only by professional biographies. Beside the *Declaration on a Conference*, the anthology also includes the speeches that were given at the grand opening of the conference, information on the accompanying activities, on partner institutions and conference benefactors – The Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and The International Visegrad Fund – whom we would like to thank for their kind support. The event hosted the following countries: Slovakia, Czechia, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Austria, Canada, Russia, Lithuania, Romania and Italy.

Hereby, I would like to express my thanks for the opportunity to participate in this event. I would also like to express my thanks to M. Lehký for his cooperation, to all active participants for their attendance, willingness and patience, to all colleagues who were involved in the technical preparation of the conference

and the anthology, as well as to the translators. Perhaps, I can take this opportunity to also extend a more personal thanks to my dear colleagues E. Pastvová and S. Lauková for their precious advice and kind words of support.

Alexandra Grůňová; studied philosophy; currently works as an expert referent at the Section of Documentation at the Nation's Memory Institute.