

**NKVD/KGB Activities and
its Cooperation with other
Secret Services in Central and
Eastern Europe 1945-1989, II.**

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

NOVEMBER 19-21, 2008, PRAGUE





Under the auspices of the Committee on Foreign Affairs,
Defence and Security of the Senate of the Parliament of the
Czech Republic and in cooperation with the Institute of National
Remembrance and the Institute of Historical Studies of the Slovak
Academy of Sciences

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Introduction

The activity of Soviet security units, particularly State Security known throughout the world under the acronym of KGB, remains one of the most important subjects for 20th century research in Central and Eastern Europe. The functioning and operation of this apparatus, which surpassed the activities of the police in countries with democratic systems severalfold, had a significant and direct influence on the shape of the totalitarian framework; the actions of party members of the Communist nomenclature; and the form, methods and extent of the repression of “class enemies” and, in the final instance, upon innocent representatives of various socio-political groups.

Additionally, the supranational Cheka elite, created in line with Communist ideology, were not only supposed to take part in the repression of political opponents, but also in the casting of a new man (being), carrying out the will of the superior nomenclature. That was one reason why selection of members of the secret political police was so strict.

International cooperation is needed in order to reconstruct and present the breadth, extent and influence of Soviet security units in our key region. In view of the inaccessibility of primary Russian sources, we must attempt to piece together the mosaic of information that is scattered throughout Central and Eastern Europe archives.

Understandably for these reasons, I cordially welcome you to the home of the Parliament of the Czech Republic, which is our logical partner for this event.

Last but not least, I would like to say that by holding this conference we are simultaneously commemorating the memory of the founder of Slovakia's Nation's Memory Institute, Ján Langoš, on whose initiative a similar conference on this identical subject took place in Bratislava last year.

PAVEL ŽÁČEK

Director of the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes

Program

Wednesday, November 19

14:30 *Participants presence*

15:30 *Opening ceremony*

16:30 Panel 1

**ARCHIVES OF SECURITY FORCES OF CENTRAL
AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES**

Moderator: Dvořáček Petr

Cseh Gergö Bendegúz Hungaria, ABTL

**Electronic data processing in the Historical Archives
of the Hungarian State Security**

Virgiliu Tarau Romania, Collegium CNSAS

Securitate's archive's saga

Ptáčnicková Světlana Czech Republic, ABS

**Archive of Security Forces and documents
on cooperation between StB and KGB
– potential research**

Bukovszky Ladislav *Czech Republic, ABS*
**Cooperation of StB (State Security Agency) and KGB
on protection of Soviet troops and army premises**

17:50 Discussion

18:10 Opening of *Mini-Exhibition*

18:30 *Banquet*

Thursday, November 20

8:30 *Participants presence*

9:00 Panel 2 – part 1

**ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SECURITY APPARATUS
IN SOVIET SATELLITE STATES AFTER WORLD WAR II.**

Moderator: Ripka Vojtěch

Baev Jordan *Bulgaria, Bulagarian Inter-University Cold War
Research Group*

**MGB/KGB Cooperation with the Bulgarian Intelligence
& Security Services 1944–1989**

Claudiu Secasiu *Romania, Collegium CNSAS*

**Soviet Intelligence activities in Romania,
in the years 1944–47**

Dornik Šubelj *Ljuba Slovenia, Archives of the Republic Slovenia*
**The influence of NKVD on foundation the Intelligence
and Counter-Intelligence organisation in Slovenia
and in Yugoslavia**

Bystrov Vladimír *Czech Republic*
**Activity of special units of the People's Directorate
of Interior of USSR**

10:20 Discussion

10:40 *Coffee break*

10:50 Panel 2 – part 2

**ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SECURITY APPARATUS
IN SOVIET SATELLITE STATES AFTER WORLD WAR II.**

Moderator: Kopal Petr

Ritvars Jansons *Latvia, The State Archives of Latvia*
**Counter – espionage activities of Latvian SSR security
institutions**

Geifman Anna *USA, Boston University*
**When Terrorists Come to Power: from Underground
Combat to the Cheka-NKVD Rule**

Sommer Vítězslav *Czech Republic, ÚSTR*

Second life of Felix Dzerzhinski

11:50 Discussion

12:10 *Lunch*

13:30 Panel 3 – part 1

**CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AS A STARTING
POINT FOR INTELLIGENCE INFILTRATION
INTO THE WESTERN SOCIETIES**

Moderator: Veber Václav

Brezina Zbysek *USA, Bethany College, Kansas*

The MVD/KGB Activities in the U.S. in the 1950s

Selvage Douglas *Germany, BStU*

**The East German Ministry for State Security,
Western NGOs, and the CSCE Process, 1977-1983**

Shevchenko Svetlana *USA, U. S. Dept. Of Defense Prisoner
of War/Missing Personnel Office*

**The Role of Archival Holdings of the Security Forces
of Russia and the Soviet Union in trying to account
for United States Prisoners of War and Missing Personnel
in the Cold War**

14:30 Discussion

14:50 Panel 3 – part 2

**CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AS A STARTING
POINT FOR INTELLIGENCE INFILTRATION
INTO THE WESTERN SOCIETIES**

Moderator: Lehký Miroslav

Tomek Prokop *Czech Republic, Vojenský historický ústav*
United against RFE

Trützschler-Fügner Eugenie *Germany, Thüringer Landtag*
Operation Nikola – Stasi and emigration

Žáček Pavel *Czech Republic, ÚSTR*
**Soviet assistance during organization of special
purposes service**

15:50 Discussion

16:10 *Coffee break*

16:20 Film **The Soviet story** (2008) by Edvins Snore

Friday, November 21

8:30 Participants presence

9:00 Panel 4

**DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION OF THE NKVD/KGB
WITH SATELLITE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES**

Moderator: Bárta Milan

Bulhak Wladyslaw, Paczkowski Andrzej *Poland, The Institute of National Remembrance; The Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences*

Relations between the Soviet and Polish Security Services in 1944-1990

Maddrell Paul *UK, Aberystwyth University*

The Stasi, the KGB and the German Democratic Republic's Security and Intelligence Policy in the years 1953-1957

Slávik Martin *Czech Republic, ÚSTR*

Cooperation of StB (State Security Agency) and KGB in the area of active measures

Michl Jan *Czech Republic, ÚSTR*

Head of the counter-intelligence agency for 18 years.

Josef Stavinoha, chief of VKR (Military Counter-Intelligence Agency) in 1953-1971

10:20 Discussion

10:40 *Coffee break*

10:50 Panel 5 – part 1

**OPERATIONS OF COMMUNIST INTELLIGENCE
SERVICES, JOINT OPERATIONS MANAGED BY KGB**

Moderator: Vévoda Rudolf

Grozev Kostadin Bulgaria, Sofia University

**Bulgarian State Security and Its Monitoring of U.S.
and British Diplomats in Sofia in the Cold War Years
(1945-1989)**

Munteanu Mircea USA, Woodrow Wilson Center

**The Mitrokhin Archive – The KGB activities in Afghanistan
and Iran**

Cummings Richard USA, RFE

**1976 Work Plan against Radio Free Europe and Radio
Liberty**

*Evans Stanton M.; Romerstein Herbert, USA, Troy University NY;
Institute of World Politics*

**Active Measures – Covert Influence Operations to promote
Soviet goals in the West**

12:10 Discussion

12:30 *Lunch*

14:00 Panel 5 – part 2

OPERATIONS OF COMMUNIST INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, JOINT OPERATIONS MANAGED BY KGB

Moderator: Bursík Tomáš

Miklovič Michal Slovakia, ÚPN

Index of sudden attack. Czechoslovak version of KGB's VRYAN operation.

Varinský Vladimír Slovakia, Fakulta humanitných vied UMB Banská Bystrica

Anti-Communist activities of the exile White Legion and its realization of State Security Agency in Slovakia

Kalous Jan Czech Republic, Vysoká škola politických a spoločenských vied Kolín

Collaboration between KGB and StB during infiltration into NTS – Russian emigration organization

Pešek Jan Slovakia, HU SAV

The Offensive of State Security Agency (StB) against the French General Consulate in Bratislava during 1949–1951 and its consequences

Šmigel' Michal *Slovakia, Katedra historie FHV UMB v Banskej
Bystrici*

**On some activities of the NKVD in Czechoslovakia
in relation to Soviet repatriation operation in Slovakia
(1945–1948)**

15:40 Discussion

16:00 Closing ceremony

PANEL 1:

**Archives of security forces
of Central and Eastern
European countries**

the records on the cooperation of security forces of Eastern European countries with the Soviet security services in contemporary archives | digitizing of archives | creating information systems | the possibilities of research and cooperation

Cseh Gergő Bendegúz (Hungary, ABTL)

ELECTRONIC DATA PROCESSING IN THE HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF THE HUNGARIAN STATE SECURITY

Gergő Bendegúz Cseh is head of Department for Computerizing, Data processing Preservation. He has 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 he spent four months in Washington 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 Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security continuously takes over and processes the documents that are still kept by present national security authorities. In accordance with legal conditions, after necessary archive processing, all these will be made accessible to citizens concerned or scientific researchers.

The quantity of documents in the Historical Archive was 3818 linear meters at the end of 2007. More than two thirds of this is documents classified in different types of files or dossiers. The rest is made up by functional documents of the former state security organizations and the collections, background documents and contemporary registers created and used by those organizations. The Archive maintains mainly paper-based documents but we also have large quantities of contemporary security microfilm copies of investigation and operation files and Daily Operation Information Reports.

Processing the different dossiers (investigation, operation, work and enlisting) that make up the majority of documents kept in the Historical Archives consists of four steps:

- we are recording the names and other data of the persons observed, the officers and collaborators of former state security organizations in the central database of the Archives, which at present contains the names and other data of 700.000 people;
- we digitize page by page the most often used files that are in bad physical condition. We keep the contents in the central database, making preparatory work inside the institute easier and thus saving the original documents. Before the end of 2007 we completed the digitization more than 600,000 pages thus making this data accessible for preparatory work in the institute;
- thematic exploration of these files has been going on for several years; this means keying in all the information that may help us find the given document later. Basic data (type, index, topic, period) of the majority of files is already recorded in our central database and the number of documents explored in detail and classified by subject matter is rapidly growing;
- we are digitizing and processing the most valuable photos of our collections: the no. of these digitized pictures was more than 3000 in 2007.

Since the end of 2003 researchers have been able to use the central database on the public computers of our research hall and

since 2007 they have been using this central database through the internet.

VIRGILIU TARAU (Romania, Collegium CNSAS)
SECURITATE'S ARCHIVE'S SAGA

(was not delivered)

PTÁČNÍKOVÁ SVĚTLANA (Czech Republic, ABS)
**ARCHIVE OF SECURITY FORCES AND DOCUMENTS ON
CO-OPERATION BETWEEN STB AND KGB - POTENTIAL
RESEARCH**

Světlana Ptáčníková completed her studies in history and archiving in 1994 at Philosophical Faculty of Masaryk University in Brno. In the same year she started working at the Department of Archiving and Filing Service of Interior Ministry in Brno-Kanice (the Archive of Interior Ministry), where she focused on documents of unitary and federal Interior Ministry and regional and district component of State Security. In November 2006 she was appointed the head of department of State Security, which belongs under the Department of the Archive of Security Forces of Interior Ministry, which was renamed upon the creation of Security Forces Archive to Department of Archive Funds of National Security. She currently participates in exhibitions and research projects organized by The Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes.

Any historian interested in co-operation of the State Security Committee at the Council of Ministers of USSR (KGB) with Czechoslovak State Security Agency or with the Ministry of Interior in general, will definitely find a great deal of useful information in the Archive of Security Forces. The objective of this contribution is to brief researchers about the types of materials regarding the above mentioned topic which are available in our archive.

The Archive of Security Forces provides researchers with a whole range of resources related to contacts of security forces of both countries. These resources are of various kinds. There are original of agreements as well as various background information to them, minutes from meetings, collaboration plans, reports on state visits etc. These can be found practically in all collections belonging to various divisions of Interior Ministry, its secretariat, collections of individual deputy ministers and Ministry administration units. In regions there are reports on collaboration during counter-intelligence protection of Soviet Army located in our territory after the invasion in 1968. The materials prove that the the collaboration of both secrete forces began to develop at the beginning of 1960s and it included mutual exchange of findings on activities of foreign intelligence services, exchange of expertise in intelligence and operative activities, mutual assistance in individual activities, co-operation in intelligence games with enemies, whose objective was the base of the agency, coordination in development and manufacture of operative technology, assistance in translation from foreign languages, mutual exchange of experts and researchers, exchange study programs, stays in spas and holiday resorts

etc. The cooperation concerned all sections of the State Security Agency - intelligence services, counter-intelligence (both civic and military), operative technology, Special messages (codes) etc.

This contribution does not claim to provide a comprehensive list of all resources and in fact, it is not its objective. The researchers should judge themselves how the documents stored in the Archive of Security Forces may contribute to their work.

BUKOVSZKY LADISLAV (Czech Republic, ABS)
**COOPERATION OF STB (STATE SECURITY AGENCY)
AND KGB ON PROTECTION OF SOVIET TROOPS
AND ARMY PREMISES**

Ladislav Bukovszky graduated from Comenius University in Bratislava with a degree in archival science, Doctor of Philosophy. He is director of The Archive of Security Forces. 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.

The events of spring of 1968 in Czechoslovakia were followed by the intervention of five armies of the Warsaw Pact in 20th August, 1968. The temporal stay of Soviet troops in the territory of Czechoslovakia was legalized by a treaty entered into by the governments of the CSSR and the USSR on 16th October, 1968 in Prague. According to the treaty part of the Soviet troops shall stay

in the CSSR “in order to protect the states of socialistic society against the growing revanchist efforts of West-German military forces”. In less than four months the two governments signed another treaty in Prague on provision of mutual legal assistance in the matters related to the temporary stay of the Soviet troops in the territory of the CSSR. This treaty sets particular roles to the bodies of the Federal Interior Ministry as well as for the State Security Agency. The roles included mainly to take measures to ensure military security of the Soviet troops in the territory of Czechoslovakia, in particular efforts to detect significant crimes aimed at the Soviet Army and its objects and mutual co-operation on intelligence and operative activities. When performing social measures, the StB bodies cooperated with new organizational units of KGB in Czechoslovakia.

Common tasks of StB and KGB units in the issues of “Protection of Soviet Troops and Army Objects” were managed by so called “collaboration plans” which were effective until 1989. On nationwide level, these issues were handled by the II S SNB (National Security Corps) in cooperation with ZO KGB in Milovice. In Slovakia the performance of organizational measures were managed by individual district StB administration units with Special KGB Division in Zvolen and with regional representation of KGB.

These activities were filed both in the central II. S SNB and on the level of districts. The files to individual objects of the Soviet army were established at the beginning of the second half of 1969.

Individual divisions of StB together with KGB bodies up to the regional level ensured security of Soviet troops and protected

the troops from increased interest of western secret services (especially from Austrian ABWEHR and West German intelligence services), from foreign tourists and diplomats and also from local citizens.

PANEL 2:

**Establishment of the security
apparatus in Soviet satellite
states after World War II**

activities of NKVD after World War II (abductions and transfers) | establishment of communist intelligence services and their co-operation with the KGB | founding of structures and models according to the Soviet example

BAEV JORDAN (Bulgaria, Bulgarian Inter-University Cold War Research Group)

**INTERNATIONAL HISTORY AND MGB/KGB COOPERATION
WITH THE BULGARIAN INTELLIGENCE & SECURITY
SERVICES 1944–1989**

Jordan Baev received his MA in History from Sofia University and Ph.D. in Contemporary History from Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Since 2001 he has been Associate Professor in Contemporary History and Senior Research Fellow in Security Studies at Rakovsky Defense College in Sofia. He is also a Visiting Professor both at New Bulgarian University and Diplomatic Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Sofia.

Dr. Baev serves as Vice-President of Bulgarian Association of Military History and Coordinator of Bulgarian Cold War Research Group. He is a Board member of Bulgarian American Studies Association in Sofia, Overseas Associate, Centre of Cold War Studies, London School of Economics, and Bulgarian representative at World Security Network Foundation, South Eastern Europe Office in Athens. In 2002 he was elected as a member of the International Commission of Cold War Studies, established by the International Committee of Historical Sciences of UNESCO.

Dr. Baev's academic record comprises fellowships at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington D.C., National Defence College in Stockholm, Nobel Institute in Oslo, and National Defense University in Washington D. C. In the last 30 years he wrote more than 200 publications, published in eleven languages, among them several books and documentary volumes on Cold War military, intelligence and political history.

The proposed paper aims to reveal and summarize the results of ten years research within the Bulgarian State Security Records. The basic issues of Soviet – Bulgarian postwar Security and Intelligence cooperation can be found in about 300 files from the first 22 Departmental Records at the Archive of the Ministry of the Interior in Sofia, which consist of about 27 000 pages in general. Approximately 16 000 pages of these files were Intelligence Information, Estimates, and Analyses, sent regularly by the KGB to Sofia in the period 1954–1989. Other more than 11 000 pages comprise Plans, Agreements, Protocols, Reports of meetings, and Correspondence between Soviet KGB and Bulgarian KDS services. Few documents on the matter can be found as well within the BCP Politburo Confidential Records (held at Bulgarian Central State Archives) and the Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Unfortunately, almost all of Bulgarian National Intelligence Service’ Operational Records for the Cold War years continue to be classified so far.

The research will focus on the specific areas, forms, methods, and geographic dimensions of the bilateral Soviet-Bulgarian Intelligence cooperation; the role of the KGB “advisers”, “allocation of duties” inside the Warsaw Pact, eventual joint operations, etc. Among the main topics to be discussed will be the KGB-KDS activities against the NATO Southern Tier in the Balkans, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Middle East regions, and the scope of Intelligence exchange between the Security Services of both countries. Of special interest are also the proposed joint and coordinated measures against other “Socialist” countries, like China, Albania, Yugoslavia, and Romania.

CLAUDIU SECASIU (Romania, Collegium CNSAS)
**SOVIET INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES IN ROMANIA, IN THE
YEARS 1944-47**

(was not delivered)

DORNIK ŠUBELJ LJUBA (Slovenia, Archives of the Republic
Slovenia)
**THE INFLUENCE OF NKVD ON FOUNDATION THE
INTELLIGENCE AND COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE
ORGANISATION IN SLOVENIA AND IN YUGOSLAVIA**

Ljuba Dornik Šubelj was born in Ljubljana in the year 1949, graduated 1973 on Department for History in University of Ljubljana and 1994 got her mgr. degree in the same Universty. For the last ten years she is employed as senior adviser at the Archive of the Republic of Slovenia, where she had experience relating to the archives of former Slovene Secret Service, kept by the Archives. For the last few years she actively participates in international conferences, organised by IIHA (International Intelligence History Association) and other assosciation (like on April, 7, 2008 in Sofia and on May, 30, 2008 Brdo, Slovenia). Last year she also researched archival material in the Russian war state Archives (CAMO) at the Arned Forces of Russian Federation, relating to the history of foreign war missions to the former Yugoslavia during the Second World War. In 1999 the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia published her mgr. work as a book;“ OZNA (State Security Service) for Slovenia“.

The influence of NKVD on foundation of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence in Slovenia was indirect through the people, members of Communist Party, who were in GPU – schools in Soviet Union before the Second World War like Edvard Kardelj, Zdenka Kidrič and Ivan Maček .

In Slovenia, the first Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence organisation was established on August 15 th 1941 as VOS, i.e. Varnostno obveščevalna služba (The Executive-Intelligence organisation) and her Central Commission was basically the same as CHEKA, i.e. Chresvichajnaja Komisija, which was the first Intelligence in Russia after the Great Revolution of October the1917.

As the names were changing through the years, the tasks of Intelligence and Counter-intelligence remained the same. Edvard Kardelj, the leader of the Slovene Communists, himself made a comparison in one of his letters to Josip Broz in 1942, saying that Vos in Slovenia was like GPU in Soviet Union.

The decion on united organisation for entire Yugoslav Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence organisation was made in 1944, when on May 13 th the Yugoslav Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence Organisation was established. Its name was OZNA, the Department of National Security, acting within Commision of national defence. The organisation was foundede on the basis of the Soviet instructions which were prepared by Soviet representatives in Head Qoutters in Drvar, officers of NKVD. The organisation was very like SMERSH (Smert špijunam or Death to the spies). Since Josip Broz Tito was Chief of Staff and Commander for National Defence, OZNA was directly under his command while its commander was Aleksander Ranković.

OZNA had the same organisational structure in all parts of Yugoslavia. OZNA for Yugoslavia had the highest rank, and was followed by OZNA for Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Vojvodina and Kosovo. The last two were soon after the liberation of Yugoslavia in the summer of 1945 included into OZNA for Serbia, by order of Aleksander Ranković.

The task of OZNA was to make all necessary preparations to take power after the war.

Each federal unit, including Slovene OZNA, consisted of four sections.

The name of the organisation changed from OZNA to UDB in the year 1946 and became a part of Ministry for Interior. In the year 1966 her name was changed to USDV, but its tasks remained the same until the collapse of the Former Yugoslavia in 1991, but in Serbia lasted longer, until the fall of Slobodan Milošević.

OZNA and UDB was like KGB in Soviet Union. It was non democratic and turned against Yugoslav nations, while defending Yugoslavia as whole. It was also intolerant to people who were not communists, their beliefs and other political parties. At post-war political trials against internal enemies, many innocent people were sentenced to death or sent to prison for many years, especially after 1948 because of split with Kominform, when the first prisoners were those, who believe in Soviet Union and her Communist party more than in Communist party of Yugoslavia.

BYSTROV VLADIMÍR (Czech Republic)

**ACTIVITY OF SPECIAL UNITS OF THE PEOPLE'S
DIRECTORATE OF INTERIOR OF USSR**

Vladimír Bystrov is journalist and author of articles on cinematography and the art of filmmaking (1953–1971) and of political commentaries and reports on art and history (since 1990). He is also an author of translations of articles and books from Russian classical and modern literature (e.g.. works of A. Platonov, M. Zoshzcenko, B. Polevoy, B. Vasilyev, I. Solovievich), of epilogues, scripts for TV documentaries, radio programmes, exhibitions (e.g. Before Hell or From Czech to Gulag, The Teacher, Exile to Czechoslovakia and Exile from Czechoslovakia, General Sergej Vojcechovskij – soldier and democrat) and specialized papers and studies (e.g. The End of Russian Archive in Prague). In 2007 he was awarded the medal of T. G. Masaryk for outstanding merit in development of democracy, humanity and human rights. In 2008 he was awarded the Prize of Rudolf Medek for long-term documentary and publication activity in the field of civic and moral recovery for Russian inter-war anti-Bolshevik emigration in Czechoslovakia.

Special units of the People's Directorate of Interior of USSR were called SMIERSH according to a cryptonym from Russian expressions "smiert shpionam" – "death to spies". An open police operation aimed at searching for and arrests of people, on occupied territory, who represented relevant or potential obstacles to future sovietization of the territory. SMIERSH ignored the Covenants on relations between Czechoslovak administration and Soviet Su-

preme Headquarters after the entry of Soviet troops into Czechoslovak territory as of 8th May, 1944, subordinating all civil citizens to Czechoslovak jurisdiction. Police administration set up in Sub Carpathian, which had formally belonged to Czechoslovakia until summer 1945, in 1944 by SMIERSH. Mutual “competition” among individual SMIERSH units active within the structure of Red Army at individual army groups trying to arrest as many people as possible. Zero cooperation with bodies of official intelligence services of Czechoslovak Republic and with security services which were newly formed after the war. Definitely individual contact of SMIERSH, or in general of the People’s Directorate of Interior of USSR, with employees of Czechoslovak state administration (Vilinskiy) and with representatives of Czechoslovak army unit in USSR (Reicin, Vaš) and certainly the activity of agents who have not been fully identified yet and who had been present in Czechoslovakia before the WW II or who came during the war among refugees from Soviet territories occupied by the Germans. Citizens of Sub Carpathia who fled to Czechoslovakia and opted for Czechoslovak citizenship when the territory was ceded to the Soviet Union faced forcible deportations back to the USSR. An urge to extradite those women to the USSR who were deported to Germany during the WW II from the territories occupied by the Germans and who refused to return to the USSR and who were getting married with Czechoslovak citizens in order to seek their protection. Arrogance of open police activities of SMIERSH came as a shock not only to Czechoslovak democratic political environment but also the Communists themselves whose image got spoilt and the target to take-

over the power gradually without a civil war was in danger. Formal cooperation between NKVD (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs - former SMERSH) with Czechoslovak StB (State Security Agency) took place probably after February of 1948 in the form of open cooperation (abduction of colonel Borecký, of Mr. Kostecký, the former member of Czechoslovak army unit in USSR, and of Ms Kodešová, the ballet dancer) and mainly in the form of intensive development of class security structures.

RITVARS JANSONS (Latvia, The State Archives of Latvia)
**COUNTER - ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES OF LATVIAN SSR
SECURITY INSTITUTIONS**

(was not delivered)

After the Second World War - from mid 1940s to mid-1950s the prior counter-intelligence effort of the Latvian SSR (LSSR) security institutions was neutralisation of the activities of foreign intelligence services in Latvia through operative games with them.

In 1955 the 2nd Directorate of the USSR KGB was not content with the work of the 2nd Department of the LSSR KGB (the latter being subordinated to the former). The reasons for dissatisfaction were the insufficient number of agents involved in counter-intelligence and the quality of their performance. The changes that took place in the USSR in mid-1950s encouraged economic contacts with foreign countries and KGB had to exercise strict control over

communications between foreigners and local residents. The situation in the Baltic differed considerably from that of other USSR republics because many residents of Latvia had relatives abroad and the West Baltic was part of the state border. Moreover, Latvia – through the ports of Riga and Ventspils – received regular visits by foreign ships. The 2nd Directorate of the USSR KGB demanded a special focus on repatriates from the Western countries to Latvia and on former (unmasked and convicted) agents of foreign intelligence services after their return from their places of incarceration and required organisation of measures that would foster the return of Latvian émigrés to their fatherland.

As of mid-1950s apart from direct repressions (such as detention, arrest, trial, etc.) the USSR very often resorted to indirect repressions as well: restriction of career opportunities of the „incorrect” people, their dismissal from educational institutions, prohibition to travel abroad, restriction of the rights of their relatives, etc.

In the period between mid and late-1950s KGB established in the USSR and LSSR an all embracing social control.

GEIFMAN ANNA (USA, Boston University)

**WHEN TERRORISTS COME TO POWER: FROM
UNDERGROUND COMBAT TO THE CHEKA-NKVD RULE**

Anna Geifman, PhD, is the author of *Thou Shalt Kill: Revolutionary Terrorism in Russia, 1894-1917* (Princeton University Press, 1993) and *En-*

tangled in *Terror: The Azef Affair and the Russian Revolution* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000). She is the editor of *Russia under the Last Tsar: Opposition and Subversion, 1894-1917* (Blackwell, 1999). She has also authored journal articles and book chapters on Russian political and cultural history, as well as psychohistory. Her last major publication is a psychohistorical essay, *La mort sera votre dieu: du nihilisme russe au terrorisme islamiste* (Paris, 2005). Geifman is Professor of History at Boston University, where she teaches undergraduate and graduate classes on the history of imperial Russia, the USSR, and psychohistory. She also teaches history of contemporary terrorism at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Russia was the country where for the first time in history terrorists acquired control over the state. Unlike the Jacobins, who had not been the perpetrators of political violence prior to their assumption of power, Lenin and the Bolsheviks benefited from their terrorist experience before the takeover of November 1917. A cardinal feature of the newly-established Soviet rule was its unremitting dependence on state-sponsored political violence—evident in the regime’s very origins.

Before the revolution, the Bolsheviks took part in terrorist activities, including those of major political significance, such as the 1907 murder of celebrated poet and social reformer Count Il’ia Chavchavadze, arguably the most popular national figure in turn-of-the-century Georgia. Infamous for their expropriations of state and private property in the Caucasus and the Urals, Lenin’s followers allocated a significant percentage of expropriated funds for conscription of

terrorists. The Bolsheviks ran a number of terrorist schools throughout the empire, including ones for combatant instructors in Kiev and L'vov, as well as in Bologna, Italy. Having taken over the Russian administration, Lenin proceeded to implement government-sponsored machinery of state terror—projecting the conspiratorial nature of the Bolshevik party onto the new dictatorial regime. Relying on terrorist mentality and previous practices, the Bolsheviks zealously defended a policy they labeled the “Red Terror” – an instrument of repression of the revolutionary government – as a pre-condition for success in a seemingly visionary endeavor by a handful of political extremists to establish control over Russia’s population.

As the Bolsheviks intensified their effort to intimidate citizens into submission to the Soviet regime, they also sought to create a socio-cultural climate suitable for mass murder. No longer confined to their clandestine cells, the terrorists, acting as state leaders, extended extremist culture to millions of citizens under their control, paving the road to Stalin’s all-out “Great Terror”.

SOMMER VÍTĚZSLAV (Czech Republic, ÚSTR)
SECOND LIFE OF FELIX DZERZHINSKI

Vítězslav Sommer is historian of the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes. He studied at the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts at Charles University. Between 2003 and 2007 he worked for STRED – Středoevropský dialog (Central European Dialogue) Society as a coordinator for the Czech Republic.

This contribution will be dedicated to different views on F.E. Dzerzhinsky in Czechoslovakia in belle-lettres and historiography in the period of 1948-1989. It will concern an analysis of building a public image of activities of secret police by means of references to the founder of Soviet secret police. The author is going to examine this issue from the point of view of strategies of creation of a self-contained historical tradition in communist Czechoslovakia.



PANEL 3:

**Central and Eastern Europe
as a starting point for
intelligence infiltration into
the Western societies**

*activities against citizens and embassies of the Western
countries in the Soviet bloc | support and protection of
international terrorism*

BREZINA ZBYSEK (USA, Bethany College, Kansas)

THE MVD/KGB ACTIVITIES IN THE U.S. IN THE 1950S

Zbysek Brezina is an assistant professor of history at Bethany College in Lindsborg, Kansas. His primary research interest is modern Central and East European history and politics – in particular, Eastern European political exiles during and after World War II, military and intelligence history, and the history of the Romani (Gypsy) people. His secondary interest is in modern U.S. foreign policy.

My primary research interest is in the history of Eastern Europe during the period of Nazi and Communist rule. In particular, I am interested in three main areas: Eastern European political exiles during and after World War II, the activity of intelligence agencies during this time, and ethnic violence and human rights – in particular, ethnic violence toward the Romani people of Eastern Europe. I am also extremely interested in international relations and using recent history to provide perspective and illumination on contemporary international issues such as the establishment of democracy and law in transitioning countries (especially those transitioning from a communist system to a democratic one in Eastern Europe).

This thesis explores the MVD/KGB fictitious and genuine infiltrations of the U.S. government during the Eisenhower Administration (1953-1961). It draws on several case studies, such as the role of the Rosenbergs in the infiltrations and the role of the U.S. Communist Party in Soviet intelligence. It also analyzes the activities of the institutions of McCarthyism such as the House Un-American Activities Committee. The study provides us with a greater under-

standing of President Eisenhower and his government approaches to this particular element of the Cold War. It also reveals that although there was significant fear on the part of the American public and various government agencies concerning the penetration of Soviet intelligence in the U.S., the situation was not as critical as many have believed. The study is mainly rooted in archival research of material from The Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library in Abilene, Kansas.

SELVAGE DOUGLAS (Germany, BStU)

**THE EAST GERMAN MINISTRY FOR STATE SECURITY,
WESTERN NGOS, AND THE CSCE PROCESS, 1977-1983**

Douglas Selvage works as a full-time researcher (wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter) on the project, „The GDR, the Ministry for State Security, and the CSCE Process, 1977-1986,” at the Education and Research Division of the Office of the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the Former German Democratic Republic in Berlin. He has also been serving as the director of a grant project funded by the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities to translate Warsaw Pact documents from seven languages into English. He previously worked at the Office of the Historian at the U.S. Department of State from 2001 to 2005. His recent publications include *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976: European Security, 1969-76*. He also played a leading role in organizing a joint project between the U.S. Department of State and the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that led to publication of the joint vol-

ume, *Soviet-American Relations: The Détente Years, 1969-1972*, which he co-edited. Selvage has been a frequent contributor to the publications of the Cold War International History Project and the Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security.

After the signing of the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in 1975, a number of Western nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) began to focus on the issue of human rights in Eastern Europe – indeed, a number of organizations were established for this very purpose. These organizations pressured the communist regimes of Eastern Europe and lobbied Western governments to promote human rights in Eastern Europe and to ensure the fulfillment of the human rights provisions of Basket III of the Helsinki Final Act. These NGOs became a standing presence at the various CSCE review conferences.

My paper will analyze the efforts of the East German Ministry for State Security (MfS) to discredit and infiltrate Western NGOs seeking to promote human rights in Eastern Europe against the backdrop of the CSCE review conferences in Belgrade (1977-1978) and Madrid (1980-83). Wherever possible, the paper will point to joint efforts in this regard with the Soviet KGB and other „fraternal“ intelligence services. The paper will focus in particular on the efforts of the MfS and other East European intelligence services to counter the International Society for Human Rights, Amnesty International, Charter 77, the Committee to Defend Workers (KSS-KOR) and the European Network for East-West Dialogue.

SHEVCHENKO SVETLANA (USA, US. Dept. Of Defense Prisoner of War/Missing Personnel Office)

THE ROLE OF ARCHIVAL HOLDINGS OF THE SECURITY FORCES OF RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION IN TRYING TO ACCOUNT FOR UNITED STATES PRISONERS OF WAR AND MISSING PERSONNEL IN THE COLD WAR

Svetlana Shevchenko is a Foreign Affairs Specialist with the Joint Commission Support Directorate, Prisoner of War/Missing Personnel Office (JCSD/DPMO), U.S. Department of Defense. She serves as the directorate's senior analyst, designing and undertaking research initiatives in support of JCSD's four working groups: the Vietnam War; the Korean War; World War II; and the Cold War, with the goal of ascertaining the facts regarding the capture, confinement, repatriation, or other disposition of missing American military personnel. She actively participates in the process of defining priorities for research and investigation; negotiates bilateral archival contracts with foreign officials; and coordinates the work of analysts engaged in archival research, field investigations, and interviews with veterans, eyewitnesses, and diplomats.

Ms. Shevchenko came to DPMO from the Office of Special Investigations (OSI), Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice, where she worked closely with historians and attorneys investigating and litigating crimes against humanity. Her investigative initiatives and analytical judgments enabled OSI and federal judges to assess factual evidence and to define legal issues.

She conducted research in education and educational psychology, sociology, and cross-cultural issues, and authored and co-authored several pub-

lications and presentations in these areas. Ms. Shevchenko holds degrees in Political Science, Linguistics/English, and Education.

There was (or is) a widely-held belief that 26,000 American POWs on the territory occupied by the Red Army were sent to the Gulag. The Nazis even issued propaganda to that effect. Research based on records of the Main Directorate of POWs and Internees (GUPVI) in Moscow's Special Archives revealed that, except for a very small number, U.S. POWs in German POW camps in Ukraine, Belarus and Poland went home, either by sea through Odessa or across the lines.

The case for U.S. POWs in Korea being transferred to the Soviet Union is very strong on the basis of circumstantial evidence and witness reports, but no concrete cases have been proven. Posyet is the most likely route with Colonel Corso as a main proponent. Work with Russian archives has helped to investigate reports of U.S. POWs in the camp system, ostensibly there as the result of extra-judicial actions, and to study the question of U.S. POWs used for medical experiments in view of the General Seyna and Czechoslovak connection, providing an interesting scenario for the exploitation of U.S. POWs, particularly Blacks, for medical experimentation both in Prague and in Russia.

Soviet Border Guards archives have assisted in efforts to account for 126 missing crewmen from the U.S. planes shot down during the 39 Cold War shoot downs, resulting in the burials of 18 crewmen and fascinating searches in Murmansk and Baltiysk for traces of the remaining MIAS.

Were POWs from the war in Southeast Asia taken to the Soviet Union? The considerable efforts to account for POW/MIAs in the '90's, along with the opportunities presented by the break-up of the Soviet Union, were largely the result of the American public's thirst to answer this question. In the final analysis, the case for transfer of POWs from Southeast Asia is much weaker than that for Korea but has been kept alive by several documents ostensibly from special service records.

The Russians have made genuine efforts to help since the establishment of the USRJC in 1992 in terms of archival access and not impeding the freedom to travel and interview witnesses by the American side of the USRJC. At the same time, the search for references to U.S.

POW/MIAs who made have wound up on Soviet territory has been largely a blanket approach to records in MVD, KGB, and GRU archives, with commensurate blanket statements which can only be taken on face value without any independent verification.

The reticence of archival systems of the special services of any country to reveal information has complicated the problem of continuing the effort to account for U.S. POW/MIAs in the context of the former Soviet Union. Thus, our researchers have encountered obstacles to archival access, bureaucratic hurdles to carrying out meaningful investigations, slowness in constituting the Russian side of the Commission, and reluctance to provide an administrative structure within which the work of the Commission can be effected.

TOMEK PROKOP (Czech Republic, VHÚ)

UNITED AGAINST RFE

Prokop Tomek graduated in history from FF UK. Currently works in Army Historical Archive and he has worked in 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.

One of the most visible and vocal enemies of the Soviet Union and its satellites is without any doubt the radio stations Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL). Their broadcast from Soviet satellites was being launched from the beginning of 1950s. Regular broadcast from Czechoslovakia began on May 1st 1951 from Munich. Broadcast for citizens of Romania, Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria followed in 1952. On March 1st 1953 RFE was joined by an affiliated station Radio Liberation, later changed to Radio Liberty, which was intended for citizens of the Soviet Union. Both stations joined into one entity in 1976 (RFE/RL, Inc.)

One of the rarities of RFE and RL was their formal independence and therefore a possibility to comment on and inform about the situation in communist countries freely and openly. Naturally, embedded values of politics of western democracies were evident from the very beginning. Security apparatus of all Soviet block countries unites to fight this vocal enemy. Cooperation in the fight against RFE took place in several areas.

From the first half of 1950s there was a vigorous cooperation on disabling the RFE and RL broadcasting by radio jamming transmit-

ters. Mutual interference from greater distance was more efficient especially for broadcast on short waves. Jamming devices as well as the decision-making power were completely under control of the security apparatus of Interior Ministry.

Very common and rather undemanding form of cooperation was exchange of intelligence information. Exchanged information was gathered mainly at random, sometimes it concerned intentional targeting of agency resources.

Common preparation of misinformation active measures was more demanding. First attempts may be traced in the second half of 1960s. Misinformation publications and articles were exchanged and published. Another well-known activity was appearance in media of agents of State Security Agency who came back from secret missions in RFE and RL. Among the best known is the agent Andrzej Czechowicz from Poland a Czechoslovak Pavel Minařík.

Among the most interesting projects aimed against RFE/RL was the plan to create a somewhat international propagandist tribunal which would publicly “condemn” RFE and RL as a tool of Cold War. The Tribunal was prepared and discussed in 1976. In the end the project was not realized, probably due to low interest of KGB.

RFE/RL was also one of the important areas of interest when building the database of enemies of the Soviet block – the System of Unified Records of Findings on the Enemy (SSEP). The system was built and maintained in the period of 1977-1990 by affiliated security agencies of the Eastern Block initiated and supervised by KGB.

All this considerable effort and resources did not lead to desired results in the end. RFE and RL were never silenced and they

helped to eliminate the power of the Soviet Communist Block in late 1980s.

TRÜTZSCHLER-FÜGNER EUGENIE (Germany)
OPERATION NIKOLA – STASI AND EMIGRATION

(was not delivered)

In Germany NATO-Doppelbeschluss was discussed, martial law was declared in Germany, in November of 1982 Brezhnev dies. After a brief historical explication of the political situation in Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany at that time, a particular example of a planned operation will be discussed to illustrate in which circumstances and in which way (lustration of persons in the neighbourhood of a monitored person etc.) the State Security Agency was trying to make contacts with emigrants and to use their knowledge on other emigrants but primarily to get information on the particular situation in German and Sudetenland institutions, on work in political parties and the parliament. I am going to focus on utilization of this knowledge for the purposes of the Communist Party.

The particular case will show in which hierarchical and geographical scope this operation was planned (the number of units of State Security Agency, members of staff involved and the geographical scope of the whole operation) and how the State Security Agency prepared and performed the lustrations. The geographical

places that served as espionage venues will be presented, what were the circumstances, and why State Security Agency was satisfied with the results of lustrations and information and what were the cases when they look for further information about persons and situations.

Moreover, the extent to which the information on the monitored person/emigrant was consulted with GDR's Stasi will be discussed as well as the reaction of the State Security Agency on non-realization of the operation.

ŽÁČEK PAVEL (Czech Republic, ÚSTR)

SOVIET ASSISTANCE DURING ORGANIZATION OF SPECIAL PURPOSES SERVICE

Pavel Žáček is historian, graduated of FSV UK in Prague. He is the director of the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes. Between 1995 and 1996, he took part in a study program at Stanford University, CA, USA. Between 1993 and 1994 he headed the Division for Documentation and Investigation of the State Security Activities, where he became Deputy director in 1998. He started working for the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in 1999. Between 2004 and 2006, he worked at the Nation's Memory Institute in Slovakia. He wrote multiple publications.

From 1963 a special section of the Soviet intelligence agency helped to build a deep-cover organizational unit of intelligence administration of Interior Ministry – the special purposes service

(22nd later 7th division of the 1st administration unit of Interior Ministry), whose objective was organization, logistics preparation and preparation of personnel for special operation in Western Europe. With the assistance of specialists from the Czechoslovak People's Army and other forces, the State Security Agency managed to build a small conspirational organization ready to carry out diverse attacks on energy systems, telecommunications networks, chemical plants, drinking water sources, nuclear bomb shelters or special units in the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Benelux countries. Members of Soviet intelligence agency transferred their expertise to the comrades in Czechoslovakia including physical elimination of persons (so called traitors) abroad. The first stage of development of the special purposes service was finished during Prague Spring in 1968.

PANEL 4

Development of cooperation of the NKVD/KGB with satellite intelligence services

*legal framework | structure of organization | Soviet advisers
education and schooling of staff | information exchange*

BUŁHAK WŁADYSŁAW (Poland, IPN);
PACZKOWSKI ANDRZEJ (Poland, The Institute of Political
Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences)
**RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET AND POLISH
SECURITY SERVICES IN 1944–1990**

Władysław Bułhak is Head of Division of Research, Expertise, Documentation and Library Holdings at the Public Education Office in the Institute of National Remembrance (Poland). Graduated in history at Warsaw University. He published on various aspects of Polish-Russian(Soviet) relations in XIX and XX century, and on intelligence and counter-intelligence of Polish Home Army (1939-1945). He works on the research of Polish communist civillian intelligence.

In the initial period (by mid-1945), the Soviets supported the organization and trained the people of the Polish (communist) security services, who participated in the operations of the Soviet repressive machine on Polish territories. Even though their structures were different from the administrative point of view, the goals, methods and tasks—associated inseparably with supporting the authoritarian rule—remained very close.

Soviet advisers played an important, but still not completely explored, role in those relations. At first, they are involved in the work (also in the operations) of the Polish services at all levels. Materials that have survived in a vestigial form show that their activity began to focus increasingly on central planning and supervision around 1947. They were involved in the reorganization of the

intelligence services (their merging in 1947, followed by another separation in 1950–1954) as well as the splitting of the Ministry of Public Security into two structures (like in the USSR): the Committee for Public Security (Komitet ds. Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego) and the Interior Ministry in 1954. Until 1956, advisers were also de facto the most important channel between the Polish security services and the headquarters in Moscow.

In 1956, during the thaw period, the relations became more—but not entirely—of a partnership. The team of advisers (operating within the Public Security Committee structures) was reorganized into a KGB mission in Warsaw. Still, the chief advisor, colonel Georgiy Yevdokimenko remained the head of the mission. In January 1957, an official delegation of the Interior Ministry Security Service paid the first visit to Moscow. The agreement that was signed then opened a period of systematic and formalized cooperation of both services, which continued until 1990. The Polish side in the cooperation was mainly represented by the First (intelligence) and Second (counterintelligence) Departments. High level meetings (of the Polish deputy minister and the KGB deputy chairman) were held at least once a year. On 1–3 July 1963, a top level meeting took place in Warsaw with the Soviet delegation led by KGB Chairman Vladimir Y. Semichastny. From May 1961, an official post of the Polish Interior Ministry (the “Vistula” Operating Group of the Secret Service) operated in Moscow.

MADDRELL PAUL (UK, Aberystwyth University)

**THE STASI, THE KGB AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC'S SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE POLICY IN
THE YEARS 1953-1957**

Paul Maddrell has been a Lecturer in International Politics at the University of Aberystwyth, Great Britain, since 2002. Prior to that he was a Lecturer in the History of International Relations at the University of Salford, in Manchester. He has MA, LL. M., M. Phil and Ph. D. degrees from the University of Cambridge. He is the author of *Spying on Science: Western Intelligence in Divided Germany, 1945-1961* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), as well as of many articles and book chapters on intelligence history and German history. His main research interests are the history of Communism, twentieth-century German and Soviet history, and the history of intelligence and security.

This paper examines the disputes over the state security and intelligence collection operations of the East German Ministry of State Security (Ministerium für Staatssicherheit, or Stasi) in the years 1953-57: that is to say, from the workers' uprising in June 1953 until the resignation of the Minister of State Security, Ernst Wollweber, in October 1957. The paper will show that Wollweber fell owing to disagreements over key aspects of state security policy between him, the East German leader Walter Ulbricht and the KGB. It will show that the KGB monitored the Stasi's operations closely, assisted them actively, intervened frequently in them and was highly critical of the Ministry's performance. The security

and intelligence policy adopted by the Stasi was always that with which the KGB was happy.

The workers' uprising of 1953 greatly alarmed the East German Communist regime and caused the new state security chief, Ernst Wollweber, in partnership with the KGB, to take new security initiatives. In the years 1953-1955 he carried out the biggest series of arrests of spies and subversives of the entire Cold War. Wollweber actively publicized these measures, so as to convince the public of the West's subversive menace. In 1955, at the KGB's behest, Wollweber changed course. His priority now was to collect intelligence on the rising military-scientific threat from the United States and the West by penetrating military and scientific targets there. The crises of 1956 prompted a further change of course, initiated by Ulbricht but supported by the Soviet leadership. Surveillance within the GDR became the foremost priority. In October 1957, the KGB allowed Wollweber to be driven from office. It was satisfied with the new order of consistently-expanding domestic surveillance, directed by the new Minister, Erich Mielke, and very extensive espionage abroad, masterminded by the Stasi's foreign intelligence chief, Markus Wolf.

SLÁVIK MARTIN (Czech Republic, ÚSTR)

COOPERATION OF STB AND KGB IN THE AREA OF ACTIVE MEASURES

Martin Slávik is graduate of political science at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Trnava. From 2005 he worked in the Documentation

Section of the Nation's Memory Institute of the Slovak Republic. He dealt with the documentation of the activities of the Secret Service of the communist State Police. At the moment he is the head of the Department of Record-Keeping Development of the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes.

This contribution will deal with the cooperation in the area of active measures (AM) which were among the main methods of Soviet and Czechoslovak communist secret services and was aimed at support of foreign policies for fulfillment of a particular operative target. During 1980s these deep-cover measures, whose aim was to mislead and weaken the enemy by means of misinformation and various measures to discredit, under the command of the 1st HS VSB and the 36th unit of the 1st administration of SNB (National Security Corps). Various AM concerned mainly the issues of weakening the position of USA in Western Europe, initiating conflict in NATO, support of national-liberation forces in Africa, Asia and South America as well as the issues related to economy.

The cooperation was based upon exchange of information but also upon mutual utilization of implementation channels, provision of background data for individual operations, monitoring the progress of operations, their impact and reaction to them. Consultation and placement abroad of personnel members were common and they enable them to get acquainted with particular AM and with the means used during their implementation.

MICHL JAN (Czech Republic, ÚSTR)
**HEAD OF THE COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE AGENCY FOR
18 YEARS. JOSEF STAVINOHA, CHIEF OF MILITARY
COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE AGENCY IN 1953-1971**

Jan Michl studied history and political science at the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts at Charles University in Prague. At present he is an inceptor at the Institute of Czech History of the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts at Charles University and at the same time he works for the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes. He specializes in military and political history of the 20th century, particularly in the stories of the members of all the three Czechoslovakian foreign resistance movements. So far he has published a two-part monograph called *Foreigners in RAF* as well as some expert papers, such as *Cizinci v RAF (Legionary Organizations in Czechoslovakia) (1920-1938)*. In: *Historie a vojenství*, č. 4/2007, JUDr. Lev Sychrava – politik na půl cesty (JUDr. Lev Sychrava – a Halfway Politician). In: *Na pozvání Masarykova ústav 4, Praha 2007*, and *Kult sebevrahařdiny plukovníka Švece (The Cult of Colonel Švec), the Suicidal Hero*. In: *Hrdinství a zbabělost v české politické kultuře 19. a 20. století, ÚČD FF UK – Dokořán, Praha 2008*.

This contribution will deal with an unusual phenomenon when the major general Ing. Josef Stavinoha was the chief of the Military Counter-Intelligence Agency from 1953 until December 1971. He took office when Stalinism in Czechoslovakia reached its peak. He survived the whole process of Prague Spring and what is truly noteworthy – he survived the follow-up purges during 1969-1970.

His long continuance in office wouldn't have been possible without close and obliging cooperation with the Soviets. The example of Josef Stavinoha may be compared to other VKR chiefs who, however, stayed in office for a considerably shorter time. During the years of normalization there was very close cooperation of VKR with the Soviet counterparts and among the representatives of this collaboration were Ing. Cyril Method Ohrablo (January 1972 - February 1981) a major general Ing. Pavol Vrlík (March 1981 - August 1989), who were the heads of VKR for another 18 years.

PANEL 5

Operations of communist intelligence services, joint operations managed by KGB

activities against the exile organizations (NATO, UNESCO, Church) | infiltration of international movements (peace movement, ecological activities) | activities against Zionism | obtaining of technologies in order to arm | scientific technical intelligence service

GROZEV KOSTADIN (Bulgaria, Sofia University)

**BULGARIAN STATE SECURITY AND ITS MONITORING OF
U.S. AND BRITISH DIPLOMATS IN SOFIA IN THE COLD
WAR YEARS (1945-1989)**

Kostadin Grozev graduated from the Faculty of History, Sofia University, in 1985 with an M.A. in history and a minor in English language. He completed his Ph.D. in history in 1990 with a dissertation on „The Democratic Party and the Movement for Reforms within the Political System of the United States (1969-1972).“ Since 2007 he has held the post of Associate Professor at the Chair of Modern and Contemporary World History, Faculty of History, Sofia University (from 1990 to 2007 – Assistant Professor at the same chair). In 1992 he was a Visiting Fellow at Oxford University, UK, and in 1998 an Open Society Archive Fellow in Budapest, Hungary. In 1999-2000 he was a Fulbright Senior Lecturer of Politics at Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT, USA, and in 2001 – a Senior British Academy Fellow at the University of Hull, UK. Grozev is the author of one of Bulgaria’s current 10th grade high-school textbooks on World and Civilization in the 20th Century, as well as of numerous articles on U.S. political and social history, international relations, the Cold War, European diplomacy after the Second World War, European integration, and transition trends in Eastern Europe after 1989. He is the founder of the Europartners 2000 Foundation and has been a member of the Managing Board of the Bulgarian American Studies Association since 2002. Since 1994 he has been a member of the Editorial Board of the MINALO quarterly in History. Member of the editorial board of the BULGARIAN JOURNAL OF AMERICAN AND TRANSATLANTIC STUDIES. Since 1998 he has been founding mem-

ber and Vice-Chairman of the Cold War Research Group Bulgaria and has participated in various projects on declassifying documents from the Cold War years in Bulgaria and doing pioneer research into the activities of the Bulgarian secret services in the Cold War years.

Based on original research of the declassified documents, available at the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior Archive, the paper aims at analyzing the activities of the Bulgarian secret services targeted at Western diplomats (mainly those coming from the United States and Great Britain). An attempt will be made to put that analysis in the broader context of the Cold War dynamics while outlining the specifics in the Bulgarian case - especially the fact of the broken U.S.-Bulgarian diplomatic relations in the 1950s, as well as the broadening cooperation with the Soviet secret services. Several stages in the evolution of the monitoring activities have already been observed - the use of the secret police apparatus to limit the scope of Western diplomats' freedom of movement at the start of the Cold War (especially its links with the local democratic opposition leaders), the active operations for discrediting the foreign diplomats in Sofia (culminating in the case of Donald Heath and the breaking of relations with Washington), the role of the Soviet advisors at the Ministry of the Interior that gradually led to increasing co-operation with the KGB and joint operations, the new elements that came out in the 1960s with the changes in the dynamics of the Cold War, the influence of Détente and the changes in view of arising new global problems such as international terrorism and rising importance of the Third world countries. Another focus of the

paper will be on the methods of monitoring used by the Bulgarian secret services. At the end certain conclusions will be made on the effectiveness of those activities, the local and joint operations, the information accumulated and its exchange with similar organizations (the KGB and the other Soviet Bloc countries services).

MUNTEANU MIRCEA (USA, Woodrow Wilson Center)
**THE MITROKHIN ARCHIVE: THE KGB ACTIVITIES
IN AFGHANISTAN AND IRAN**

(was not delivered)

While the KGB archives remain inaccessible, scholars have relied on secondary information to piece together the activities of the Soviet secret service. The „Mitrokhin Archive“ – a collection of notes clandestinely taken by former KGB archivist Vasilyi Mitrokhin over 20 years – contain incredible revelations of the goals and nature of the activities carried out by the KGB both domestically, inside the Soviet Union, and internationally. Mitrokhin’s papers, which until very recently have remained secret in the British and American archives, have been obtained in part by the Cold War International History Project as part of a larger effort to document communist bloc intelligence activities during the Cold War. The presentation will concentrate on two specific „geographical“ volumes – Afghanistan and Iran – which document KGB involvement in the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Iranian revolution and its aftermath respectively.

CUMMINGS RICHARD (USA, RFE)

**1976 WORK PLAN AGAINST RADIO FREE EUROPE
AND RADIO LIBERTY**

Richard H. Cummings is a graduate of Boston University with a B.A. in “Soviet and East European Studies.” While in the U.S. Air Force in the 1960s, he studied Russian at Indiana University followed by assignments as a Russian linguist in Berlin and Turkey. Cummings was Director of Security for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) in Munich, Germany from November 1980 to 1995. After RFE/RL moved to Prague in the summer 1995 and until May 1998, Cummings was a full-time security consultant for the RFE/RL, commuting between Munich and Prague.

His articles on Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty and the Cold War have appeared in many publications in the United States and Europe and his book *Cold War Radio: The Dangerous History of American Broadcasting in Europe, 1950–1989*, will be published by McFarland & Company Publishers in 2009 in the United States. His second book entitled *The Ether War* is scheduled for publication in Romania, in both Romanian and English, also in 2009 and is supported by the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania.

Officers of the intelligence services of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, and the USSR met on 12-13 February 1976 in Prague and exchanged experiences on active measures, both completed and those in preparation, against “the centers of ideological diversion”: Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL). They concluded that the minimum objective was the necessity to

expel these “US centers of diversion” from the Europe; the optimal goal would be their total liquidation. They drafted a Work Plan and submitted it to their respective services. Some details of this Work Plan will be presented.

Case Study One: Agent KRUEGER: The KGB originally recruited Radio Liberty employee KRUEGER in 1972 but turned over this operation to the East German Intelligence Service HVA, which then controlled him until at least 1986. KRUEGER reportedly never knew he was working for the HVA (and thus KGB) but was led to believe his information was for British Intelligence, with whom he had been associated during World War Two in the Balkans. In 1986, the HVA stopped the operation after the defection of a KGB officer, who knew about the KRUEGER connection. He reportedly was paid an average of 1,000 DM per month and a total of 100,000 DM for his information. The information in the HVA files was over one meter thick, most of which was destroyed after the collapse of Communism. This paper will give some details of his activities.

Case Study Two: SNB Agents TARAS, NIKOLAI, CERNY and others: The Ukrainian minority in Czechoslovakia was of continuing concern to both the Soviet KGB’s 5 Directorate and the 2nd Administration, 12th Division of the SNB – – Sbor narodni bezpecnost (Czechoslovak national security brigade). This was probably due to the fact that Ukrainian exiles normally would not suspect that Ukrainian minority in Slovakia would be engaged in espionage against Radio Liberty and other Ukrainian exile institutions. The SNB sent agents to contact and report on Ukrainian Service employees of Radio Liberty, the Free Ukrainian University in Munich,

and various church, political, and academic leaders in the West. The joint operations were discussed at intelligence meeting that took place in Moscow. The SNB sent reports of the operations to the KGB and also asked the KGB to confirm certain information they had received.

ROMERSTEIN HERBERT (USA, Institute of World Politics);

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ACTIVE MEASURES – COVERT INFLUENCE OPERATIONS TO PROMOTE SOVIET GOALS IN THE WEST

Herbert Romerstein is a retired U.S Government official. He served as investigator for the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities; Minority Chief Investigator House Committee on Internal Security; Professional Staff member House Intelligence Committee; and head of the Office to Counter Soviet Disinformation for the United States Information Agency. He is now Director of Security Studies of the Education and Research Institute, Washington DC and teaches propaganda analysis at the Institute of World Politics, Washington DC.

The KGB's main job was spying. Its second responsibility was covert influence operations to promote Soviet goals in the West. They called that Active Measures.

The active measures operations according to the KGB had the purpose of "...subverting the authority and weakening the positions of state institutions, political organizations, individual governmental,

political public, religious, and other figures of capitalist nations, and anti-Soviet emigrant centers, through public revelations, or by bringing to the attention of interested parties specially selected materials and information which either conform to reality, or are fabricated.”

Émigré organizations in the West who organized to fight against communism and to aid their compatriots living in the Soviet empire were among the targets of Soviet active measures.

In one KGB document they boasted that in this work the KGB was assisted by the intelligence services of the satellite countries. In those countries “advisor apparatuses were formed.... Normally the advisory group contained a senior advisor, his deputy, and advisors for the primary lines of work.” The job of these puppet intelligence services was to aid the KGB “in the struggle against hostile elements existing within the country or who reside in various countries, but maintain contacts with each other (Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Jewish, Polish, Czechoslovakian nationalists, or members of religious organizations guided by centers located in capitalist countries, ...”

KGB officers stationed in the West were assisted in their work by a secret KGB directorate called “RT” which meant “intelligence from the territory of the USSR”, of the First Chief Directorate. This directorate recruited foreigners, temporarily in the Soviet Union or communist bloc, to spy or influence their own countries. They also used Soviet citizens with relatives or friends abroad to manipulate them.

Among the instruments used by KGB were “agents of influence”, foreign communist parties, front organizations, and terrorist groups.

Even during the Cold War, the Western governments released some information on these Soviet operations. Romerstein worked for the U.S. government at that time and was responsible for disseminating the information available to counter those KGB operations.

With the opening of archives in the former Soviet bloc, we now have the opportunity to study this problem in greater depth than we could have during the Cold War. In addition, the United States and Great Britain have released a substantial amount of previously secret information.

MIKLOVIČ MICHAL (Slovakia, ÚPN)

INDEX OF SUDDEN ATTACK. CZECHOSLOVAK VERSION OF KGB'S VRYAN OPERATION.

Michal Miklovič is graduate of political science at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Trnava. He specializes in the research into totalitarianism and political extremism. Between 2003 and 2004 he was a civil activist. Since 2005 he has worked in the Documentation Section of the Nation's Memory Institute of the Slovak Republic. He mainly deals with the reconstruction of the Secret Police departments responsible for foreign and political intelligence and for fighting the inner enemy. He has written several papers and lectures in his field of research.

The contribution will deal with participation of State Security Agency (mainly the 1st Administration of SNB - National Security Corps) in the operation of Soviet KGB which monitored the

alleged preparations of USA and other NATO members to missile and nuclear attack on socialistic countries - the VRYAN operation (Vniezapnoye Raketno-Yadiernoje Napadieniye). The operation was based upon the worries of chief representatives of USSR that the Western Countries were planning a nuclear war against the socialistic countries. These worries built-up especially when Roland Reagan was elected the US president and took a hard line in politics against communism. CSSR joined the VRYAN operation already in 1983 by means of the 1st Administration of National Security Corps and ZS/GS of CSLA (Czechoslovak People's Army). The importance of participation of CSSR in the VRYAN operation lay in the KGB expectation that in the even of attack of the Western countries it will the territory of CSSR after GDR that will form the main battlefield.

This contribution monitors the initial stage of the operation with code name of ÚDER (ATTACK), which consisted of consultations and discussions of the leaders of selected units of the 1st Administration of National Security Corps (SNB) with the Informational Service of KGB and of creating and reminders of the operation plans. In the second, implementation, stage the operation had a code name INN (Index of unexpected attack) and it was based on permanent monitoring of five groups of war preparation indicators. According to the KGB manual, the 1st Administration of SNB monitored as many as 212 indicators, which were supposed to indicate preparation of missile and nuclear attack on socialistic countries. In this part of the contribution, among other aspects, outputs from this operation from individual units of the 1st SNB Administration

will be processed as well as statistics, consultations, collaboration activities with related KGB units in charge and with intelligence service of other communist countries. The conclusion of the contribution will evaluate success and standing of the operation within the activities of the 1st Administration of SNB.

VARINSKÝ VLADIMÍR (Slovakia, Fakulta humanitných vied UMB Banská Bystrica)

ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES OF THE EXILE WHITE LEGION AND ITS REALIZATION OF STATE SECURITY AGENCY IN SLOVAKIA

Vladimír Varinský graduated from Komensky University in Bratislava, Department of Philosophy with the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1983 and in 1987 he was awarded the CSc. degree. Later on in 1994 he was awarded a scientific and pedagogical degree “Docent” in the field of Czech and Slovak history. He was appointed Professor in the field of Slovak history by the president of Slovak Republic.

In 1978–1979 he worked for the Museum of Slovak National Rising in Banská Bystrica as a historian. From 1980 he worked as a University professor in the former Pedagogical Faculty in Banská Bystrica and since 1990 he has worked in Department of Humanities in Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, of which he is currently the Dean.

In his scientific research he focuses on national history after 1945 in the fields of agrarian politics, repressions of the post-February regime and on Slovak exiles after 1945. He published 7 monographs and 90 studies re-

lated to this subject both in local and international scientific journals and he contributed to a great number of national and international conferences. He is a member of several academic councils at universities at home and abroad and he successfully accomplished research of seven academic assignments.

The White Legion represented one of the longest forms of anticommunist resistance in Czechoslovakia. It operated as a radio station broadcasting to Slovakia from Austria between 1950-1955, however, its impact reaches until 1960s. It applied non-traditional methods of revolt emphasizing psychological preparation of citizens it attacked the very Achilles heel of the totalitarian regime, which later proved to be the most efficient way of disintegration of the regime. One year after the beginning of White Legion broadcast, other stations with similar objective launched their broadcast as well – RFE and Voice of America.

It is Jozef Vicen or Jozef Mikula who is ascribed the authorship of the White Legion, which represents one of the groups of Slovak post-war exile who based the anticommunist resistance on cooperation with American CIC (Counter Intelligence Corps). According to general guidelines of the White Legion, elaborated by its main protagonist J. Vicen in December 1949, the White Legion was supposed to be a form of resistance to the communist regime, however, it should have been uncoordinated revolt based on passive resistance to order of the totalitarian power counting on the fact that in the event of massive passive resistance, the bodies in power will be forced to alter their decisions. Vicen, definitely under the

influence of several unsuccessful attempts to organize an illegal resistance movement in Slovakia, especially under the influence of liquidation of an illegal organization of A. Tunega at the beginning on 1949, supposed that any organization of whatever size will be revealed in the end. The absence of resistance organizations was supposed to be replaced by a foreign radio station which could address citizens individually and serve as a sheltering element of their resistance.

The Slovak StB (State Security Agency), under the leadership of Vladimír Matoušek set to realization of the White Legion within the operation DUBEN (APRIL, 1951) which was based on testimonies of arrested agents - walkers and on messages from agency network. In the beginning StB believed that there is widespread terrorist organization White Legion operating in Slovakia, controlled by the organization committee based in Bratislava. Later infiltrations into these potential White Legion organizations were not always successful and StB was forced to delete those selected organizations from their list, in spite of incitement to counter-state activities by means of a feigned, duplicate White Legion broadcast. This was the case of the White Legion in Šafárikovo (Š. Nemeč), Klenovec (evangelic priest Pavol Šlosiarik) and in Rimavská Sobota. The armed organization of seven men hiding in a dugout in the mountains under Magura was not part of White Legion either.

An indisputably positive result in this respect was achieved by StB in realization of the so called White Legion - 3 operating in east Slovakia.

KALOUS JAN (Czech Republic, Vysoká škola politických a společenských věd Kolín)

COLLABORATION BETWEEN KGB AND STB DURING INFILTRATION INTO NTS – RUSSIAN EMIGRATION ORGANIZATION

Jan Kalous, doctor of humanities, studied history and politology at 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. He was employed in the department Archives 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.

The contribution will focus on cooperation of KGB and Czechoslovak State Security Agency on infiltration into the Russian emigrant organization NTS. Apart from the definite general framework, several particular cases (especially from 1970s and 1980s) on which StB and KGB clearly collaborated will be presented as well.

Based on the studies and analyses of available agency documentation, the question of assessment of mutual cooperation naturally arises: How efficient and successful was the infiltration into the NTS organization? This aspect shall be addressed by the contribution as well.

PEŠEK JAN (Slovakia, HU SAV)

**THE OFFENSIVE OF STATE SECURITY AGENCY (STB)
AGAINST FRENCH GENERAL CONSULATE IN BRATISLAVA
DURING 1949–1951 AND ITS CONSEQUENCES**

Jan Pešek is researcher of the Institute of History of Slovak Academy of Science in Bratislava, engaged in the issues of Slovak and Czechoslovak history after the WW II with emphasis on political development aspects and aspects of power.

StB, in the environment of bipolarized world, classified Western institutions and consulates in Czechoslovakia as centres of “espionage and disruptive activities”. The centre of focus were the USA and Great Britain indeed, however, the activities were aimed against all Western institutions including the French ones. The activities also included intensive monitoring of French General Consulate in Bratislava including the Consul General, E.M. Manach, which started in July of 1949. By means of agents, Consulate employees, StB managed to get into the “enemy’s premises” of the Consulate, which was a great success in Czechoslovak conditions. In the beginning the infiltration into the Consulate was coordinated by members of StB in Bratislava and later on it was taken over by the Prague centre. The operation “Monaco” was carried out by StB from January till the end of spring of 1951. It concerned, according to available findings, espionage, assistance with illegal emigration of Czechoslovak citizens and cooperation with “anti-state organization ONBRA”. StB discredited the Consulate and pre-

pared a monster-process with local collaborators of “French spies”. The process Dlouhý, Velecký and company in June of 1951 was performed as a theatre performance for general public and it resulted in two death penalties and various long-term imprisonments.

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ON SOME ACTIVITIES OF NKVD IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN RELATION TO SOVIET REPATRIATION OPERATION IN SLOVAKIA (1945–1948)

Michal Šmigel is university lecturer in the field of Slovakian history at the History Section of the Faculty of Humanities at Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, Slovak Republic. He also works as a researcher of the Science and Research Institute in Banská Bystrica. He teaches world history of the 19th and 20th centuries. In his scientific activities he specializes in the research of national history (1945–1948) in the areas of nationality issues in eastern Slovakia, migration processes and refugee waves in Central Europe in the post-war years, and in the activities of the UPA troops in Czechoslovakia (1945–1948). He has published several scientific studies on these topics in both national and foreign magazines and anthologies. He is a co-author (author) of scientific monographs, such as “Opčia“ (Op-tion) (2005), “Evakuácia v znamení úteku“ (Evacuation as Escape) (2006), “Radikálny socializmus a komunizmus na Slovensku 1918–1989“ (Radical Socialism and Communism in Slovakia 1917–1989) (2007), “Banderovci na Slovensku 1945–1947“ (The UPA Troops in Slovakia) (2007), “Naši

„černobyľci“ (Our “Chernobyl People”)(2008). He has also edited a few anthologies. He is the vice-chairman for research and documentation of the Repatriates Coordination Committee (Koordinačný výbor reoptantov) in the Slovak Republic as well as a member of editorial boards of the magazines “Acta historica neosoliensia“ (Banská Bystrica) and “Российские и славянские исследования“ (Minsk).

So called “Incursions of Banderas” (member of Ukrainian insurgent army) into the territory of Czechoslovakia, namely into Slovakia, from neighbouring territory of south-east Poland are among controversial issues even today. Their activity in the country (in the form of raids) between 1945–1947 (in three stages) was intentionally misused by the communist propaganda and hyperbolized and interpreted as an alleged threat to the country. Already the first reports on incursions of UPA units into Slovakia in autumn of 1945 caused anxiety with Lavrentiy Beria in Moscow. Nervous reaction of the Soviets had its origin in ignorance of objectives and strength of the Ukrainian anti-Soviet guerrillas in CSR. Therefore one motorized regiment from the 4th armored division was sent from USSR to Slovakia together with the 9th guard army. At the same time a special group of officials from NKVD (People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs) was transported to the territory when the Banderas incursions in Slovakia took place and the State Security Agency in east Slovakia was restructured. It may not be ruled out that there was a pseudo-Banderas group set up by NKVD operating in north-east Slovakia. In the following period an agreement on cross-border cooperation between Czechoslovak security

forces and border armies of NKVD in the process of elimination of the Banderas groups. A similar agreement was signed in 1946 with Polish security forces and army and activities of these three states (CSR, Poland, USSR) were coordinated. This contribution will focus on examination of mechanisms of collaboration of Czechoslovak security forces with similar bodies in the above mentioned countries in the process of elimination of the Banderas units, as well as on internal structure and the issue of State Security Agency (later StB), and on the degree of success in fighting the UPA units in Slovakia during 1945-1948.