

## Secret Police activities in the Warsaw Pact

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### Absztrakt:

A Varsói Szerződés tagállamai között hatékony hírszerzési együttműködés működött. A tagországok hírszerzési és elhárítási ügynökségeinek fő feladatait a Varsói Szerződéssel összhangban határozták meg. Albánia 1968-as Varsói Szerződésből való kilépésével véget vetett a tagállamokkal folytatott hírszerzési kapcsolatainak. A Varsói Szerződést létrehozó országok közé tartoztak az Albán Népköztársaság, a Bolgár Népköztársaság, a Csehszlovák Szocialista Népköztársaság, a Lengyel Népköztársaság, a Magyar Népköztársaság, a Német Demokratikus Köztársaság, a Román Népköztársaság és a Szovjetunió

**Kulcsszavak:** elhárítás, hírszerzési együttműködés, szocialista országok, állambiztonság, Varsói Szerződés

### Abstract:

Intelligence cooperation among the member states of the Warsaw Pact was a very effective one. The main responsibilities of the intelligence and counterintelligence agencies of the member states were determined in accordance with the Warsaw Pact. Albania withdrew from the Warsaw Pact in 1968 and ended its intelligence relations with the member states. The countries establishing the Warsaw Pact included the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Czechoslovakia, The Polish People's Republic, The Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Romanian People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

**Keywords:** counterintelligence, intelligence cooperation, socialist countries, state security, Warsaw Pact

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## Introduction

The Warsaw Pact was a defense, military-political alliance, of *8 Central and Eastern European socialist countries*. It was established in Warsaw, the capital of Poland, in May 14, 1955 by the initiation of the Soviet Union, and it remained officially intact until April 1, 1991.

The first joint intelligence conference in Moscow between March 7 and March 15, 1955 was another turning point in the history of the intelligence agencies of the socialist countries within the Warsaw Pact. During the conference the state security leaders of the socialist countries determined the modes of cooperation among the countries, as well as the responsibilities of the state security organs in the individual states. During the meetings the responsibilities of the Hungarian intelligence agencies were determined as well.

In the same year, in September 20 in Warsaw, a coordination center was created (later known as the Apparatus) to coordinate a collective radio counter-intelligence system and to synchronize the technical developments, which worked effectively until the end of the Warsaw Pact.

### 1. The secret service of the People's Republic of Albania

People's Republic of Albania is an independent state located in the Balkan Peninsula in South-Eastern Europe. Albania is bordered by the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (known as Montenegro today) /172 km/ to the northwest, Kosovo /112 km/ to the northeast, Macedonia /151 km/ to the East), Greece /282 km/ to the south and southeast. The country is also bordered by the Adriatic Sea to the west and the Ionian Sea to the southwest. The length of Albania's total coastline is 362 km. Territory: 28,748 km<sup>2</sup>. The population of Albania: 2 400 000 people. The capital of Albania: Tirana. The form of government of Albania: the People's Republic of Albania.

Albania declared independence in 1912. The first Albanian secret service (Albanian Secret Service) was formed in December 17, 1912. It operated under the Ministry of Internal Affairs from 1920.

The Albanian state security apparatus, *the Directorate of State Security* (Drejtoria e Sigurimit të Shtetit-Sigurimi- Sigurimi) was established in March 20, 1943 by Enver Hoxha (1908-1985). The Sigurimi was organized into national headquarters, which were situated in the capital, and twenty six district headquarters.

From 1945 the police force called the People's Defense Division was under the direction of the Directorate of State Security. The Sigurimi employed an estimated 30,000 officers, approximately 7,500 of them were assigned to the People's Army.

The headquarters had the following fields under their control:

- Political control and phone tapping,
- Foreign intelligence,
- Counter-espionage,
- Censorship and mail,
- Public records,
- Prison control,
- Internal security troops,
- Physical security

Due to the changes in politics the Sigurimi was reorganized and renamed as the National Intelligence Service (*Shërbimi Informativ Kombëtar-SHIK*) in July 1991.

## 2. The secret service of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

People's Republic of Bulgaria is situated in South-Eastern Europe on the coast of the Black Sea. Bulgaria is bordered by Romania (609 km) to the north, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (today Serbia and Macedonia 506 km) to the west, Greece (493 km) and Turkey (259 km) to the South, and the Black Sea (378 km) to the east. Territory: 110 911 km<sup>2</sup>. Population: 8 706 000 people. The capital of Bulgaria: Sofia. Form of government: People's Republic.

The secret service of Bulgaria, known as the Committee for State Security (Komitet za dăržavna sigurnost) was established after the communist's regime takeover and it existed until 1989.

The organization reflected the Soviet model and it consisted of main directorates, directorates, main departments and departments.

- 1st Main Directorate: foreign intelligence,
- 2nd Main Directorate: counter-espionage,
- 3rd Directorate: military counter intelligence,
- 4th Directorate: surveillance
- 5th Directorate: government guards
- 6th Directorate: political department of law enforcement, which 7 main departments kept almost all groups of society under control such as the university students, artists, minorities, religious groups, even the unions.
- 7th Directorate: information collection, analysis and evaluation

In 1964 the State Security formed a special unit called *Service 7*, which was dedicated to disruptive work against Bulgarian dissidents living abroad, assassinations and kidnapping.

### 3. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and its secret services

The country in Central-Eastern Europe was called Czechoslovakia from 1918–1938 and from 1945-1992, the period in between was World War II. In January 1, 1993 Czechoslovakia peacefully split into the two states of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Territory: 127 877 km<sup>2</sup>. Population: 14 738 000 people. Capital: Prague. Form of government: Socialist Republic. Between 1945 and 1990 the following four secret services operated in the country:

- State Security-StB
- Security Divisions of the Historical Territories II-ZOB II
- Military Counter- Intelligence - OBZ,
- Military Intelligence Service, the 2nd Section of the –Defense Ministry,

#### 3. 1. *The State Security (Štatna Bezpečnosť-ŠtB):*

The organization was established in June 30, 1945 straight after the end of World War II. Formally the StB was controlled by the National Security Corps but practically it was under the direction of the Communist Party. The activities, rights and obligations were specified in ACT No. 149/1947. From December 1947 the activities of the agency were extended by intelligence and military intelligence responsibilities which were specified in ACT 286/1948. From this time on the responsibilities of the StB included identifying, locating and neutralizing the enemies of the state and of the communist party, and Soviet advisers came to the country.

Similarly to the other state organizations of the party the StB also used all available instruments to locate the enemies of the party and of the socialist state, including illegal surveillance, wiretapping, and making false accusations. Other common practices included wiretapping, intercepting private mail, house searches, surveillance and arrests the „subversive“. During its operation the service cooperated with the Federal Soviet Security Services (KGB) all along, and from the year 1954 it supplied significant amount of materials to the KGB as well.

The methods used during the so called Rock-Action describe their activities the best. They tried to stop the flow of refugees after Klement Gottwald (1896-1953) seized power with the help of coup d'état in 1948. During these operation, which took place between 1948 and 1951 about 40-50 miles before the actual Czechoslovakia-Austria and Czechoslovakia-Germany borders, some ŠtB agents „greeted“ the refugees posing as Austrian, West German or American border crossing agents to make the refugees believe that they had already crossed the border to the West. The illusion was perfect: boundary stones, the US Secret Service premises, American soldiers, officers drinking whiskey, an American flag and a portrait of the president. Based on the information which the refugees voluntarily gave up in their first euphoric relief the StB gained fairly accurate intelligence on the activities of the human traffickers. The retaliations carried out

by the StB had greatly contributed to the negative view of the population about the state power organization.

The technical development of that period of the StB was so advanced that even the Hungarian State Security Department (AVO) applied their technical solutions and used the experience that they had gained through monitoring the foreign agents' radiobroadcasting. It was the StB with whom the AVO first established international radio connection.

In the 1950's physical violence and intimidation characterized the actions taken against the enemies of the regime, and suspicious people were sent to prison camps. By the 1960's instead of physical violence they primarily used psychological methods.

The State Security Service was organized regionally, and supervised the work within the two federal states regional and district headquarters. During its operation it effectively used the violent methods and instruments of the communist state security services, such as torture, blackmailing and kidnapping etc.

In 1989 the StB had more than twelve thousand employees. The StB's role in the fall of the regime in 1989 still remains unknown. Due to the November demonstrations in the country the definition of the role of the communist party leader was abolished by a constitutional amendment. Thus the process of the democratic transition began and in 1990 during a monumental demonstration the citizens declared their will of independence in Bratislava. Among the first measures was the abolishment of the despised secret service the StB, since the transitional authority realized that the police-state organization, which in the previous decades operated with the state power organizations, cannot be maintained. The StB was dissolved in February 1, 1990 by the order of Richard Zacher, the Minister of Interior at the time.

The secret services were reorganized completely, civil and military intelligence and counterintelligence services were formed.

### *3. 2. The Czechoslovakian military intelligence and counterintelligence:*

There had always been military intelligence services in the first and second Czechoslovak Republic, but during World War II and the socialist times they operated within different organizations.

After Czechoslovakia proclaimed its independence at the end of 1918 the establishment of the Czechoslovak Army started. At the same time the formation of the second Intelligence Division of the General Staff also began by the appointment of military intelligence officers, with experience from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The preparation of the military staff also started with the help of French army specialists. Besides military intelligence the division was also responsible for military counterintelligence duties. By the 1930's military intelligence became the most effective security service in the Czechoslovak state. The

first commander of the military intelligence was Brigadier General Vladimír Chalupa, a friend of President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850-1937). Directly before the German occupation of Czechoslovakia the leadership of the military intelligence service fled to London carrying the most important documents. In 1940 they continued their operation under the Ministry of Defense of the Exile Government established in London. The leadership participated in planning the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich (1904-1942) head of the Reich Main Security Office and acting Reichsprotektor of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. This organization coordinated the military reconnaissance of the Czechoslovak troops organized in England, France and Middle-East, also supported the national resistance movement and the operation of the Central Intelligence Office in Istanbul.

Nonetheless in terms of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps, fighting alongside the Soviet Red Army, military reconnaissance and counterintelligence followed the soviet model. Following the liberation of Czechoslovakia from the German occupation the army's counterintelligence bodies supported both the Soviet troops, which were stationed in the country, and the Czechoslovak communist party's seize of power.

In 1945 within the Ministry of Defense the Military Counterintelligence Department was formed as well. After the reorganization in the summer of 1945 the interior security and national security affairs were transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Military Intelligence became independent in 1951 and subordinate to the Ministry of National Security. After the abolishment of the Ministry of National Security the organizations were transferred under the direction of the Minister of Internal Affairs, except for military intelligence. The next significant changes in the structure of the organizations were made following the events of the 1968 revolution. Military intelligence was carried out by the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff. Military Counterintelligence was then incorporated into the structure of the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs within the newly established Federal Administration of the Intelligence Services, which remained unchanged until the events of the November Revolution in 1968. Military Intelligence in both federal states remained in the same organizational structure until 1994.

#### **4. The intelligence organs of the Polish People's Republic**

The Polish People's Republic was a communist state between 1944 and 1989. However the name of the Polish People's Republic was only used after 1952 when the new Constitution was passed. Between 1944 and 1952 the official name of the country was the Republic of Poland (Rzeczpospolita Polska). Area: 312 677 km<sup>2</sup>. Population: 33 845 770 people. Capital: Warsaw. Form of government: People's Republic.

Before introducing the intelligence organs of the Polish People's Republic let's review the activities of some of the predecessor organizations:

Polish intelligence officers had an extensive network in World War II. The Polish network in France grew to 1,500 members, who supplied Britain with vital information e.g. about the movements of German submarines. In the spring of 1941 the agents working in Poland supplied extensive intelligence about the German preparations to invade the Soviet Union. It was also a Polish secret agent, Witold Pilecki, cavalry officer who provided invaluable information in his report about the crimes against the Jewish population in the camps.

The cryptologic achievements by the Polish experts made it possible to read the German Enigma-encrypted messages at the end of World War II.

Near the end of the war Polish intelligence operated under British control on the one hand and on the other hand within the Polish Army through military reconnaissance organizations that were established reflecting the Soviet model.

In 1946, Section II was officially disbanded, at the dissolution, it had 170 officers and 3,500 agent. Its archives were taken over by Britain. Most likely some of the Polish agents continued working directly for Britain during the Cold War. According to a research published in 2005 about 43% of all reports received by British secret services from continental Europe in 1939-45 came from Polish sources.

#### *4. 1. Civilian branches of the Socialist Polish intelligence services:*

After the occupation of Poland the Soviet Union began to establish new Polish intelligence and internal-security agencies. As early as in 1943 a group of 120 Polish officers started their training at the school of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKDV) in the Soviet Union. The Soviets established a Polish "puppet government" by the name of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego), or PKWN, which the western states recognized as well. Subordinate to the puppet government the Department of Public Security or RBP (Resort Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego) was created. One of the most important departments within the RBP was Department 1. By the end of 1944 the Department of Public Security (RBP) employed about 3000 persons. The PKWN was transformed into a provisional government and the agency was reorganized as the Ministry of Public Security in December 31, 1944. The Ministry of Public Security was responsible for both intelligence and counter-espionage, as well as surveillance of citizens and suppression of dissent. Naturally the ministry did not employ former officers and intelligence officers of government. Personnel were recruited for their "political reliability" and Soviet officers in Polish uniforms overlooked their operations until 1949.

In 1953, after the death of Stalin and the later desertion of Col. Józef Światło from the RBP, the Ministry of Public Security was disbanded and reorganized.

The Committee for Public Security (Komitet do Spraw Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego) was responsible for intelligence and government protection, while the Ministry of Internal Affairs was responsible for the border guards, the fire rescue and the correctional facilities. In 1956 the Committee for Public Security was disbanded too and the Ministry of Internal Affairs took over their responsibilities. Within the Ministry of Internal Affairs the Security Service (Służba Bezpieczeństwa) or SB was created, its responsibilities included intelligence gathering, counter-espionage, prevention of anti-state activity, government protection, providing protected communications, supervision of the local governments, militsiya, supervision of correctional facilities, and fire rescue.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs also had command of the border guards and the internal troops. The intelligence bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs composed of the following departments:

1. Intelligence Department
2. Counter-espionage Department
3. Department of Anti-State Activities

Between 1966 and 1990 the Ministry of Internal Affairs was the biggest and strongest administration within the government. In 1980 the number of employees of the Security Service (SB) was about 24 000 people. Following the free elections held in 1989 the Security Service was disbanded. A new agency, called the State Protection Office (*Urząd Ochrony Państwa*) or UOP was formed.

#### *4. 2. The Military Intelligence of the Polish People's Republic:*

The first Polish Military Intelligence was the 2. Section of General Staff of the Polish People's Army (Oddział II Sztabu Generalnego Ludowego Wojska Polskiego), established in July 18, 1945. Between 1947 and 1950 it belonged to the Ministry of Public Security then again to the Ministry of Defense. In 1951 the organization was transformed and intelligence work among the United States, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland and Austria was expanded to countries such as Norway, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey and Israel.

The first military counterintelligence service of the Polish People's Army was called the Directorate of Information (Zarząd Informacji Naczelnego Dowódcy Wojska Polskiego). The directorate was responsible for counter-espionage, terrorism and sabotage and it was under the direction of the commander-in-chief of the Polish People's Army. From 1950 the organization became the Main Directorate of Information of the Ministry of Defense. Between 1956 and 1957 it was directed by the Ministry of Public Safety, then it was disbanded. In 1957 the Military Internal Service (Wojskowa Służba Wewnętrzna) was formed, which operated up until the change of regime.



In 1990, after the change of political system, the military intelligence directorate (Second Directorate of General Staff of the Polish Army) and the military counterintelligence service (Military Internal Service) were combined under the new name: the Second Directorate for Intelligence and Counter-intelligence.

## **5. The German Democratic Republic and the state of security**

The German Democratic Republic (GDR) was a socialist state in the region of Germany that was occupied by the Soviet military forces between 1945 and 1990. In May 1945 the military forces of the Western Allies and the Soviet Union defeated the Nazi Germany. The four allied powers divided Germany into four occupation zones. The West asserted their authority over 2/3 of the territory of Germany while the Soviet Union took control over 1/3 of the territory of Germany. The Soviets handed the western parts of Berlin over to the Western Allies while the Soviets were given control in Thuringia and Ostfalia. Territory: 108 178 km<sup>2</sup>. Population: 16 924 000 people. Capital: Berlin. Form of government: People's Republic.

### *5. 1. The organization of the secret service of the GDR:*

In July 1948 the German Socialist Unity Party (GSUP) was given power over the territories of Germany that had been under Soviet control before. In the first part of 1948 Walter Ulbricht (1893-1973), the latter Secretary General of the Socialist Unity Party, requested Moscow to establish an intelligence agency subordinate to the Communist Party, and he was given the permission in December 28, 1949. Then in 1949 one of the most effective and repressive intelligence and secret police agencies of the world was founded, under the direction of Erich Fritz Emil Mielke (1907-2000), latter Minister of State Security. In the GDR civilian intelligence and counterintelligence was operated by the Ministry for State Security (Staatssicherheit-MfS) commonly known as Stasi, which was officially founded in February 8, 1950. The Stasi motto was "Schild und Schwert der Partei" (Shield and Sword of the Party).

Wilhelm Zaisser was the first Minister of State Security of the GDR, and Erich Mielke became undersecretary of state. The beginning was rather challenging though because 44 active and 33 former Stasi employees fled to the West between 1950 and 1953. As a result serious measures were taken. The apparatus of Stasi had 26 former employees that fled the country returned and to make an example many of them were executed. The uprising of 1953 was another blow to the organization because they were not informed in time about the widespread strike of the East Berlin construction workers. The uprising in East Berlin was violently suppressed by tanks of the Group of Soviet Military Forces in Germany. After the uprising the Ministry was disbanded and it was transferred under the direction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Stasi was granted independ-

ence again in November 1955. In October 1957 Mielke was appointed head of Stasi for 32 years (1957-1989). In the same year Markus Wolf became the head of the Main Directorate for Reconnaissance (Hauptverwaltung Aufklärung- HVA), the foreign intelligence division of East Germany's Ministry for State Security, who during his 29 years as intelligence chief, achieved great success in penetrating West Germany with spies..

That year Stasi ran a huge apparatus in East Berlin with as many as 17 thousand full-time employees. In the last years of its operation this number rose to 90 thousand and it had more than 173 thousand "unofficial collaborators" or agents. This means that more than 1 percent of the population were informants. Stasi monitored all groups of society through special departments and a network of informants. They paid special attention to the armed forces, the possible opposition, the churches, cultural organizations and underground movements. Stasi also had an elite motorized rifles regiment of about 11 thousand people under its command called the *Felix Dzerzhinsky Guards Regiment* (Wachregiment "Feliks E. Dzierzynski").

## 5. 2. *Structure of the Ministry for State Security:*

- A so called „Cabinet” was set up to work alongside with the Minister. The First Secretary of the Party Committee as well as a military General, who was the head of the Secretariat for the Minister, worked directly with the Minister.
- The Center of Stasi operated 15 district directorates which had 217 territorial units under their direction.
- The head of the intelligence group, who was the under-secretary as well, was responsible for foreign intelligence, for the legal groups of informants under cover as well as for the main department providing the technology for the operations. Separate departments coordinated political and military reconnaissance against Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany).
- Also an under-secretary was responsible for radio reconnaissance and counterintelligence, for the operative technical main department, for the department providing secure communications for the government, also for the departments of encryption, material and technical supply and wiretapping.
- Another under-secretary was responsible for the main departments of counterintelligence such as the military, border patrol, the ministry of internal affairs and the police. Besides it was responsible for the main departments monitoring passport control, tourism and hotels, as well as the departments of surveillance, investigation and counterterrorism, and the departments dealing with escapes, relocations as well the depart-

ments coordinating with the units monitoring the so called „visitor’s agencies” in West Berlin.

- An under-secretary coordinated the different main departments monitoring the background institutions. Different departments were responsible for the affairs of national economy as well as for transportation, postal services, communication, state administration, culture, Church, as well as for the Central Operative staff, the Privacy Protection Action Group, the action group responsible for Commercial Cooperation and the Operative Technical Action Group.
- The Ministerial Action Group, which operated under the direction of the Minister with the leadership of a General, was responsible for mobilization, the defense facilities and the Felix Dzerzhinsky Guards Regiment.
- The Central Evaluation and Information Action Group also operated as a direct organization for the minister in subordination with the departments of Central Information and Data Registry, the Central Data Processing Department as well as with the Legal Department.
- Cadres Training and Education Department was also under the direction of the minister. The main department coordinated the Central Medical Services and the College of Law.
- Stasi’s internal security services were performed by the 2. Counterintelligence Department at the direct disposal of the minister. The main department was responsible for surveillance of mail.
- The Investigation Department was under direct command of the minister
- Department of International Relations,
- Economy Department,
- Department of Crime and Punishment,
- The leadership of Dynamo Sports Club and
- The Department for Personnel Protection were also ranked under direct ministerial direction.

In response to the political situation in 1989 Erich Milke resigned at the end of the year and in November 17 the Council of Ministers of the GDR renamed the organization as the Office for National Security (*Amt für Nationale Sicherheit – AfNS*), however, under the pressure of public opinion the government directed the immediate dissolution of the AfNS in January 13, 1990 without successor.

## **6. Secret Services of the Romanian People’s Republic**

The Socialist Republic of Romania was a socialist state in Eastern-Central Europe. The Soviet Union bordered Romania from the North-East, Hungary and Yugoslavia from the West, Bulgaria from the South while the Black Sea bordered it from

the East. It had an area of 238,391 km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 21 028 000 people. Capital: Bucharest. The form of government: socialist republic.

### 6. 1. Romanian intelligence bodies before the socialist period:

In 1862, after the creation of the Romanian United Principalities, the necessity of a secret service performing intelligence and counterintelligence duties for the nation became inevitable. As a result in 1865, the 2nd Section was created, inspired by the French system, to gather military intelligence in the beginning.

Following the events of World War I the staff and the responsibilities of the 2nd Section increased and as a result in 1917 the Dobruja Security Office was established. Until 1925 in terms of Romanian intelligence services we can talk about military services exclusively, in other words members performing military services coordinated nonmilitary affairs as well. It was in 1925 when the services started employing civilians for the first time. Mihail Moruzov (1887-1940) who was the head of the special civilian intelligence service, had a significant role in the establishment.

In the beginning of World War II. the Special Service of Intelligence (Serviciul Special de Informații) or SSI was founded with Eugen Cristescu (1895-1950) as the director, at the same time as the establishment of the regime lead by Ion Antonescu (1882-1946).

### 6. 2. Romanian state security organs:

After World War II the Romanian state security service was founded reflecting the Soviet model, similarly to other socialist countries. During the period between 1945 and 1948 the political police (called Siguranța Statului/Siguranța) continued its operation, while at the same time another independent intelligence service (*Serviciul Special de Informații*) also existed which responsibility was "general intelligence gathering which is the highest state interest". The foreign intelligence organization was incorporated in the Secret Service Directorate General (Directia Generala Securitatii Statului) or DGSS in 1951.

During this period military intelligence was performed by the 2nd Section of the General Staff of the Armed Forces (*Sectia an II-and a Marelui Stat Major*), which was subordinate to the Main Intelligence Agency of the Soviet Union (GRU).

In August 30, 1948 following the reorganizations, the *Siguranța* was renamed as General Directorate for the Security of the People (*Directia Generală a Securității Poporului- DGSP*), in short *Securitate*. The composition of the ethnicity within the organization is interesting. The total number of employees of the *Securitate* was 3973 out of which 338 people were Jewish, 247 Hungarians, 24 Russians, 5 Germans, 3 Armenians, 5 Czechs, 1 Italian, 3 Bulgarians, 13 Yugoslavians and 3334 Romanians.

The organizational structure of the *Securitate* at its foundation:

- 1. Internal Intelligence Directorate
- 2. Counter-Sabotage Directorate
- 3. Police and Penitentiaries Interior Counterintelligence Directorate
- 4-a, Interior Armed Forces Counterintelligence Directorate
- 5-a, Criminal Investigations Directorate
- 6-a, Ministers / Ministries protection Directorate
- 7-a, Technical Directorate
- 8-a, Human resource Directorate
- 9-a, Political Directorate
- 10-a, Administrative Directorate

*Securitate* was one of the largest secret police forces in Romania until the fall of communism, and it was known as the most brutal secret police forces by the Romanian People. The state security formally belonged to the Ministry of Interior's organization, and according to the founding regulation No. 221/1948. Its stated purpose was to „defend democratic conquests and guarantee the safety of the Romanian Peoples' Republic against both internal and external enemies.” In reality *Securitate* aimed at maintaining continuous fear within the population so that the Romanian people would not question the legitimacy of the communist regime. The organization had an army unit of 60 thousand soldiers and they also operated the so called Romanian „Gulag” consisting of 250 prisons and work colonies where 10 thousand people were kept imprisoned until 1964.

During the decades *Securitate* went through several reorganization processes which resulted in the increase of its power. The organization was under the direct command of Ceausescu so that it could:” consistently work to faithfully implement the orders and instructions of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu the Supreme Commander of the Armed Force”. The last significant reorganization happened in March 1978, when the Secret Service Directorate (*Directia Securitatii Statului*) was created within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which lived on until December 30, 1989 when the organization was ended. During this period of 11 years the organization was under the direction of General Iulian Vlad.

The reorganization was the result of Ion Mihai Pacepa's defection to the West, who at the time of his defection was an advisor to President Nicolae Ceausescu and an acting chief of the foreign intelligence service (Departamentul de Informatii Extreme) or DIE. Pacepa worked for the foreign intelligence service for 28 years and he was 50 years old when he defected to the United States, where he requested political asylum. He is believed to have supplied invaluable information to the western intelligence services. The General published his autobiography in 1987.

From the second part of the 1970's Ceausescu's political leadership also used *Securitate* for currency acquisition and technology imports. By the 1980's *Securi-*

*tate* monitored a significant portion of the country's foreign trade through fictitious foreign trade transactions of companies called Crescent, Terra, Delta and Trawe. All these transactions were coordinated by the Center of Foreign Intelligence (*Centrul de Informatii Externe*) or CIE.

Considering the above mentioned facts it is clear that the Romanian state security operated without any democratic control until its end in 1989. On the other hand the organization maintained high level of professional standards due to strong Soviet support and also due to the fact that the regime was generous with money to spend on the operation of *Securitate*.

Finally an interesting fact about the organization: unit 0920/A was the executor of the organization's unique activities, which highly confidential responsibility was to counter the intelligence activities directed against Romania from the countries in the Soviet Block, to prevent possible assassination attempt against Nicolae Ceaușescu and to ward off the activities of the member states in the Warsaw Pact that may be used as an excuse for military intervention in Romania.

Hungarian minorities were the main target of the organization. The Hungarians protesting against assimilation and exclusion faced continuous harassment and they were kept in fear. Several Hungarian intellectuals were forced to leave their motherland.

Until 1989 *Securitate* remained basically unchanged in terms of its organizational structure. The directorates and units of the organization were the following in 1989:

- Foreign Intelligence Centre (UM 0544)
- Foreign Intelligence Center Interior Remedy (UM 0195)
- Cryptographic units (UM 0525)
- "Dunărea" (Danube) Foreign Trade Company
- I. Directorate (Domestic Intelligence)
- II. Directorate (Economic Counter-Espionage)
- III. Directorate (Counter-Espionage)
- IV. Directorate (Military Counter-Espionage)
- V Directorate (Guarding and Security)
- VI. Directorate (Criminal investigations)
- Special Counter-terrorist Unit (UM 0666)
- "F" Special Tracking Unit
- Special Unit protecting state secrets (UM 0500)
- Independent Foreign Trade Department
- Information and Documentation Centre
- "D" deception Department
- Independent Legal Secretary
- Independent department of Staff education and mobilization
- Operative Technical and Communication Headquarters
- "T" Special Unit (surveillance systems setting up)

- "C" Department (transporting secret documents)
- "P" Special Unit (research and design)
- "S" Special Unit (postal censorship)
- "R" Special Unit (surveillance of radio communications)

*Securitate*, the violent state security organization of the communist regime was disbanded following the events of the December revolution in 1989. The fact that some of the „protestors” attempted to burn down the building that housed *Securitate* in Bucharest well describes the peoples’ disdain towards the organization.

Many believe that *Securitate* was also responsible for the deadly riots in Targu Mures that broke out in March 19-20, 1990.

## 7. Secret services in the Soviet Union

*A short historical overview:*

In February 1917 due to economic and social problems, heavy military setbacks on the fronts in World War I. and the dissatisfaction of the soldiers and the Russian people, a democratic revolution broke out in the Russian Empire (1721-1917), which dismantled the Tsarist autocracy of Emperor Nicholas II (23 February). In 7 November, 1917 (October 24 in the Gregorian calendar), the Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, with support from the workers took control in Saint Petersburg. The Provisional Government (March 15-October 24, 1917) was overthrown and the head of the Provisional Government Alexander Fyodorovich Kerensky (1881-1970) fled the country.

Before the October Revolution in 1917 the Russian Empire was under the control of the Okhrana, the Russian secret service. It is an interesting fact in the chapter of the development of the Russian secret services that the secret police of the Russian Empire and the history of the communist secret services intertwined through the character of Roman Malinovsky. Malinovsky an agent for Okhrana joined the Bolshevik Central Committee with Vladimir Lenin's support then later he became a member of the Imperial Parliament, the Duma. The methods developed by the Okhrana were also applied by the latter Soviet secret police (Cheka, NKDV, and KGB).

In November, 1917 the peasant party won the general elections. The Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (1870-1924) won 25% of the votes (9 million votes). In January 6, 1918 the Red Guards disbanded the Constituent Assembly ending the Russian democratic attempt. As a result the Russian Civil War broke out (1918-1922).

In December 1922, during the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was established with the unification of the Russian, Transcaucasian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian Republics. In

a nationally televised speech in December 25, 1991 Gorbachev resigned as president of the USSR, marking the end of the Soviet Union. Territory: 22 402 200 km<sup>2</sup>. Population: 253 259 000 people. Capital: Moscow. Form of government: Socialist Republic.

*7. 1. The formation and operation of the Soviet civil secret service:*

The Bolshevik power takeover in October 1917 was organized and directed by the Soviet Revolutionary Military Committee (RMC) in Saint Petersburg, where Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky (1877-1926) had a very important role. At the beginning of the reign of the Soviets the RMC had an investigative unit and a penitentiary. At the end of October the Military Investigative Committee was officially formed. It was Dzerzhinsky who decided on the fate of the anti-revolutionary officers. Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky proposed the establishment of the Soviet political police the (All-Russian Emergency Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage or Cheka) in November 21, 1917. The members of the organization were selected from the RMC. The organization was under the command of the main judicial organ, the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party only. The Polish born Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky was appointed the head of Cheka in December 7, who had a very active role in the Central Committee as well.

The new committee relocated in Moscow in March 1918 and settled in Lubyanka Street, as the executive body of the new Russian state power and court-martial. The foreign section of the organization (INO) was established in December 20, 1920, however the leaders were unable to name the organization for many years, which indicates how disorganized they were in the beginning.

Cheka was reorganized several times and in 1922 it was renamed as the State Political Directorate (GPU) then in 1923 it was renamed as "Joint State Political Directorate" ("All-Union State Political Board"-OGPU) and it operated under this name until 1934. After that it was renamed again as „Main Directorate for State Security" and officially it operated as part of the "Peoples' Commissariat for Internal Affairs" (Narodnij Komissariat Vnutrennyih Gyel or NKVD).

After the 17th Congress of the Communist Party (1936) the clean-up work began. Most of the work was done by the restored NKVD, whose leader at that time was Genrih Grigorjevics Jagoda (1891-1938), and he was well known for his cruelty. In 1936 he was succeeded by Nikolai Yezhov (1895-1940) as the head of the NKVD. Another two years went by before the very ambitious Lavrentiy Beria (1899-1953) was appointed the head of the NKVD. Beria remained in his post, as opposed to his predecessors, until the death of Stalin, then he lost his leadership position due to power struggle.

NKVD was the main body for the internal branch of public administration in the Soviet Union between 1934 and 1946. During World War II the organization



underwent some structural reconstructions and as a result the commission was established, which was responsible for intelligence and counter-espionage. The commission at that time mainly gathered intelligence on the 3rd Reich of Germany. Apart from this they also focused on gathering intelligence on their allies. The importance of that increased significantly after the end of World War II.

In 1946 the Commissariats were renamed as Ministries, and the Council of Commissars was changed to Council of Ministers. The Ministry of Internal Affairs or MVD became the successor of the NKVD.

The responsibilities of the NKVD/MVD were widespread: besides coordinating the crime police, highway patrol, fire rescue and border patrols their responsibilities also included directing the system of organizations of the state security such as the Gulag (labor camp and prison) and the "Main Directorate for State Security" (GUGB) as part of the NKVD. The Main Directorate for state security had oppressive responsibilities and authority as well which were characteristics of the communist regimes. The NKVD carried out mass murders, the organization operated the Gulag prison camp, eliminated the underground opposition, deported entire ethnic groups to the far and uninhabited regions of the country, they also performed intelligence duties and political assassinations abroad. Besides these it was also responsible for influencing foreign governments and spreading communism over the borders of the block.

After seceding from the NKVD in 1943 the "People's Commissariat for State Security or NKGB was created. Three years later in 1946 all People's Commissariats were renamed to Ministries, and as a result of that the secret service became the „Ministry for State Security" or MGB. The following year foreign intelligence and military intelligence were combined into one organization called the Information Committee of the Council of Ministry. Two years later in 1949 it was reorganized and then it started to operate as the Information Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until 1952, when it was transferred back to the Ministry for State Security or MGB.

In terms of organizational restructuring it is important to mention that until 1947 intelligence and counterintelligence were not separated. In case of the Russian and later Soviet secret services the frequent organizational restructuring and renaming was due to the power relations within the leadership of the communist party.

Following the death of Stalin the new leadership significantly reduced the authority of the state security organizations and the number of their staff. The political police was restructured as an independent organization and renamed as the *Committee for State Security* or the KGB.

The Committee for State Security was the organization performing state security responsibilities for the Soviet Union between 1954 and 1991. Formally it was under the direction of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, its leader was a minister, however in reality it was directed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The basic responsibilities of the KGB were to perform political (intelligence) police work, as well as foreign political intelligence and foreign counterintelligence duties. The organization had a huge apparatus. The total number of people employed in the subordinate organizations was about 500 000 – 750 000. Above all the organization performed technical reconnaissance, border patrol and coast guard duties as well. It was responsible for the personal security of the state leaders, guarded and secured nuclear weapons and other state establishments. The KGB performed military counterintelligence duties for the Soviet Army too.

The KGB monitored the entire Soviet society at home, and carried out diplomatic and other missions abroad. 30-40% of Soviet diplomats, journalists and representatives of tourist agencies etc. were employed by the assigned intelligence the KGB rezidenturas.

The KGB had control over their agents abroad, the different political movements, e.g. the so called peace movement, the anti-nuclear movements, they also published false news, spread dezinformatsiya (intentionally false or misleading information that is spread in a calculated way to deceive target audiences) through their agents. What's more the KGB was responsible for combating dissent, and anti-Soviet activities both in the country and abroad.

The KGB had a wide source of information. Among the most important sources of information were the Soviet embassies or consulates abroad as well as other missions (academic, technical, educational institutions), where the KGB established and operated secret intelligence rezidenturas. Apart from these the KGB also operated an independent and illegal network of agents with special mission directly from Moscow to investigate certain, important issues. They worked within the UN delegations and within other international organizations. Aeroflot, the Soviet Airline provided great opportunity for the KGB to gather intelligence legally or illegally. The KGB agents working in the branch offices of Aeroflot collected intelligence on the civilian and military airports and their navigation systems in the western countries. They often hid spy cameras and other electronic spying equipment on the Aeroflot airplanes. For their intelligence gathering purposes the KGB also used the Inturist travel agency, created by Stalin in 1929, and other travel agencies abroad, also many of the TASS (Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union) employees served as informants for the KGB. TV and radio foreign correspondents, guest lecturers or scientific research experts working abroad were also used as informants for the KGB. After returning home the Soviet citizens had to submit to the Soviet government any technical and scientific magazines and publishing or lecture materials that they had purchased abroad. The scientific materials of experts from the western countries were secretly photocopied. The KGB used the most advanced technical equipment and methods to spy on the foreign diplomatic consulates or embassies located in Moscow or elsewhere.

They set up strong cooperation with the secret services of the member states of the Warsaw Pact (except for Romania) as well as with the secret services of Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea.

Similar organizations of other socialist countries operating abroad formed important adjunct to the KGB. When a Soviet spying organization abroad was compromised and expelled by a target country another socialist country's similar organization took over temporarily for the KGB.

The new era of the KGB started with the appointment of Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov in 1967 whose main idea was to transform the KGB into an organization which was not only involved in international crisis but was able to influence them as well.

The Chairman of the KGB was the head of the Soviet KGB. He was assisted by one or two First Deputy Chairmen, and four to six Deputy Chairmen.

*The First Main Directorate* (Foreign Operations) had about 15 thousand members. In the 1980's the operational core of the First Chief Directorate laid in its geographical departments. The Departments were responsible for the majority of the KGB enterprises abroad:

- The United States and Canada;
- Great Britain, Australia, New-Zeeland and the Scandinavian countries;
- Federal Republic of Germany and Austria;
- France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg and Ireland;
- China, Vietnam, North-Korea;
- Japan, India, Indonesia, the Philippines and other parts of Asia;
- The Arab states, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Albania;
- French speaking nations of Africa.

Subordinate to the First Chief Directorate were the following directorates: Il-legals Directorate (Directorate S); Scientific and Technical Directorate (Directorate T), Planning and Analysis Directorate (Directorate I); Information Service (Special Service I); Counterintelligence Service (Special Service II); Disinformation Department (Department A); Executive Action Department (Department V).

*The Second Chief Directorate* was responsible for internal political control of Soviet citizens and foreigners residing within the Soviet Union.

*The Third Chief Directorate* dealt with military counter-espionage and political surveillance of the Soviet Armed Forces.

*The Fifth Chief Directorate* dealt with internal security. It was created to combat political dissent, it took up some of the tasks previously handled by the Second Chief Directorate, such as dealing with religious dissent, monitoring the artistic community and the media (censorship of literature).

*The Seventh Chief Directorate* (Surveillance) handled surveillance, by providing technical equipment to follow and monitor the activities of both foreigners and Soviet citizens.

*The Eighth Chief Directorate* was responsible for the highly sensitive area of communications. The Communications Directorate was tasked with monitoring foreign communications. The Directorate was also responsible for the cryptological systems used by the KGB divisions, the transmission of communications to the KGB stations abroad, and the development of secure communication equipment.

*The Ninth Chief Directorate* (Guards Directorate) – the 40,000-man uniformed bodyguard for the CPSU leaders and families, guarded critical government installations (nuclear weapons, etc.). The directorate operated the Moscow VIP subway, and secure government–party telephone system.

*The Sixteenth Chief Directorate* maintained the telephone and radio systems used by all Soviet government agencies.

*The Border Troops Directorate* of about 245 000 personnel protected Soviet land and sea borders.

*Following the Collapse of the Soviet Union* significant changes were made in the structure and organization of the KGB. President Yeltsin believed that the first main responsibility was to split and rename the organization.

## *7. 2. Short History of the Soviet Military Intelligence:*

The Red Army's Fourth Bureau (military intelligence), the GRU, directly subordinate to the General Staff, was created at the beginning of the 1920's by the order of Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) the founding leader of the Red Army. It was created from the division of Checka, the state security organization led by Felix Dzerzhinsky. Felix Dzerzhinsky, the head of the All-Russian Special Commission (also referred to as VCSK), appointed his deputy, Yan Karlovich Berzin (1889-1938) to set up the GRU (the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Army). Berzin led the organization for 15 years (1920-1935).

The GRU was given the task of handling all military intelligence, particularly the collection of intelligence on military technology and military industrial espionage. It was also the GRU who carried out military counterintelligence within the Army.

From the very beginning the two secret services (Cheka and GRU) were known to be rivals both in the fields of intelligence and counterintelligence. In the beginning of the 1920's and the 1930's the Soviet Union was in a rather isolated position thus the organization of foreign military intelligence was difficult and they basically used illegal intelligence agents to carry out the tasks. In consequence during the operations there had been many clashes between the two organizations.

From 1927 the GRU operated a special short wave radio station to connect with the agents abroad.

Of course the GRU was not exempt of the show trials in the Soviet Union. Many leaders of the GRU – among them General Yan Karlovich Berzin - were

executed. In the beginning of the Soviet-Finnish War in 1939 the Finnish spies working for the GRU were blamed for the first tragic losses of the Soviet Union.

During the leadership of Joseph Stalin (1878-1953), First Secretary for the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Bolshevik Party, the rule of „divide and conquer” was applied by the intelligence agencies. In the competition it was the successor of the Checka, or the latter NKDV or the GRU who were competing against each other. After the fall of General Berzin, the GRU was temporarily put under the direction of Genrikh Grigoryevich Yagoda (1891-1938), then Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov (1895-1940), former secret police officers and leaders of the NKDV. Then after the fall of Yezhov the intelligence organization of the army, subordinate to the General Staff of the Red Army, started to operate independently, however, general, counterintelligence – except for within the organization - remained the responsibility of the GRU or the NKDV respectively.

In the beginning of World War II the GRU, under the direction of Filipp Ivanovich Golikov (1900-1980) became more successful. The organization already had a huge apparatus during the war which was further increased after the war. Within the Red Army they had military intelligence and reconnaissance bodies on the levels of army-military groups/front.

A great number of people operated abroad, who were stationed in embassies and military intelligence units, also informants under cover, employees of Aeroflot, the Soviet Airline, and the Soviet travel agency called Inturist, as well as businessmen, academic experts etc.

The partisan groups or units that conducted long-range reconnaissance patrol missions behind the enemy lines provided a great source of invaluable information as well. The partisan movement was coordinated and controlled by the Soviet General Staff and the leaders of the special departments of military reconnaissance.

Before and during World War II military intelligence obtained a huge amount of American technical documentations through several Soviet „specialists” visiting the United States for educational purposes, and a great number of American experts also worked in different construction sites of the Soviet Union. These provided good opportunity for the Soviets to obtain American technologies as well as to build up their own network of agents.

After the war and especially following the death of Stalin the bodies of the political intelligence, the MGB (Ministry for State Security) then the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs), under the direction of Lavrentiy Pavlovich Beria (1899-1953), tried to incorporate military intelligence in the GRU, but Khrushchev resisted. Beria was executed because of other matters and under the direction of Colonel-General Mikhail Alekseevich Shalin, who was chief of the GRU between 1952 and 1956, the GRU gradually gained strength.

Many secret service officers of the GRU became traitors, among them Major Pyotr Semyonovich Popov and Colonel Oleg Vladimirovich Penkovsky, who informed the United Kingdom and the United States about the Soviet emplace-

ment of missiles in Cuba. As a result State Security General Ivan Alexandrovich Serov (1905-1990), the head of the KGB, which was the successor organization for the MDV, took over as head of the GRU. However, in the beginning of the 1960's Serov was removed from his post and one of the deputy chiefs of the KGB, deputy chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union Ivashutin, Petr Ivanovich (1909-2002), was appointed to lead the organization. He remained in his position from 1963 to 1987. After his appointment, Ivashutin filled up the leadership position for the reconnaissance division with officers from the KGB:

Under the leadership of Ivashutin the organization of the *Main Intelligence Directorate, abbreviated GRU, was the following:*

- Head of the Main Intelligence Directorate:
- First Deputy Chief (deputy director of intelligence)
- 1. Directorate of Europe (except for Great Britain, but including Morocco);
- 2. Directorate of Asia;
- 3. Directorate of North and South America, (Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand);
- 4. Directorate of Africa (except for Morocco);
- 5. Directorate of Operational reconnaissance;
- 6. Directorate of Electronic reconnaissance, as well as elite military reconnaissance formations („Specnac” special forces).
- 7. The „assigned” directorates in Berlin and Cuba.
- 8. The space reconnaissance directorate, to analyze data gained through monitoring satellites.
  
- Direct organs of the Main Intelligence Directorate:
  - political department,
  - department of archives,
  - 1st security main department,
  - department of human resources,
  - operative technical service;
- Information service:
  - reconnaissance command post,
  - the six information directorates,
  - open information institution exclusively for material procession and publicity.

The Main Intelligence Directorate of strategical reconnaissance and intelligence was subordinate to 24 regional military intelligence directorates. The four naval fleet (Baltic, North Sea, Atlantic Ocean and Black Sea) also had direc-

torates. There were directorates set up in the army units stationed in the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

*7. 2. 1. The structure of the regional reconnaissance directorates:*

- Head of the directorate (head of the main department)
- 1. The main department for reconnaissance of army troops coordinated the reconnaissance sub-units such as the reconnaissance battalions of divisions, reconnaissance companies of regiments, and the scout ships of the Navy.
- 2. The responsibilities of the illegal intelligence department included setting up and coordinating illegal network of agents in their own territory as well as in the naval bases.
- 3. Spetsnaz department coordinated the special reconnaissance units and sub-units activities,
- 4. The information department was responsible for analyzing and evaluating data;
- 5. The department of radio electronic coordinated the subordinate radio intelligence regiments, battalions and the companies of helicopter operations.

The main departments of information and radio electronics were directly under the direction of the head of information and radio electronics departments in Moscow. The intelligence departments coordinating the armies of combined arms and military vehicles as well as the groups of naval fleet were under command of their respective leaders. Their organization was similar to the above mentioned one, but less in number and authority.

The elite military formations called Spetsnaz were first deployed in 1968 during the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Spetsnaz were under the control of the military intelligence service, and in every army groups' intelligence division had a Spetsnaz brigade subordinate to the head of the division, and the field armies had a company size Special Force. The naval fleet also had Spetsnaz brigades under their command.

The main intelligence directorates as well as the military intelligence departments of the armed forces and fleets coordinated and organized military reconnaissance on operational level.

Tourists visiting the Soviet Union, students, scientists, members of delegations, crew members of the naval fleet could have been among the agents in the expected battlegrounds (e.g. Federal Republic of Germany). Also citizens in the member states of the Warsaw Pact were considered for recruitment, who had relatives, or friends living abroad. Soviet citizens were rarely considered so as not to be able to compromise with the recruiting GRU officer.

Radios and letters written with secret writing etc. were used for maintaining connections with the agents. Truck drivers, the crew of Aeroflot, or travelling agents were also used as „couriers” for intelligence purposes.

The military operational intelligence set up separate intelligence organizations within the target countries who were completely independent of each other. These „stations” or rezidenturas operated illegally under diplomatic cover (the staff had diplomatic immunity). The legal rezidenturas, under diplomatic cover, operated in the territories of the target countries which had Soviet embassies or consulates. The rezidenturas of the intelligence organization were set up from the staff of the given embassy so as to make it legal, since the staff was well known by the secret service and by the immigration offices of the host country. The military diplomats were the official intelligence agents (military attaches, deputies), who made up primarily the staff of the rezidenturas and most often the rezident (head of the rezidentura) as well. Among the staff of the rezidenturas could be other diplomats e.g. advisors, secretaries, consuls or members of trade organizations, crew members of Aeroflot, the Russian Airline, Inturist, representatives of TASS and other persons were also recruited.

In certain Soviet embassies or consulates there were three diplomatic categories:

- The ambassador, or the deputy chief of mission – who was „theoretically” not recruited by the secret service;
- The rezidentura of military intelligence – introduced above;
- The rezidentura of the KGB (which was organized similarly but it operated independent from the military intelligence and without over lapses).

This way 90% of the total number of staff, or sometimes even more, worked for a certain intelligence organization.

The diplomatic rank and immunity provided excellent opportunities to carry out intelligence work. The intelligence agencies of the host countries were of course aware of such activities of the Soviets – since they used similar methods abroad as well. However, confronting them was only possible if they were caught in the act, for example they openly violated the rules of diplomatic immunity or became non cooperative.

From the second part of the 1960’s the Soviets paid special attention to diplomats from Asia, Africa and North America. These countries had a great number of human resources in the developed western countries e.g. students of military institutions, military diplomatic officers or members of companies supplying military technology etc. who had access to military regulations of the host countries as well as publications of military technology and military magazines.

Apart from the KGB, the GRU also widely employed illegal intelligence organizations in the given target countries. The illegal work was coordinated by the illegal departments of the GRU with the basic difference that the members of the illegal organization did not have any diplomatic status (cover) and as a matter of fact they officially had to make the impression that they had absolutely no



ties with the Soviet Union. The recruitment was directed from Moscow, however, the recruited were mainly foreign citizens, or Soviet people who had been residing and working with fake aliases in the given target country for many years, and most likely they had already gained citizenship there. During World War II and especially during the Cold War a great number of illegal Soviet intelligence organizations infiltrated Western Europe and the United States.

The structure of the illegal rezidenturas was similar to the structure of the legal ones. The head of the rezidentura was the rezident, who was either a foreigner or a Soviet citizen with an alias. Apart from the rezident the rezidenturas were also built up of a deputy rezident, some illegal officers (1-10), a cryptographic and radio section as well as some secret agents. After their recruitment the secret agents were given fake identifications and (cover) jobs.

Unlike the KGB, the GRU did not use blackmailing methods because after many years of experience they did not believe in their positive outcome. They used ideological persuasion instead.

After the fall of the Soviet Union military intelligence had to face with the same problems that also characterized the entire army such as low salaries, hardship in existence, decreasing recognition.

## Conclusions

The article will hopefully deepen the readers' understanding of the importance, complexity and politically sensitive nature of the history of the state security organizations in the Warsaw Pact countries.

After the collapse of Soviet Union and Yugoslavia new national security agencies were established and most of them are under democratic control.

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