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Following the Footsteps of Iron Felix

THE STATE SECURITY IN SLOVAKIA 1945 - 1989

Ústav pamäti národa Bratislava 2012



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Foreword

"A cool head, a burning heart and absolutely clean hands" – The famous words of Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky (1877 – 1926), the founder of the Russian or more precisely the Soviet political police, hung on the walls in offices of the Ministry of National Security, the Interior Ministry and the State Security. The School for State Security members in Prague was named after him; his portrait decorated many prizes awarded within the department. "The Father of the Red Terror" became the symbol of Czechoslovak security sovietisation when it copied the Soviet organisational structure and forms in particular; it also became the symbol of the working methods used by the communist secret police in Czechoslovakia and its close contacts with the KGB.

For more than four decades, the State Security (*forces*) – the power base of the Communist Party substantially influenced the (Czecho)Slovak history of the last century. It became one of the symbols of the communist era of our history, and one of the tools to control and dominate society, as well as an information source for the establishment of that time.

Several factors shaped the State Security. To a certain extent, it was the successor of similar forces from the past. Nevertheless, there were other facts and circumstances that particularly formed and shaped it. At first, it was the product of the time of its generation – the years after the end of World War II, the years when the Communist Party representatives launched a struggle for power, which was hidden in its beginnings. The State Security was a product generated in this fight as well being its tool. From the home affairs point of view we may say that security became both the subject and the object of political struggles, and finally, in 1948, also one of the principal tools of the coup d'état. Internationally, the most important fact was that Czechoslovakia fell under the Soviet sphere of influence. The original State Security (ŠtB) structures were not influenced by the Soviet pattern that much; its work methods were adopted, but the organisational structure was only copied later. And last but not least, contacts with the Soviet Union intelligence services served as a good recommendation for a promotion, or at least increased the possibility of having your way.

Throughout its existence, the State Security was a kind of composite of intelligence service and political police. Its primary task was to guarantee the power and dominance of the Communist Party, and indeed, it used all available means to ensure that – intelligence and oppressive measures. Moreover, its

unusual and specific position within the regime was also emphasised by the fact that, except for very short periods, throughout its existence it reported directly to the top political bodies. It was the Communist Party which tasked the State Security, and which determined its relationship with the prosecution service and the courts, as well the state administration bodies.

The State Security and its counter-intelligence units in particular, represented the primary oppressive tool to suppress basic human rights and freedom, in order to keep the Czechoslovak Communist Party in power. The State Security's character, being the political police of the Communist Party, resulted directly from directives governing its activities. A class-based approach and the leading role of the Communist Party in society were the prerequisites for the State Security's activities, which also implied other commitments such as close cooperation with the Soviets, etc.

Looking at the history of this institution, quite a clear distinction between its Slovak and nation-wide divisions can be found until 1949. In our book, we try to pay most attention to the Slovak specifics, also when the State Security was deeply centralised – therefore we have allocated more space to its regional units in Slovakia in the 50s and 60s of the previous century, when there was no State Security headquarters (central office) in Slovakia; that was to a certain extent replaced by the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Interior (or the National Security Corps) in Bratislava. Federalisation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic required more changes. A more stable structure emerged in the 70s when the XIIth Directorate¹ was established within the National Security Corps, and this structure was maintained until the fall of the communist regime. Again, this allows us to extract the Slovak context from the national one.

Our objective was to give a certain insight into the history of State Security in Slovakia in this gripping book, describing its history since its establishment until the very end of its existence. We believe that this book will promote and enhance interest in our recent past in non-expert readers also. Indeed, knowing the dark sides of the totalitarian past and interest in it are the key steps for us to be able to deal with it.

Matej Medvecký

¹ Transl. note: Roman numerals were often used that time, not only in administration; the same numbering as in the Slovak original.

Dosio ma 24 T. 1946 očas jeho zadržania

na je porucik Baros podozrely,
val nedovoleným sposobom.V dosvežné trestné oznámenie vojenvetrestného oznámenia a odpis

oo skončení podám na por.Baroo odpis Vám predložím.

ra Benkoviča až na hodinky,

Prior to the COUP D' ÉTAT 1945-1948.



The State Security organization in Slovakia was influenced by two key facts in the period 1945 – 1948; the first was the efforts of communists to control the state administration, and the second was the preparation of the communist putsch. Similarities can be found in all future Soviet bloc countries. In Slovakia, this meant in particular fabrication of the socalled Hlinka's Party underground and linking it with political opponents. In the Czech part of the Republic, the "uncovering" of the underground linked with anti-Beneš exiles was planned. The purpose-built links of the communists' political opponents with exile groups was a well tested scenario over time. The importance of the secret service and statesecurity police units prior to the 1948 putsch is underlined also by the fight for these, as well the way these were discussed in the Government and the Parliament, the Board of Commissioners and the Slovak National Council. The VIth and the VIIth units within the Commission for Internal Affairs became the symbol of communist tyranny even before the putsch; their methods were also said to be "Gestapo-like", even when mentioned in the Slovak National Council.

The restoration of Czechoslovakia, being one of the war objectives of the allies, confronted the future representatives of the state with certain key questions. Probably the most important involved the principles that the future republic was to be built and based on. Although the structure agreed by politicians claimed allegiance to the democratic tradition, the reality was quite different. Only six political parties were to be officially allowed in the post-war Czechoslovakia, which would form the so called National Front. Any other political entities were to be created only subject to its approval. Moreover, there were many other factors influencing the political climate in the country. The shift towards the Soviet Union proved to be the principal factor influencing the future direction of the country, which implied the agreement of the Powers, as well as the consent of both Czech and Slovak politicians and their insufficient resistance against this fact. For example, the entente with the USSR of December 1943, and the adoption of the so-called Košice Government Programme in April 1945, limited to a large extent the possibilities for independent and democratic developments in Czechoslovakia. Since 1945, Communist Party representatives took very thoughtful steps that were obviously directed towards gaining control over key positions in the state administration; among others, one of their objectives was to control the police, in particular its secret service and state security units.

The dissolution of old security units and interviews with their members who wished to join the newly established police forces called the National Security was of substantial importance. To defend these steps, explanations were used that the security forces had failed during the war and when the Slovak Republic (and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia) existed. This solution and approach were

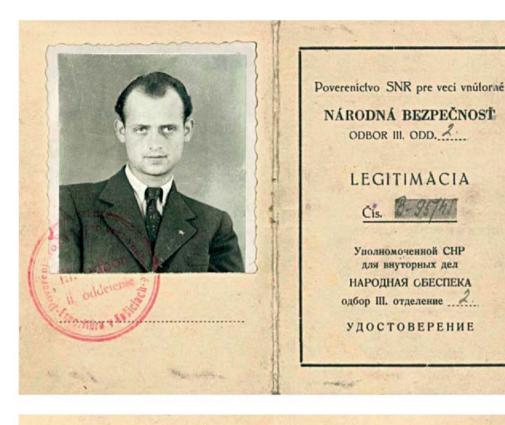


Jozef Lietavec; the ever first State Security head in Slovakia Source: Archive of the Slovak National Uprising (SNP) Museum

in particular enforced by the Moscow leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSČ). In May 1944, their leader Klement Gottwald announced that new security forces were to be established in the new Czechoslovak Republic.

The fact that representatives of the Communist Party left no chances open in Slovakia is also proved by the fact that they had already secured the position of Commissioner for Internal Affairs during the Slovak National Uprising; Gustáv Husák was nominated. Within the Internal Affairs Commission, the IIIrd (security) unit was established which was in charge of intelligence (secret service) and state security related issues within the territory controlled by the members of the resistance. The unit was led by Jozef Lietavec, a young radical communist. Nevertheless, there is little information about this unit. Its most visible activity was the spontaneous and often groundless arrests of people considered to be German or politically unreliable. The Commission was abolished together with its IIIrd unit after the National Uprising was defeated in autumn 1944. It was established again within the territory of the new restored Czechoslovakia. When the World War II (WWII) was about to end, the city of Košice became the seat of that time of the Czechoslovak and Slovak authorities, since it had already been liberated on 19th January 1945. Until 7th February 1945, there were specialised units and departments of the Slovak National Council that also fulfilled tasks of state administration, among others, the Department for Internal Affairs. By 4th February, a "Division for Democratic State Security" was established within that Department, and the next day a decision was taken to organise the security forces forthwith. Representatives of the Democratic Party and the Slovak Communist Party reached a compromise agreement regarding the future shape of the security forces. On 23rd February 1945, the Board of the Slovak National Council adopted its Resolution N° 6 in which it dissolved the current gendarmerie and police corps and Resolution N° 7 establishing a new police corps – the National Security. Representatives of the Slovak and Czechoslovak Communist Party did not yet manage to enforce the Soviet-inspired militia police model and thus control it fully. Democratic Party representatives thwarted that emphasising that the Gendarmerie had taken part in the Slovak National Uprising, and arguing about the limited experience and lack of qualification of militia members, as well as their eccentricities. Finally, the National Security crystallised as some sort of hybrid. Despite that, Slovak communists managed to control the specialised state security and secret service forces within the Commission for Internal Affairs.

Appointing Gustáv Husák, the deputy chairman of the Slovak Communist Party, as Commissioner for Internal Affairs at the end of February 1945 was the key moment for the future development of the secret service and security police forces. Husák managed to translate the Communist Party ideas to the National Security. Assisted by Rudolf Viktorin (a former member of Social Democracy who joined the Communist Party later), he staffed the newly formed secret service and security police corps solely with members or sympathisers of the Slovak Communist Party. Viktorin was appointed commander of the 2nd division of the National Security Headquarters, which dealt with state security issues. Communist Party member Matej Bél was appointed Viktorin's deputy, and he immediately



Pán Juna 19h5.

pán Juna 19h5.

je poverený prevádzaním zvláštných úkonov pre har hup 2 odd.

Povereníctva SNR pre veci vnútorné.

Všetky úrady a úradné orgány sa žiadaju, aby mu v prípade potreby poskytly pomoc a ochranu v jeho služobnom výkone.

Menovaný je opravnený nosiť zbraň a má volnosť pohybu po celom územi ČSR i v čase nočnom, Кошице, 14 штоги 1945.

r-Hy Ulumore

перетак

Уполномочен исполнением особенных задач для Нар. бит. 2. отд. Уполномоченной СНР

для внуторных дел.
Все институции требуютоя, чтобы ему при исполнении службы оказывали всякую помощьи охрану.

Именованный имеет право носить оружие, возможность движения по всей териттории ЧСР и в ночное время.

rednosta 2. odd. _ Председател 2. отд.

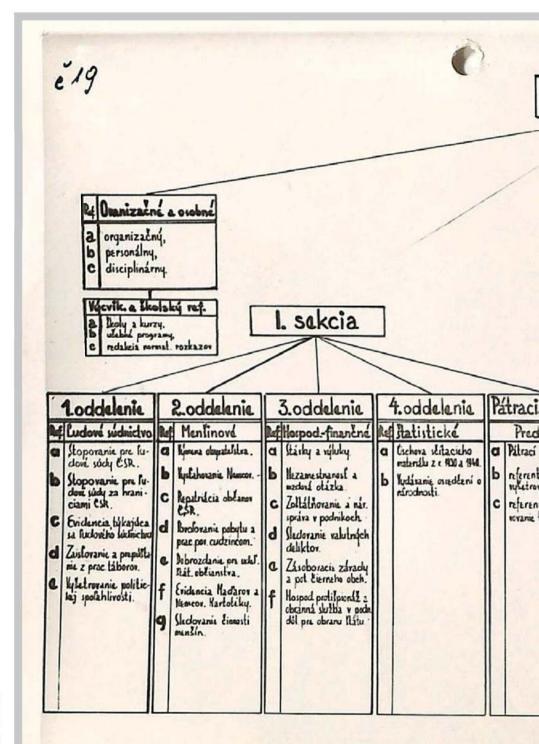
ID card of member of the 2nd division of the National Security, 1945 *Source: ABS* introduced communist political organisation in the office. Unfortunately Bél had no experience in police work and was soon replaced by former Gendarmerie member Viktor Sedmík. For several months, the IIIrd unit of the Internal Affairs Commission and 2nd division of the National Security Headquarters with its regional branches operated simultaneously. Moreover, both offices were tasked with secret service and state security issues. This was only a temporary situation until clarified and settled. Going back to this period of time is more than difficult owing to very few documents being available, and also because of frequent personnel exchanges and the conduct of these police forces that can hardly be called "official"; e.g. new staff were recruited based on personal acquaintance without any proper approval or even notification of supervising bodies.

The 2nd division of the National Security Headquarters was in charge of state security and the political secret service. In the regions, there were 2nd (regional or district) divisions of the National Security reporting to the HQ, tasked with state security-related issues, and also dealing with retribution cases and cleansing of public life. Political secret service activities were originally carried out by the special secret service section within the National Security District Headquarters in Bratislava 1, and later, from early July 1945, its tasks were taken over by the Secret service division within the 2nd division of the National Security HQ. Staff working in the newly established 2nd division of the National Security HQ performed and controlled secret services in the whole of Slovakia, including intelligence related to the protection of important offices and enterprises. They also monitored radio broadcasting. The dissolution of the 2nd division of the National Security HQ and the establishment of the Political Intelligence HQ as of 1st November 1945 was a key organisational change; it took over the structure of its successor split into state security and intelligence section (secret service), as well the regional offices network (District Security Department), including their competences and staff, in general. This organisational metamorphosis of the future State Security (ŠtB) lasted for only one month, until the VIth unit was established within the Commission for Internal Affairs on 1st December 1945, again, led by Rudolf Viktorin. The unit had two sections that were further split according to the issues these dealt with. The Ist section (State Security) was further divided into five divisions; Division I/1 monitored the political situation, its staff prepared situation reports (intelligence reports), monitored the activities of political parties, associations, churches, cooperation with National Committees, and also illegal movements, distribution of pamphlets, etc. Division I/2 was in charge of the public (retributory) judiciary and cleansing of public life and related matters; Division I/3 was in charge of the registration and censorship of printed materials; Division I/4 dealt with issues of minorities and foreigners; and Division I/5 supervised the economy and industry (naturally, from the state security point of view). The IInd section – secret service – was split into four divisions. Division II/1 dealt with defence-related intelligence, and Division II/2 -intelligence service, with espionage. Here it has to be noted that offensive intelligence from Bratislava mainly targeted Austria and Hungary, and to a limited extent also Poland and exile groups. Staff working for Division II/3 were in charge of building and registering, in particular, the network of

confidants and agents; and Division II/4 was in charge of technical and research tasks for the purposes of the secret service and state security (reproduction of documents, taking photographs, production of secret ink for letters, ultraviolet photography, comparing handwriting and letters written by various typewriters, preparing expert opinions, etc.). Besides, they produced falsified testaments, signatures, securities, banknotes or any other falsified ID cards for their needs. They also tested forgeries and imitations, and were in charge of ballistic testing and similar activities. The VIth unit of the Internal Affairs Commission had 427 employees in total (including regional offices and district security departments where there were 145 people; 158 people worked for the Ist Section and 124 for the IInd Section). In 1945, almost 52% of all employees working for the VIth unit of the Internal Affairs Commission were Communist Party members. Another 43.5% had no political membership and only 4.5% were members of the Democratic Party. However, these figures are only relative and certain cautiousness needs to be applied, as, for example, Jozef Ilčík – head of the Ist Section within the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission, as well his deputy Teodor Baláž, were listed as non-party members. No doubt, they were too political, being key supporters of communist politics in the security machinery in Slovakia. The method applied in recruiting new security machinery staff allowed members or sympathisers of the Communist Party to infiltrate its structures. The dominance of Communist Party members in the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission and their factual and voluntary subordination to the Slovak Communist Party administration are highly visible, at that time. Leaders of the Slovak Communist Party used its influence in these forces of power in particular by consulting and counselling the security forces staff. In particular, they applied this method in solving cases that could have political impact. On the other hand, security staff often took their own initiative. Officers working with the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission met Slovak Communist Party politicians regularly, also having social contacts with them and in certain cases, closer personal relationships can also be found.

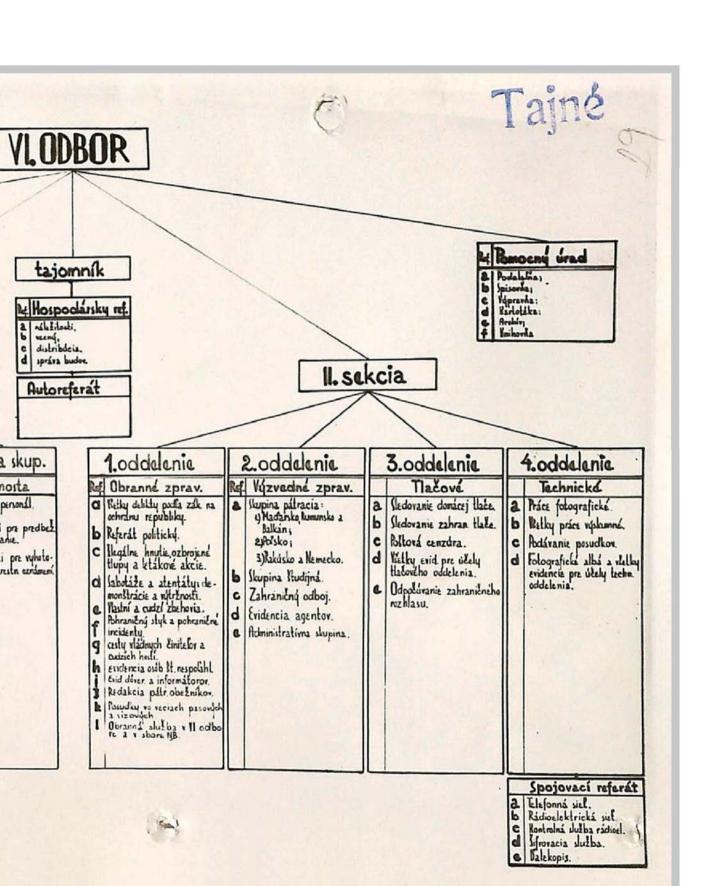
We have only very fragmental and incomplete information about contacts between intelligence and security officers and their Soviet counterparts. Nevertheless, we know that pro-communist oriented staff of the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission regarded their colleagues from the USSR intelligence service highly and maintained lively contacts with them. A similar approach was taken with colleagues from Yugoslavia. Many officers from the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission attended specialised intelligence workshops in the USSR, and thus, the continuation of these contacts can also be assumed after 1945. Besides, we are certain that Slovak security machinery staff cooperated with the Soviets through their Bratislava Consulate, and, moreover, there were also contacts and collaboration with units in the Soviet Occupation Zone in Austria, in Vienna in particular.

Soon after the end of WWII, the security forces in Slovakia were relatively independent. Despite a certain subordination to the central Ministry of the Interior in Prague, the Commissioner's Office was assigned broad competences, which reflected historical developments, and the fact that both the Slovak National



Internal division of the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission in 1946 Source: ABS

17



The case of Stefan Chalmovský and accomplices was the first big case that the Internal Affairs Commission staff uncovered and fabricated together with counter-intelligence. In many aspects, it foreshadowed the show trials in Slovakia for at least the next 10 years. Chalmovský and his friends established a small illegal group ideologically linked to the Hlinka's Party regime. Its members felt under pressure from the people's democracy regime in the restored Czechoslovakia and did not approve of the state authorities' measures, e.g. the restrictive policy against the Catholic Church. Chalmovský and his friends (Albert Púčik, Anton Tunega, Jozef Huba and Augustín Huba) were planning to establish an organisation that would collect information for the Slovak Government in exile, and also some form of the Slovak Hlinka's People Party, in the underground. Their activity became real after Chalmovský and Anton Kšinant opened contacts; at that time, the latter was hiding in forests in order to avoid retribution trial. Their major objectives were quite mildly formulated - fighting against communism and for the Christian world view, for the establishment of social order and the democracy, restoration of the Slovak state, whether within a Czecho-Slovak or a broader

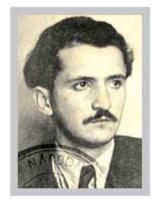
Central Europe Federation. However, the state security learned about them and a group of staff from the Political Intelligence HQ, i.e. the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission, travelled to the city of Topolčany at the end of November, and together with the defence related intelligence staff commenced arresting and interrogating them. State security staff also "added" other objectives to the Chalmovský and accomplices in order to create the impression of a large "Hlinka's Party underground". A group of young scouts led by Štefan Krajčík was fabricated to be the "secret Hlinka's Youth" who were supposed to collect weapons. Finally, a poacher and an adventurer were turned into the so called "White Guard", supposedly an armed anticommunist unit. The interrogation was violent. Karol Baros from the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission hit the detained Tibor Benkovič so harshly that he died within a couple of hours as a result of torture. The Internal Affairs Commission leaders, in order to avoid further interrogation, "hid" Baroš in allied Yugoslavia, and later in Vienna, giving him money and a political letter of recommendation. He only returned to Slovakia in 1949, and was appointed directly to the State Security.



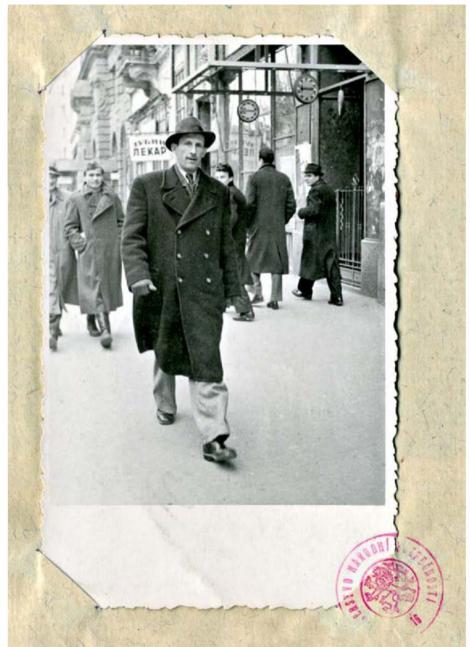
Council (SNR) and the Board of Commissioners were assigned competences allowing them to apply their own visions in shaping the state administration (police, as well). This situation is underlined also by the fact that the National Security Corps were established by an order adopted by the Slovak National Council, whereas in the Czech part of the Republic, there was no legal provision supporting their existence until 1947, when the National Security Act was adopted. The subordination of the intelligence-security unit of the Internal Affairs Commission was much more a political (via the Slovak Communist Party) rather



Karol Baroš Source: ABS



Štefan Chalmovský Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive



Snapshot taken during Baroš's stay in Yugoslavia Source: ABS

Союз партизанов в Словакии, ЧСР, потвер-Sväz partizánov na Slovensku, ČSR, potvrdzuje, že pán Kalua Biarri ie zakranienim Krespirolestie редактором журналя "Партизан", пентрального týždenníka »Partizán«, ústredného orоргана Союза нартизанов в Словакии. gánu Sväzu partizánov na Slovensku. Уповедомлясы все учреждения и органы, Žiadame všetky úrady a ustanovizne, что бы они именованиому произвляли содейaby merovanému pri vykonávaní noстине при исполнении его журна истической vinárskej činnosti vychádzaly v ústrety деятельности и помагали в ответственной раa aby mu pomáhaly v jeho zodpovednej práci. 1945-7 Bratislava, dňa referent:

ID card issued for Baros by the editors of "Partizán" weekly Source: ABS

POVERENÍCTVO PRE VECI VNÚTORNÉ

VI. odbor

Chio men S dov./46 Tr.

Vec: Benkovič Tibor - vyšetrenie.

Odpowed in: (it. jedu. 966/78/46 sekr.z 1.2.1946. Trichy: 1. Brandovo, 2.marec 1946

Pán

Dôverné

p.Dr.Július V i k tory

Povereník vnútra

Bratislava.

Hlásim, že úmrtie Tibora Benkoviča počas jeho zadržania orgánmitunajšieho odboru, dal som vyšetrit.

Podľa doterajšieho výsledku stopovania je poručík Baroš podozrelý, že zadržaného Benkoviča a spol., vyšetroval nedovoleným sposobom. V dosledku toho som na por. Baroša podal predbežné trestné oznámenie vojenskému súdu I. stolice v Bratislave. Odpis trestného oznámenia a odpis pitevného nálezu pripojujem.

V stopovaní prípadu sa pokračuje a po skončení podám na por Baroša dodatok k trestnému oznámeniu,ktorého odpis Vám predložím.

Hlásim, že osobné veci nebohého Tibora Benkoviča až na hodinky, boly vrátené otcovi nebohého Vyšetrovaním nepodarilo sa zistiť kto sa zmocnil spomenutých hodinick, však javí sa byť pravdepodobným, že zamestnanci tunajšieho odboru, ktorí sa zúčastnili vyšetrovania Benkoviča a spol., hodiniek sa nezmocnili.

Prednosta VI. odboru

After K. Baroš was succesfully hidden in Yugoslavia, the Internal Affairs Commission issued an accusation Source: Slovak National Archive (SNA) Povereníctvo vnútra - VI.odbor. Čís.jedn. 9 dov./46 Tr. Tajné Dôverné.

Trestné oznámenie.

A.

Karol B a r o š, nar.3.7.1917 Lietavská Lúčka, okres Žilina, príslušný do Banskej Bystrice, okres Banská Bystrica, národnosti slovenskej, rim. Katolík, slobodný, poručík Márodnej bezpečnosti, zaradený u VI. odboru Povereníctva vnútra od 4. mája 1945, odvodný ročník 1937, absolvent 4. tr. mešt. školy 2 roč. vyššej priemyselnej školy, bol vyznamenaný partizánskym vyznamenaním SSSR.

B.

Karol Baroš so svojou 5 člemnou stopovacou skupinou konal dna 3.-5. decembra 1945 stopovanie po bielych partizánoch v okolí Topolčian, okres Topolčiany.

Počas tohoto stopovania por.NB Karol Baroš resp.jemu pridelení orgánovia, alebo príslušníci stanice NB Topolčany, zadržal viac osob podozrelých z ilegálnej činnosti bielych partizánov. Zadržané osoby boly predvádzané na stanicu NB Topolčany, kde por.Baroš viedol osobne vypočúvanie všetkých podozrelých.

Ako dovodne podozrelý z ilegálnej činnosti bielych partizánov, bel medzi inými zadržaný aj Tibor Benkovič z Kitrianskej Stredy,okres Topolčány.

Tibor Benkovič počas jeho zadržania v presne nezistenom čase - medzi 23 hod.dňa 4.decembra 1945 a 4.hod.dňa 5.decembra 1945 v budove stanice NB Topolčany zomrel.Príčina jeho smrti dosial zistená nebola, avšak je podozrenie, že nezomrel smrtou prirodzenou.

Por Baroš je podozrelý, že zo zadržaným Benkovičom počas vyšetrovania zle nakladal a to v záujme úspešného výsledku vyšetrovania t.j. aby odhalil všetky osoby, ktoré sú v spojenís ileg, hnutím bielych partizánov.

c.

Vyšetrovaním bolo zistené, že por Karol Baroš so svojou stopovacou skupinou dňa 5. decembra 1945 v ramých hodinách, previezol mrtvolu Tibora Benkoviča do Mitry. Por Baroš na štátnom zástupiteľstve v Nitre vyhľadal prokurátora Dž. Štefana Valenta a oznámil mu, že zadržal Tibora Benkoviča z Nitrianskej Stredy, pre dovodné podozrenie z protištátnej činnosti. Por Baroš ďalej prokurátorovi Dr. Valentovi oznámil, že zadržaný Benkovič zomrel a ako príčinu smrti por Baroš udal požitie neznámeho jedu. Z tej príčiny požiadal por Baroš prokurátora Dr. Valentu, aby nariadil vykonanie súdnej pitvy Benkoviča. Prokurátor Dr. Valent z moci svojho

Charge against Karol Baroš Source: Slovak National Archive (SNA)

Vojenský súd I. stolice

Bratislava.

POVERENICIVO VNUTR

The Slovak security machinery occupied one very sad first position. Together with the Soviets, the staff of the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission carried out the first ever kidnapping from a foreign country executed by the Czechoslovak secret service. This was the case of university student Michal Stefula, who, having suffered personal problems, decided to get involved in illegal activity in an organisation which he called "Štátistická ilegálna tajná služba²". This organisation was soon exposed, although Stefula managed to escape to Vienna, where he maintained contacts with the Slovak community within the Holy Comforters Church located at Rennweg N°63, also meeting people who travelled to Slovakia illegally

or those granted special permits. The staff of the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission managed to arrest some of them (František Petráš, Rudolf Kačeriak, Viliam Mihalovič) and learnt where Štefula could be found. Following an agreement with the Soviets, a group of staff from the Internal Affairs Commission travelled to Vienna (Šimon Čermák, Ján Križko and Juraj Glazer) and "arrested" him in the neutral 1st District of Vienna. Štefula made the return journey a bit dramatic, seizing the steering wheel causing problems for the driver, who could hardly keep the car on the road. Finally, they managed to bring Štefula to Bratislava; the report on his arrest was falsified, giving an incorrect location for the arrest.

than a state administration link. However, there were strong centralising trends present in the Interior Ministry that culminated shortly after the elections held in 1946. The success of democrats in the elections resulted in the Communist Party representatives fearing the loss of their influence in the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission. While the 1st Prague agreement on splitting competences between Czechoslovak (state) and Slovak (local) authorities and bodies in the summer of 1945 stipulated that only secret service acting abroad was the state one, and the others were supposed to coordinate their activities, the 3rd Prague agreement critically limited the Internal Affairs Commission's competences, including those of its VIth Unit. Communists in the security service also contributed to this step themselves, as they were not sure whether they would be able to keep their posts in the Internal Affairs Commission, and were very actively convincing the new Commissioner - Mikuláš Ferjenčík - about the need for higher subordination to the Ministry of the Interior. Already on 5th September 1946, Mikuláš Ferjenčík, the Commissioner for Internal Affairs signed an agreement with the Ministry of the Interior according to which the structure of the Commissioner's Office should, to the extent possible, mirror the structure of the Ministry. Moreover, the start of close cooperation between these two offices was ordered. Accordingly, the Ministry of the Interior developed a plan for

² Transl. note: it can be translated as Illegal Secret Service Fighting for the Slovak State.

Povereníctvo vnútra.

Bratislava 23. júl 1946.

Číslo: 12102/VI-II/š-1946.

Zprav. - Taj.!

V e c: Služobný odznak štátobezpečnostnej služby — z a v e d e n i e.

127

Podľa rozdeľovníka!

Výkonné orgány politicko-zpravodajskej služby na celom území ČSR sú vybavené služobným kovovým odznakom "Bezpečnostná služba" (viď fotografiu).

V českých zemiach nápis na kovovom odznaku je v českom znení "Bezpečnostní služba" a na Slovensku v znení slovenskom "Bezpečnostná služba".

Držiteľ kovového odznaku BS má okrem toho služobnú legitimáciu, v Čechách a na Morave vydanú Ministerstvom vnútra a na Slovensku vydanú Povereníctvom vnútra — VI. odborom.

Státne a samosprávne úrady, ich orgány, ako aj verejné a súkromné ústavy, organizácie, korporácie, sú povinné majiteľovi služobného odznaku BS poskytnúť všetky informácie, účinnú podporu a všestrannú pomoc pri výkone jeho služby.

Kovové odznaky BS sú evidenčne očíslované od čís. 1 až 250. Na rube odznaku je pripevňovacie zariadenie a na líci vyzerá presne takto:



Všetky v rozdeľovníku uvedené úrady — veliteľstvá prosím — žiadam, aby o tomto opatrení vyrozumely všetky im rezortne podriadené úrady a veliteľstvá.

Dostane: Urad SNR a Sboru povereníkov, Ministerstvo vnútra odbor Z., Sekretariát Povereníka vnútra, Povereníctvo vnútra — prezídium, Povereníctvo financií, HVNB, Oblastná správa OBZ, Velit. 4. obl. 2. odd. a všetky tunajšiemu odboru podriadené OBR.

> Povereník: Dr. Viktory, v. r.

Official badge of the staff of VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission Source: ABS



The year 1947 was a turning point regarding the official agenda, as well. In 1945, the new security machinery "inherited" the archive and registration files of the State Security HQ (1940-1945), including files and records of the Security HQ Office within the Police Directorate in Bratislava and Košice, and also Prešov (1923 to 1938/1939). The archive and records (general and also intelligence) were taken over by the 2nd division of the National Security Headquarters. New staff had no

experience of police administration and were trained by their colleagues who had worked with the security forces before the year 1945. Therefore, the new office, be it the 2nd division of the National Security Headquarters or later, the VIth and VIIth Units of the Internal Affairs Commission, continued to use the old records and files, where new records were added. Only in 1947 was a decision taken to introduce new records, and thus new files began to be created.

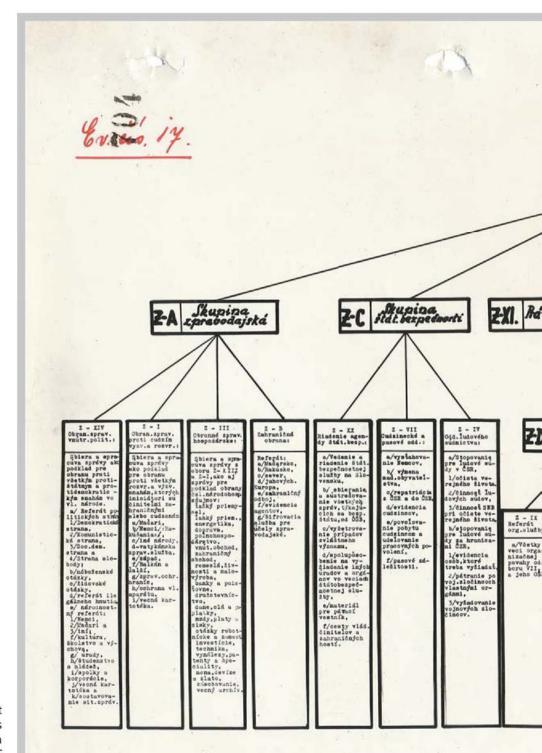
substantial subordination and adjustment of the Internal Affairs Commission VIth Unit to the model applied in the Czech part of the Republic. Tight centralisation of state security and the secret service was to start, firstly through business trips of the representatives of the Ministry of the Interior or Regional Security Department located in Prague (Bedřich Pokorný, Kamil Pixa and others) tasked to instruct their colleagues, and also, by preparing a new organisational structure that would rebuild the Internal Affairs Commission VIth Unit to the model used in the Czech part of the Republic and Moravia (Regional Security Department and Regional state security agency). Since 1st November 1946, the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission changed to the Unit Z. The Ministry of the Interior reserved control of the secret service and the Commission was only supposed to be in charge of its operation – thus, no independent activity by the Commissioner Ferjenčík was to be achieved. On 2nd December 1946, the VIIth Unit was established within the Ministry of the Interior in Prague, with the so-called Slovak Division (VII-SL). The unit was led by Bedřich Pokorný, who was very likely also tasked to supervise Slovak colleagues and report about the situation in Slovakia. Therefore, early in December 1946, he travelled to Bratislava to personally examine the situation there, meet the staff, etc. The reports he prepared about many security staff in Slovakia, were very critical. Further organisational changes were due on 1st January 1947, when the Z Unit was renamed to the VIIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission. According to the directives, its tasks, and also those of its subordinated divisions, were, among others, to secure the state against internal attacks on its independence, unity, sovereignty, integrity and system of people's democracy, and to combat similar subversive efforts and political attacks made or directed from abroad, fighting against industrial espionage, acquiring intelligence for information, administrative and research purposes. The unit was split into three basic organisational groups: secret service and state security groups, and auxiliary divisions.



Mikuláš Ferjenčík took personally the criticism of illegal methods applied by the security. Though, his actions and the defence of the staff of VIth and VIIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission allowed them to continue in their illegal activities Source: Archive of the Slovak National Uprising (SNP) Museum

The VIIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission had its head and deputy. The intelligence group (named Z-A) split into four divisions: intelligence related to internal political affairs, counter-intelligence, economy-related intelligence, and foreign affairs. Intelligence related to internal political affairs (Z-XIV) had a Department of political parties (Democratic Party, Slovak Communist Party, Party of Freedom³, and Social-Democratic Party), and a Department of illegal movements that also dealt with religious and Jewish issues. Counter-intelligence (Z-I) collected information and prepared reports to be used as a base for protection against espionage and subversive efforts. It focused in particular on these objects of interest: Hungarians, Germans (Austrians) and other nations, the Vatican Secret Service, Western countries as such, the Balkans, and border protection and protection of its own forces. Economy related intelligence (Z-III) collected information and prepared reports related to protection of the interests of the national economy (heavy and light industries, energy, transport, agriculture, internal and foreign trade, banks and insurance companies, taxes, inventions, etc.). Finally, the Z-B Department (foreign defence) dealt with Hungary, Austria, the North, South-East Europe, foreign resistance and registration of agents. Also, coding was carried out there for the secret service. A proposal of October 1946 has been preserved, regarding the restructuring of this unit. There were supposed to be five smaller units established: Investigation group (with three sub-groups -1- Hungary, Romania, the Balkans; 2 - Poland and the North; and 3 - Austria, Germany and the West), Research group (sorting and analyzing reports, preparing situation reports, contacts with embassies, etc.), Foreign group (monitoring foreign resistance and its connections with the home country, Slovaks living abroad), Records of agents, and last but not least Administrative Group. The state security group (Z-C) was split to three divisions. Z-XX (state security administration management) dealt with the management of state security in Slovakia, collecting and concentrating reports on state security, investigating cases of special importance, cooperating on request with other offices on issues related to state security, preparing documents for searches, as well visits of our representatives abroad and those of foreign guests visiting the country. The foreign and passport division (Z-VII) dealt with the relocation of Germans and exchange of inhabitants with Hungary, repatriation, registration of foreigners, granting stay permits and passports related issues. And finally, there was the people's judiciary system division (Z-IV) that dealt with surveillance for courts in Czechoslovakia (cleansing of public life, activities of people's courts and activities of the National Security Corps in cleansing public life), as well as tracking people abroad for courts (registration of people requested to be extradited; war criminals were followed and requested to be extradited separately). The legal division was separate (Z-XI). The head (or deputy) of the VIIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission also led the Organisational division (ZD) split into organisational (Z-IX), HR (Z-XXV) and Disciplinary (Z-XXVII) departments, and the Technical division (Z-E) that comprised Connection (Z-V), Material (Z-XIII), and

³ Transl. note: "Strana Slobody" in Slovak.



The division of VIIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission Source: ABS

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Anton Meltzer Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive



Rudolf Komandera Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

Research and Photographic (Z-XXIII) departments. The Auxiliary division dealt with office agenda (Z-XII), records (Z-XVI) and Archive (Z-XXIV). This structure was supplemented by a Press division (Z-VII), a Financial division (Z-XXVI) and a Research and training division (Z-XIX). Preparatory works to establish the IIIrd Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission represented a further level of centralisation. The meeting of Václav Nosek, Minister of the Interior, Mikuláš Ferjenčík, the Commissioner and Jindřich Veselý, the future State Security Director, held on 3rd January 1948 at the Ministry of the Interior was an important milestone in this whole process. Those named above agreed to establish one Security Unit to be labelled III, which was proposed to be led by Anton Rašla, former prosecutor of the National Court, who briefly headed the intelligence unit within the Military Headquarters of the Ministry of National Defence, and thus had certain experience with secret service related tasks. This would also solve the vacancy for the head of the unit who was required to have legal background. Acting head Rudolf Viktorin did not have the required education and was supposed to become Rašla's deputy. Nevertheless, this part of the deal was not fulfilled and Viktorin kept his position.

Staffing of the State Security and political secret service units in Czechoslovakia as of 1st December 1947

VII th Unit of Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior ČSR	402
Regional state security agency and District Security office in the Czech part of the Republic and Moravia	335
State Security Service	1,527 incl. 187 state security staff in Slovakia
VII th Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission	220
State Security Offices in Slovakia	309
Total	2,793

The communist coup d'état in February 1948 was one of the key events in the political history of Czechoslovakia after 1945. In Slovakia, the most important force able to oppose the communists – the Democratic Party – weakened very much after their "plot" was uncovered, and was shaken even more after the next hot autumn of 1947; the putsch was quite smooth, there. Slovak Communist Party leaders, at the request of Klement Gottwald, asked the Board of Commissioners to resign, and G. Husák, the Board Chairman informed the Democratic Party Commissioners on a letter 21st February 1948 that the resignation of Democratic Party representatives in the Government was also interpreted as the resignation of its representatives on the Board of Commissioners. The State Security also took part in the smooth take-over of power. Rudolf Viktorin was in hospital at the time. Viktor Sedmík and his deputy Teodor Baláž who also led the division dealing with intelligence related to internal affairs (Z-XIV), were able to effectively organise tasks within the National Security Corps that were important from the Communist

The most significant case prior to the communist coup d'état in February 1948 was the so-called "Slovak plot" fabricated by the VIIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission staff in the summer and autumn of 1947. Its key objective was discrediting the Democratic Party, when the Democrats were to be proved to be carrying out "anti-state" activities and having links to the Hlinka's Party exiles. It was a coordinated operation by the security forces, the Communist Party and partisans; its proloque was the exposing of the Anton Meltzer and accomplices in Žilina, which comprised several quite independent groups. It was given publicity with the goal creating the feeling that a widespread Hlinka's Party underground existed in Slovakia. Several days after that the state security announced the detention

Rudolf Komandera, Hlinka's Party exile messenger, who was forced to lie about maintaining connections with Ján Kempný and Miloš Bugár, at the time both secretaries general of the Democratic Party. Finally, the third part of this broad fabrication was the revelation of Otto Obuch who worked for the then Vice-Prime Minister Ján Ursíny, and maintained written contacts with Ferdinand Durčanský, a Hlinka's Party politician in exile. Extensive security police action was then used by Slovak and Czechoslovak Communist Party representatives who managed to convince the Czech political parties of Democratic Party links with anti-Czechoslovak exiles, and together they forced the Democratic Party to withdraw from the positions they had acquired based on the results of the 1946 elections.





Party point of view. They selected, isolated or arrested those members of the Police who were considered unreliable by the communists. In addition, Sedmík ordered that uniformed police corps members be subordinated to the state security. They occupied key buildings (e.g. a Post Office) and searched the Democratic Party Secretariat, and its premises. Staff from the VIIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission also participated in the work of the so called "action committees" that were in charge of the take-over of offices and enterprises by communists. After the successful putsch, they also took part in the so called "cleansing", i.e. firing those who were considered unreliable by the Communist Party. It is interesting that whereas there was almost no problem with establishing action committees in many offices, in the VIIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission it went from bad to worse owing to poor personal relations. Key in this internal fight were Teodor Baláž and Matej Bél groups. The clash of views commenced with efforts to "sack" the wife-to-be of Baláž, who was then working in the office. Mutual allegations of criminal activities and fights resulted in the writing of anonymous as well signed reports with denunciations delivered to the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, in February and early March 1948. The situation calmed down temporarily once the party leaders stepped in.



Confidants have always been an important element and work tool for both the police and the secret service. The existence and quality of a network of agents was considered to be a key precondition for the successful operation of the State Security. In 1945 - 1948, there were two categories of its collaborators - agents and confidants. The key difference was that while agents reported in consideration of payments, confidants acted based on their convictions. In 1945 and 1946, they were registered in the same way as in the past; a list only was prepared, without any special files. Their reports were filed and after a file was closed, everything was put ad acta. A change came only after the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission issued its Decree N°6886/46 of 1st December 1946, which unfortunately, had not been preserved and therefore, it is not

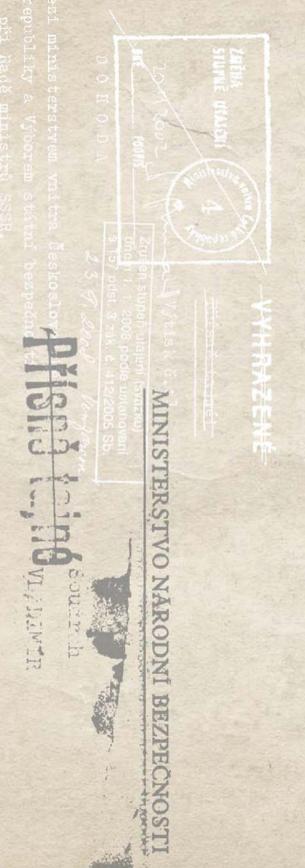
quite clear what changes it introduced. However, we have directives regarding collaborators issued by leaders of the VIIth Unit of the Ministry of the Interior in 1947, valid also for Slovakia, once recruited, each collaborator should be checked for at least six up to 12 months, and should be called an informer by then. A collaborator, once checked and verified, was to be called a confidant (in cases of ideological motives for cooperation) or an agent (financial motivation). Central registration of confidants and agents, cheaters and provocateurs was maintained with the VIIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission. The distinction between agents and confidants applied also according to directives issued in 1948, although these also defined one new element - a safe house, i.e. a place where "the control body" was meeting the confidant, and reports were given.



Gustáv Husák, the Commissioner for Internal Affairs, and later also the Chairman of the Board of Commissioners, who significantly affected the shape of security machinery in Slovakia, at the end of the 1940s. The security officials consulted him directly regarding the fabrication of the so called anti-state plot Source: ČTK

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Specimen of a collaborator record sheet Source: ABS



MIOSAPT do vl. rutou

ZRUŠEN STUPEN

The Era of TERROR 1948-1953



If we evaluate the activities and operations of the State Security in Slovakia from 1948 until 1953, it is obvious, that to a certain extent, it continues the same way as in the past. However, at the end of this period, a severe personnel discontinuity can be observed. The State Security was perceived – it also perceived itself – as the "fighter against reaction", and a safeguard of the Communist Party's monopoly of power, for which most of the credit needs to be given to the State Security. It fulfilled this task mainly by spreading terror within society; the preparation of show trials was a very significant feature of State Security operation, in this period. These were determined by the fight against secret services of the Western powers or other countries, the hunt for their collaborators and interventions against potential regime opponents, mainly within the classes mostly affected by the regime. The State Security contributed quite significantly to the so-called "agent-mania" very often present then, which meant a constant search for spies and saboteurs. If an illegal unit was uncovered, State Security staff often fabricated a broad "conspiracy" around it; usually it comprised dozens, or even, in certain cases, hundreds of people. In its operations, the State Security staff also used provocations they either established illegal networks or initiated criminal activities. There were also several moves made against Communist Party leaders, Na 🌬 during this period. Thus, the State Security became the creator of huge trials that were supposed to show the perfidiousness of the enemies of socialism, and the threats jeopardising the regime, as well as to frighten opponents and demonstrate power.

On 2nd April 1948, Viktor Sedmík stated: "...it is the Hlinka's Party followers, the Democratic Party and the clergy, who are the major advocates of domestic reaction. Today, everything coming from the West represents foreign reaction"

The communist putsch meant that Czechoslovakia ended heavily anchored in the Soviet bloc. The communists soon managed to stabilise their absolute power, although, formally, nothing changed in the country. The National Front comprised several political parties, although these were already "restructured", and thus willing to create the impression of plurality within the regime of communism. Laws were still approved by parliament, although behind the impression and glitz of democracy all decisions were taken at the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee (political bureau) meetings. The growing cold war between Western democracies and the Soviet bloc, intensive intelligence



Czechoslovak communists led by Klement Gottwald successfully completed a putsch in February 1948, and took over the power in the state Source: TASR*

* Transl. note: Slovak Press Agency activities on both sides, newly established resistance groups, the clash between the USSR and Yugoslavia, the presence of Soviet advisers and many other factors only emphasised the importance of the State Security for the Communist dictatorship. The security forces in Slovakia were influenced also by the removal of competences assigned to local Slovak authorities and bodies. Early in March 1948, Minister of the Interior Václav Nosek called a meeting into Prague to discuss the issue of the shape of the future security forces in Czechoslovakia. All security forces leaders in Slovakia travelled to the capital, namely Daniel Okáli the new Internal Affairs Commissioner, Rudolf Viktorin, Jozef Ilčík and Viktor Sedmík representing the State Security and Intelligence forces, and František Lipka and Jozef Vražda representing the uniformed and criminal police corps. Václav Nosek, the Minister, emphasised the need to introduce a unified and strictly centralised National Security Corps organisation and structure, at an early stage.

Soon after that, further meetings were held focusing on specific security agenda. The leaders of state security and secret service forces in Slovakia (Jozef Ilčík, Viktor Sedmík) and their partners from the Czech part of the Republic (Jindřich Veselý, Jan Hora, Ivo Milén, Karel Černý and Josef Hříbek) agreed on the

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USTREONY ORGAN KOMUNISTICKEJ STRANY SLOVENSKA

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V najbližších hodinách očakáva sa doplnenie uového SP podľa zásad, ako bola ustanovená vláda

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At a Braildine



MOR KLEWENT COTTWALD

prism vyirhené kelputérom z rík vyšle druhé misoszádna vydanie Prav

Prezident Republiky prijal demisju odslúpivších ministrov a menoval novú vládu - Složenie vlády: KSC 8 ministrov, KSS 3, soc. dem. 3, nár. soc. 2, DS 1, Strana slobody 1, dvaja ministri bez stranníckej príslušnosti - Súdruh Vilo Siroký, Zápotocký a Laušman podpredsedami vlády

Akčný výbor DS

V jeho mene prehaveril pplk. M. Polák

Tesne pred uzávlerkou prichádza správa, še za stroetl akčný výbor DS, ktorý bede sdrutovať tých členov a pracovníkov DS, ktorí asaklásia s rôvratňou a hazadárskou požitkou dotražileho vedenta DS na čele a Dr. Letirichou. V mena sklubo výboru DS prohovuril v apčných hedinách d[©]cuklanu pplie ži. Polsik.

Nové vedenie peňažných ústavov

Národná správa v Tatra banke, Slovenskej banke a SRVP

Národná správa v Tatra banke, Slovenskej banke a SRVP
Poverenik Dr. Pili, ktorý vedie dožana Poverenictve linancit,
ymnosoval dosa národná spárvý do najvážich slovenských pedadných ústavov Tatra banky a SSV venskej banky.
Národná správy si menospati a osvodčených národohospodárov,
verných ľudovodem kratickému režima a lebo priehospalkov nalej
bospodárskej požitky. Dielo nové národné správy naže pedadnictvo skudožen anirodnia, aby albižno celému nákmu hospodárstva
a nášmu ľadu.
Došeran boly hanky znárodnení len na papieti ale vedené boly
v starom kapitalitickom duchu.
Clenovia národných papie vš st tiesa
Tatra bankar predsida Inč. Samuel Takaž, podpredseda: Dr.
Pavel Kaží že lik. členoviar Zžaloh Nem člik, Ivan Tvarožek,
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Thomes, členovias Miloš Hružavský, Josef Biskup, Vojteck Rejl.
Dasa bola sostavená sj národ-l demokratická medietolní pásody.

Istek Rejl.

Dase bola sortavred sj národ
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Je to důležiší udalosť v živola
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Tresine stinanie Ursinyho a Dr. Josku

Parlament poli odaný o zbevenie ich imunity

(d) — Ako dradke oznamie vembri minetičko roku v dradovni
Poverentictvo sparvojlivovati, kláši oša z Zilina.

Státne zastopitelstvo v Treoline poda
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SODE VILLAW STRONT

Sostavenie novej vlády:

Predosda vlády Klement Gottvald (KSC) podpredosdovia vlády Villam Siroké (KSS), Bohmel Laciman (soc. dem.), Autos Zapotocky (1970), Etát. tajomnik Ministerstva zahraničia Dr. Vladimir Clementia, minister advantia Dr. villamentia, predostava pakraničia Dr. Vladimir Clementia, minister advantia do

idd. Labranik Manisterstva zahraničia Dr. Vladindr Cirmus (SSC), minister ndrodnei dorany arm. gen. Endovit Svoboda, Ridaya teismin MNO Dr. Jah Servit (DS), minister vnista Videv Nosah (RSC), minister vnista Videv Nosah (RSC), minister vnista Videv Nosah (RSC), minister timanei Dr. Jarenir Dolasaký (RSC), minister timanei Dr. Jarenir Dolasaký (RSC), minister timanei Dr. Jarenir Dolasaký (RSC), minister plottopic Molasako (RSC), minister plottopic Molasako (RSC), minister plottopic plottopic Molasako (RSC), minister plottopic plottopic Molasako (RSC), minister plottopic Molasako (RSC), minister plottopic Molasako (RSC), minister plottopic Molasako (RSC), minister disavotnictva, pider Jonel Pioline (Ildová strana), minister dehnike Dr. Ind. Emil Slechka (pdr. poc.), minister kichtva ped. Dr. Zebenstik Nejedlý (RSC), minister kichtva ped. Dr. Zebenstik Nejedlý (RSC), minister utriláncii Dr. Vevro Srobár (Strana slobody),

welcomed by the Communist Party daily "Pravda"

Putsch was also



Jozef Ilčík was one of the most powerful State Security officers in Slovakia in the 1940s and 1950s. In contrary to his other colleagues, he avoided prison Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

necessity to unify and reinforce the state security and secret service forces, and to sharpen the fight against economic reaction. New agents were supposed to be recruited quickly, but the process had to be very thorough (Jindřich Veselý was proposing these to be recruited mainly from middle management cadres in the Democratic Party, Party of Freedom and former Hlinka's People Party), and technical equipment for the security forces had to be finalised.

Soon after the February events, organisational and personnel changes took place in the Internal Affairs Commission, which also affected the political secret service and State Security unit that was given a new code name (IIIrd Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission), and its organisation changed, too. The unit was split into two groups: group "A" dealt with secret service and state-security tasks, and was in turn split into the respective divisions of politics, defence and economy related intelligence, state security, research, technical division and an auxiliary unit; group "B" was tasked with general security. After the secret service and state security structures were unified nationally, the intelligence part of the work was emphasised in Slovakia. As of 15th March 1948, a Regional State Security Agency was established in Bratislava led by Jozef Ilčík, with the aim of following the same structure as already existed in the Czech part of the Republic (Regional State Security Agencies were established there, earlier), and matching the statesecurity forces structure and organisation with the administrative division of the country. The Regional State Security Agency in Bratislava comprised five units; the 1st Unit was in charge of internal affairs and administration (secretariat, incoming mail, human resources and cadres, training); the 5th Unit was in fact a filing office and main registry; the 2nd Unit controlled the state-security service in Slovakia, investigated anti-state activities, maintained the register of politically unreliable persons, representatives of churches and religious sects, and emigrants, and also dealt with protection of top state officials and surveillance of politically unreliable people, mainly the Democratic Party representatives; the 3rd Unit was in charge of economic and foreign affairs, including checks of people who applied for a passport; and finally, the 4th Unit dealt with the retribution judiciary that was renewed in March 1948, as well as issues of national, state and civil reliability, and verification of participation in the resistance movement (granting certificates under Act N° 255/19464 Coll.)5. The adoption of a new Act N°286/1948 Coll. on the National Security Corps was an important milestone in its development, as among other things it emphasised unified and centralised security forces.

At the turn of 1948-49, critical restructuring of the state security police corps was carried out. It related to the new administrative split of the country, and also to the changes in security structures within the Prague Ministry of the Interior that took place at the end of 1948. The establishment of "Group I.- Security" on 17th November 1948, and in particular its BA Unit (State Security HQ) and the consequent need to unify the organisation of security forces in

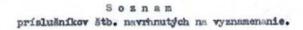
⁴ Transl. note: law concerning members of the Czechoslovak Army and anti-Nazi resistance movement, who were granted many benefits based on a special certificate issued under this law.

⁵ Transl. note: Collection of Slovak law.

Výpis.

Povereníctvo vnútra - odbor štátnej bezpečnosti.

číslo : 1137/0212-1949.



Výnos Povereníctva vnútra odboru BK č. 525-A-BK-sekr./1949 z 3.2.1949.

Poverenictvo vnútra - odbor BA :

Por. čís.	Hodnosts	Meno a priezvisko:	Odôvodnenie:
1.	pplk.	Sedmík Viktor	Navrhovaní sa mimoriadne zaslú-
2.	pplk.	Baláž Teodor	žili o výstavbu ľudovodemokra-
3.	hl.taj.	Mišeje František	tickej Republiky. Od oslobode-
4.	taj.	Hagara František	nia pracujú neúnavne a inicia-
5.	taj.	Cermak Simon	tívne a najmä vo februárových
6.	kpt.	órlík Stefan	udalostiach sa vysoko zaslúžili
7.	kpt. hl.taj.	Paulík Pavol Bél Matej	o zlikvidovanie reakčných a roz- vratných elementov, čím značne
9.	kpt.	Žalman Vladimír	prispeli k napredovaniu k socia-
10.	hl.taj.	Vomáčka Miroslav	lizma pre blaho pracujúceho ľudu.
11.	taj.	Zechar Emil	
12.	kat. adj.	Belanský Ondrej	
13.	ofcl.	Hloža Jozef	
14.	ofcl.	Streula Otto	
15.	hl.ofet.	Cverge-1 Stefan	
16.	akt.elév	Filan Ludovít	
17.	por.	Smolíček Štefa n	
18.	ofcl.	Holobrady Stefan	

Za správnosť výpisu: Bratislava, 25.10.1949.

The list of the State Security members proposed to be awarded a medal for participating in the communist coup d'état Source: ABS

Already prior to the communist putsch, the attitude of the Western powers towards Czechoslovak emigrants began gradually to change, being also influenced by the ever increasing intelligence offensive of the USSR and its satellites. Some, in particular, managed to contact the US, UK and French intelligence services. Thus, the first resistance groups were formed. Let us mention one of the most important groups, namely the group established by Jozef Vicen in Austria. Vicen sent his couriers to Slovakia, e.g. Albert Púčik, who was tasked with collecting intelligence with the help of friends, in particularly focusing on the police, army and industry, but also with acquiring various documents, official forms, seals and stamps, and last but not least, also with selecting other potentially reliable individuals. At that time, this was a very common, and from Western intelligence services' point of view also a very cheap and effective way of communication. The border between the two blocs was not so tight, and often emigrants had left behind many friends in their home country. Nevertheless, the group gradually lost its contacts. Jozef Rojko was arrested in 1948, and soon after

that, in 1949, the State Security also caught Púčik and Anton Tunega who had originally created the network for Púčik, and only recently left the country. The group had too broad contacts, its members acted rather carelessly and its network was mainly built from former anti-resistance reconnaissance units belonging to Hlinka's Youth organisation or cadets who graduated from the so called Hlinka's Youth Higher School for Leaders. All these facts had unwanted consequences for the group. By autumn of 1948, Ján Divinec, Púčik's acquaintance, who was then cooperating with counter-intelligence, had infiltrated the group and the credit goes to him for the group being destroyed early the following year; most of its members were arrested by Czechoslovak State Security Service. Until his kidnapping by the Czechoslovak foreign intelligence service in 1957, Vicen lived in Vienna. Púčik, Tunega and Eduard Tesár, at former employee of the Internal Affairs Commission who provided the group with information from the State Security environment were executed. Dozens of others had to suffer long years in prison.



the Czech part of the Republic and Slovakia, called for further discussions between representatives of the Internal Affairs Commission and the Ministry of the Interior. Internal Affairs Commission representatives lead by Daniel Okáli, the Commissioner, tried to keep the broadest competences possible for them. Nevertheless, the negotiations resulted in a compromise. The Internal Affairs Commission structure was adjusted to follow the Prague pattern, with a so-called "Group I. – Security" also established in Bratislava, split into three units. BK Unit (led by Rudolf Viktorin) coordinated with the Ministry, BA Unit (Viktor Sedmík) was the State Security similar to that in the Ministry, and finally, BC Unit (František Lipka) was in charge of the National Police renamed the so-called "Public Security Service", in 1950. BA Unit within the Internal Affairs Commission









Eduard Tesár, Anton Tunega, Albert Púčik and Jozef Vicen; famous anti-communist resistance members in Slovakia

Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive



Daniel Okáli was appointed the Commissioner for Internal Affairs soon after Ferjenčík resigned from the post Source: TASR

comprised various divisions that continued from the past; namely, there was a political division, a defence-related intelligence division, an economy-related intelligence division, and an executive and implementation division. Also, other units were established to mirror the Ministry of the Interior structure, such as the so called Internal State Security (Teodor Baláž). Some subdivisions corresponded to the structure of the Ministry of Interior, e. g. the so called Small State Security (Matej Bél). The organisational structure adjusted to the new administrative division of Czechoslovakia. Regional State Security HQs - in Slovakia in Bratislava, Nitra, Banská Bystrica, Žilina, Košice and Prešov - mirrored the structure of the State Security HQ in Prague in smaller. Since its foundation in 1949 it was divided into six divisions - defensive, political and economical intelligence, executive, investigation and the so called Small State Security (retribution, examination of behaviour during World War 2, control of press). Since the beginning of year 1951 the internal structure of the Regional State Security HQ split into six divisions: the 1st division (counter-intelligence) comprised four departments (1. – Foreigners from capitalist countries, re-emigrants; 2.- Yugoslavia; 3. - International transport; 4. - Germans, Ukrainians and former Gestapo and Sicherheitsdienst agents). The 2nd division (internal intelligence) comprised five departments: 1. - Trotskyists, bourgeois nationalists and members of reaction parties; 2. - terrorists, illegality, former political parties; 3. - churches and sects, Freemasons; 4. - youth, schools, National Committees, courts, culture, sports and others; 5. - former people⁶, and those who participated in the first and second resistance, rural areas. The 4th division was in fact counter-intelligence and comprised two departments: 1. - Public Security Service and Armed guards of railway facilities; 2. - People's Militia, Prison Guards Association and fire-fighters; 5th division was tasked with surveillance and technical equipment, and last but not least, the 6th division was in charge of investigation. In the middle of year 1951 the structure changed

⁶ Transl. note: See page 30 for further explanation

Vel. STB

KRAJSKÉ VELITEĽSTVO ŠTÁTNEJ BEZPEČNOSTI V BRATISLAVE

Číslo:2772/0212-1951.

Bratislava, dna 29. júna 1951.

Einisterstvo národnej bezpečnosti odbor kádrový a Skolský

Praha.

Návrh na ustanovenie veliteľov oddelení KVštb. Bratislava.

Podávam návrh na ustanovenie za veliteľov oddelení nižeuvedených príslušníkov a to:

- 1. //npor. Jozef Šepela, vykonáva funkciu veliteľa I.oddelenia, > 2.//vrch.strážm. Jún Gábor /13.8.1929/ vykonáva funkciu veliteľa II.oddelenia, >
- >.//vrch.strážm. Vendelín Bielik /25.12.1918/, vykonáva funkciu veliteľa III.oddelenia, >
- 4./Zyrch.strážm. Štefan Gschveng /23.2.1925/ vykonáva funkciu veliteľa IV.oddelenia,>
- 5./por. Vladimír žemlička /1.5.1923/, vykonáva funkciu velitera V.oddelenia,>
- 6./Zpor. Mikuláš Fodor /11.12.1928/, vykonáva funkciu veliteľa VI.oddelenia,>
- 7./ npor. Emil Turčan /28.2.1921/ vykonáva funkciu II. pomocníka krajského veliteľa.

Horeuvedení príslušníci svoje funkcie vykonávajú presne a svedomite pri čom si plne zasluhujú, aby boli menovení kinisterstvom národnej bezpečnosti Praha veliteľmi, nakoľko doteraz boli len poverení vykonávať funkciu veliteľa.

> 10 VII. 1951 C. K-10887-13010-87

krajeký veliteľ štb.:

pplk. Jozef Hčík

hhllevies

The proposal to appoint commanders for the Regional State Security HQ inBratislava Source: ABS

KRAJSKÉ VELITEĽSTVO ŠTÁTNEJ BEZPEČNOSTI V BRATISLAVE

Číslo: 1120-2/0212-1951.

Bratislava, dna 30.apríla 1951.

Ministerstvo národnej bezpečnosti veliteľstvo štátnej bezpečnosti Takné!

Praha.

K číslu A-960/0212-1951 zo dňa 22.februára 1951. Stav KVštb. Bratislava oddělení, VOštb., Oštb. a OFK - hlásenie.

K horecitovanému rozkazu hlásim, že u Krajského veliteľstva štátnej bezpečnosti v Bratislave v čase od 1.apríla do 30.apríla 1951 nastaly tieto zmeny u jednotlivých veliteľov:

U KV-štb. Bratislava bol pozbavený funkcie zástupcu krajského veliteľa štb. <u>Škpt. Šimon Čermák</u>, po nom prevzal funkciu zástupcu krajského veliteľa štb. por. Hrbáček.

Veliteľa kádrového oddelenia bol pozbavený kpt. Imrich Medve po ňom prevzal funkciu veliteľa kádrového oddelenia npor. Štefan Holobradý.

Veliteľa III.oddelenia bol pozbavený funkcie kpt. František Mihalík po nom prevzal funkciu porúčík Štefan Cvergel.

Veliteľa IV.oddelenia bol pozbavený funkcie npor. Ján Križko po nom doteraz funkciu neprevzal nikto.

Veliteľa V.oddelenia bol pozbavený npor. František Hlavatý po ňom funkciu prevzal vrch.strážm. Jozef Bačko.

Veliteľa VI.oddelenia bol pozbavený funkcie kpt. Juraj Dláser po nom prevzal funkciu por. Mikuláš Fodor.

Hlásim, že u VOštb., Oštb. a OPK nenastalo k žiadnej zmene.

Odbor archivní a spisová služby -ZRUŠEN STUPEN UTAJENÍ (SVAZKU) dnem 1. 4. 1999, pokynom IVV č. 6/1999.

Mar. Jan Frelik

1 .. Fa. bo

Krajský veliteľ štb.:
pplk. Jozef Ilčík
mm. Wolsbuly

Changes of commanders of State Security in Bratislava Source: ABS Krajské veliteľstvo štb. Bratislava.

Soznam

Krajského veliteľa štátnej bezpečnosti v Bratislave a všetkých veliteľov Veliteľstiev oddielov štb., Oddiel štb. a Oddielov pasovej kontróly v bratislavskom kraji.

Por. čís.	Označenie veliteľstiev.	Meno a priezvisko.	Hodnos∜.	Od kedy vykonáva funkciu veliteľa.	Poznán- ka.
1.	KV-štb. Bratislava.	Jozef Ilčík.	pplk.	1.januára 1949.	
2.	VO.štb. Trnava.	Jozef Z b í n .	por.	24.októbra 1950.	
3.	VO.štb. Trenčín.	Bohuš Vávro.	por.	ll.septembre 1950.	
4.	VO.ätb. Piešťany.	Ján Mikuš.	vr.strážn.	29.júla 1950.	
5.	O.štb. Malacky.	Juraj Polak.	vr.strážm.	1.februára 1951.	
6.	0.štb. Skalica.	Ľudevit I v á n e k .	ppor.	11.septembra 1950.	
7.	O.štb. Nove Mesto nad Váhom.	Ján Jariab- ka.	ppor.	2.októbra 1950.	
8.	0.štb. Myjava.	Karol Galčík.	vr.strážm.	1.novembra 1949.	
9.	O.štb. Galanta.	Vasil Dupej.	vr.strážm.	15.novembra 1949.	
10,	0.štb. Dunajska Streda.	Jozef Henrich K a á n .	vr.strážm.	1.decembra 1949.	
11.	0.štb. Sered.	Ján Klesnák.	vr.strážm.	6.mája 1949.	1
12.	0.štb. Senec.	Michal Matula.	ml.strážm.	11. septembra 1950.	

List of commanders of State Security in Bratislava Region Source: ABS again – 4th Division was responsible for surveillance and technical equipment. After the dissolution of BA Department of the Internal Affairs Commission the special unit "Jánošík", tasked with the protection of top state officials and certain special tasks, was attached to Regional State Security HQ in Bratislava. State Security corps established in 1949 reported to the respective Regional State Security HQ, and were further divided depending on the importance of the respective district. By the end of 1949, the number of State Security members had doubled from 746 to 1,512. In the following year, the number rose to 1,597 people, despite wide political checks (screenings) and releasing of cadres who had served with the police before 1945. In 1951 there were 1862 people working in State Security in Slovakia. Releasing or relocating experienced police corps members and massive recruitment of new "class-conscious" and often uneducated and inexperienced people resulted in a fall in performance, qualifications and professionalism.

In its early years, the influence of the Communist Party on the security machinery deepened significantly. State Security members openly began to behave as those who enforced the Party's interests. The gradual degradation of the Slovak Communist Party's importance set in, and the major influence shifted to Prague, which was also reflected in the further degradation of the importance of the State Security's leading positions in Slovakia. It suffered further weakening after the diplomatic clash with Yugoslavia and the fight with Tito's followers, and soon, also the fight with Slovak bourgeois nationalists, which brought further disruptions of the links between the security staff and Communist Party leaders. Thus, the State Security units in Slovakia gradually lost direct links to the highest political officials, which began to be exercised more and more by the central units in Prague.



The embassies of Western countries represented espionage centres for the State Security, and so these were constantly under surveillance. Counter-intelligence tried to infiltrate these and acquire information about the activities of embassies and consulates. Therefore, they recruited local people working there to become agents. The State Security in Bratislava paid a lot of attention to the Consulate General of France, which according to the State Security, was used by resistance members in Slovakia to exchange information with exiles. Security staff managed to recruit Karol Šostek and Róbert Sostek who worked at the Consulate,

and through them to access the Consulate's correspondence. The operation code name was MONACO. Early in 1951, the State Security began to arrest members of the ONBRA group, which, according to the State Security, was formed in particular from former WWII resistance movement members. Members of Vladimír Dlouhý group were accused of espionage by the State Security. Vladimír Dlouhý and Vladimír Velecký were sentenced to death in the trial that was held in the summer of 1951, and executed at the end of the same year. Other members of the group were sentenced to many years in prison.

Moreover, the influence of the Soviet secret service on Czechoslovak security machinery grew further during this period. The time had come when, after a period of often unofficial contacts and consultations, Soviet advisers were directly incorporated into the Czechoslovak security machinery early in the 1950s. This was also the time of absolute Soviet influence. In 1949, Lichačev and Makarov, the first two Soviet advisers, were invited to Czechoslovakia. By the end of the same year, there were already 27 advisers installed within the State Security, who were highly specialised (i.e. there was one adviser with each counter-intelligence unit). The importance of Soviet advisers can be proved also by the fact that their leader Vladimír Bojarský, and his successor Aleksej Beschasov, also served as advisers to the National Security Minister.



The State Security members perceived the Soviet advisors as authorities that are not to be questioned. The advisors had access to all information. Their importance is also proved by the fact that a letter for V. Bojarský is addressed to "Comrade Vladimír"

Source: ABS

Even more critical changes than those made in 1949 took place the following year, and were connected with the situation in the Soviet bloc in general. Various campaigns and the fight against "domestic and foreign enemies" underlined the importance of the State Security. Following the pattern in the USSR, and those applied in other Eastern European countries, Czechoslovakia also established the Ministry for National Security in May 1950. The Group I. – Security, became its corner stone, but the Ministry centralised all armed forces, except for the army. All State Security units reported to the State Security HQ, split into six sectors: the 1st sector was counter-intelligence; the 2nd sector was politically related intelligence; the 3nd sector was economy and industry related intelligence; the 4th sector comprised border and prison guards, and People's Militia; the 5th sector was in charge of surveillance and arrests; and finally, the 6th sector was tasked

PROHLÁŠENÍ

- Slibuji, že budu podle svého nejlepšího vědomí a svědomí spolupracovatí na výstavbě socialistické republiky Československé, které chci bezvýhradně sloužití a prohlašuji, že tuto práci budu konatí v duchu programu československé vlády a československých zákonů.
- Jsem si vědom(a) zvlášťní povahy práce, která mi bude svěřena v oboru státní bezpečnosti a která mně ukládá nejen velikou pečlivost při vyřizování mých úkolů, nýbrž také mimořádnou odpovědnost.
- 3. S ohledem na tuto zvláštní práci slibují, že budu zachovávatí bezpodmínečné mlčení o všem, o čem se při vyřizování úkolů mi svěřených dozvím, af již přímo, nebo nepřímo a že též nikomu nic nevyzradím o organisaci a o způsobu služby, která je, nebo bude v oboru státní bezpečnosti zavedena.
- Zavazuji se, že každý mi známý pokus i náznak špionáže, nebo jaký. koliv jiný způsob zpravodajské činnosti, o které bych se dozvěděl(a) při vyřizování svého úkolu v úřadě, nebo i mimo úřad, ihned ohlásím svým představeným.

Beru na vědomí, že porušení těchto mých slibů a závazků bude míti za následek nejen mé okamžité propuštění z úřadu, ale i přísné trestní stihání podle zákona č. 231/48 na ochranu lidově demokratické republiky.

> V Praze dne 1.III.1950. Bratislava

Přednosta odboru nebo jeho zástupce

Magdia Suillerovai

The State Security Forces member oath Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive with investigations. One year later, the sectors were renamed to units, and there were also other structural changes made sometimes, though, just in names. The State Security HQ was renamed the State Security Central Directorate. The State Security Central Unit was split into the units below in April 1952: the Ist unit dealt with the fight against foreign secret service; the IInd unit dealt with the fight with internal reaction; the IIIrd unit was supposed to fight economic and industrial espionage and sabotage; the IVth unit was in charge of technical equipment; Vth unit was tasked with surveillance, arrests, house searches etc.; and finally, unit VI/A was in charge of investigating nationwide cases, and VI/B unit managed investigations led by individual Regional State Security Directorates.

The number of State Security members in Slovakia as of 1st September 1950

Regional State Security HQ Bratislava	692; of which 160 in the "Jánošík" unit
Regional State Security HQ Nitra	188
Regional State Security HQ Košice	239
Regional State Security HQ Banská Bystrica	202
Regional State Security HQ Žilina	201
Regional State Security HQ Prešov	193

Once the Ministry for National Security was established, National Security Corps in Slovakia no longer reported to the Internal Affairs Commission. It only retained the agenda of public administration and the National Committees. However, this situation as well as attempts to control Slovak Regional State Security HQ directly from Prague meant that the status of the Slovak BA unit (State Security) was redundant, or a very problematic one. In April 1950, Viktor Sedmík, the BA Unit Director, was forced to leave and was replaced by Teodor Baláž, who even managed to remove his rival M. Bél, and thus became the most powerful man in the security apparatus in Slovakia – being the deputy of Jozef Pavel, National Security Vice-Minister. Since June 1950, Baláž was in charge of transferring the security service from the Commission to the Ministry for National Security. His competences also included proposals for personnel changes, i.e. he proposed relocating staff members. He prepared the plans for changes together with Oskar Valášek, a security official within the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee. The final decision was taken by the Ministry for National Security. At the end of August 1950, BK, BA and BC Bratislava Units were abolished and all regional security units reported directly to the Ministry for National Security in Prague. Employees of the Internal Affairs Commission were fired or transferred to Regional State Security HQ. Following an agreement between Viliam Široký and Ladislav Kopřiva, Minister for National Security, certain officials were transferred from the Internal Affairs Commission directly to the Ministry of National Security, where they were supposed to work as experts on Slovak issues. No authority was maintained in Slovakia that would control Slovak State Security units. Within

State Security service official card in 1945 Source: ABS

The State Security service was not for everyone Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

Krajské velitelstvo štb. Žilina.



Posudok prijimacej komisie o prijatie uchádzača.

žtetiar Pavel nar.16.4.1922 v Čiernom, okres Čadca, voják v zálohe, ženatý ziví dve detí , robotník, nemajetný.

Poľa štátobezpečnstného vyšetrenia menovaný je členom strany od 16.4.194 je riadne preverený. Plne zúč stnuje sa stranického života pričom je člen nom marx-leninského krušku. Ako úuplne bez majetný je patričnej tirednej uvedomelosti, pričom je tiež značne politický vyspělý. Zúčastnil sa Slov. národného povstania so zbranou v ruke, bol však priebeho povstania Nemcam zajatý a odtraneportovaný do koncentráčného tábora do Nemecka.

Podľa zistenia komisie náboženský neni zatažený. Komisia sa rozhodla menovaného prijať do sboru SNB pre složbu štb.

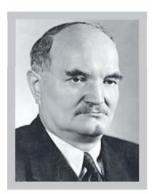
July walny Haded John

Za Kraj.kádrovník. Kraj.polit.tajomník. Predseda komisie.

RAJSKÉ VELTTEUSTVO STATNEJ BEZPECNOSTI V BRATISLÁVĚ. ZDráva o zadržaní a zatknutí

Whatever the animosities existing among State Security staff in Slovakia at this time, they were only those that had continued from the past. The main protagonists were Lt-Col Teodor Baláž, Lt-Col Viktor Sedmík and Maj Matej Bél. Baláž managed to get rid of Bél and send him to a less important position, and once Rudolf Viktorin left, only Sedmík and Baláž, the two main rivals, remained in the BA unit of the State Security. The latter, being supported by Viliam Široký, made common cause with M. Bél and together, they acquired control over the operations' staff. They also managed to cut off Sedmik, the "old cadre"- read former Gendarmerie member - from the flow of information at the Communist Party level. So, Baláž managed to get rid of Sedmík and Bél, but Oskar Valášek, the security officer of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee still stood in his way, and he had very

close contacts with people around M. Bél. Another success of Baláž in gaining the monopoly of power in the State Security in Slovakia came when other opponents from the Police corps were arrested - František Hagara and František Mišeje. The arrest of the Hagara brothers and their subsequent interrogation in Prague, however, also foreshadowed a direct danger for Baláž, just as was the case of his close friends and State Security members Ignác Čapla, Adolf Předák, and Rudolf Lančarič. The latter was later executed. Baláž's fall drew even closer when people were arrested with whom he had very lively contacts, such as Jozef Trojan, former partisan commander, and Šefik Kevič, the Yugoslav consul to Bratislava. The abolition of the BA Unit brought uncertainty for Teodor Baláž, the gradual ending of his State Security service, and finally, the end of his career and imprisonment.



Karol Bacílek, member of the Slovak Communist Party and once also the Minister for National Security Source: National Archive in Prague

the Bratislava Regional State Security HQ, a group of 25 people was maintained, whose task was to complete pending nationwide cases. During this overall operation that took place in the middle of 1950, State Security staff, who had joined the police corps before 1945 were also released from the service. Thus, the State Security definitively became a thoroughly centralised body.

In July 1952, further restructuring of regional State Security units took place. Regional State Security HQs were renamed Regional State Security Directorates, with almost no changes in their internal structure. Counter-intelligence tasks were still carried out by the Ist unit; the IInd unit maintained the political intelligence agenda; the IIIrd unit was still tasked with economy related intelligence; the IVth unit was in charge of technical equipment; the Vth unit dealt with surveillance and arrests; and interrogation remained with the VIth unit. The structure of Regional State Security Directorate copied that of the Central State Security Directorate within the Ministry of National Security. The structure of District State Security Agencies was emerging then, with a State Security Unit established within almost every district. The lowest organisational State Security structures were divided into three levels, depending on their importance. In January 1953, these were

Organisace tujné listovní
censury v rémci KVStb.

Organisace tujné listovní

- 1. Úkolem tajné listovní censury jest získati všechny dosažitelné možnosti kontroly veškerých poštovních zásilek v rámci kraje,hlavně ve styku vnitrostátním a využívati ji k odhulování všech státu nepřátelských a škodlivých živlů,při čemž nutno dbáti v největší míře naprostého utajení této činnosti. Censura poštovních zásilek do i ze zahraničí jest prováděna censurním střediskem Praha a Bratislava. V rámci krajů soustředí se censura zahraničních zásilek pouze na sledovačky.
- 2. Krajské censurní středisko nevystupuje oficielně před úřady neb veřejností, tvoří samostatnou tajnou část KVStb, které povahou své práce doplnuje.
 Censurní činnost provádí v rámci kraje jen KVStb, Složky strahické, vojenské atd. mohou získávati censurní materiál prostřednictvím KVStb, který se s nimi za tímto účelem dohodne na nejlepší formě spolupráce.
 Vedoucího krajského censurního střediska jmenuje velitel KVStb, který schvaluje též i přijetí každého zaměstnance pro krajské censurní středisko.
 Za vybudování krajského censurního střediska jest odpovědný velitel KVStb.
- 7. Veškæré zásadní pokyny a opatření k provádění tajné listovní censury dostávají krajská censurní střediska od Ministerstva vnitra příslušného oddělení které jest kontrolním a nadřízeným orgánem ve věcech tajné listovní censury pro celé území ČSR. Tomuto oddělení musí být zasílána veškerá hlášení vyplývající z censurní činnosti krajských censurních středisek,a to:
 - A) Měsíční pracovní výkaz /viz přiložený vzor/ Š) Měsíční zpráva o činnosti censurního střediska, v níž bude vždy uvedeno hlášení o získaných zkušenostech,o opatřeních,a potřebách krajského censur.

Checking the post, work carried out by the State Security Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

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The picture showing the links between the leaders of the Communist Party and the Ministry of the National Security Source: ABS

Prisne tajne!

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		V.B. Kejarty D.O. 12					

divided again, this time into only two levels, and with the newly established State Security unit in the city of Handlová, there were 89 of them (the State Security Unit in Ilava was transferred to Dubnica nad Váhom, then). The Danube River, being the border river and also an important transportation route connecting Yugoslavia with capitalist countries, required establishing two State Security units in Komárno (in the city and in the port, respectively). Moreover, State Security HQ was planning to establish the "Dunaj⁷" State Security Unit within the Regional State Security HQ in Bratislava, in the spring of 1952. This unit was finally established in May of 1954, and comprised two units plus the Bratislava-port Passport control Department. Its first unit located in the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior "worked" on Czechoslovak Dunajplavba sailors, as well those from other countries who sailed on the Danube River through the territory of Czechoslovakia. Also, the Bratislava-port Passport control Department was established. The second unit located in the city of Komárno, "worked" on sailors from Yugoslavia sailing to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavs living in Komárno and the

Overview of District State Security Divisions as of 1st July 1952

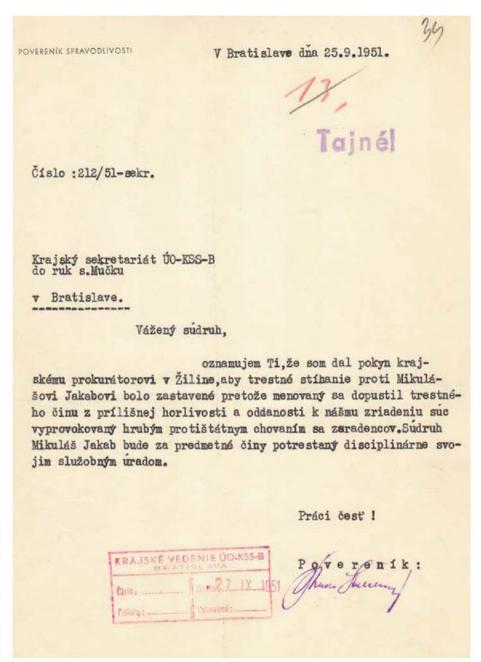
Regional State Security HQ Bratislava	Regional State Security HQ Nitra	Regional State Security HQ Banská Bystrica	Regional State Security HQ Žilina	Regional State Security HQ Košice	Regional State Security HQ Prešov
Trnava	Nové Zámky	Zvolen	Martin	Rožňava	Snina
Trenčín	Topoľčany	Brezno	Ilava	Starý Smokovec	Spišská Stará Ves
Sered	Levice	Lučenec	Liptovský Mikuláš	Spišská Nová Ves	Vranov
Malacky	Partizánske	Banská Štiavnica	Ružomberok	Trebišov	Michalovce
Skalica	Komárno	Rimavská Sobota	Považská Bystrica	Poprad	Bardejov
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Čalovo	Bánovce	Šahy	Čadca	Levoča	Stará Ľubovňa
Dunajská Streda	Prievidza	Krupina	Rajec	Revúca	Stropkov
Galanta	Štúrovo	Svätý Kríž	Turčianske Teplice	Moldava	Svidník
Myjava	Hurbanovo	Nová Baňa	Trstená	Kráľovský Chlmec	Sobrance
Pezinok	Želiezovce	Hnúšťa	Námestovo	Sečovce	Medzilaborce
Piešťany	Šaľa	Poltár	Liptovský Hrádok	Kežmarok	Giraltovce
Senica	Šurany	Šafárikovo	Bytča	Gelnica	Humenné
Senec	Vráble	Fiľakovo	Púchov		Sabinov
Nové Mesto nad Váhom	Zlaté Moravce		Dolný Kubín		
Šamorín	Hlohovec				

⁷ Transl. note: Slovak name for the Danube River.



"Fabrication" of show trials against "the enemies" was one of the State Security principal activities in 1948 – 1953. The investigators used inhuman methods – physical and mental torturing – forcing the accused to learn their testimonies by heart; confessing to have committed the worst crimes Source: TASR





If a State Security
member committed
a crime due to "excess
eagerness and devotion"
to the socialist state,
a disciplinary punishment
was sufficient,
no prosecution
was necessary
Source: ABS

Yugoslav trade representation located in Komárno port. Through its agents, the "Dunaj" unit dealt with illegal border crossing and contacts between foreign sailors and Czechoslovak people (smuggling, illegal border crossing attempts). During its existence, it also participated in "interventions" in Austria, and it even organised kidnapping from this country.



Jaroslav Hrbáček Source: ABS



Ľudovít Filan Source: ABS



Miroslav Vomáčka Source: ABS

Significant organisational changes in 1950 – 1952 meant that a whole generation of State Security commanders in Slovakia was gone. Thus, this period was characterised by many new State Security staff who joined the organisation, and also by the discontinuity of Slovak cadres, as many prominent leaders were arrested, and were replaced by commanders from the Czech part of the country.

Regional State Security HQ Directors in Slovakia, 1949 – 1953

	1 st January 1949 – 19 th October 1951	Jozef Ilčík
Bratislava	18 th September 1949 – 5 th April 1950	Štefan Orlík (acting)
Diatisiava	20 th October 1951 – 4 th March 1953	Jaroslav Hrbáček
	5 th March 1953 – 31 st December 1953	Michal Králka
	1 st January 1949 – 30 th May 1949	Michal Ivanič
Nitra	30 th May 1949 – 19 th April 1950	Ľudovít Filan
INIUI	1 st August 1950 – 13 th November 1951	Ľudovít Filan
	13 th November 1951 – 31 st December 1953	František Červenka
	1 st January 1949 – 20 th January 1949	Pavol Parobek
	10 th February 1949 – 28 th February 1950	František Vidiečan
Banská Bystrica	1st March 1950 – 31st July 1950	Michal Sadloň
	3 rd August 1950 – 12 th October 1951	Miroslav Vomáčka
	13 th October 1951 – 31 st December 1953	František Novák
	1 st January 1949 – 15 th November 1949	Jozef Tomašovič
	15 th November 1949 – 29 th November 1949	Štefan I. Chudík (acting)
Žilina	29 th November 1949 – 28 th February 1950	Michal Sadloň
	1 st March 1950 – 10 th August 1951	Štefan Kubík
	10 th August 1951 – 15 th November 1953	Martin Lipár
	1st January 1949 – 31st July 1950	Jozef Mosorjak
Košice	1 st August 1950 – 4 th March 1953	Jozef Balog
Kosice	5 th March 1953 – 1 st June 1953	Jaroslav Hrbáček
	8 th July 1953 – 31 st December 1953	Martin Benček
	1 st January 1949 – 1 st November 1949	Michal Jankovič
	27 th October 1949 – 3 rd August 1950	Jozef Farkaš
Prešov	3 rd August 1950 – 28 th May 1952	Michal Sadloň
	28 th May 1952 – 19 th June 1952	Jozef Behúň (acting)
	1 st August 1952 – 31 st December 1953	František Tomiška



The beginning of the 1950s brought fabricated trials of regime opponents, and searches for enemies inside the Party itself. Even the security machinery leaders did not manage to avoid being arrested and sentenced. From the Slovak point of view, the most interesting trial was that of the Oskar Valášek and accomplices, which involved Oskar Valášek, security officer of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, as well as other leading State Security representatives in Slovakia - Rudolf Viktorin, Viktor Sedmík, Teodor Baláž, Matej Bél, Šimon Čermák, Mikuláš Horský, Juraj Glazer, Mikuláš Fodor and Martin Kraus. During the so called follow-up process of the trial with communist leaders around Rudolf Slánsky, Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee members, they were tried as Slovak

bourgeois nationalists and Zionist cosmopolitans. Bourgeois nationalists in particular were charged with the unwillingness to conform to the Ministry of the Interior and cooperation with Tito's Yugoslavia. As stipulated in the verdict, the Zionists were pushing the state to conform to the Jewish bourgeoisie and imperialists from the USA. There is a certain irony, as the court also held the State Security officials responsible for violent interrogation methods, smuggling, and many other criminal activities that were actually committed. All members of the group were convicted at the end of 1953 and sentenced to long term of imprisonment. The last ones were released after the amnesty proclaimed in 1960. In 1963, they were all rehabilitated and paid large sums in compensations.

Vzor	č. 2a 0 K
Krycí jměno: Laco Přijmeni: Dudra Jměno: Ladislov za svobodna: 71,03 Datum narození: 21.2.1921 Misto narození Bydliste: Misto zaměstnání: Povolání: uradník Polit. přísl.: Národnost: Stát. přísl.: csl.	Cis. arch. sv. Druh spoluprac.: ageat Datum vázání: 'E Y. 'OSI Otvar: 00-NV Sofarslovo Odbor, oddělení: Jas. felline cal Licing rapis Hálcího orgána
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Example
– filling card from 1951
Source: Nation's Memory
Institute (ÚPN) Archive

Vložka číslo III/2-A.

A. Spolupracevníci agenturní sítě.

Vysvětlivka:

Agent jest cizí slovo. Znamená: jednající, t.j. ten, kdo jedná, resp, je jednáním povořen. Každý z orgánů služby jest vlastně čsl. státně-bezpečnostním agentem. Slovo nemá hanlivého významu. Dnes je, používáno pro označení externích spolupracovníků, t.j. těch, kteří slouží službě bez vnitřního zaměstnaneckého poměru. V užším slova smyslu jest pak agent ten, kdo při tom má důvěru nepřítele.

I.

1/. Agenti :

Agent jest vědomý a i formálně /písemně neb jinou formou/ zavázáný, stálý, a spolehlivý spolupracovník státně-bezpočnostní služby, jenž tajně, podle jejích příkazů, působí v prostředí nepřátelském neb v prostředí, kde se nepřítel soustředuje a jenž požívá jeho důvěry.

- a/ A g e n t /zkratka A/ je agent, který se osvědčil do takové míry, že není již téměř pochybnosti o tom, že splní jakýkoliv příkaz stb služby s naprostou ukázně ností a jedná-li nejen spolehlivě, nýbrž i z vnitřního přesvědčení.
- b/ A g o n t P /zkratka AP/ jest agent, který jedná z jiných pohnutek.
- c/Agęnt-kandidát/zkratka AK/ je vázaný agent jenž není ještě dostatečně vyzkoušený a nemáme dostatečný podklad pro to, že můžeme řící, že se již osvědčil.
- d/AgentP-kandidát/zkratka, AKP/je agontP, jenž noní ještě dostatečně vyzkoušem.

2/. Informátoři:

Jsou vázané osoby, jež pravidelně informují nebo plní tajně příkazy sto služby a jsou touto pravidelně obsluhovány. Nejsou považovány za agenty, poněvadž nepožívají důvěry nepřítele.

Defining the collaborators according to the directives of 1948 Source: ABS

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hodol vo veci vynátrania tajnej kov má nachodiť buď v Šafáriko k menovanámu hneď ma privítal z tom sme sa rozhovorili o tom,sk miestach má sa mehádzať tajná	hoto dňa 3.míja 1951,aby som sa s ním vysielsčky,ktorúnsa podľa jeho pozna ve,alebo v okolí Ochtinej.Keď som pri tým,še prečo tak pozde prichádzame.P o on mohol zistiť,že na horespomínaný
Zo w milanwich zawadach Rich Sant	vysislačka.Informoval ma v tom smysle
č e k ,s ktorým sa on dôvernejš. tosti,keďasá niečo významného v	rikovo bol zamostnaný Josef H r e b í ie poznal. Tento vraj pri každej príle Šaľárikove eleko v jeho okolí stalo
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č e k ,s ktorým sa on dôvernejš. tosti,kedsań niečo významného v hovoril,že už na druhý deň bude rieknutie sa opakovalo 3 krát.V to udelosti a v jednom prípada dávali Rudia pozor a okrem toho ďalších troch Rudí. Vychádzajúc z týchto zpráv dzoval,že tento musí vedieť kde	rikovo bol zamostnaný Jozef H r e b í ie poznal. Tento vraj pri každej príle Šafárikove alebo v jeho okolí stalo o tom hovorit"hlas ameriky ". Tekéto v skutočnosti i hlas Ameriky vysielal vysielal i správu, aby si na s.D u d r uvádzali v tejto sivislosti ešte i m a hovoru Jozefa H r e b í č e k a um je tejná vysielačka. Avšak od vtedy al
č e k ,s ktorým sa on dôvernejš. tosti,keďsaú niečo významného v hovoril,že už na druhý deň bude rieknutie sa opakovalo 3 krát.V to udelosti a v jednom prípada v dávali ľudia pozor a okrem toho ďalších troch ľudí. Vychádzajúc z týchto zpráv dzoval,že tento musí vedieť kde nás volel do Šafárikova asi po s spreneveriac v mäsových závodoch	vysislačka.Informoval ma v tom smysle rikove bol zamostnaný Josef H r e b f ie poznal.Tento vraj pri každej príle Šatžrikove alego v jeho okolí stalo o tom hovorit"hlas ameriky".Tekéto vyskutočnosti i hlas Ameriky vysislal vysislal i správu,aby si na s.D u d r uvádzali v tejto sivislosti ešte i ma a hovoru Jozefa H r e b í č e k a usi je tejná vysislačka.Avšak od vtedy al 3-4 dňoch Jozef H r e b i č e k zmizol h väčšiu sumu penazí a od toho čsou hi
č e k ,s ktorým sa on dôvernejš. tosti,kedsań nieče významného v hovoril,že už na druhý deň bude rieknutie sa opakovalo 3 krát.V to udelesti a v jednom prípada v dávali ľudia pozor a okrem toho ďalších troch ľudí. Vychádzajúc z týchto zpráv dzoval,že tento musí vedieť kda nás volal do Šafárikova asi po i spranavariac v můsových závodocí bíčeka vábec navidieť.	rikovo bol zamostnaný Josef H r e b í ie poznal. Tento vraj pri každej príle Šafárikove alego v jeho okolí stalo o tom hovorit"hlas ameriky ". Takéto v skutočnosti i hlas Ameriky vysielal vysielal i správu, aby si na s.D u d r uvádzali v tejto sivislosti ešte i m a hovoru Jozefa H r e b í č e k a um je tejná vysielačka. Avšak od vtedy al 3-4 dňoch Jozef H r e b i č e k zmiso.

nejaká spojenie s nou, retože svojho času hovrila pred soleginami,že o Ochtinej budú tiež vysielať zo zahraničia.H r i c o v á pochádza

Example – Agency report prepared in 1951 Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

. 2 .

totiž z Ochtinej a býva v Šafárikove u Jána M a h d a 1

2./ ./.

3./ Zprávu podal Ledislav D u d r a ,ktorý už pre tunajšie KVštb. zpravodejský pracoval a odhalil dve skupiny Rudí.

\$:/-fretože spoluprecovník má záujem na tom, aby boli odhalení ľudia , ktorí protištátne precujú a preto že to robí z presvedčenia môže sa zpráva pokladať ze pravdiví.

5./ Spolupracovníkovi boly daná úkoly by sa dostal do spojenia s kolegami Jozefa Hrebička, prostredníctvom ktorých mal zistiť kde sa tento nachádza a ďal j zistiť pohyb a styky Magdy Hričovej.

Between 1948 and 1953, the directive governing State Security collaborators also changed. There, we witness various inconsistencies; real life had led to cases that could not be contemplated in any directive. Also, employees tried to enhance the statistics of their institution' performance; for example, they registered "occasional informers" as regular collaborators. This situation was later reflected in an instruction entitled "How to name security collaborators", issued early in April of 1948, which also included a request to check the registry of collaborators, and a notification for offices to expect "a centralised inventory" of their networks of agents. State Security collaborators (the term agents was not recommended for use, as already then it had pejorative connotations) were split into three principal categories: 1. Confidants and top (first-class) agents; 2. Confidants-candidates, and other agents-candidates; 3. Regular informers. Occasional, random informers and those who were not bound in any way, were not considered as part of the network of agents.

Verified confidants could take over the tasks of the "control body", and lead other State Security collaborators, under certain circumstances, and they could also get a regular salary for these activities. When Regional State Security HQs were established in 1949, new directives were also formulated, entitled "Administrative and operational instructions for Regional State Security HQ". These defined an agent as the highest collaborator category; this person was supposed to be reliable, committed, and trusted in a hostile environment. The difference between an agent and informer was that the latter was not trusted in a hostile environment. Moreover. a new category was introduced -"resident", i.e. a collaborator managing his own network of informers. The year 1950 brought certain changes, when the operational staff also included agents (not many changes in tasks, however), informers (widened scope of activities), residents (besides informers, they could also manage agents), as well as the above mentioned safe house being introduced.



673/



ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ ŠTÁTO BEZPEČNOSTNÁ SLUŽBA



SĽUBUJEM, že z čestných a vlasteneckých pohnútok budem dobrovoľne spolupracovať s československou štáto bezpečnostnou službou k zaisteniu bezpečnosti ľudovo demokratickej republiky Československej.

SĽUBUJEM, že budem presne a svedomite plniť všetky príkazy a pokyny pracovníka československej štáto bezpečnostnej služby, ktorý mi predložil tento sľub k podpisu, alebo osoby, ktorá mi predloží tento mňou podpísaný sľub, prípadne jeho overenú fotokópiu.

SĽUBUJEM, že zachovám v naprostej tajnosti všetko, čo akokoľvek súvisí s mojou spoluprácou s československou štáto bezpečnostnou službou a s úkolami, sverenými mne pracovníkmi tejto služby. Ani svojim najbližším rodinným príslušníkom a osobám, zastávajúcim akúkoľvek politickú, verejnú či štátnu funkciu o tejto svojej činnosti níč nevyzradím.

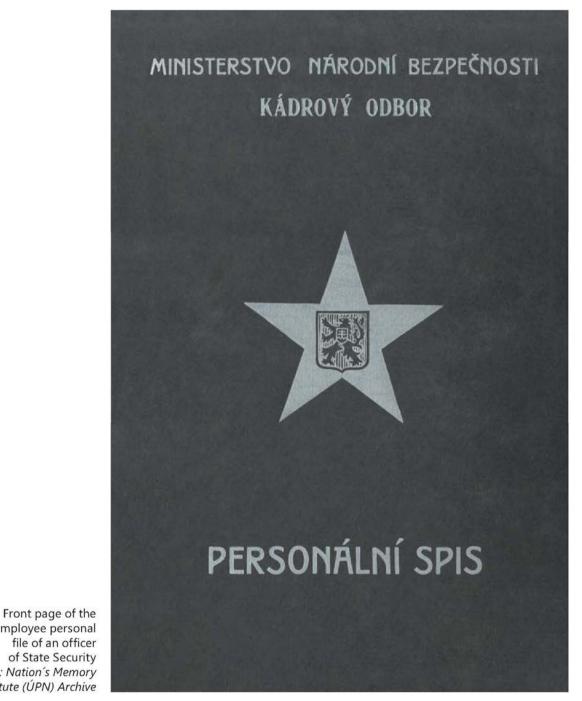
Berem na vedomie, že porušením tohoto sľubu by som spáchal trestný čin, pre ktorý by som bol stíhaný podľa trestných zákonov.

Mama Por. dne 22. Mari 1951

Josef Thalkovsky

Tento sl'ub prijimam:

Example – a commitment of collaboration Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive



employee personal file of an officer of State Security Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

Krajská správa V
BRAT
BRAT

Generálna prokuratúra – Bratislava, Záhradnáteka
Generálna prokuratúra – Praha 14, Nám. hrdinov

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Wratte
Ministerstvo vnitra - Vnitřní správa

Met*odni evidence služebnich knih

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nisterstvo vnitra Praha

Guardian of the REGIME 1953 - 1968



After Klement Gottwald – the president of Czechoslovakia and Chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, died in 1953, Antonín Zápotocký replaced him, became the new president and was elected Chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The new leadership of the Party reflected the USSR ideas regarding secret service activities into the State Security; after Lavrentiy P. Beria was arrested and executed, these underwent substantial changes. The organisation of the political police changed, as did its direction. Its objectives such as the fabrication of huge show trials, spreading terror, arresting the regime opponents and sending them to prison or camps changed, and the control of opposition mainly via a network of collaborators became the priority. The rejection of methods applied under J. V. Stalin's rule at the XXth congress of the USSR Communist Party in February 1956 established conditions for the gradual revision of certain political trials and the rehabilitation of their victims. Interrogations and dismissals of State Security staff responsible for applying "incorrect" work methods between 1948 and 1953 culminated early in the 1960s. Internal chaos within the State Security was caused also by the trial of Antonín Prchal, the former Vice-Minister for National Security, which also involved many investigators. Changes in State Security operations resulted not only from the officially proclaimed "victory of socialism" in Czechoslovakia in 1960, but also from new approaches applied by foreign intelligence services. In some cases, the State Security activities were limited also by the low education and qualifications of its staff. On the other hand, leading positions started to be given to the Moscow KGB school graduates who were to ensure for a higher level of professionalism and efficiency; which, considering the situation in Czechoslovakia then, the State Security service managed to maintain during this whole period. KGB school graduates usually maintained close contacts with Soviet advisers in Czechoslovakia. The Prague KGB office staff participated in the anti-democracy process in 1968, together with their State Security colleagues.

The deaths of both Joseph Stalin and Klement Gottwald also signalled changes in the State Security. For example, the intervention of Karol Bacílek, Minister for National Security in 1953, when he cancelled the much-feared interrogation units (VI/A and VI/B) and and newly established Directorate of State Security Investigation detached from the Main Directorate of State Security. In mid-May 1953, he also intervened, in a very brutal way, against the State Security staff in Bratislava, Žilina and Gottwaldov (Zlín, today) who were making arrests without cause and using physical and mental terror, as well as provocations. Outwardly,



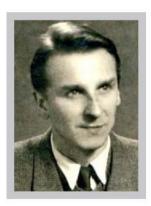
Karol Bacílek, the Minister for National Security, just a puppet in the hands of Soviet advisors Source: TASR

the regime professed to fight against the unlawful activities of the State Security staff, and in particular its junior officers. Nevertheless, these methods were still tolerated; their complete abolition would mean destabilisation of the totalitarian system. The steps taken by Minister Bacílek – who was fully controlled by Soviet advisers – were related to the resolution of relations between the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the State Security, as the latter started to acquire more power in the previous years than its founder, the Party. Thus, the Party leaders, having received the blessing of Moscow, started to prepare major changes in the National Security Ministry, which were directed towards abolition of the body itself, as well as the State Security HQ, and dividing the State Security into several organisational units that would be easier to control and command. The State Security restructuring that followed was accompanied by enhanced political control within the security forces, and eventually the term "State Security" was also used less.

The Czechoslovak Government adopted a decision on 11th September 1953, to merge the Ministry of National Security with the Ministry of the Interior. As a consequence, President Zápotocký appointed the virtually unknown Rudolf Barák as Minister of the Interior. In early October 1953, new structure for the



Rudolf Barák , the Minister of the Interior was expected to better subordinate the State Security to the Communist Party. His name is connected with the completion of the "sovietisation" of the Czechoslovak security forces Source: TASR

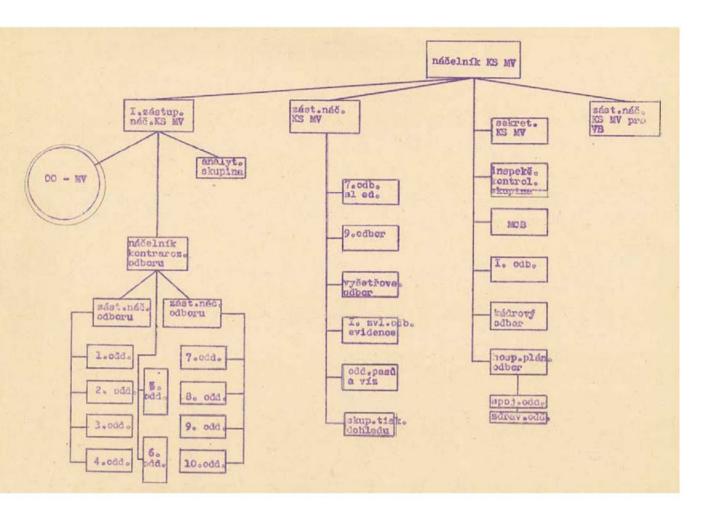


Jaroslav Miller, the Head of Foreign Intelligence for a considerably long-time Source ABS

ministry was introduced, with the State Security internal organisation mirroring the Soviet model. However, almost no changes in the cadres took place. Besides Karol Bacílek, the Minister for National Security, only Stanislav Baudyš, the deputy minister, left the ministry. Oskar Jeleň, Jindřich Kotal, and Antonín Prchal, other deputy ministers, kept their roles. Prchal, who was then 30, was promoted and appointed to the new position of the first deputy minister of the interior. Karel Košťál, who used to work with the State Security Investigation Directorate, a recent graduate from the Moscow MGB School, was appointed a member of the new Ministry management. The minister and his three deputy ministers (except for Jindřich Kotal) were responsible for individual State Security Units that continued to be led by the proved State Security staff. Only Bohumil

Central State Security units and their Heads (as of 1st October 1953)

IS Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior	
I* Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (Secret Service)	Head : Lt-Col Jaroslav Miller
II nd Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (Counter-intelligence)	Head : Maj Vladimír Matoušek
III rd Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (Political counter-intelligence)	Head : Maj František Svoboda
IV th Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (Economy related counter-intelligence)	Head : Maj Jiří Rybín
V th Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (Counter-intelligence related to transport and communications)	Head : 1st Lt Ludvík Fiala
VI th Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (Military counter-intelligence)	Head : Lt-Col Josef Stavinoha
VII th Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (Surveillance and reports about interest individuals)	Head : Maj Antonín Kavan
VIII th Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (Protection of the Party and Government leaders)	Head : Col Karel Klíma
IX th Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (Technical equipment and devices)	Head : Lt-Col Karel Smíšek
Investigation Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior	Head : Lt-Col Milan Moučka
I st special unit of the Ministry of the Interior (Operative records and registry)	Head : mjr. Václav Jiras
II nd special unit of the Ministry of the Interior (Correspondence check)	Head : Capt. JUDr. Milan Doležal
III rd special unit of the Ministry of the Interior (Passports and visa)	Head : Maj Josef Linart
V th special unit of the Ministry of the Interior (Eastern emigration)	Head : 1 st Lt Jan Vlček
III rd department of the Ministry of the Interior (codes)	Head: 1 st Lt Rudolf Váňa



The structure of the Regional Administration of the Ministry of the Interior Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

Doubek, the former head of the State Security Investigation Unit, left the State Security management; he was held responsible for brutal interrogation methods and torturing of both actual and putative communist regime opponents and enemies.

At the turn of 1953 – 1954, organisational changes took place also in regional State Security units. The Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior led by Rudolf Barák proposed to the Political Bureau to merge the then Regional State Security Directorate, Regional Public Security Service Directorate and Regional Unit of Correctional Facilities and establish one security force from these: the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. Its mission and key objectives were defined as follows: "The task of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior will be the operational fight against agents from imperialist intelligence services, as well as internal enemies. It will be tasked to protect the public order and safety of people within the region, to ensure that the principles of socialist co-existence of people are observed, to protect the state and cooperative



Josef Houska, the Head of the Regional Administration of the Ministry of the Interior for a considerably long-time, Bratislava Source: ABS

ownership, as well individual property of people, and to control public and road transportation within the respective region. Moreover, it will fight against criminals, mainly economic saboteurs, diversionists and those who violate public order. It will control and operate prisons, guard these properly, organise work and jobs for prisoners, and take care of their re-education". The definition of the mission of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior expressed the merger of the three so far separate security forces, and it also implied the dominant position of the State Security, as its units remained to be hidden within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior structure as the latter's units and departments. This new organisation of regional security structure was approved by the Secretariat of the Czechoslovak Communist Party on 9th November 1953. Early in 1954, new Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior was established in the cities of Bratislava, Nitra, Žilina, Banská Bystrica, Prešov and Košice. After restructuring, District units of the Ministry of the Interior became the lowest organisational level, where the so called operation groups were located. Like the central level, this organisational structure of the State Security was maintained until the mid-60s, with only minor changes and adjustments.

Number of operational staff within respective units of the Regional Directorates of the Ministry of the Interior (1954)

Bratislava	669
Nitra	228
Banská Bystrica	232
Žilina	349
Košice	409
Prešov	217
Together	2,104

The Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior had an almost identical structure with the central State Security units, which were hidden in a secret and quite complex structure of the Ministry of the Interior. Individual units within Regional Directorate had equal focus as units and departments of the Ministry in Prague, which provided the methodology and controlled their work (for example, the IIIrd Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior was responsible for the activities of IIIrd Directorate within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior). Military counter-intelligence was the only exception, as its territorial units located within the respective Regional Military Directorate reported directly to the HQ, and the Directorate for protection of Party and Government leaders, with only one external unit – the VIIIth unit – located with the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava. When the

State Security within the Internal Affairs Commission was abolished in the middle of 1950, Slovak State Security units were managed directly from Prague by the National Security Ministry or the Interior Ministry, as it was renamed later (1950-1953). The absence of a Slovak security HQ was to a certain extent substituted by the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava. Its specific status was determined by Bratislava being the centre of Slovakia, as there were embassies and consulates of foreign countries located there, as well as representations of foreign trade and commercial companies, and many other institutions, while foreign journalists and tourists also came to the city, which had a very lively social and cultural life. Moreover, the Bratislava Region had a common direct border with a capitalist country - Austria. Therefore, the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior was tasked with more work, its organisational structure was wider, and it comprised more operational staff. Its head was usually a Czech State Security officer trusted both by the Prague ministry and the Soviet secret service. In 1958, the Ministry management considered strengthening the competences assigned to the head of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava, and enhancing his powers at least to the level of deputy minister - the Deputy Minister for Slovak Security forces. Nevertheless, these considerations never went any further.

The Secret service was in charge of intelligence, espionage and counterintelligence activities abroad. It was formed soon after the end of WWII as a relatively small unit. It was only in the era when Rudolf Barák was appointed the minister of the interior (1953-1961), that the secret service expanded and became professional. Its headquarters was located in Prague, and since the mid-50s, there were secret service units located in regional cities, as well secret service offices abroad - the so called "residenturas". Members of the so-called "legal residenturas" used the cover of diplomatic posts at embassies, Travel agents, Czechoslovak Airlines, Czechoslovak Press Agency staff and staff of exportoriented enterprises, for their intelligence activities. The secret service formed an autonomous element within the State Security organisational structure almost throughout its existence; it had its own records and operational archive, and its head reported directly to the Minister for Interior. In order to strengthen the espionage activities against capitalist countries that had numerous foreign secret service centres (in particular the USA, the UK, France and Germany), and also to better utilise the existing possibilities for selecting and sending staff abroad, secret service units were established within selected areas of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior on 19th November 1954. In Slovakia, these were established in Bratislava and Košice, and since April 1955, the Ist units within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior were also established in Nitra, Banská Bystrica, Žilina and Prešov. Organisationally, these reported directly to the head of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior, but as regards their specialised activities, they reported directly to the head of the Czechoslovak secret service. Secret service units within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior focused in particular on selecting and searching for potential secret collaborators who could have possibilities

Ministeratvo vnitra I. správa CJ:A/1-001067/22-57.

V Praze dne 19. srpna 1957.

Přísně tajné

Ministru vnitra s. Barákovi.

Vážený soudruhu ministře !

Z Vašeho příkazu předkládám Vám návrh na provedení akce " Ú D E R ", jejíž provedení bylo již Vámi předběžně schváleno.

danám případě jedná se o provedení Vnosu. E Rom to Micha Goras) The Movedame ikaca ka schuiteri narnhu.

Příloha : 1 návrh

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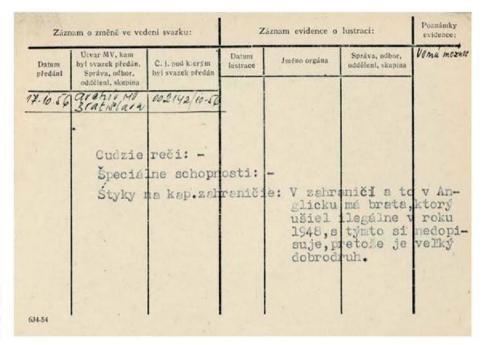
During the Minister Barák era, the Czechoslovak Secret Service became also famous for kidnapping. These activities were usually approved also by the Party leaders. This document is Barák's approval of kidnapping of Imrich Sucký from Austria. Handwritten note proves the consent of Antonín Novotný, the Czechoslovak Communist Party leader Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

The Czechoslovak secret service focused not only on fulfilling the Czechoslovak Communist Party's objectives; there were other tasks it performed that had no meaning for the country, but served the Soviet Union's power politics. The secret service also used so-called active measures: these were secret operations that were supposed to influence the positions and acts of individuals, groups of people and also the general public in the host country in favour of the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia and other communist bloc countries. Active measures such as spreading disinformation, publishing compromising documents, starting riots or demonstrations - to mention only a few - were supposed to weaken or confuse the foreign opponents. However, the Czechoslovak secret service did not hesitate to use "active measures" such as sabotage, kidnapping and murders. One example involves the active measures used in the operation codenamed SEPARATIST, focused on weakening the activities of Jozef Mikuš, a Czechoslovak emigrant and official of the Slovak National Council Operating Abroad. The secret service sent him a letter from the USA in 1958, in the name of a

"Czechoslovak emigrant", who told him about being in contact with the "Gabčík and accomplices" that had killed Matúš Černák, a politician and diplomat, and also František Hrušovský, director of the Slovak Institute in Cleveland, adding that this group were also planning to assassinate him and therefore advising him to stop working for the Slovak National Council Operating Abroad and to move somewhere else. The secret service evaluated this operation successful as after being delivered the letter, Mikuš retired from all his activities. Nevertheless, the most brutal methods used by the State Security were the kidnapping and murder of unwanted persons. On 5th July 1955, a bomb exploded in a post office in Munich when a package was opened, killing Matúš Černák, a politician and diplomat and chairman of the German office of the Slovak National Council Operating Abroad. Two other people were killed and 13 injured during this terrorist act that was most likely prepared by the Czechoslovak State Security. It was just a coincidence that Franz Karmasin, a friend of Černák and the former "Volksgruppenführer" of Slovak Germans, escaped the death during this act.

to penetrate into secret services, government institutions, exile organisations and scientific and research institutions, as well as other facilities of intelligence interest. They established illegal channels for sending agents to Germany, Austria and other Western countries, and uncovered, controlled and liquidated those used by foreign intelligence services on the territory of Czechoslovakia.

Following the new reorganisation, there were four separate Directorates of the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior that were tasked with defence-related intelligence – counter-intelligence, political intelligence, economy-related counter-intelligence and transport and communication related counter-



Example – filling card of 1956 Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

intelligence. Counter-intelligence (IInd Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior) was to stop the penetration of capitalistic intelligence services into Czechoslovakia and to uncover their spies among foreigners who were issued visas to travel to Czechoslovakia, as well among Czechoslovak citizens. Counter-intelligence staff activities were quite broad; they focused on revealing the links used by foreign secret services to contact their members and "agencies" in Czechoslovakia, and monitored embassies of enemy countries, their employees and also "ordinary people" who contacted them and were suspected of espionage. They also worked on political emigrants from Yugoslavia, Greece, Spain and Italy, and the surveillance of family members and friends of refugees who were suspected of cooperating with the so-called capitalist secret services. Counter-intelligence staff monitored and liquidated actual and also putative espionage networks in Czechoslovakia established by agents of foreign secret services. They watched people from Germany, uncovered Nazi networks, members and confidants of the Gestapo, Sicherheitsdienst and Abwehr, but they also tried to monitor those who had had any contacts with foreign secret services (e.g. during WWII). All these people were considered potential collaborators with hostile secret services. Moreover, they watched cross-border transport (Czechoslovak Elbe-Odra and Danube sailors, train personnel), and were in charge of passport departments in Czechoslovakia. Their attention focused also on telephone and telegraph connections, electricity and gas utilities connected with foreign countries. Counter-intelligence also acquired information from the premises of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Diplomatic Corps Administration and Services, the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute, and from foreigners within

An operation codenamed "JEDL'A8" was an example of a successful fight of the State Security in Bratislava against foreign secret services; the State Security even summarised its course and conclusions in a training material for its new staff. In December 1961, the State Security, during systematic checks of correspondence, found a letter to Austria containing a secret message of military character. State Security staff did not stop this letter and early in 1962, they intercepted another one. Based on the acquired information and graphology expertise they knew that it had something to do with a person from Bratislava, middle aged and of average education, who had travelled abroad in 1961, and very likely was asked to cooperate. The State Security therefore was scanned those who had travelled to Austria in 1961 and excluded young or elderly people. The rest they checked against their registry of suspects of espionage and also in general public records, comparing their handwriting with the signature on the residence permit, and found out that the letter was written by František Siller from the Pravda Printing House. Having found that, the State Security continued to search for the source of information, periodicity of sending, and also, other individuals involved, trying to uncover the secret service they worked for, and how they were managed and contacted. The State Security found out that in 1957, during

a family visit to Vienna, F. Siller met Rudolf Kryštofy, who they knew about in connection with the acquisition or selection of people from Czechoslovakia for espionage activities for foreign secret services. Four years after that, Kryštofy introduced Siller to a person called Jozef Nemec, on record with the State Security as an agent of the Bundesnachrichtendienst - the West-German intelligence service. J. Nemec proposed cooperation to Siller, requesting military-related information, and he agreed. From September of 1961 until July 1962, he delivered 20 letters to an undercover address in Vienna with coded messages, describing general and publicly available information with almost zero value to the West-German secret service. In May 1962, another Austrian joined the game – M. Weihrauch, who was also contacted by J. Nemec. Weihrauch worked as driver for a certain Austrian company and transported fuel oil from Slovnaft, Bratislava, and was supposed to contact Siller while in Czechoslovakia, and bring his written messages. This is how Siller got his last two messages to Vienna. By then, the State Security was already around pulling their strings, and in July 1962, they detained F. Siller and his wife, and five days later also M. Wiehrauch. Siller and Weihrauch were convicted of espionage and sentenced to 12 years and six years imprisonment, respectively. F. Siller's wife was sent to prison for two years for not reporting criminal activity.

⁸ Transl. note: a fir tree.

1/ Stručný popis skcie "JEDÍA" :

V akcii "JEDĬA" ide o špiona Františke ŠILIERA, nášho občana, robotníckeho pôvodu, v minulosti organizovaného v soc. dem. strane, od r. 1947 člena KSS, jeho manželku Štefániu rod. Horníkovu a Martina WEIHRAUCHA, rakúskeho štátneho občana, národnosti nemeckej, šofera, ktorý robil spojku medzi ŠILLEROM a riadiacim orgánom ŠILIERA, vystupujúcim pod menom Jozef NEMEC, bytom vo Viedni.

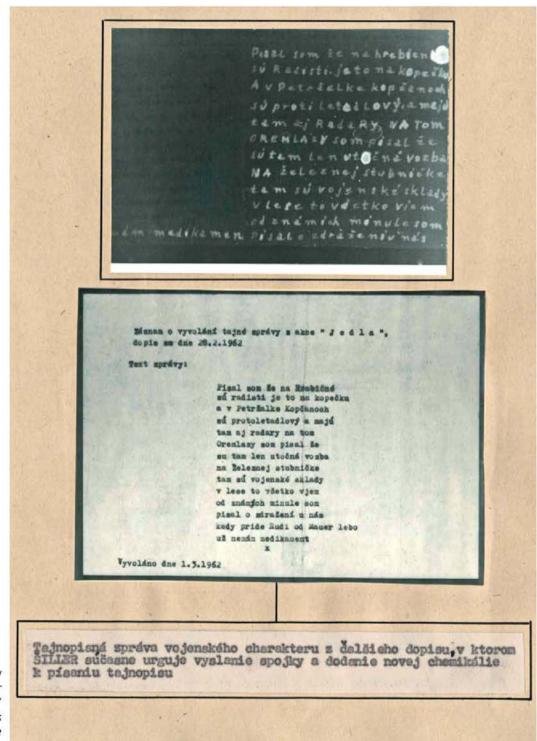
Podnetom ŠILLERA k zaviszeniu sa k spolupráci s nepristeľskou rozviedkou a k špionážnej činnosti bola jeho snaha touto činnosťou sa obohacovať, viesť náklednejší život a pod. Jeho trestná činnosť nasvedčuje však aj tomu, že nemal kladný pomer k socialistickému zriadeniu, nakoľko i keď bol členom KSS, nikdy sa aktívne v prospech politiky strany nezapájal a neprejavoval.

SILIER zoznémil sa už v r. 1957 s vízovým cudzincom Rudolfom KRIŠTOFYM v Bratislave, kam tento chodil s turistickými zájazdami, za účelom prevádzania čierneho obchodu a odviedy s ním udržoval v ČSSR časté styky až do roku 1959. V tomto roku boli cesty KRIŠTOFYMU do ČSSR pre jeho šmelinársku činnosť a pre podozrenie z prevádzania trestnej činnosti voči ČSSR - zakazané. Styk ŠILLERA s KRIŠTOFYM sa uskutočnil taktiež v r. 1958 priamo vo Viedni, kde bol ŠILLER na súkromnej návšteve u svojej tety Psulíny PANTLITSKOVEJ. Potom až do zaistenia udržoval ŠILLER spojenie s KRIŠTOFYM prostredníctvom pošty ako aj cestou rakúskeho štátneho prílušníka, lekára BUKEŠA, ktorý vlastným autom navštevoval svojich známych v ČSSR.

V auguste 1961 bol ŠILLER znovu na súkromnej návšteve u svojej tety vo Viedni. Pričiel opäť do styku s KRIŠTOFYM, ktorý ho napojil na agenta nepriateľskej rozviedky Jozefa NENCA a tento ŠILLERA po niekoľkých stretnutiach spolu s istým "FRANTIŠKOM" zaverboval pre čpionážnu činnosť proti ČSSR a vyškolil v písaní tajnopisných zpráv. Tým sa tiež

The State Security documents for operation "JEDĽA" Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

ODPIS 782 WY	Druh TELEGRAM Dodacie čis	Císlo výpravné
ODP		Vypravený
9 15	SILLER FRANTISEK MOLOTOVOVA 34	
9 153 7	BRATISLAVA =	
Advant Grad — Poded 6	ned Cislo Počet slov Deli Hodis 80 28/25 15 1120 =	Służobné údaje - dopravná cest
12017111017271	00 10/13/ 13/ 1100	
709 C. (H-1849)		
	The state of the s	
Telegram ktorým	KRIŠTOFY pod lesendou onemoc	nenia ŠILLEROVE
Telegram, ktorým tety zve SILLER, cajného risdite	KRIŠTOFY pod legendou onemoci š do Viedne.Na telegrame je v letva vo Viedni	nenia ŠILLEROVE Idiet učest Pol



The State Security documents for operation "JEDĽA" Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive



The State Security documents for operation "JEDĽA" Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

the World Peace Council and the foreign broadcasting services of Czechoslovak Radio. The staff of this State Security unit had their own prison and investigation unit. Moreover, they also worked outside Czechoslovakia; for example, from 1953 until 1963, staff from the IInd Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior worked in Berlin, officially as Czechoslovak Press Agency employees. They maintained

In 1960, the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Košice prepared an operation against a Frenchman André Kirchberger and Ladislav Motla from Czechoslovakia, under the operation cover name LIN. This also proves how individual units within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior cooperated. A. Kirchberger came to Slovakia in July 1960, as a tourist. The State Security (IInd unit) acquired the very first information about him from the thorough screening of visa tourists coming to the country. Once in Czechoslovakia, he contacted L. Motla, and according to the State Security "was interested in information about the reloading station in Čierna nad Tisou, transportation of various materials on railways, building a crude oil pipeline, electrification of the railway, etc." These issues were dealt by the Vth Directorate specialising in counterintelligence related to the protection of transportation and communications. The State Security evaluated the 26-year old Frenchman interest in transportation issues as espionage; L. Motl who provided the information committed a criminal act of revealing a state secret, under the socialist laws. The case was immediately taken over by the Prague counter-intelligence HQ (the IInd Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior). A. Kirchberger was arrested, confessed committing

a crime, and was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. However, this was not the end of his story. While in prison, Czechoslovak counterintelligence contacted him in April 1963, and asked him to cooperate with them covertly. Later, in September 1963, they handed him over to the Czechoslovak secret service to control him further. In the same year, the State Security exchanged him for a member of the Czechoslovak secret service detained in France for operating illegally. Using the cover name SEINE, Kirchberger was supposed to acquire information about the French secret service and its plans against the CSSR, on behalf of the State Security. Four years later, the State Security tried to direct him to acquire information about the activities of the USA and Germany against Czechoslovakia, in meetings that took place in Leningrad and Moscow. The State Security staff gradually became convinced that Kirchberger continued to further cooperate with the French secret service and was only playing tricky games with them. Therefore, the State Security did not sent their representatives (using the period terminology - "no staffing in the meeting asked by an agent") to meetings held in Germany in 1967, in Bulgaria in 1968, Cuba in 1969 and the USSR in 1970, and finally closed down the operation completely in 1971.



contacts with the East-Germany secret police, managed a network of agents and acquired information about hostile secret services, as well as set up their dirty tricks and covert operations.

In Slovakia, counter-intelligence tasks were performed by units and departments of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. Activities of foreign secret services in Czechoslovakia were uncovered by the IInd unit of the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior; its staff "worked" on foreign diplomats, journalists, students and also "visa foreigners" (tourists, members of cultural and sport delegations, representatives of foreign trade companies, technicians and relatives of people from Czechoslovakia). Moreover, they also focused on emigrants from Czechoslovakia, and since 1960 also on the representatives of Ukrainian exiles in Europe and the USA. State Security in Slovakia also "worked" on the General Consulates of Austria and Yugoslavia. Automatically, consulate employees were suspected of hostile activities against Czechoslovakia, and consulate buildings were considered to be the locations of foreign secret services. The State Security also paid attention to Czechoslovak people who contacted employees of these institutions. To acquire information, the State Security used technical devices and equipment, secret agents, checked correspondence, and also used so-called open sources (public mass-media), official contacts, and the Diplomatic Corps Administration and Services, which was established to ensure the material needs of representative offices and their employees, following the Government proposal of 10th April 1951. The State Security controlled the Diplomatic Corps Administration and Services completely, via secret agents and mainly its own staff whom it legalised in the top positions. Special State Security units also monitored the movements of foreign diplomats (including those working in Prague) and "visa tourists" in Slovakia.

Political counter-intelligence (the IIIrd Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior) focused on the "internal enemy" - putative and actual communist regime opponents and monitored the general public in Czechoslovakia for their opinions, religion, political membership or race. Political counter-intelligence staff "worked" on people who, according to communist doctrines, could be included into certain hostile ideology categories. Most often, these were Trotskyists (in particular those criticising Stalin-type methods), Zionists (this term involved Jews often regardless of political opinions), bourgeois nationalists (this term covered in particular Slovak communists), members of former "reaction" political parties (mainly those from the previous regimes), "right-wing" social democrats (here, one should mainly see those who criticised the full and unreserved subordination of social democracy to communists), and also "opponents hiding" in the National Front parties, Freemasons and representatives of previous political regimes - in particular those who had positions during the Hlinka's Party regime. Particular attention was paid to representatives of churches and sects. Political counter-intelligence uncovered anti-communist activities among young people, students, in the trade unions and the armed forces (except for the Czechoslovak People's Army), in the physical education sector, culture, health care, the judiciary and people's administration. It also revealed members

SLUŽOBNÁ PRÍSAHA

podľa vyhlášky ministra vnútra č. 35/1961 Sb. o služobnej prísahe prislušníkov bezpečnostných sborov ministerstva vnútra

Ja, občan Československej socialistickej republiky, prisahám vernosť svojej vlasti, prezidentovi, vláde a všetkému pracujúcemu ľudu, vedenému Komunistickou stranou Československa.

Sľubujem, že budem vždy statočným, čestným a ukázneným príslušníkom bezpečnostného sboru ministerstva vnútra, že budem záchovávať štátne a služobné tajomstvo a neustále zdokonal'ovať svoje politické a odborné vedomosti. Všetky úkoly uložené zákonmi, predpismi a rozkazmi budem plniť dôsledne a iniciatívne. Prísne budem strážit socialistickú zákonnosť, chrániť výsledky socialistického budovania, životy a zdravie občanov, verejný poriadok, majetok ľudu a socialistické vymoženosti pracujúcich.

Prisahám, že budem vždy rozhodne bojovať proti nepriateľom svojej vlasti, nepriateľom Sovietského sväzu i ostatných socialistických štátov.

Sľubujem, že som pripravený vynaložiť všetky svoje schopnosti a nasadiť i život v boji za záujmy Československej socialistickej republiky, za víťazstvo mieru a komunismu.

TAK PRISAHÁM!

· Thosician the trumost the

Potvrdzujem, že táto prísaha bola vykonaná v mojej prítomnosti.

podpis náčelníka súčasti MV

Service oath of the State Security members in 1961 Source: Nation's Memory Institute (UPN) Archive

MV c. skl. 64s



Přísně tajné!

Výtisk č. 480

MINISTRA VNITRA

Ročník 1964

V Praze dne 17. února 1964

Císlo 10

Existeno podle RMV 23/1961

Evidování nepřátelských osob.

V souvislosti s plněním úkolů XI. sjezdu KSČ – likvidovat všechny pokusy o narušování našeho budovatelského úsilí nepřátelskými živly z řad poražené buržoazie – byl vydán RMV č. 1/1959 o rozpracování, pozorování a evidování tzv. "bývalých lidí". Tento rozkaz vycházel z objektivního hodnocení politicko-ekonomické a operativní situace v ČSSR.

Výsledky dosažené v boji proti trestné činnosti býv. představitelů vykořisfovatelských tříd a ostatní buržoazie potvrzují, že jejich nepřátelská činnost proti socialistickému státnímu zřízení je nebezpečná a vyžaduje bdělosti bezpečnostních orgánů. Nenávist k socialistickému státnímu zřízení u mnoha z nich dosud trvá a v důsledku současné mezinárodně politické situace a některých vnitřních hospodářských potíží ČSSR je ještě zvyšována.

V poslední době nabývá boj proti těmto osobám zvláštní důležitosti. Zahraniční nepřátelé se v souvislosti se změnou forem boje proti ČSSR na provádění politické i ideologické diverze orientují především na zbytky vykořisfovatelských tříd a za jejich pomoci se snaží vněst do řad pracujících rozkol, narušit jednotu mezi Čechy a Slováky, jednotu se Sovětským svazem a celým socialistickým táborem. Nepřátelská činnost těchto osob je nejen podporována, ale v řadě případů i vyvolávána zestleným bojem zahraničních nepřátel proti socialistickému táboru. Rozbor nepřátelské činnosti těchto osob mj. potvrzuje, že jsou hlavními šiřítelí nepřátelských ideologií. Rovněž z těchto důvodů je nutné vést i nadále evidenci těchto osob, avšak podle kvalitativnějších hledisek, které řeší nové směrnice.

Při pinění RMV č. 1/1959 došlo vedle kladných výsledků i k některým závažným nedostatkům:

 Evidence těchto osob nevyjadřovala výchovný proces s člověkem, neboť evidování bylo provádeno jen na podkladě jejich třídního původu a bývalé politické příslušnosti, bez ohledu na to, že u mnoha z nich neexistovaly žádné poznatky o nepřátelské činnosti.

- V praktickém provádění rozkazu se projevil i nepolitický všeobecný přístup k lidem, bez nutné diferenciace. Tím se stalo, že evidence nebyla živá.
- 3. Tzv. "býv. lidé" byli pojati jáko ucelená báze, kterou je nutno jednotně evidovat a jednotně rozpracovávat nebo kontrolovat. Operatívní práce byla zaměřována nikoliv na vyhledávání a postihování skutečné nepřátelské činnosti tam, kde opravdu existuje, nýbrž jako dlouholeté rozpracování a pozorování celé báze tzv. "býv. lidí".
- 4. Projevovala se nízká úroveň řídící, výchovné a organizátorské práce náčelníků. Důsledky tohoto stavu se pak projevovaly ve slabé řídící a výchovné práci s agenturou. Tím docházelo k porušování nových směrnic o agenturně operativní práci.
- Z těchto důvodů evidence tzv. "býv. lidi" neodpovídá současným úkolům a potřebám ministerstva vnitra a je nutné ji přebudovat.
- K jednotnému postupu a správnému zaměření práce bezpečnostních orgánů na tomto úseku vydávám v příloze tohoto rozkazu nové "Směrnice k evidování nepřátelských osob" a jejich účinnost stanovím dnem vydání rozkazu.

K tomu nařízují:

- Nahradit pojem "býv. lidé", který nevystihuje podstatu zaměření v bezpečnostní práci mezi těmíto osobami, pojmem "nepřátelské osoby". Toto nové označení vyjadřuje politickou podstatu těchto živlů a dává orientaci v práci bezpečnostních orgánů při postihu vnitřní reakce, neboť tyto osoby tvoří její základ.
- Do konce roku 1964 přehodnotit dosavadní evidenci a provést zařazení nepřátelských osob do evidence "B" podle kategorii, uvedených ve "Směrnicích k evidování nepřátelských osob".
- 3. Z dosavadní evidence tzv. "BL" bez výjimky vyřadit všechny členy KSČ a serlózní závadové materiály předat příslušným stranickým orgánům. Ostatní materiály zničit, Členové KSČ nesmí být do nové evidence nepřátelských osob zařazování. Toto se netýká osob rozpracovávaných v některých z druhů operativních svazků.

The order of the Minister of the Interior regarding registration of the so called enemy individuals Source: ABS

2	RMV &	10/1984
1		
	Zbývající část dosavadní evidence tzv. "BĽ" a) ponechat na operativních skupinách OO-	práci na úseku nepřátelských osob a zaj tit důsledné plnění tohoto rozkazu a "Smi
	MV; b) u KS-MV předat podle bází kontraroz- vědnému odboru, jako pomůcky k agen- turně operativní kontrole těchto osob po jednotlivých bázích;	nic k evidování nepřátelských osob". 4. Náčelníkům krajských správ MV svolat poradu náčelníků OO-MV po jednot vých KS-MV a projednat další úkoly v stihu nepřátelských osob.
9	c) u osob bez státobezpečnostního zájmu provést skartaci těchto materiálů podle služebního předpisu MV-adm-I-5 "Vyřa- zování písemnosti".	 Náčelníkovi I. zvláštního odboru MV zajistit technické provedení tohoto rozka při přebudování a vedení nové evidence statistických přehledů.
1.	ládám: I. náměstku MV plk. Kudrnovi projednat zajištění tohoto rozkazu na spo- lečně poradě náčelníků krajských správ	 Náčelníkovi kontrolně inspekčního odbo MV ve spolupráci s náčelníkem kontrart vědné správy MV provádět kontrolu plnění tohoto rozkazu do 1. září 1964 předložit zprávu o jeho plr
2. 1	Náměstku ministra vnitra plk. Zárubovi připravit vlastní opatření po linií VB v sou- ladu se směrnicemi.	ní vedení kontrarozvědné správy MV. Dnem účinnosti směrnic zrušují čl. 1 RN č. 1/1959 a jím vydanou přílohu "Instrukce evidenci »bývalých lidí« a jiných osob, neb- pečných lidově demokratickému zřízení".
	Náčelníkovi kontrarozvědné správy MV řídit a kontrolovat agenturně operativní	čj. OS-0040/02-64.
Obd	irži:	LUBOMÍR ŠTROUGAL v. r.
	ministr vnitra, náměstci ministra vnitra, operativní součásti	
	centrály MV, KS-MV, OO-MV.	
	Zázr	am:
S 1	rozkazem a se směrnicemi byli seznámeni (dne – ký	m):
Op	atření učiněná k provedení rozkazu a směrnic:	
Ko	ntrolou pověřen:	
Zri	ušeni čl. 1 RMV č. 1/1959 a přilohy vyznačil:	<u> </u>
		E
Da	tum: Podpis	náčelníka:



Despite the brutal persecutions in the fifties, the Roman-Catholic Church remained one of the principal enemies of the communist regime, even early in the sixties. In 1961 the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Košice carried out the so-called "FAKULTA9" operation, in which 16 monks were arrested. Innocent meetings of members of a group that focused on the youth and Christian society were labelled as anti-state activity by the State Security; according to the State Security, they mutually confirmed and re-confirmed themselves in their hostility against the communist regime, criticised political situation in the CSSR and expected it to change.

Moreover, these people were supposed to have links with the Vatican, where they were sending information about the Roman-Catholic Church's situation, as well the overall political and economic situation in the country. Provincial Vojtech Bošanský was said to be the head of the group, according to the State Security, and was accused of preparations to establish a secret leadership for the Roman-Catholic Church that would coordinate and control the overall secret activities of the Church. Later, in his trial, Bošanský was sentenced to 14 years in prison, and many other members of the group received sentences of long-term imprisonment.

of putative and actual sabotage and terrorist groups, writers and publishers of anti-state documents. Thus, surveillance, records and operational work on the internal enemy was carried out by the IIIrd unit within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior, in Slovakia. Persecution touched almost everyone in the country. This fact can be also proved by an order regarding work, surveillance and registration of "the former people" issued early in January of 1959 by Rudolf Barák, the Minister for the Interior. This humiliating term was used for a broad range of social classes split to 16 categories; it comprised representatives of the haute (high) bourgeoisie (bankers, businessmen, shareholders), directors of enterprises, the intelligentsia, kulaks and their families, senior officers working for previous regimes, representatives of capitalist industrial enterprises and trading organisations, officials and active members of former fascist and Nazi parties, organisations and associations, senior officials of former political parties and organisations, top officials and very active members of Hlinka's Slovak People Party, Hlinka's Youth, Hlinka's Guards and all members of Paramilitary shock troops of Hlinka's Guards, representatives of churches and sects, representatives of associations and clubs (e.g. the YMCA and Rotary Club, Association of Friends with the USA), representatives of democratic resistance during WWII, people who returned from capitalistic countries and their close relatives, close relatives and friends of emigrants, people convicted for anti-state crimes and recidivists,

⁹ Transl. note: Faculty.



Jozef Buberník, the head of the Investigation
Unit within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior, Bratislava. His name is also connected to physical torturing of detainees
Source: ABS

and also many other people who used to be in possession of quite substantial financial property, in the past. Based on this broad definition of that term, the State Security assumed that there were almost one million of the "former people" living in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s! In 1959, State Security offices registered 47,299 individuals, and in January 1961 as many as 96,085 "former people". In Slovakia, the State Security registered 18,217 people in October 1960, and 1,693 were further worked on.

Economic issues-related counter-intelligence (IVth Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior) was tasked with uncovering "class enemies" within the heavy, light, armaments and food industries, distribution, agriculture, foreign trade, planning, finances and uranium ore mining. It ensured the protection of state secrets in state administration, as well as screening people who were supposed to have access to it. Through its agents, it controlled the state institutions dealing with economic issues (ministries, research institutes, etc.). Transport and communications related counter-intelligence (Vth Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior) focused on "uncovering spies, saboteurs and diversionists" in the sectors of railways, roads, water and air transport. It worked on the Central administration of railway transport, Central administration of state roads, Central administration of tourism, Czechoslovak car repair and warehouse facilities, the Ministry of Communications of the Czechoslovak Republic and its research institutes, telephone exchanges, Spojprojekt¹⁰ and Ruzyn Airport (airport personnel and Czechoslovak Airlines foreign flights). Also, there was military counter-intelligence (VIth Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior) that focused on the units and facilities of the Czechoslovak People's Army, Border Guards and

In 1955, the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava worked on the Jozef Kľačko case, and unmasked a "six member gang of subversive kulak elements" who according to them, "carried out hostile activities in an agricultural cooperative in the village of Plavecký Štvrtok. All members of the group were accused that after they joined the agricultural cooperative, they deliberately sabotaged both vegetable and animal productions, and disrupted the work morale of its members. They had secured the key functions in the agricultural cooperative structure,

among others that of its director, and according to the State Security their aim was to disrupt the cooperative. They were charged with "organising a plot by people living in the village of Plavecký Štvrtok against the municipal authority officials, and the agricultural cooperative, when they requested to have their land returned to them, and thus it was their aim to disrupt the cooperative's integrity". During a public trial at the Regional Court in Bratislava in September 1955, members of the group were sentenced to prison terms ranging from two and a half years up to 11 years.

¹⁰ Transl. note: name of a company, involved in communications.

The number of personnel in central State Security Directorates and changes adopted by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, at the end of 1953

State Security unit	Numbers	Changes in numbers	The Difference
I st Directorate of the Ministry of Interior	382	from 360 to 477	+ 117
II nd Directorate of the Ministry of Interior	202	from 210 to 324	+ 114
III rd Directorate of the Ministry of Interior	166	from 168 to 210	+ 42
IV th Directorate of the Ministry of Interior	160	from 151 to 283	+ 132
V th Directorate of the Ministry of Interior	47	from 34 to 82	+ 48
VI th Directorate of the Ministry of Interior	273	from 365 to 299	- 66
VII th Directorate of the Ministry of Interior	468	from 651 to 755	+ 104
VIII th Directorate of the Ministry of Interior	1301	from 2511 to 1110	- 1401
IX th Directorate of the Ministry of Interior	494	from 678 to 690	+ 12
Investigation Directorate the of Ministry of Interior	109	from 152 to 116	- 36
Ist special unit of the Ministry of Interior	180	from 212 to 208	- 4
II nd special unit of the Ministry of Interior	192	from 268 to 280	+ 12
III rd special unit of the Ministry of Interior	84	from 100 to 90	- 10
V th special unit of the Ministry of Interior	28	from 26 to 44	+ 18
III rd division of the Ministry of Interior	10	from 7 to 12	+ 5
Total	4096	from 5893 to 4980	-913

Internal Guards. Its staff were tasked to uncover the spies of foreign intelligence services and communist regime opponents, as well to protect military state secrets.

Like other examples, the economy-related counter-intelligence belonged to the IVth unit of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. Counter-intelligence protection of water, air and road transportation and communications was the task of the Vth unit of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior, which was abolished in 1959, and its tasks and issues were taken over by the IVth unit of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. Eastern emigration (Ukrainian nationalists, emigrants from the Soviet Union) was dealt with by the 5th unit of Eastern migration, which merged with political counter-intelligence in April 1955. VIIth unit of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior was in charge of surveillance and reports about people of interest, arrests, and house and body searches. The IXth unit of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior dealt with technical equipment and devices, as well as radio broadcasting-related counter-intelligence. Operating records and archives were maintained by the IInd Special Unit. And finally, there was the investigation

Odpis!

KOMUNISTICKÁ STRANA SLOVENSKA Dňa 4.apríla 1956 KRAJSKÝ VÝBOR V BANSKEJ BYSTRICI

Súdr.

Vec: Výpis z uznesenia býra KV KSS - zaslanie.

odd. štátnej administratívy a branné

Krajská správa MV kádrový odbor

127

Banská Bystrica .

Uznesením býra KVKSS v Banskej Bystrici číslo 92 zo dňa 27.marca 1956 boli schválení:

- 1./ Ulický Michal za náčelníka I oboru KS MV
- 2./ Chudý Jozef za náčelníka II odboru SVB.
- 3./ Paučo Ján za náčelníka OO MV Rimavská Sobota
- 4./ Brašo Ján za náčelníka OO MV Brezno
- 5./ Udvardy Štefan za zást.náčelníka 00 MV Banská Štiavnica
- 6./ Buček Blážej za náčelníka 00 MV L čenec
- 7./ Hudec Ján za zástupcu náčelníka 00 MV LUčenec
- 8./ Pepich Jozef za náčelníka OO MV Poltár
- 9./ Lalík Matúš za náčelníka 00 MV Fiľakovo
- 10./ Kopec Imrich za zástupcu náčelníka 00 MV Fiľakovo
- 11./ Šlauka Ján za zástupcu náčelníka 00 MV Hnúšťa
- 12./ Kopper Juraj za zástupcu náčelníka 00 MV Žiar nad Hronom

production:

Prácičesť!

Razítko:

Krajský výbor

komunistickej strany Slovenska

Banská Bystrica

odd.štátnej administratívy a branné

Vedúci II oddelenia:

Holička v.r.

The Communist Party always significantly influenceed the security staffing Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

AKCIA -OBCHOD -sledovanie:



11

Objekt OBCHOD v spoločnosti svojej nevesty, na Malinovskej ul., ako čakejů na zástavke autobusu č.24, 46, 22. V Bratislava čňa 24.7.1974 o 15.00 hod.

0 - Ob.jekt

N - nevesta

Fotil: Prokopenský

Special State Security units were in charge of surveillance of people. Example from an operation that took place in Bratislava Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

unit that belonged to the State Security units within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior, and also the Department for protection of Party and Government officials, in Bratislava.

At the request of operational staff, the surveillance and reporting unit (VIIth Directorate of the Ministry of Interior) followed individuals suspected of hostile activities, diplomats and foreigners, as well employees and the overall activities of foreign representations, and their contacts with people from Czechoslovakia.

Surveillance as part of the operational activities of the State Security aimed to gain or verify information, to be processed further. It was used also to establish the customs, habits. and daily regime of people of interest, when interception devices were installed, during secret searches of houses and other premises, and also to prove the reliability of secret collaborators of the State Security. It was organised, managed and carried out by specialised units. Surveillance was carried out in both "covert" and "overt" modes. Covert surveillance was used to acquire information about the activities of the so-called people of interest, and in observation of selected premises, enterprises or so-called "dead boxes". Overt surveillance was carried out only exceptionally, in particular as a reciprocal measure

against foreign secret services, or as a demonstrative deterrent that was supposed to prevent them from further activities. Various technical devices and equipment were used in surveillance (walkietalkie, radio transmitters and receivers. miniature cameras, hidden film cameras, TV and video techniques, special optical devices, adapted transport vehicles, and others), phone calls were intercepted and recorded, and correspondence was checked. The tools and devices used for surveillance and interception were not supposed to attract attention, and therefore these were thoroughly camouflaged as part of a vehicle, or a baby pram; sometimes they were contained in objects of daily use, such as box of matches, a lighter, a briefcase etc.

"The way of life and behaviour of monitored individuals are found in conspiratorial surveillance, their relations and visited addresses that were not known to the agency are uncovered, and information acquired by the agency is also verified In order to get documentary material, surveillance staff takes pictures of the objects meeting other people, secret deliveries, and visiting certain addresses".

Quotation from a classified order issued by the Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior N° 37/1955 of 7th March 1955; "The issuance of status and instructions about the work of the VIIth Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior and 7th units within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior".

Within the screening process, it also checked the State Security collaborators. Its staff watched the people of interest, while interception devices were installed, and house searches and other technical activities were carried out. Also, preliminary state security examination was carried out (the reports about people of interest), when all relevant information on the individual was collected. Surveillance and reporting unit staff arrested people, carried out house and body searches, monitored flats and also escorted people in special cases. They operated mainly



Obr. č. 1 - Celkový pohled na kočárek KT - 1



Obr. č. 2 - Pohled na umístění TV kamery v košatině kočárku

Special State Security units were in charge of surveillance of people. Example from an operation that took place in Bratislava Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive



Bohuš Vavro Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive



František Garay Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

Heads of the respective Regional Directorates of the Ministry of the Interior in Slovakia, 1954 – 1966

	1st January 1954 – 31st January 1954	Štefan Löhner (acting)
Bratislava	1st February 1954 – 22nd November 1961	Josef Houska
	1st December 1961 – 14th March 1966	Ferdinand Mĺkvy
	1st January 1954 – 31st May 1955	František Novák
	16 th April 1955 – 31 st March 1960	Ján Pobeha
Banská	1st April 1960 – 31st August 1962	Bohuš Vavro
Bystrica	1st September 1962 – 28th February 1963	František Garay (temporarily)
	1st March 1963 – 14th March 1966	Martin Benček
	1st September 1965 – 14th March 1966	Matej Kubš (temporarily)
Košice	1st January 1954 – 28th February 1963	Martin Benček
Kosice	1st March 1963 – 14th March 1963	Ján Majer
Nitra	1st January 1954 – 31st August 1956	František Červenka
IVILIA	15 th August 1956 – 31 st March 1960	Eduard Pafčo
	1st January 1954 – 31st January 1954	Alojz Kocinec (acting)
Žilina	1st February 1954 – 30th April 1955	Bohumil Říha
	16 th April 1955 – 31 st March 1960	Bohuš Vavro
	1st January 1954 – 31st January 1954	František Tomiška (acting)
Prešov	1st February 1955 – 30th September 1955	Vladimír Žemlička
	1st October 1955 – 31st March 1960	Štefan Löhner

in Prague, and only in exceptional cases also fulfilled tasks in other parts of the country, which were usually covered by their colleagues from the same units within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior.

Protection of the president of the republic, Party and Government officials, their offices and home residences, as well as of the Klement Gottwald Mausoleum, was carried out by the VIIIth Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (Protection of the Party leaders and Government top officials). The IXth Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior was in charge of research, development, production and assembly of technical equipment and devices – the Technical Unit, which was also in charge of producing forged documents, and searching for illegal hostile transmitters (radio broadcasting related counter-intelligence), controlled the protection against broadcasting of foreign radio stations in both the Czech and Slovak languages ("enemy broadcasting" in the period language), and protected the government connections. The Investigation Directorate of the Ministry of the

Interior interrogated arrested people. The operational records unit (Ist Special Unit of the Ministry of the Interior) registered the State Security collaborators, as well as the people they worked on, and the individuals who were interrogated. It focused on and processed documents of other operational parts of the Ministry of the Interior; screening in the registers and funds of the operational archives was determined by the needs of the State Security operational bodies. The correspondence checking unit (IInd Special Unit of the Ministry of the Interior) checked post in both directions in relation to the so-called capitalist countries, printed matter sent to Czechoslovakia from abroad, and translations of texts in foreign languages. Also, in Prague, it controlled the so-called internal post. The Passport and visa unit (IIIrd Special Unit of the Ministry of the Interior) registered and screened those who applied for border crossing permits in both directions, and managed passport control units. The Eastern emigration unit (Vth special unit of the Ministry of the Interior) concentrated on the activities of Ukrainian nationalists, Czechs from Volyn and emigrants from the Soviet Union. The Coding Unit (IIIrd Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior) was in charge of coding services, including a non-stop operation of radio and telegraph connection between Ministry of the Interior units and those within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. It also maintained coded connection with Eastern bloc countries in the Russian language. Later on, when rationalisation measures were taken, the Vth Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior merged with political counter-intelligence, and radio-broadcasting related counter-intelligence (Vth Special Unit) and radio defence (VIth Special Unit) became separate units. Only in the mid-1960s did the central state security units of the Ministry of the Interior undergo more significant changes.

The end of the first half of the 1950s meant the beginnings of building the leading cadres; the future State Security units head completed one year of specialised study in the Soviet secret service MGB, later KGB, in Moscow. Then, the Ministry of the Interior selected the right ones from potential candidates, after a very thorough check; the selected candidates usually only had elementary education, came from a working-class background, were members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and had several years of practical experience in working with the State Security. The number of attendees was low, around 30 people; gradually there were five positions allocated for Slovaks. The first round flew to the USSR at the end of December 1952, and the graduates returned in January 1954. They were promoted to the rank of Major (some jumped one or two ranks), and took over the management of State Security units in the HQ, and also within regions. A freshman, 29-year old Maj Josef Houska came to Bratislava; he was wearing a uniform of a senior constable in April 1952. Vladimír Žemlička, aged 30, who was born and grew up in Bratislava but was a Czech after his father, took over the position of head of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Prešov. Other Regional Directorates of the Ministry of the Interior were taken over by heads of the State Security Directorates; Czechs František Červenka in Nitra and František Novák in Banská Bystrica, Slovak Martin Benček in Košice. Another Czech, Bohumil Říha, the former head of the Regional Directorate of the

Slovak Graduates from the MGB/ KGB operational school in Moscow

Bohuš Vavro	Head, III rd Unit of State Security Regional	Academic Year
Pavel Kubis	Directorate , Bratislava Deputy Head, II nd Unit of State Security	1954/1955 Academic Year
Ján Pobeha	Regional Directorate, Nitra Deputy Head, II nd Unit of State Security Regional Directorate, Žilina	1954/1955 Academic Year 1954/1955
Eduard Pafčo	Head, II nd Unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Bratislava	Academic Year 1955/1956
Ján Haščák	Deputy Head, Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Košice	Academic Year 1955/1956
Jozef Buberník	Head, Investigation Unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Bratislava	Academic Year 1955/1956
František Garay	Head, IV th Unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Nitra	Academic Year 1955/1956
Jozef Kuruc	Head, IV th Unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Banská Bystrica	Academic Year 1955/1956
Arnošt Benický	Deputy Head, II nd Unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Žilina	Academic Year 1955/1956
Martin Benček	Head, Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Košice	Academic Year 1956/1957
Ondrej Dovina	Deputy Head, Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Prešov	Academic Year 1956/1957
Michal Kasan	Head, III rd Unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Bratislava	Academic Year 1956/1957
František Šilík	Head, IV th Unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Žilina	Academic Year 1956/1957
Štefan Hubina	Head, Transportation Department, Ministry of the Interior, Košice	Academic Year 1956/1957
Gustáv Tököly	Deputy Head, Transportation Department, Ministry of the Interior, Košice	Academic Year 1957/1958
Jozef Mozola	Deputy Head, Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Bratislava	Academic Year 1957/1958
Adam Supek	Deputy Head, IV th Unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Banská Bystrica	Academic Year 1957/1958
Emil Belan	HeadIII rd unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Nitra	Academic Year 1957/1958
Peter Holinka	Head, II nd Unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Prešov	Academic Year 1957/1958
Demeter Krajňák	Head, III rd Unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Košice	Academic Year 1958/1959
Jozef Koiš	Head, III rd Unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Banská Bystrica	Academic Year 1958/1959
Ján Miklovič	Head, III rd Unit of Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior, Bratislava	Academic Year 1958/1959
Vincent Ožvolda	Head, Military Counter-intelligence unit, Regional Military Directorate, Nitra	Academic Year 1958/1959



o spolupráci mezi ministerstvem vnitra Československé socialistické republiky a Výborem státní bezpečnosti při Radě ministrů SSSR.

Ve snaze sjednotit úsilí v boji proti podvratné činnosti imperialistických států a za účelem koordinace rozvědné a kontrarozvědné činnosti při zajišťování štátní bezpečnosti ČSSR a SSSR se ministerstvo vnitra ČSSR a Výbor státní bezpečnosti SSSR dohodly:

1) na uskutečňování výměny:

- materiálů a informací o nepříteli, které získávají rozvědky obou zemí o otázkách politických, vojenských, hospodářských a vědecko-technických, jakož i o činnosti reakční emigrace;
- operativních a informativních zpráv o formách a metodách činnosti nepřátelských rozvědných a kontrarozvědných centrál a služeb, o příslušnících a agentuře těchto centrál, o kanálech spojení i jiných zpráv, které mohou přispět k zjištění, podchycení nebo likvidaci nepřátelské agentury, působící zvenčí nebo uvnitř obou zemí, jakož i o operativní situaci v zemích, o něž je rozvědný zájem;
- dokumentace a prototypů operativní techniky,
 vyvinutých technickými službami nebo získaných u nepřítele;

The Agreement of the Cooperation between the Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior and the KGB, of 1962 Source: ABS

2) na poskytování vzájemné pomoci:

- při provádění rozvědných opatření směřujících k agenturnímu pronikání do důležitých objektů nepřítele, zejména USA, Německé spolkové republiky a Rakouska, při získávání hodnověrných poznatků o plánech a vojenských přípravách hlavních imperialistických států a jejich agresivních bloků, i důležitých informací o vědecko technických otázkách, jakož i při uskutečňování aktivních opatření zaměřených k odhalení a znemožnění agresivních záměrů imperialistického tábora;
- při uskutečňování kontrarozvědných opatření v zájmu proniknutí do aparátu nepřátelských rozvědek a kontrarozvědek, zejména USA, Německé spolkové republiky a Rakouska, k odhalení, rozpracování a zmaření podvratné činnosti rozvědčíků a nepřátelské agentury, pracující proti zemím socialistického tábora, i při uskutečňování některých speciálních opatření za účelem získání důležitých dokumentů nepřítele;
- při rozpracování a maření činnosti reakčních emigrantských a náboženských centrál i jejich agentury uvnitř našich zemí.

V případech, kdy je to účelné, uskutečňovat společné akce v uvedených směrech.

3) v zájmu koordinace činnosti bezpečnostních orgánů a provádění dohodnutých i společných opatření, jak je uvedeno v bodě 2. této Dohody, jakož i operativního řešení otázek, které vzniknou během spolupráce, i v zájmu zajištění spojení uznalo ministerstvo vnitra ČSSR a Výbor státní bezpečnosti při Radě ministrů SSSR za účelné, aby při ministerstvu vnitra ČSSR byli představitelé Výboru státní bezpečnosti v tomto složení: vedoucí, dva zástupci (jeden pro rozvědku, druhý pro kontrarozvědku), 7 operativních pracovníků a nezbytný počet technických pracovníků.

4) Výdaje na své představitele v ČSSR hradí Výbor státní bezpečnosti při Radě ministrů SSSR.

Ministerstvo vnitra ČSSR všestranně pomáhá představitelům Výboru státní bezpečnosti při Radě ministrů SSSR při plnění úkolů, vyplývajících z této Dohody. Přitom jim poskytuje ubytování, dopravní prostředky a lékařské ošetření.

5) Tato dohoda nabývá platnosti po schválení vládou Československé socialistické republiky a vládou Svazu sovětských socialistických republik.

Ministr vnitra Česko slovenské

socialistické republiky

L. STROUGAL Arougue

Předseda Výboru státní bezpečnosti při Radě

ministra SSSR Decuraduai

V. SEMIČASTNYJ

dne

1.7 1962

The Agreement of the Cooperation between the Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior and the KGB, of 1962 Source: ABS

Overview of Soviet Advisers at the Ministry of the Interior and State Security Units (1957)

Leading adviser	P. N. Medvedev
Deputy for Foreign Intelligence	S. V. Pruďko
Deputy for the Secret service	F. G. Tchernov
Deputy for the Ministry of the Interior Armed Forces	N. M. Malishev
Advisers to the 1st Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (4)	M. M. Antipov, V. Pestov, N. J. Kasiyanov, B. Nalivaiko
Adviser to the II nd Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (2)	V. M. Shigalov, B. V. Teplov
Adviser to the III rd Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (2)	N. Mikulnikov, other post unstaffed at the time
Adviser to the IV th Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (2)	K. I. Romashko, N. Nikolaiev
Adviser to the V th Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior	K. V. Markov
Adviser to the VII th Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (3)	A. A. Tokarev, A. A. Kovalenko, A. J. Bykov (with the Directorate Head)
Adviser to the VIII th Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior	M. M. Fedotov
Adviser to the Ministry of InteriorInvestigation Directorate	P. F. Telnov
Adviser to the Ministry of Interior Special Directorate	Not yet staffed
Adviser to the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior Prague	S. S. Khlopkov
Adviser to the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior Karlove Vary	N. I. Ivanov
Adviser to the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior Plzeň	P. A. Kirsanov
Adviser to the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior Brno	L. V. Kutepov
Adviser to the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior Ostrava	B. K. Pol
Adviser to the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior České Budějovice	I. N. Kuznetsov
Adviser to the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior Bratislava	S. N. Zarubeckiy
Adviser to the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior Žilina	T. N. Zhupikov
Adviser to the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior Košice	V. A. Pimianov
Adviser to the Border Guards	V. F. Labanov, A. S. Lebedev
Adviser to the Internal Guards	N. Mumrikov

Ministry of the Interior in Hradec Králové, took over the Žilina position. Thus, out of the six regional directorates, five were to be managed by the State Security members with Czech nationality. Firstly, this resulted from the Ministry of the Interior and the State Security's top officials continuing distrust of their Slovak colleagues (one should remember that the trial of the representatives of the first State Security leading cadres in Slovakia – O. Valášek and accomplices – was held

"This is an example just to show how we were advised by them (Soviet advisers), and how they taught us to work. We found out that one of the Western secret services wanted to deliver subversive literature to the USSR via the Czechoslovak-Soviet border. We were supposed to manage that. It was decided that the literature should not get to the USSR. Instead, it was supposed to end up in the hands of our collaborator, who was to take it through the border, and be spotted by our National Security Corps - Border unit of the Public Security Service, close to the border. Our collaborator would run away, a police officer would shout "Stop", and when he was not about to stop, they would open fire, but miss. In the meantime, our collaborator would get rid of the package, and a police officer would take it and bring it to the Police Border unit. Then two officers would take a dog and try to track down the collaborator, but would not succeed in tracking him down. We thought that this was ok, the literature would be in our hands, and the collaborator would

still be trusted by the enemies. The steps were thoroughly discussed with the Soviet adviser to the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Košice, Fiodor, The methods to be applied were his idea. The operation was to start the next day. But Fiodor called me at night and told me not to start the operation and to meet him in the office. I asked Fiodor why not follow the agreed steps? He asked me whether our people would be around the border. I said, yes, they have roles to play, so they will. And he answered: "You see, our officer is to fire on the border intruder and will miss, not shooting him dead nor stopping him moving towards the border. And what will the people say? That we have "idiots in our forces who cannot even shoot" - "That is what they will say". So we found a different solution, and it went well. And the good name of the National Security Corps was preserved." Quotation from the memoirs of Ing. Ján Hanuliak, Major General, Deputy Minister of the Interior of the ČSSR, 1971-1979.



in December 1953), and on the other hand, there were only a few capable and verified members. Most State Security leaders had to leave the National Security Corps (ZNB) on account of, for example, being suspected of criminal activities or as part of the cleansing process (rejuvenation of the security machinery, in the parlance of the time), or because of having worked with the security forces in the previous regimes. Slovaks took the leading positions only after their return from the Soviet Union; in the middle of 1955. Ján Pobeha (after completing the course, and being promoted from lieutenant to major) took over the Banská Bystrica Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior, and Bohuš Vavro (promoted from first lieutenant to major) took over Žilina Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. One year later, Eduard Pafčo who also completed the KGB school course, took over the Nitra Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. Since 1956, selected staff of the Czechoslovak Secret service also attended the two-year KGB school course in Moscow. Surveillance courses were

File numbers and number of staff in the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava as of 1st April 1954 (without economic and subordinated parts and Public Security Service, State Security units are marked with "A")



Ján Hanuliak Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

Regional Directorate management 4 A Internal division 14 Sv Inspection of the Head 3 In Unit of cadres 12 K Secretariat of the Slovak Communist Party Unit 2 III'd Special Group 3 Ša "Červená Hviezda¹¹¹" Secretariat 3 RH II¹'d Unit 32 A/2 III¹'d Unit 45 A/3 IV¹¹¹ Unit 40 A/4 V¹¹¹ Unit 14 A/5 St¹¹ Division – Eastern Emigration 8 A/12 VII¹¹¹¹ Unit 97 O IX¹¹¹ Unit 111 A/7 Investigation Unit 37 A/8 Is¹ Special Division 18 A/9 II¹¹¹ Special Division 32 A/10 Archive 5 Ar Correctional facilities division 6 NZ	Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior Bratislava	Staffing	Identification N°
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Unit of cadres Secretariat of the Slovak Communist Party Unit III'd Special Group 3 Ša "Červená Hviezda¹¹" Secretariat 3 RH IInd Unit 45 A/3 IVth Unit 40 A/4 Vth Unit 40 A/4 Vth Unit 5th Division – Eastern Emigration 8 A/12 VIIth Unit 97 O IXth Unit Investigation Unit 13 A/8 Ist Special Division 18 A/9 IInd Special Division 18 A/9 IInd Special Division 32 A/10 Archive 5 Ar Correctional facilities division	Internal division	14	Sv
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IVth Unit 40 A/4 Vth Unit 14 A/5 5th Division – Eastern Emigration 8 A/12 VIIIth Unit 80 A/6 VIIIth Unit 97 O IXth Unit 111 A/7 Investigation Unit 37 A/8 Ist Special Division 18 A/9 IInd Special Division 32 A/10 Archive 5 Ar Correctional facilities division 6 NZ	II nd Unit	32	A/2
Vth Unit 14 A/5 5th Division – Eastern Emigration 8 A/12 VIIIth Unit 80 A/6 VIIIth Unit 97 O IXth Unit 111 A/7 Investigation Unit 37 A/8 Ist Special Division 18 A/9 IInd Special Division 32 A/10 Archive 5 Ar Correctional facilities division 6 NZ	III rd Unit	45	A/3
Sth Division – Eastern Emigration 8 A/12 VIIIth Unit 80 A/6 VIIIth Unit 97 O IXth Unit 111 A/7 Investigation Unit 37 A/8 Ist Special Division 18 A/9 IInd Special Division 32 A/10 Archive 5 Ar Correctional facilities division 6 NZ	IV th Unit	40	A/4
VIIth Unit 80 A/6 VIIIth Unit 97 O IXth Unit 111 A/7 Investigation Unit 37 A/8 Ist Special Division 18 A/9 IInd Special Division 32 A/10 Archive 5 Ar Correctional facilities division 6 NZ	V th Unit	14	A/5
VIIIth Unit 97 O IXth Unit 111 A/7 Investigation Unit 37 A/8 Ist Special Division 18 A/9 IInd Special Division 32 A/10 Archive 5 Ar Correctional facilities division 6 NZ	5 th Division – Eastern Emigration	8	A/12
IXth Unit111A/7Investigation Unit37A/8Ist Special Division18A/9IInd Special Division32A/10Archive5ArCorrectional facilities division6NZ	VII th Unit	80	A/6
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	Archive	5	Ar
Total 566	Correctional facilities division	6	NZ
	Total	566	

¹¹ Transl. note: Red Star.

"We always followed the Soviet experience, also in security issues solutions. The example of the Soviet Union shows us how to build security so that it is always a sharp sword for the dictatorship of the proletariat"

Rudolf Barák, Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior, at a national meeting of Ministry of the Interior Party members and service officers regarding the results of the XIth congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and its conclusions for work in the future, 25th June 1958.

Recruiting and managing the State Security collaborators governed directives on agency and operational performance. According to the directives of April 1954, the State Security network comprised agents, informers, residents and owners of safe houses or rented flats. Agents were ranked the highest in the hierarchy of secret collaborators; they were recruited from those who could penetrate hostile territory and perform tasks set by the State Security, based on compromising documents, for "patriotic motives" or material compensation. Residents were recruited from loyal people who were able to manage a group of informants (five to eight, maximum). Safe houses, where the State Security staff met the checked agency, were complemented by rented flats, which, as opposed to safe houses owned by the Ministry

of the Interior, were provided by civilians based on an agreement with the State Security. Directives in 1962 regarding the agency and operational work of the State Security introduced no changes in the secret cooperation categories. On the other hand, these provided broader formulations for work with an agent, in particular ways of securing and controlling secret collaborators, control of the operational and agency mechanisms, further steps, conspiracy and the end of cooperation. Again, the category of confidant was re-introduced, though this was no longer a secret collaborator - it was a politically mature and highly committed individual who provided information to the operational staff from the state Security areas of interest. These directives remained in effect until 1972.

The number of secret collaborators and safe houses within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Slovakia, in 1955 and 1960

Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior	N° of secret collaborators in 1955	N° of secret collaborators in 1960	N° of safe houses in 1955	N° of safe houses in 1960
Bratislava	1,631	2 672	237	387
Nitra	1,036	3,673	100	307
Banská Bystrica	833	2.922	78	255
Žilina	655	2,922	81	255
Košice	1,006	2,200	90	280
Prešov	865	2,200	49	200
Slovakia	6,026	8,795	671	922
Czechoslovakia	37,906	41,859	3,929	6,208

Potvrdenka.

Potvrdmujem prevzatie čiastky 200.-Kčs,od orgánov MV v Barskej Bystrici za úkoly pre nich plnené a cestovné výlohy.

V Benskej Bystrici dňa 17.februára 1956.

Myn. Hashelv

Podpis odovzdávajúceho:

Danis Juday

Podpis preberajúceho:

SLUŽEBNÍ KNIHY MINISTERSTVA VNITRA

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PŘÍSNĚ TAJNÉ!



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INSTRUKCE

o agenturně operativní evidenci MV

ZRUŠENO RMV i. 24/62

Výtisk č. # = 00922

Vratte
Ministerstvo vnitra - Vnitřní správa

Ústřední evidence služebních knih

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Ministerstvo vnitra Praha

Instructions the State Security followed in recording people (cover page) Source: ABS

Certificate proving that

award was received, signed by the State

Security collaborator Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive studied at a specialised KGB school in Leningrad. Members of the Public Security Service and Border Guards also attended specialised courses of study in the Soviet Union.

Soviet advisers retained their important role in Czechoslovak security after the changes in 1953 – 1954; they were positioned in central and regional State Security units, and also with Border and Internal Guards. The State Security officials consulted them regarding investigation methods, agents and operational work, as well as the implementation of individual security action. After the XXth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, bloody uprising in Hungary and Poland, and also wide anti-Soviet campaign of Yugoslavia in 1956, the approach to further assistance by the advisers began to change. The ongoing process of new leading cadres' formation was becoming more important for the Soviets; they attended specialised KGB schools in the Soviet Union and were gradually taking control over individual security units in Czechoslovakia. Loyalty to the Soviet Union could be expected from these people, and thus keeping the advisers became of less importance. Therefore, in mid-January 1957, the Central Committee of the USSR Communist Party proposed to its partners in socialist countries to withdraw the advisers. It was the opinion of the Soviets that their title itself - Soviet advisers - did not reflecting the tasks they fulfilled, and it could be interpreted as though the Soviet Union was trying to impose its will onto other countries through these advisers. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee

Number of State Security operational units within Regional Directorate and District units of the Ministry of the Interior in Slovakia in April 1960

State Security Unit	Bratislava	B. Bystrica	Košice
Ist Unit	10	6	6
II nd Unit	34	21	19
III rd Unit	46	30	29
IV th Unit	46	32	27
VII th Unit	57	23	34
VIII th Unit	104	-	-
IX th Unit	34	16	17
Investigation Unit	16	12	10
I st Special Division	13	10	8
II nd Special Division	32	18	19
VI th Special Division	32	-	34
District Divisions of Ministry of Interior	147	160	120
Total	571	328	323

of the Czechoslovak Communist Party rejected the proposal and asked its Soviet counterpart to keep their advisers in Czechoslovakia, only accepting reduction in numbers, from 50 to 33 in February 1957; and further down to 18 in October 1958. In Slovakia, they were only located within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava and Košice. Moreover, agreements made at the end of the 1950s reduced their competences dramatically. Responsibility for the State Security management was gradually shifted to the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior. Further cooperation between the KGB and the CSSR Ministry of the Interior was governed by bilateral cooperation agreements; the first was signed on 2nd July 1962 by Lubomír Štrougal, Czechoslovak Minister of Interior, and Vladimír Jefimovitch Semitchastnyj, KGB Director. "In order to unify the efforts in fights against the subversive activities of imperialist countries, and in order to coordinate intelligence and counter-intelligence activities, to ensure the state security of the CSSR and the USSR", both the above institutions agreed (among other things) to exchange intelligence and other information related to the political, economic, military, science, and research sectors, as well as the emigration; operational and information reports about the forms and methods used by foreign secret services, their members and agencies, channels and also other information that could contribute to finding, uncovering and liquidating an enemy agency operating from abroad or inside both countries, as well as details of the operation situation in the countries; documentation and prototypes of technical devices used in secret service-related activities, etc.

The State Security used a broad network of collaborators-civilians, who were the most important and indispensable source of information from the so called environment of interest, or area. The activities of each collaborator were managed and directed by the State Security member, called the "control body". In order to get secret collaborators, the State Security deployed various methods - providing material assistance, financial remuneration and gifts, and possibilities for children of collaborators to study at universities, up to physical pressure and blackmail. Nevertheless, the most valuable secret collaborators were those who did it based on their own convictions and commitments, or for reasons of "idealism" or "patriotism". State Security recruited collaborators from the Czechoslovak people and foreigners as well, from all social classes and professions. At the end of 1955, the State Security registered 37,906 agents, informants and residents, of whom 6,026 were in Slovakia. Five years later the number of its secret collaborators grew to 41,859, and then dropped to 38,987 in 1961. The total number of registered secret collaborators in Slovakia was 8,185 people. The overall level of cooperation with the agency was influenced by the low educational level of its members. Agents who were threatened and forced to cooperate, rejected this, soon, which resulted in a very high fluctuation of secret collaborators. The Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior in Žilina was an example; it recruited 369 secret collaborators in 1955, and at the same time ended cooperation with 330 collaborators for various reasons. Rationalisation of the agency network and focusing on its efficiency resulted in lower number of secret collaborators, who totalled 11,337 people in 1968.



A snapshot taken during the Košice State Security members trip to the High Tatras Source: V. Hanuliak Archive

Change in the administrative division of Czechoslovakia in April 1960, influenced the location and number of territorial State Security units. In Slovakia, the original six regions were changed to three, and the number of districts reduced from 92 to 33. Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior numbers in Czechoslovakia were reduced from 19 to 10, and District Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior numbers fell from 254 to 113. Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior offices were shut in Žilina, Nitra and Prešov; their tasks and staff were transferred to the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava, Banská Bystrica and Košice. Similarly, changes were put in place in the District Directorate of Ministry of the Interior: these affected 11 District Directorate units in Western Slovakia, namely Bratislava-vicinity, Dunajská Streda, Galanta, Komárno, Levice, Nitra, Nové Zámky, Senica, Topoľčany, Trenčín and Trnava; 11 in Central Slovakia, namely Čadca, Dolný Kubín, Liptovský Mikuláš, Lučenec, Martin, Považská Bystrica, Prievidza, Rimavská Sobota, Zvolen, Žiar nad Hronom and Žilina; and nine in Eastern Slovakia, namely Bardejov, Humenné, Košice, Michalovce, Poprad, Prešov, Rožňava, Spišská Nová Ves and Trebišov. Staffing of the State Security in Regional Directorate and District divisions of the Ministry of the Interior fell from 9,435 to 7,688. The number of operational staff was reduced only minimally, the only reductions were due to relocation of staff from function units (i.e. those dealing with the management) to other positions.

The examination of the working methods used by State Security investigators in 1948-1953 concluded early in 1956 (the so-called Barák's Committee). The Czechoslovak Government decided to recall Antonín Prchal and Karol Košťál,

deputy ministers, and to enhance political control at the Ministry of the Interior. The two deputy ministers were replaced by Josef Kudrna and Štefan Demjan, graduates from the Moscow political school. Milan Moučka, deputy head of the Investigation Directorate was replaced by Josef Brůcha, head of the Judiciary unit in the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. Karel Zíka, deputy chairman of the Unit of the Party bodies, trade unions and the youth in the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee was appointed deputy for cadres. Political measures also affected former investigators in Slovakia: František Novák left his position as head of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Banská Bystrica; Jozef Mozola was allowed to begin his studies in the KGB school one year later than planned. Although some State Security staff left their leading positions, they continued work there. The measures mentioned above had still not led to the cleansing of the personnel in the organisation. Nevertheless, casting doubt on political processes caused confusion within the State Security staff mainly owing to fear of being recalled from their positions, arrested and prosecuted.

Only when Rudolf Barák, Minister of the Interior and also Vice-Prime Minister since March 1959, left his posts could, systematic changes commence in the security apparatus. He was very ambitious in his functions; he was very focused, tolerated and in many cases even initiated illegal methods applied by the State Security. Gradually, though, he started to play the role of an unwanted opponent for certain communist officials, in particular for A. Novotný, the President and First Secretary of Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. In June 1961, the decision was taken to recall him from his position of Minister of the Interior. An audit carried out by special inspection teams confirmed the conversion of the funds available for secret service activities (foreign currency equivalent of 924,541 Koruna and 765,000 Kčs¹!) At the end of January 1962, Barák was arrested and expelled from the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and in April 1962 he was sentenced to 15 years in prison for sabotage and misappropriation of socialist ownership. He lost all titles of honour and distinctions, and military rank, and all his property was forfeited. Lubomír Štrougal was appointed the new Minister of the Interior (with the effect from 23rd June 1961). He brought in organisational and personnel changes aimed at making the State Security more efficient and enhanced political control over the Ministry of the Interior. Leading cadres were replaced. By November 1961 Karol Klíma, deputy minister left his post, and Ludvík Hlavačka left in January 1962. Measures against the State Security staff were initiated early in November 1961. With the consent of the Political Bureau of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, Lubomír Štrougal, Minister of the Interior, recalled foreign intelligence director Jaroslav Miller, and the former head of counter-intelligence Vladimír Matoušek. One year later, 41 State Security members had to leave the National Security Corps (ZNB) after being held responsible for applying "illegal" and "incorrect" methods in operational activities. Jaroslav Miller, František Novák and Jozef

¹² Transl. note: Czechoslovak koruna – the currency.

Focus of Counter-intelligence Unit of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior Bratislava (1964 – 1969)

1 st division	USA, National Labour Association (Nacionalno-trudovoj sojuz, social-democracy movement of Russian emigration), Israel, Greece and other capitalist states
2 nd division	UK, Canada, France
3 rd division	foreigners travelling on visa, foreign exchange transactions
4 th division	Germany, Austria
5 th division	culture, education, Slovak Academy of Sciences, foreign students, sport, health care
6 th division	enemies, anti-state leaflets
7 th division	Churches and sects
8 th division	industry, civil engineering, geology, planning, mines and metallurgy
9 th division	chemistry, energy sector, communications, consumption industry, foreign trade
10 th division	agriculture, protection of state secrets
11 th division	transport

Focus of Counter-intelligence Unit of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior Košice (1964 – 1969)

1 st division	USA, NTS, Ukrainian nationalists, Israel
2 nd division	The UK, France, operation Europe (emigrants and re-emigrants from capitalistic countries)
3 rd division	For eigners travelling on visa, diplomats, for eign currency transactions, smuggling $$
4 th division	Germany, Austria
5 th division	Science, culture, education, youth, enemies, former political parties
6 th division	Churches and sects
7 th division	Investments, mines and metallurgy, geological survey
8 th division	Machine industry, chemistry, fuels, consumer industries
9 th division	Transport and communications, agriculture, finances, energy sector
Research and analytical group – analysing activities of enemies within the region	
Department of state secrets protection	



Lubomír Štrougal was appointed the Minister of the Interior after Barák, the ambitious minister was recalled from the post Source: TASR

Mozola returned to civilian life; the latter had been in charge of the interrogation of Slovak bishops in 1950 - 1951. The removal of two colonels, nine lieutenantcolonels, 14 majors, 13 captains and three first lieutenants caused considerable tension among the State Security staff. Their concerns intensified when Antonín Prchal and Karol Košťál, former deputy ministers, were arrested and convicted of causing public danger and breach of their duties as public servants, which they committed during interrogations of communist officials in the first half of the 1950s. Personnel cleansing in the State Security ended in February 1963, when three heads of State Security units within the Ministry of the Interior left; as well as eight out of ten heads of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. In Slovakia, changes in the leadership of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior took place in Banská Bystrica, where Bohuš Vavro was replaced by Martin Benček, former head of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Košice; the latter's position in Košice was taken by Ján Majer, who used to be deputy head of the Public Security Service Central Directorate in Prague.

After all these changes, the reorganisation of central units of the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior started early in 1964. L. Štrougal established the Counter-intelligence Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior that took over the tasks of the existing IInd, IIIrd and IVth Directorate of the ministry, and merged the IXth Directorate and the IInd and Vth Special Units with the Technical Directorate. Various State Security units acquired new code names, which remained until these were abolished in February 1990: Ist Directorate of the Ministry of Interior

- Foreign Intelligence Directorate of the Ministry of Interior, IInd Directorate -Counter-intelligence Directorate of the Ministry of Interior , IIIrd Directorate - Central military counter-intelligence Directorate of the Ministry of Interior, IVth Directorate - Directorate for surveillance and protection of representation offices of capitalist countries of the Ministry of Interior, Vth Directorate - Unit for protection of Party and Government officials of the Ministry of Interior, VIth Directorate - Technical Directorate of the Ministry of Interior. As a result of the revision of political processes, Minister Štrougal abolished the Investigation Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior as of 1st February 1964, and established the State Security Investigation Directorate and the Public Security Service Investigation Directorate. Having created unified counter-intelligence, and with regard to the organisational changes in the State Security HQ, changes also took place within regional units. Early in March 1964 the IInd Unit (external enemy), IIIrd Unit (internal enemy) and IVth Unit (protection of socialist economy) merged into the IInd Unit (counter-intelligence). State Security units within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior also comprised the foreign intelligence (Ist Unit of the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior), State Security Investigation Unit and the Operational archive unit. Moreover, there was the Unit for the Protection of Party and Government officials within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava.

In March 1966, further restructuring of the State security units took place; Josef Kudrna, Minister of the Interior (in post from 1965 until 1968) established the State security Central Directorate, at the central level, which comprised unified counter-intelligence (IInd Directorate), military counter-intelligence (IIIrd Directorate), the Surveillance Directorate (IVth Directorate) and the Ist Special Unit (statistics and registry). At the regional level, the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior were abolished, and the Regional Directorate of National Security Corps was established within each region. New names of regional security directorates reflected their affiliation with the National Security Corps (ZNB). In the new organisational structure, certain State Security Units continued to be hidden as units of the Regional Directorate of National Security Corps (Foreign Intelligence Unit, State Security Investigation Unit, and the Unit for protection of Party and Government officials in Bratislava). Other State Security units were included into the structure as units within the Regional Directorate of National Security Corps. The State Security Directorate comprised counter-intelligence (IInd Unit), the Surveillance Unit (IVth Unit), Technical Unit (VIth Unit), the Statistical and Registry Unit, State Security divisions or groups in districts, and later also passport control departments.

1968 brought many interesting initiatives to further transform the State Security, although these were never implemented. The issues from the past, in particular from the 1950s, ongoing rehabilitations, and the possibility for more open information, at least to a certain extent, revealed the terrible cases related to brutal interrogation methods and provocations by the State Security, almost all through the 1960s. Proposal to cancel the State Security was made in the atmosphere of public criticism of illegalities and unlawfulness that had

KS-ZNB Správa Štátnej bezpečnosti K o š i c e

Dňa 24. 8. 1968

ZÁZNAM

Dňa 24.8.1968 bol som v styku s risditeľom VSS Košice Ing. VELESOM, ktorého som informoval o stanovisku a úlohach komunistov S-ŠtB Košice. Pri informáciách boli prítomní: predseda CZV-ROH, CZV-KSS a vedúci ZÚ. Po vyložení nášho stanoviska boli s tým veľmi spokojní, prejavili úplnú dôveru pracovníkom ŠtB, sľúbili, že o našom stanovisku budú informova vať všetkých zamestnancov závodu a vyzvu týchto k bdelosti a ostražitosti. V závere jednania bol som požiedaný, aby som prišiel medzi ich zamestnancov v pondelok, alebo v utorok /26.-27.8.1968/ a pohovoril s nime o našom stanovisku, a že to prispeje k dôvere pracovníkom ŠtB.

Počas zdržania sa v závode som zistil, že riaditeľ závodu je neoficiálne strážený zamestnancami závodu, je zosilnená ZS pri vchode do závodu. Závod chcú premenovať na závod Alexandra DUBČEKA /doteraz má názov závod Sovietskej armády/, zo strechy závodu bola strhnutá hviezda ZSSR. V celom závode je silná protisovietska nálada.

Poznačil: mjr. lakorčak

The tate Security officer report about the events of August 1968 Source: V. Hanuliak Archive

occurred – the State Security to be controlled by the Government, or to stop activities against the internal enemy. None of the above proposals were actually implemented, eventually. Nevertheless, the liberalisation of the political situation in the country also affected State Security collaborators. In many cases, the easing of the tensions resulted in feelings that collaborators might stop cooperating without any threats of reciprocal measures being applied by the security staff. Therefore, the State Security recorded a reduction of its collaborators by one half – by the end of 1967, there were 11,603 secret collaborators registered by the State Security, and at the end of 1969 their number dropped to only 5,963. Naturally, this fact significantly affected the operational activities of the State Security. In fact, after the Warsaw Pact armies' invasion, some security staff fled, and many problems were recorded with collaborators abroad when they fell silent or refused to cooperate further.

A) Vyšetřovací spis

XII. správa FMV



The Era of NORMALISATION[®] 1969 - 1989

¹³ Transl. note: This is the name commonly given to the period after 1969 in the history of Czechoslovakia, characterised by initial restoration of the firm rule of the Communist Party, removing the reforms and the reformers.



After 1968, in the period of the so-called normalisation, State Security operated as an effective tool for controlling the society. Very shortly after the Soviet invasion, State Security was placed back under the firm control of Communist Party leaders, and helped to strengthen and maintain the leading role of the Communist Party in the society embedded in the Constitution. There was a relationship of informal subordination towards Party functionaries. The Minister of the Interior was subordinated directly to the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, who personally selected a suitable candidate for that post, whereas the state bodies as the government and the parliament did not intervene in the activities of the Ministry of the Interior. State Security was retained the firm support of the regime during the last years before the fall of Communism. The introduction of perestroika and openly anti-regime manifestations emphasised its irrecoverable task from the point of view of regime protection. The main objective of State Security, even up to just before its fall, was to influence, destabilise from the inside and disintegrate social groups that could create political opposition against the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Breaking the fighting power of the 'internal enemy', spreading mistrust among the regime's opponents, breaking contacts with abroad, and discrediting the illegal structures representatives were important tasks. The repressive activities did not stop, as the number of constructed actions in courts against anti-regime activists show. Protection of party interests had always been more important than the protection of the interests of the state, although the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, as a party that identified itself with the state, saw those interests as being identical.

The events of the years 1968 and 1969 significantly influenced the activities of State Security. The Minister Josef Pavel (who had been in his office since April 1968) tried to implement the methods of the so-called 'Socialism with human face' also in the work of the Ministry of the Interior. There was a discussion about the retrieval of mistakes, democratisation, and about reducing both the powers and also the numbers of State Security members. It was proposed to terminate the state security's role in controlling the society. However, that process was stopped by the arrival of the Warsaw Pact armies in Czechoslovakia. The subsequent signing of the Moscow Protocols on August 26th, 1968 indicated a de facto beginning of a period of 'normalisation'. After purges within the Czechoslovak Communist Party, a new party leadership led by Gustáv Husák came to power, leading both the Communist Party and the state, with a guarantee of the loyalty towards the Soviet Union. The occupation of Czechoslovakia meant the negation of the liberalisation and renewal processes. The main objective of



Also the normalisation regime, with Gustáv Husák as the mostly visible person (smiling on the picture), used the State Security services very intensively. The snapshot of the National Security forces top officials visiting the Czechoslovak President and leader of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Source: V. Hanuliak

Archive

the new party leadership was to restore the position of power of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia within the society. Due to the rigidity and inflexibility of the normalisation regime, the period of normalisation is often called 'the time without history'. The regime did everything it could to avoid principal political confrontation with citizens. It strived to meet the unwritten agreement, according to which citizens were asked not to get involved in public issues, and to show silent loyalty, or at least not to manifest any resistance, in order to receive a relatively acceptable standard of living and some social security.

After the occupation of Czechoslovakia and the introduction of 'normalisation', at the end of the 60s and beginning of the 70s, extensive staff purges took also place in the state security sector, and within party structures. Firstly (starting in September 1968), people who had worked on the preparation and implementation of the military intervention in Czechoslovakia went through 'internal proving'. Side by side with political changes, and clearly under Soviet pressure, political screenings of those who appeared to be opposed to the occupation of the country were launched. At the end of June 1969, Jan Pelnář, the Federal Minister of the Interior, established a Commission to Clarify Problems at Work and the Activities of Some Ministry of the Interior Workers



Jozef Vavro Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

and Units in the Years 1968 and 1969 (In May 1970 it was replaced by a special inspection department at the Federal Ministry of the Interior). At the same time a Commission of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee was established at the Prague Ministry of the Interior, dealing with the issues from the Party's point of view. Both commissions checked the attitudes and behaviour of security members during the 1968 events. By the end of 1970, 3.662 security members had been expelled from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, i.e. about 10.5 % of the party membership. 1.969 members lost their jobs in the National Security Corps (Slovak abbreviation ZNB). The notice period for another 445 members was allowed to lapse. One of the most significant functionaries it was Ján Majer, the state secretary, who was expelled from the Czechoslovak Communist Party and was withdrawn from his position on April 28, 1970 due to the political screening procedure. The most extensive purge took place in the Foreign Intelligence as 353 officers had to leave (almost one third of the staff), and the further enfeeblement was accomplished by the defections of many officers (by emigration and transferring to enemy secret services).

Screening commissions worked also in Slovak State Security units. Ondrej Dovina, State Security Slovak HQ Head, established a Commission led by his deputy Jozef Vavro at the beginning of October 1969. The Commission examined the attitudes and activities of people working with State Security Central Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic during the events in 1968, as well as State Security Directorate Heads in Bratislava who signed a Declaration on August 26, 1968. In that Declaration they called the intervention of Warsaw Pact armies a shameful occupation and they supported Ludvík Svoboda, the President of Czechoslovakia, Alexander Dubček, the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and Oldřich Černík, the Prime Minister. The initiators of the Declaration - Ján Sútor, the Deputy Head of State Security Directorate in Bratislava and Head of the IInd Unit and his two deputies, Štefan Martíšek and Jozef Daško – were expelled from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and they lost their jobs with the National Security Corps. Other heads received party punishments and were degraded to lower positions. These State Security members supported the Czechoslovak Communist Party policy in the 50s and fought drastically against persons opposing the regime, or those with different opinions. Many of them paradoxically, were rehabilitated after 1989, and hired again. By the end of 1972, 128 State Security members had received punishments from the party (62 of them worked with the State Security Directorate in Bratislava, 23 in Banská Bystrica and 22 in Košice). 33 more members were expelled from their jobs with State Security until the following July.

At the same time, at the end of 1968 and at the beginning of 1969, a process of conceptual and organisation changes took place within Czechoslovak security units. The period of the so-called Prague Spring brought a gradual reduction in the State Security's scope of activities, along with open criticism of its operation and methods of work, and also the opportunity to implement the ideas of the federative arrangement of the state. The Ministry of the Interior, and especially

acvyhovči

Ato

ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ SOCIALISTICKA REPUBLIKA

VYSOKÁ ŠKOLA SBORU NÁRODNÍ BEZPEČNOSTI

Cislo: I-403/DS

Tajné!

VYSVĚDČENÍ

o státních závěrečných zkouškách (bez diplomu neplatné)

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State Final Exam Certificate and the degree from the State Security Faculty of the National Security Forces Academy Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

CESKOSLOVENSKA SOCIALISTICKA REPUBLIKA

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velmi dobře

At the beginning of the 70s the educational system within the security sector had been changed and developed. In 1970 an Anti-riot (Police) Unit was established within the National Security Corps, where newly hired ZNB members were trained. The People's Police (Slovak abbreviation VB) anti-riot units were established within both the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic, due to massive protests by citizens during the years 1968 and 1969. The regime needed units composed of young ZNB members that would be ready to intervene immediately and effectively against illegal actions of a major size. Leading State Security functionaries without a university degree had to take a three year course in law. The Board of the Federal Assembly took a decision on September 25, 1973 to establish the Higher School of the National Security Corps (VŠ ZNB). Lack of confidence in existing universities and the need to increase the level of education of ZNB members played a role in that decision. The school was built by taking Felix Dzerzhinsky KGB Higher School in Moscow as a model. The activities of the newly established school started in 1974. According to the words of Jaromír Obzina, the Minister

of the Interior, the school should become "a basis to deepen and enlarge professional knowledge" and "to prepare well educated, and both morally and politically capable workers for the needs of the security service". The study at the Higher School of the National Security Corps took four years and was provided in internal and external forms as well. The school had four faculties: the Faculty of State Security (1st Faculty, state security issues) and the Faculty of Public Security (2nd Faculty, focus on criminal and transport police issues) with its seat in Prague; the Faculty of State Borders Protection with its seat in Holešov, and later in Bratislava (3rd Faculty, state borders protections issues), and finally the StB and People's Police Faculty of Investigation (4th Faculty) with its seat in Bratislava. Ján Pješčak, the Federal Deputy Minister of the Interior became the first Rector of the VS ZNB. Co-operation with the Soviet KGB in the field of education went on successfully. Selected members of State Security, but also of other security units, studied at the KGB Operations School in Moscow for one year, or at the School of Investigation in Leningrad, or they took several week long special courses. There were even a few of them who were offered the opportunity to study at the KGB Higher School in Moscow for four years.

its state security units, were in a relatively complex situation in those days. The Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation led to the establishment of national Ministries of the Interior with their own State Security units. These were created in a situation when staff purges within the Communist Party made thousands of state and party functionaries, leading workers in national and state

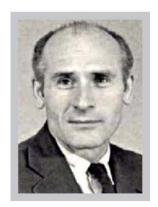
¹⁴ Transl. note: The Federal Assembly was a body corresponding to the Parliament.



Štefan Homola Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive



Emil Blaho Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive



Ján Haščák Source: ABS

Heads of Regional State Security Directorate in Slovakia in the period of 1966 – 1989

	May 1, 1966 – February 28, 1969	Michal Dudáš	
Bratislava	March 1, 1969 – June 30, 1983	Michal Kasan	
Drausiava	July 1, 1983 – July 31, 1986	Štefan Homola	
	August 1, 1986 – February 9, 1990	Ladislav Horák	
	May 1, 1966 – April 30, 1969	František Garay	
Banská Bystrica	May 1, 1969 – January 31, 1980	Emil Blaho	
	February 1, 1980 – December 31,	Pavel Korbeľ	
	May 1, 1966 – January 31, 1969	Ondrej Dovina	
Košice	March 1, 1969 – July 31, 1970	Ján Hanuliak	
KOSICE	August 1, 1970 – April 20, 1981	Ján Haščák	
	July 1, 1981 – January 15, 1990	Štefan Sarnovský	

companies, as well as common party members, into 'hostile persons' within a few months. Also many of those who used to lead ŠtB units themselves, or who had carried out state security tasks not so long ago, were suddenly in a position of being victimised. The new management at the Ministry of the Interior, as well as the State Security units themselves, had to react to those changes. The complexity of the situation within State Security has to be considered with regard to external and internal factors, such as the already mentioned emigration of a number of Štb members (followed by the disclosure of its structures and its network of agents), the purges within the sector of the interior and the development of the structures at the level of the Czech and Slovak Republics, and the radical decrease of numbers of secret collaborators.

In accordance with the Constitutional Law of the Czechoslovak Federation the Federal Ministry of the Interior was established at the beginning of 1969, led by Jan Pelnář, a long-time member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and two ministries at the level of republics: the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic led by Josef Grösser and the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic, led by Egyd Pepich. The adoption of new legislation brought new positions at all federal ministries, including the position of a state secretary, who was formally at the same level as the minister. He was a member of the government and took part in the management of the ministry. The principle of equal representation of Czechs and Slovaks in the management of federal bodies was introduced, so if there was a Czech in the position of a minister, his state secretary had to be a Slovak, and vice versa. The Slovak Ján Majer was appointed to a new position at the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior on January 2, 1969, in place of the 1st Czechoslovak Deputy Ministry of the Interior. He was responsible for the Department of Law, the



Štefan Sarnovský Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive



Egyd Pepich became the Minister of the Interior after Czechoslovakia became a federal state Source: Military Archive, Central Registry Trnava

Security Department, the Economic Management Department, the Department of Communication Management and the Defence Department. František Vašek, the public prosecutor in political show trials in the 50s, became the Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of the Interior with responsibility for the federal intelligence service and state secrets protection. At the end of 1969 he had to leave the position of deputy minister, because of his career in the past, and he went back to public prosecution. From October 1969 his job in leading departments had been carried out by Miloslav Košnar, the former counter-intelligence service head, and since February 1969 by the Deputy Head of the State Security Central Directorate with the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic (appointed to that position on September 2, 1969). Among their powers were leading the Foreign Intelligence Central Directorate (from November 3 it was managed directly by the Federal Minister of the Interior), the Central Counter-intelligence Directorate, the Central Military Counter-intelligence Directorate, the Surveillance Directorate, Protection of Party and Constitutional Functionaries Directorate, the Intelligence Technology Directorate, the Foreigners' Unit, the Cryptographic Unit, the Secretariat of the Standing Commission on Classified Information Protection, and the Intelligence Unit of the Federal Intelligence Service Directorate. On September 22, 1969 the Federal Ministry management was enlarged by the Slovak Ján Pješčak, the Head of the Central Office of Military Prosecution, and the Head of Institute of Criminology, and the Head of the Department of Criminology at the Faculty of Law at the Charles University in Prague. As a Deputy Minister responsible for the management of executive units and service units, Pješčak led the Federal Detective Central Office, Civil Defence HQ of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Air Unit of the Ministry of the Interior, the Central Registry Unit, Research and the Development Centre for Automation, Unit for Economic Issues, and Unit for Sports Education.

Act No. 166/1968 Coll. on Definition of Competencies within the ČSSR from the point of view of internal order and security gave the following scope for activities and responsibilities to the Federal Ministry of the Interior: coordinating both republics' security forces command, the command of armed security forces units established to fulfil special tasks in protecting the ČSSR, federal bodies and institutions, the execution of state administration related to association issues in both republics, state and economic secret protection, the legal definition of Czechoslovak borders and state symbols, and the legal regulation of the traffic system. Central units of State Security were still incorporated in the structures of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. In March 1969 the Federal Intelligence Service Directorate was established composed of the Foreign Intelligence Central Directorate (Ist Directorate) and its regional units (until then parts of ZNB Regional Directorates), the Central Counter-intelligence Service Directorate (IInd Directorate), Military Counter-intelligence Directorate (IIIrd Directorate), Surveillance Directorate (IVth Directorate), and Intelligence Technology Directorate (VIth Directorate). Among the ŠtB units there was also the Protection of Party and Constitutional Functionaries Directorate (Vth Directorate), Cryptographic Unit, Foreigners' Unit, and Secretariat of the Standing Commission on Classified



State Security carried out preventive, repressive and information activities against persons opposing the Communist regime. Preventive activities were performed mainly by operational units, using first of all "preventive and educational", or "prophylactic and destructive" measures. These kinds of activities were the forms mostly used during the period of normalisation, and methodological instructions were issued by the 1st Deputy Minister of the Interior in December 1974, later amended in 1982. Those preventive and educational measures were used to hinder the activities of a particular person, or groups of persons. There was a kind of "agreement" (in fact it was more a threat) when the given person was told by the State Security member that his/her antiregime activities would have 'certain' consequences (i.e. persecution of the given person). Non-conformist behaviour could have different consequences. In most cases people

were punished and threatened with a job loss, denial of opportunities for their children to study, invitations to interrogations, permanent monitoring and observation, or in the worst cases arrests and imprisonments. Those persecution measures were often related to family members, who also had to go through interviews in their jobs. These measures used by State Security were extremely successful due to their scary effects, but also because such an interview meant a loss of confidence in the given person. Preventive actions were largely used especially prior to important social and political events, such as state holidays, foreign visits, significant sports events, concerts, religious pilgrimages, or military exercises. State Security members tried to isolate selected 'hostile persons' and prevent them from carrying out any kind of activities. The so-called 'agents of influence' played an important role, as it was instructed to influence the 'hostile person' according to State Security plans.

Information Protection. Only the Military Intelligence Service that operated within the structure of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, and under the name of the General Staff Intelligence Directorate it was subordinated to the Ministry of National Defence.

ZNB regional Directorates, together with State Security Directorates, civil defence and firefighting regional bodies were included into the powers of national ministries of the interior. With the exception of the foreign intelligence that remained under the command of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, all other State Security units were subordinated to national ministries of interior. At the federal level there was the Intelligence Service Federal Directorate; in Slovakia there was State Security Central Directorate by the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic, and a similar body in the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, with ZNB regional directorates under their command and control. The tasks and powers were not strictly defined in terms of what caused serious disputes about the competencies.

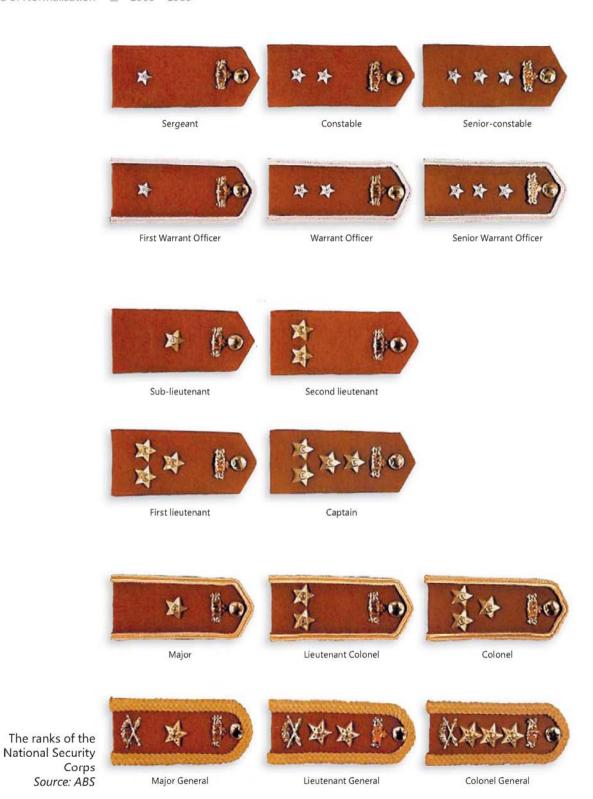




Dominik Tatarka, novelist, Jozef Jablonický, historian, who among others, personally experienced the State Security normalisation persecution. Snapshot taken under surveillance

Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive, ABS





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The first steps to establish the Slovak State Security Headquarters, but also the whole future Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic, were taken within the special Slovak Directorate at the Ministry of the Interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The Czechoslovak government adopted a decision on its establishment on September 9, 1968. Its management was taken over by Egyd Pepich, the Deputy Minister of the Interior. The processes of selecting the staff and appointing people into positions were to be decided by the leadership of the Communist Party of Slovakia. The Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party had already approved staff proposals in September: Egyd Pepich's deputy was Ján Gazdík, who used to be the Deputy Head at the Central Directorate of the People's Police; the management of the People's Police unit was taken over by Jozef Vadovický, and of State Security by Ján Pobeha, the former Head of Foreign Intelligence Unit in Košice. The Unit of Human Resources was led by Gustáv Mišanko, the former Head of the Internal Affairs Unit at the Regional ZNB Directorate in Bratislava; and the Directorate Head's Secretariat was led by Ján Janík, who used to be the Head of the Investigation Unit of the VB Municipal Directorate in Bratislava. The Slovak Directorate at the Ministry of the Interior took over the management of National Security Corps units in Slovakia, and also of dealing with the organisational issues and questions concerning the distribution of powers related to the establishment of the Slovak Ministry of the Interior, including its security units.

The Slovak Ministry of the Interior, like the other national ministries, was established at the beginning of 1969. It organisational structure was built up during the following months. Egyd Pepich became the Minister. The Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic approved the appointment of his deputies in the months to follow. The government approved Severin Martinka, the Head Secretary of the Municipal Committee of the Slovak Communist Party in Košice, to become the 1st Deputy Minister of the Interior on its meeting in February 7, 1969; and Ján Filko to become the Deputy Minister responsible for civil and administration issues. On March 14, 1969 Vincent Ožvoda became the Deputy Minister of the Interior responsible for State Security, and gradually took over the management of the ŠtB Security Unit, the Central ŠtB Directorate, ŠtB Investigation Directorate, Party and Governmental Functionaries Protection Directorate, Passport and Visa Directorate, and Classified Information Protection Department. The former worker of the military counter-intelligence Ožvolda was appointed a Deputy Minister personally by the Minister Pepich, as these two men knew each other in early times when they worked together in the East Military District.

Ján Pobeha was appointed to a leading position in the Slovak State Security headquarters, in the Central ŠtB Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. It is possible that his friendship with Minister Pepich played an important part in this. Their friendship went back to the days when he used to lead the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Banská Bystrica. Pobeha was one of the first Slovaks who finished the one-year long study at the KGB Operations School in Moscow, and at the end of the 50s he was a candidate to become the



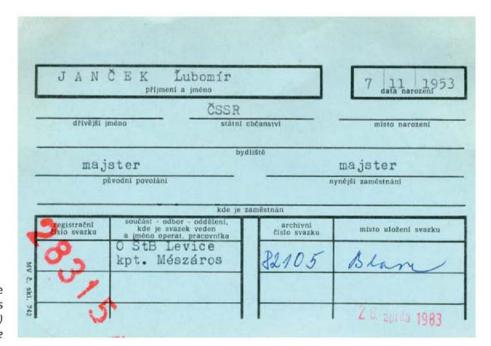






National Security forces member – haircut style Source: ABS

Head of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava. However, after the affair with a bugging device was revealed at the National House in Banská Bystrica (the device was revealed in spring 1960 by the functionaries of dissolved Regional Committee of the Slovak Communist Party in Žilina who lived temporarily in the hotel; originally the device was used to bugging military attachés of the USA, Great Britain, France and Canada) he took over the position of the Head of the Foreign Intelligence Unit in Košice. Pobeha did not stay in the position of Head of the Slovak HQ of State Security for long, because in January 1969 he went to work with the Foreign Intelligence Service in Prague. Ondrej Dovina, the Head of State Security in Košice, was appointed to lead State Security in Slovakia. Michal Dudáš, Head of State Security in Bratislava and Jozef Vavro, Head of the 1st Counter-intelligence Unit at State Security Central Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic, became Dovina's deputies. Withdrawals and appointments of new functionaries were caused by



Filling card from the 1980s. Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

The network of agents consisting of secret collaborators, confidants and secret collaboration candidates, was a special form of controlling the society. It spread over the whole society and was composed of approximately 15.000 active collaborators. The network of secret collaborators and confidants was built systematically by State Security, as its most important source of information and knowledge. Secret collaborators (classified in following categories: resident, informer, agent, safe house owner) signed, to witness their consent to collaborate with State Security, an oath on secrecy and an oath on collaboration. These were so-called conscious collaborators. The regulations made it possible to register and use a secret collaborator also in case he/she refused to sign the oath. These were the cases when making a person to sign could lead to a breach of the mutual confidence, or a lack of will to cooperate. The StB hired secret collaborators in three main ways: on the basis of their own will (they wanted to collaborate due to ideological reasons), on the basis of damaging materials and information, and on the basis of the material, financial and social advantages being offered. The activities of State Security in hiring secret collaborators were based on the intentions and tasks as defined in party and security documents. But as the members of State Security claimed themselves: "the collaborators were recruited from all social groups so that we would get reports from all kinds of jobs and localities that would provide us with true reflections of real life." The StB recruited secret collaborators in all different environments. The number of collaborators used in respective cases

depended on the importance and potential threat of the given dissidents, activists or association. The secret collaborators provided StB with much valuable information. The task of the secret collaborators was not only to inform on hostile persons, or anti-regime groups, but also to influence them in a suitable way within the intentions of State Security (i.e. to influence their decisions and activities). State Security registered several categories of secret collaborators. The most important category, form the point of view of the political police, was the resident. As an especially selected, entirely reliable, experienced and professionally trained secret collaborator, he led and controlled his own agents allocated to him; he was under the personal command of an operational worker. The informer was a secret collaborator, usually engaged on the basis of his patriotic feelings, providing information on hostile facts from his environment. Informers were selected by State Security from citizens who had many contacts and who were trusted in their local environment. This collaboration category was not used after 1972. The agent was a secret collaborator fulfilling tasks in revealing cases, working on them and documenting antistate criminal activities, as well as the tasks that could hinder such criminal activities. The last category of secret collaborators was owners of safe houses. In accordance with an agreement concluded with State Security they provided their apartments or rooms to StB members for confidential meetings with other secret collaborators.

dissatisfaction with ongoing purges in the security system, but also due the fact that those people were engaged in and they supported the policy of Dubček in 1968. From the point of view of State Security in Slovakia, purges and transfers at the federal level were the most common reasons for frequent changes in leading positions. Also the opinions of Soviet experts in the sector traditionally played a significant role in these cases.

The ŠtB Headquarters in Slovakia was divided in five counter-intelligence units: two units of internal intelligence service; a surveillance unit; an intelligence technology unit and executive units (the internal affairs unit, the financial department, the separate departments of inspection and defence of the staff of HQ, the analytical department, the human resources and education units). The counter-intelligence unit was focused on the intelligence service of the USA (Ist Counter-intelligence Unit), West Germany and Austria (IInd Counterintelligence Unit), Great Britain, France and other capitalistic countries (IIIrd Counter-intelligence Unit), along with so-called visa foreigners and passport control departments management (IVth Counter-intelligence Unit), and state secret protection, along with travel to capitalist countries and emigration (Vth Counter-intelligence Unit). The units of the internal intelligence service were focused on foreign hostile organisations, emigration centres and their collaborators in the territory of Slovakia (Ist Internal Intelligence Service Unit), or on the detection, reveal and documentation of criminal activities against the republic committed by the citizens of the Slovak Socialist Republic without connections to hostile foreign countries, and on prohibited organisations (IInd Internal Intelligence Service Unit). The Surveillance Unit produced regulations for carrying out observance and monitoring, improving the forms and methods of surveillance, and providing for coordination of surveillance actions and means of special technology. The Intelligence Technology Unit elaborated long-term conceptual plans, fulfilled analytical tasks in the field of intelligence technology use, along with the purchase, repair and development of technological devices, criminology-technological expertise and technological defence.

The Central ŠtB Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic was responsible for the command, control, coordination, and in selected fields also executive unit operating in the territory of the Slovak Socialist Republic. It managed the ŠtB directorates in Slovakia dislocated with Regional ZNB Directorates, and decided about the main direction and focus of work in respective areas. It submitted reports and information about its activities to the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party and to the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic. Originally it carried out its own operational activities only in case of the Austrian General Consulate in Bratislava (operation BŘECLAV). In the period that followed there were many changes in ŠtB leading positions in Slovakia, but also at the federal level.

A principal reorganisation was carried out within the organisational structure of the Czechoslovak Foreign Intelligence Service, an offensive part of the State Security responsible for the intelligence, espionage and counter-intelligence activities abroad. The new organisational structure was implemented at the



Honorary Appreciation Badge of National Security Corps (in Czech)



Honorary Appreciation Badge of National Security Corps (in Slovak)



Honorary Appreciation Badge for Service in National Security Corps (in Czech)



Honorary Appreciation Badge for Service in National Security Corps (in Slovak)



Honorary Appreciation Badge 30 years of National Security Corps (in Czech)



Honorary Appreciation Badge 30 years of National Security Corps (in Slovak)



Honorary Appreciation Badge For Longstanding Work (to civil employees) (In Czech)



Honorary Appreciation Badge For Longstanding Work (to civil employees) (In Slovak)



Honorary Appreciation badge For Service of Auxiliary Guard of Public Security (in Czech)

Decorations awarded by the Ministry of the Interior Source: ABS



Exemplary Employee of Public Security



gilded



silver-plated For Defence of State Border



bronze



Honorary Badge of National Security Corps (in Slovak)



Honorary Badge of National Security Corps (in Czech)



Graduate of Higher School of National Security Corps



Graduate of military and civil higher school



Exemplary participant of Special-task Unit of Public Security



Exemplary learner



Special-task Unit of Public Security



Czechoslovak partisan and helper of Czechoslovak partisan



For strengthening of Friendship in Arms

beginning of 1969, as a number of ŠtB members had defected. It respected the basic focus of the secret services, and also strengthened the position of national bodies. The Central Intelligence Service Directorate consisted of the Head Directorate Secretariat, under six directorates: the Political Foreign Intelligence Service (Directorate A), the Foreign Counter-intelligence Service (Directorate B), the Scientific-technological Foreign Intelligence Service (Directorate C), the Illegal Foreign Intelligence Service (Directorate D), Supporting Units (Directorate E), the Foreign Intelligence Service Branch in Bratislava (Directorate F), and regional units with their seats in regional towns. Branch F in Bratislava participated in operational activities deriving from plans made for the operational parts of the intelligence service (Directorates A – D), and in selecting and training of foreign intelligence service information system with party and state authorities within the Slovak Socialist Republic, and the intelligence information for selected state and party

After the invasion of the Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia in 1968, State Security started to focus on the citizens who did not agree with the occupation of the country, and first all the ex-Communists expelled from the Party after political purges. Those people were accused of 'right-wing opportunism' and were expelled from the Party. In principle they 'enlarged' the regime's enemies by thousands of people. What they had in common was that they did not agree with the occupation of the country and unlike the majority of the population they declared it publicly, or in front of a screening commission of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. In Slovakia the actions taken against those people were limited to observation and social isolation, so that they could not be involved in anti-regime activities. It the majority of cases those actions were successful. The most important representative of that group was Alexander Dubček. Some of them, including Miroslav Kusý, were engaged in the activities

of Charter 77. Altogether this was a group of approximately 350 people in Slovakia, but the special interest of State Security focused on the 40 most active participants. In the 70s, socalled civic dissent was the most active opposition in Slovakia, the political orientation of which was on the edge between the democratic socialism and liberalism, and many of its activists supported reformed Communism in 1968. Its central protagonists were Slovak Charter 77 signatories as Miroslav Kusý, Hana Ponická or Dominik Tatarka, but also those who were its sympathisers, although they did not sign it. Among them there were Jozef Jablonický, Milan Šimečka or Július Strinka. The persecution of the Chartists and representatives of other opposition streams culminated in a nation-wide operation called ASANÁCIA (in English SANITATION), the aim of which was to force the Charter signatories to emigrate abroad. Within that action, the writer Ján Ladislav Kalina left the country for Germany by force at the end of 70s.



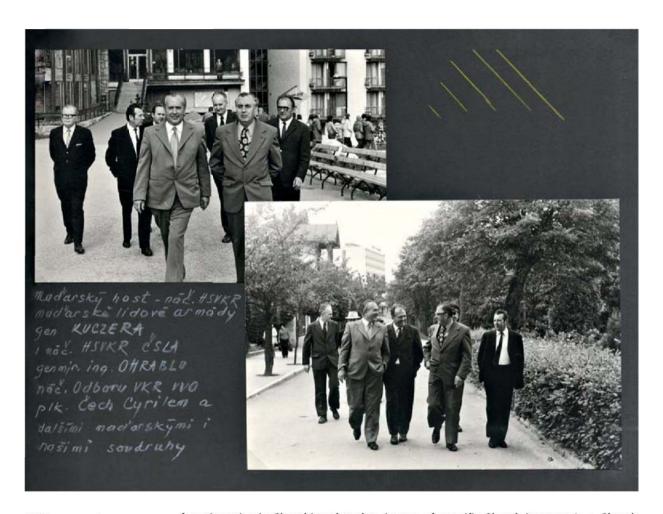
KUBA II v spoločnosti styka MARIANA, dňa 19. IV. 1973, na Leningradskej ul., ako vedú spolu rozhovor.

O = objekt

M = styk MARIAN.

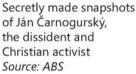


Many former communists were monitored by the State Security, after 1968; eg. Ladislav Holdoš (on both snapshots marked with "O") Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive



Military counterintelligence was an important part of the State Security. Snapshots from a visit paid by Hungarian colleagues to Czechoslovakia Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive functionaries in Slovakia related to issues of specific Slovak interest (e.g. Slovak separatism and emigration, the Vatican). It also provided for contacts and cooperation with members of the foreign intelligence service of the Hungarian People's Republic. Until March 1970, Directorate F was headed by Eduard Pafčo, a graduate of the one-year study at the KGB Operations School in Moscow, the former Head of Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Nitra (1956 - 1960) and the Deputy Head of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava (1960 - 1966). In the middle of 1970 he was substituted by František Garay, his school-mate from Moscow, the Head of ŠtB Directorate in Banská Bystrica. Directorate F was dissolved in the reorganisation of March 1971. Its members became part of the renewed regional unit in Bratislava (the unit was part of Directorate F from December 1969). From December 1968 the Czechoslovak Foreign Intelligence Service was headed by Čestmír Podzemný, a leading worker of the Counter-Intelligence Service. In January 1971 he was substituted by Miloš Hladík, an expert of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and an apparatchik in the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak







Communist Party. In the position of Deputy Head of the Czechoslovak Foreign Intelligence Service there were Slovaks, first Ján Pobeha (1969 – 1974) and later Ondrej Dovina (1974 – 1984). After the death of Miloš Hladík in February 1980, it was Dovina who became the Head of the Czechoslovak Foreign Intelligence Service for more than a year.

From the point of view of intelligence tasks the Central Foreign Intelligence Service Directorate was divided into:

- **1 Political Foreign Intelligence Service**, performing political, military-political and political-economic espionage;
- **2 Scientific-technological Foreign Intelligence Service,** the task of which was to collect scientific-technological and technological-economic information;
- 3 So-called Illegal Foreign Intelligence Service;
- **4 Foreign Counter-intelligence Service** operating against foreign intelligence services and emigrants, guarding and protecting Czechoslovak embassies and consulates, and citizens in the "capitalistic countries."

The Main Counter-intelligence Directorate provided for operational activities in three central ways. It monitored the activities of hostile foreign intelligence services in Czechoslovakia and controlled diplomats, foreign journalists, trade companies´ representatives, students and short-stay students. Its workers observed and hindered the activities of the so-called internal enemy (at the beginning of the 70s these were party members dismissed from the Communist Party, but in principle all were anti-regime activists). It also guarded and

State Security paid lot of attention to the Catholic Church in the period of normalisation, as it played the central role in anti-regime activities in Slovakia in the 80s. The Catholic Church had always had a strong position in Slovakia and therefore the Communist regime considered it its greatest enemy. Hard interventions of State Security were typical, especially for the 40s and 50s, but the state authorities carried on their fight against the church also in the years that followed. The trial with bishops Ján Vojtaššák, Michal Buzalka and Pavol Gojdič in 1951 was the most flagrant case of attacking the church hierarchy, as along with interning the priests in forced labour camps. State Security was extremely engaged in fighting against the underground church. The association Family (in Slovak Rodina) established by Tomislav Kolakovič with his active 'students' as Vladimír Jukl, Silvester Krčméry and others, was a significant representative of the underground church. After the normalisation procedure was launched, the aim of the regime was "to eliminate gradually the influence of the Church on worshippers and to secure that both churches and religious associations would not be obstacles in further development of the socialist society." Catholic dissent was represented first of all by the activities of the Hidden Church led by the

Bishop Ján Chryzostom Korec, Jukl, Krčméry and Catholic laics like Ján Čarnogurský or František Mikloško. The Hidden Church violated the efforts of the Communists to rule the society in a total way. The long-term aim of State Security was to reveal the structures of the Hidden Church, to infiltrate them and gradually liquidate them. But they never succeeded. In 1979 there was a meeting of heads of State Security Directorate and Jaromír Obzina. The Federal Minister of the Interior invited them to act decisively against the Catholic Church, which was related not only with extensive activities of the Hidden Church, but also the election of the Pole Karol Wojtyla to become a Pope. State Security monitored the meetings of the Hidden Church activists, various clubs, and especially contacts with church emigration. There were efforts to hinder these contacts by refusals to grant visas (travelling restrictions) and by censoring exported and imported literature. The members of State Security paid much attention to contacts with abroad. This was because of the Hidden Church environment information leaked to foreign countries about human rights and religious freedom violations in Slovakia, distributed later through broadcasting of Radio Free Europe, Voice of America or Radio Vaticana to the whole world.

protected economic and state institutions (ministries, foreign trade companies, etc.) from the counter-intelligence point of view. In relation to the Soviet troops located in the territory of Czechoslovakia, the counter-intelligence service had an extra task, namely to protect also the troops and goods of the Soviet Army. Since 1969 the Counter-intelligence Service had been led by Václav Šoral. In September 1969 he was substituted by the Slovak Štefan Hubina, the former

In the period of normalisation State Security carried out several nation-wide operations of an intelligence and preventive character. Because of their size and intensity, these operations were methodologically managed by central units of counterintelligence in Prague. Various operations concentrated on preventing the activities of the so-called internal opponents. In the operation called ASANÁCIA (in English SANITATION), State Security strived to force various opposition representatives to leave the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and emigrate. The security and preventive operation called IZOLACIA (in English ISOLATION) focused on isolating the central exponents of the opposition and to the cause opposition groups to disintegrate. Breaking up the opposition movement, evoking disputes and mutual mistrust among respective opposition streams, weakening the organised opposition activities and hindering the efforts to unite in the platform of Charter 77 were carried out by State Security in operations called KLIN (in English WEDGE) and ROZPTYL (in English DISPERSION). The State Security wanted to stop the unification of the opposition through the operation called ZEMETRASENIE (in English EARTHQUAKE). The possible isolation of hostile persons when special measures were taken was regulated by methodological instructions related to operations like KRUH (in English CIRCLE) and NORBERT. The nation-wide operation DELTA wanted to liquidate the distribution channel among the opposition and the exile and "ideologically diversified centres". The operation called SEVER (in English NORTH) was designed to break the cooperation and contacts between the Czechoslovak and Polish oppositions. State Security also paid considerable attention to persons of the Jewish origin. Their detection and administrative registration was performed within an operation called PAVÚK (in English SPIDER). Other

nation-wide operations were organised against the representatives of the socalled external enemy. Within its operation called STOP, State Security focused on the visa foreigners, i.e. collecting information and checking foreigners coming to the territory of Czechoslovakia for professional or private reasons for a relatively short time. Those visa foreigners who emigrated or left the country after 1945 and travelled to Bratislava more frequently were monitored by the State Security within the operation called NÁVRAT (in English RETURN). Information was collected about non-accredited journalists coming from non-socialist countries to Czechoslovakia without registration and they were checked during the operation called ZURNÁL (in English JOURNAL). There was a nation-wide operation called EXPERTI (in English EXPERTS); State Security collected information about research and development institutions and diplomats of the People's Republic of China. Among actions that focused on protection of the socialist economy, we may mention for example the operation called MONOPOLY; where State Security inspected and gathered intelligence service information about the 'East' workers of West German corporations like HOECHST, BAYER and BASF. State Security prepared itself for various safetypreventive actions. This was also the case in an operation called OCHRANA (in English PROTECTION) in which StB members checked measures to be adopted during extraordinary events, but also in the operation called REŽIM (in English REGIME) focusing on inspecting how copying machines were protected against misuse for objects the Czechoslovak counterintelligence was interested in. There was a sample project called VLNA (in English WAVE) in which State Security implemented a set of safety measures to protect live broadcasting of the Czechoslovak Television and Radio.



Radko Kaska, the Federal Minister for the Interior Source: V. Hanuliak Archive

Head of the Vth Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior and later the Deputy Head of the Czechoslovak Counter-Intelligence Service. Already, in the middle of February 1971, Jaroslav Hrbáček, the long-term State Security member who has been the Head of State Security in Bratislava at the beginning of the 50s, and for a short time also in Košice, became the Head of the IInd Directorate of the Federal Ministry of the Interior.

The Military Counter-intelligence Central Directorate, led by Josef Stavihona since 1953, provided for command and operation of the counter-intelligence protection of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces. Stavinoha was responsible for the management of the Unit of Interior Affairs, the Human Resources Unit and the Unit of Organisation and Mobilisation. His deputies, František Pitra and Ján Slížka, led the Unit of Central Units of the Ministry of National Defence and the General Staff (Ist Unit), the Unitof Activities Abroad (IIIrd Unit), the Units for the Departments of the Ministry and the Facilities of the Czechoslovak People's Army (Vth Unit), and the Unit of Operational Management of Counter-intelligence

Structure of State Security units in the years 1969 - 1988

State Security unit	1969	1971	1976	1981	1986	1988
Ist Directorate (Foreign Intelligence Service)	828	985	975	814	921	968
II nd Directorate (Counter-intelligence Service, from 1974 External Enemy)	463	460	319	287	301	306
III rd Directorate (Military Counter-intelligence Service)			159	154	154	154
IV th Directorate (Surveillance)	625	587	766	801	803	807
V th Directorate (Protection of Constitutional Functionaries)	644	737	950	930	966	975
VI th Directorate (Intelligence Technology)	1,089	1,108	1,247	839	860	861
X th Directorate (Internal Enemy)		7 <u>—</u>	202	202	205	207
XI th Directorate (Protection of the Czechoslovak Economy)	-	:: -	221	262	257	260
XII th Directorate (Counter-intelligence Service in Bratislava)(in the years 1969-1974 Central State Security Directorate of the Slovak Socialist Republic)	-	215	346	344	344	365
XIV th Directorate (Extraordinary and Special Forms of Criminal Activities, from 1985 the Unit of special designation)	-	,-	-	-	90	90
Directorate of ŠtB Investigation	-	::-	111	98	87	88
Directorate of Passports and Visas	-	(-	263	257	249	264

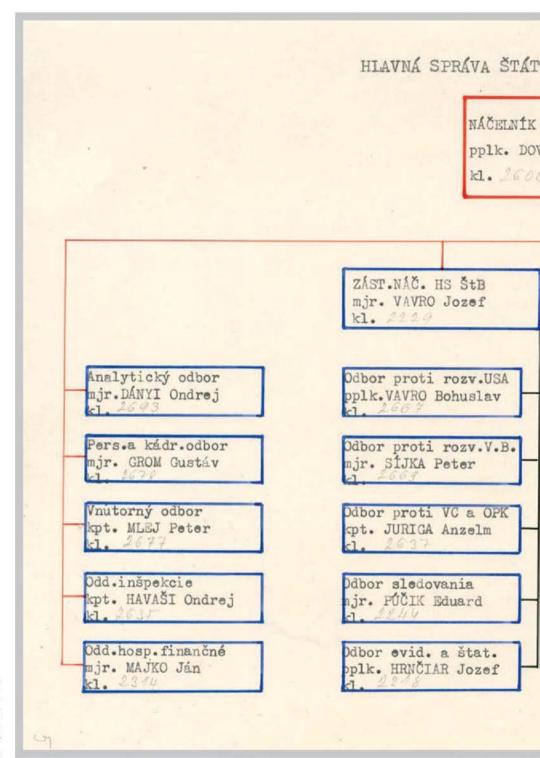
Activities (IInd Unit) and the Study and Analytical Unit respectively. The Unit of State Security's Investigation within the Military Counter-intelligence was also part of military counter-intelligence. At the beginning of 1972 Cyril Ohrablo was substituted for Stavinoha in the position of Head of the Military Counter-intelligence.

Let us mention other important federal units affected by the changes. The Surveillance Directorate that used to closely cooperate also the Intelligence Technology Directorate (especially in cases of persons monitored with the help of covert listening devices installed, or persons whose flats were secretly inspected) was led by the Slovak Štefan Demjan, the former Deputy Minister, since October 1968. However, he was punished, both as a Party member and as a professional, for his opinions in 1968 and so had to leave that position. In August 1970 he was substituted for a short time by Ján Hanuliak, the former State Security Head in Košice, who was appointed a Deputy Federal Minister of the Interior in the middle of February 1971. Finally, Antoním Kavan, the long-tern Head of the Surveillance Directorate, took over its management (he led that Directorate in the years from 1951 until 1968). At the end of the 60s the Directorate was divided in the Management, Internal Department, Department of Short Reports and Concepts, Operational Department, Human Resources and Education Department, and six units focusing on following activities: Surveillance for federal operational units (Ist Unit), Basic surveillance and network of confidants (IInd Unit), Surveillance of embassies and consulates of so-called capitalistic countries (IIIrd Unit), Special preparation and training of the staff (IVth Unit), Unit of housekeeping, services, technology and conspiration (Vth Unit), Surveillance for national authorities (VIth Unit). Directorate of party and constitutional officials' protection (Vth Directorate) provided, except for activities deriving from its name, the watching and protection of foreign representatives during their visits to Czechoslovakia, and of selected premises that belonged to the Party or to the state. It used to have its own unit with a network of agents carrying out operations in revealing and hindering hostile activities directed to threaten protected persons, delegations and objects. The Intelligence Technology Directorate performed intelligencetechnological tasks (tapping telephones, listening rooms, secret inspections in flats, checking the correspondence), provided for technological protection of selected objects, and carried out research and development activities.

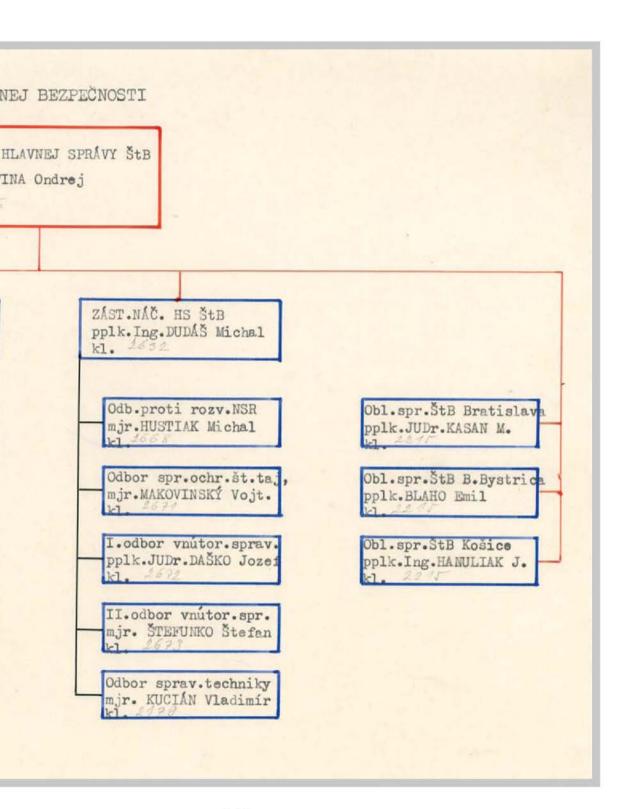
The organisation of safety units was not fully developed; there were problems with the personnel, as well as with conceptual issues and distribution of powers within State Security, and also a critical situation caused by the events in 1968. All these problems resulted in a criticism of State Security's activities. The Slovak Ministry of the Interior looked for the reasons, except for other issues in cooperation with the federal unit and other units on national levels. The Federal Ministry of the Interior saw the mistakes, on the contrary, in the management divided into three relatively isolated and independent centres and proposed a renewed centralisation of safety units' management. This was in June 1969, when the officials of federal counter-intelligence sent a proposal for organisational changes within Czechoslovak counter-intelligence. They justified

In the first half of the 70s Czechoslovakia signed the agreement on cooperation with allied security units at the highest level. In February 1972 an agreement was signed by the Federal Minister of the Interior Radko Kaska in Prague with Yuri Andropov, the Chairman of the KGB Committee by the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which substituted the agreement concluded in 1962. Both institutions committed themselves to exchange intelligence from political, economic, military and researchtechnological fields, as well as information on the activities of the 'hostile' emigration, operational and information reports on work forms and methods used by foreign intelligence services, their members and networks of agents, and the communication channels and information that could lead to the identification, recording or liquidation of hostile agent networks operating from abroad, or in the territories of both countries. They also informed each other about operational situation in their countries and exchanged documentations and prototypes of intelligence technology devices, etc. In the second half of September 1973, the new Minister of the Interior Jaromír Obzina signed an agreement on cooperation with the Polish Ministry of the Interior in Tatranská Lomnica, and on December 17, 1973 in Budapest an agreement with the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior. In the second half of the 70s an official cooperation developed also with security units in Cuba. An agreement on cooperation was concluded by the Czechoslovak and Cuban Ministers of Interior, Jaromír Obzina and Sergio Dell Valle Jimenez, on November 21, 1976 in Havana for an indefinite period of time. Both socialist countries confirmed their cooperation by signing a new agreement in Havana ten years later. The last agreement among those signed with the 'main

partners' was the one concluded with the Ministry of State Security of East Germany, which was signed on behalf of the German party by the Minister Erich Mielke on March 9, 1977 in Prague. Signing these agreements did not mean any beginning of cooperation. The secret services of the socialist countries had been in contact since the end of the 40s, although closer cooperation started to develop only when the Federal Republic of Germany began to prepare for its membership in NATO in the middle of the 50s. Except for the 'rezidenturas' of the Czechoslovak Foreian intelliaence service. which were developed at the embassies and consulates in the countries outside of the Soviet block, the Federal Ministry of the Interior started to establish its representation also in socialist and allied countries. Such bases were gradually established in Hungary, Poland, GDR, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Cuba, Mongolia, Vietnam, Libya, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Iraq and Ethiopia. A representative of the Federal Ministry of the Interior was the head of rezidentura. The biggest rezidentura was in the Soviet Union. Meetings of central operational directorates and regional ZNB directorates of neighbouring socialist countries were organised on a regular basis. Their cooperation was formally confirmed by the Protocols on Cooperation. Members of the units that worked on the same issues were in permanent contact. In their meetings they discussed the procedures to be used for working on cases which had an impact on more countries. The cooperation culminated in establishing the System of Unified Registry of Information on the Enemies, developed by State Security units in socialist countries since 1977, to gather and exchange information about hostile activities of persons and organisations. In 1989 the second phase of the project was under preparation: the registry of hostile objects.

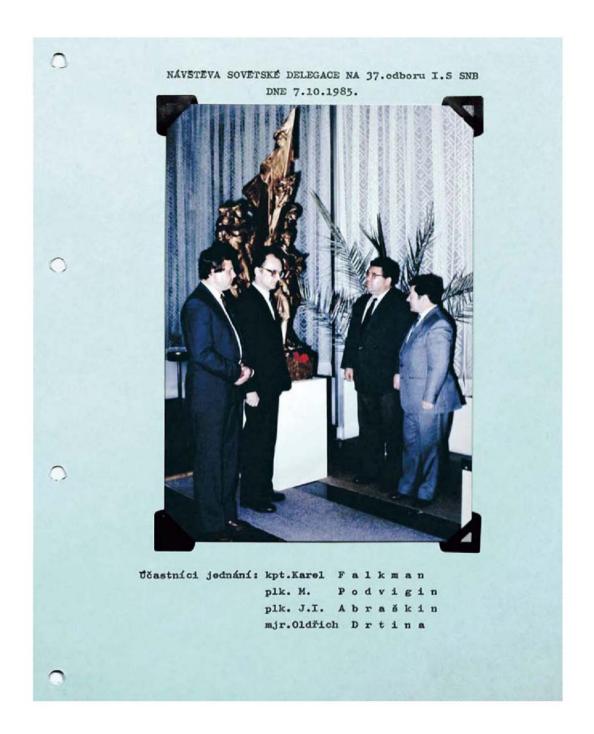


Structure of the State Security Central Administration of the Slovak Socialist Republic Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive





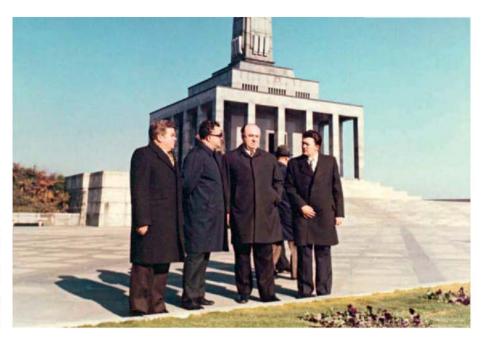
Cooperation agreements and visits paid by the Eastern bloc secret service members were an important element in their work. Photo from signing the Agreement between the Czechoslovak and the Soviet Secret Services, and the visits of the Soviet Secret service members to Czechoslovakia Source: ABS



the need to adopt one of the submitted proposals by the slowness and heavy-handedness of the management due to three relatively independent counter-intelligence units, by the weakened action readiness and low work effectiveness, complex arrangement of the relations between the federal and national counter-intelligence services, and by exemplary integrated efforts of hostile counter-intelligence services operating against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and other socialist countries.

The discussion about increasing the influence and scope of powers of the Ministry of the Interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in managing and performing the activities of National Security Corps was led by Radek Kaska, the new Federal Minister of the Interior. This graduate of J. V. Stalin's Steel Institute in Moscow acceded to the office on January 28, 1970. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party approved the gradual centralisation of security units in the middle of 1970. The Minister of the Interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic took over the management of all State Security units, with the exception of ŠtB investigation units and units issuing travel documents for abroad. At the beginning of November 1970 the Central State Security Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic was dissolved. The process of centralising the security units was terminated at the end of 1970. The acts adopted on December 20 made it definitely possible to shift all decisive powers to federal bodies. The Constitutional Act no. 125/1970 Coll. amended and supplemented the Constitutional Act on the Czechoslovak Federation. The Act no. 128/1970 Coll. revoked the Act no. 166/1968 Coll. and from January 1, 1971 included State Security's management and supervision into the powers of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, including the ŠtB investigation units, and management of the activities of all ZNB units in time of the extraordinary threat to public peace and order. It was finally the Act no. 133/1970 Coll. that regulated the scope of activities sand powers of federal ministries, including the Ministry of the Interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Changes in the organisation and the management of the Federal Ministry of the Interior units indicated also changes to be implemented in the highest management of the Ministry. At the beginning of December 1970 the Minister of the Interior Kaska asked to increase the number of deputy ministers from two to five. He claimed the reason was "related to the finalisation of the political and working consolidation, the need to improve the management from all points of view (including systematic controls and inspections) and to revise the concept of state security issues". The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party approved deputy ministers at its meeting in November, namely Jaroslav Vosecký, the Head of Intelligence Service Technology Directorate, Jaroslav Šilhavý, the Head of the Internal and Organisational Directorate, and Jozef Turošík, the 1st Deputy Head of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army. The distribution of these positions from the point of view of nationality reflected the proportions of the two nations in the country: i.e. four Czechs and two Slovaks. But in the middle of February 1971 the government of



Jaromír Obzina, the Federal Minister of the Interior with Ján Hanuliak and Ján Kováč, in Bratislava. On the left: driver, Hanuliak, Obzina and Kováč Source: V. Hanuliak Archive

the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic revoked the appointment of Jozef Turošík, and Ján Hanuliak, the Head of Surveillance Directorate was appointed to that vacant post of the Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of the Interior.

At the beginning of 1971 the name of State Security Headquarters in Slovakia was changed to the Central State Security Directorate of the Slovak Socialist Republic and its management was taken over by Miloslav Košnar, the Deputy Minister of the Interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for State Security, and later by Ján Hanuliak. Colonel Ivan Fiodorovich Skripov, the Soviet advisor, was allocated to the Directorate, which was officially legalised at the Soviet Consulate in Bratislava. The complex organisational structure was reduced from seven operational units to four. The Unit against Hostile Intelligence Services was led by Bohuš Vavro, the former Head of Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Žilina and Banská Bystrica (Ist Unit); the Unit of Internal Intelligence was led by Michal Fodran (IInd Unit), the Unit of Counter-Intelligence Protection of Economy and State Secret by Jozef Belan (IIIrd Unit), and the Unit Focused on Visa Foreigners, Emigrants, Home-comers, Travels to so-called Capitalistic Abroad was led by Peter Sijka (IVth Unit). All other state security units of the Slovak Ministry of the Interior became integral parts of State Security central units, with the exception of the Security Unit of State Security, which was dissolved.

The Federal Minister of the Interior Radko Kaska died in an air accident not far from the Polish town Stettin at the end of February 1973. The Ministry was temporarily headed by Ján Hanuliak, the 1st Deputy Minister, and on March 30, 1973 Jaromír Obzina, Deputy Head of the Department of Education, Research and Culture at the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party

The implementation of normalisation brought a massive purge within the Czechoslovak Communist Party and so many Communists who were engaged in the reform process in 1968 lost their membership in the Party. For many of them it was accompanied with the loss of their jobs, and those were most active were considered to be enemies of a regime which they had helped to build up. As so-called right-wing opportunists, they were pushed to the edge of society. The most well-known case in Slovakia was the former 1st Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Alexander Dubček. State Security paid attention to him, under the orders of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, when he was the Czechoslovak Ambassador to Turkey. After Dubček arrived home, he was permanently monitored and operationally worked on. His case was given priority. There were actions under various code names against him: from 1972 it was BREZA (in English BIRCH), from 1975 KATALYZÁTOR (in English CATALYZER), from 1977 MODERATOR (in English

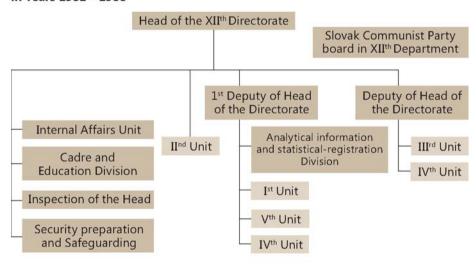
MODERATOR) and from 1979 ESER. His family was also observed. At the beginning of the 70s the information on the activities of Alexander Dubček was placed in the introductory part of the reports dedicated to the activities of the right-wing in Slovakia, that were submitted to the Federal Minister of the Interior. A special group, later a department, was created organising and performing counter-intelligence activities related to the issue 'Dubček'. The aim was to isolate him from the opposition environment and to hinder his engagement in any opposition activities. When State Security observed attempts for such contacts, it took so-called preventive measures and invited Dubček for an interview. The permanent interest of State Security resulted in Dubček's passivity, reduction of interviews, meeting, and refusing proposals to cooperate. Influencing Alexander Dubček's decisions and actions was another area of the activities performed by State Security with the help of so-called influential agencies. The State Security also tried to curb Dubček's 'undesired' activities by increasing his workload.

became the Minister of the Interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. He helped finish the years-long discussion about the final form of the Czechoslovak counter-intelligence units. He completed the system of education and training within the sector of the interior (the Higher School of the National Security Corps, VŠ ZNB was established), and the lowest units of the security units management, i.e. District National Security Corps Directorates were established.

The reorganisation of the counter-intelligence service was prepared from the beginning of the 70s. The IInd Directorate of the Federal Ministry of the Interior worked in a structure allowing for the exclusion of the issues related to the internal enemy and protection of the socialistic economy, and to establish a separate unit. That procedure was approved by KGB representatives at a bilateral meeting in 1972. This is how the top leaders of the regime wanted to direct State

Security and focus its activities on a rigid repression of the opposition and on victimising its own citizens. These efforts achieved a concrete form two years later. In July 1974 the Central Counter-intelligence Directorate in Prague was dissolved and the counter-intelligence activities were divided among three individual units with their seats in Prague: the Counter-intelligence Directorate for the Fight against the External Enemy (IInd Directorate of the Federal Ministry of the Interior); the Counter-intelligence Directorate for the Fight against the Internal Enemy (Xth Directorate of the Federal Ministry of the Interior); and the Counterintelligence Directorate for the Protection of the Economy (XIth Directorate of the Federal Ministry of the Interior). In that way the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior returned to the counter-intelligence structure of the years 1954 – 1964. The Central State Security Directorate of the Slovak Socialist Republic in Bratislava was substituted at the same time by the Counter-intelligence Directorate in Bratislava with a undercover name of the XIIth Directorate of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. It was responsible for counter-intelligence activities in selected fields of interest of a federal nature, or of national nature, in the territory of Slovakia. Minister Obzina justified the reorganisation by the need to intensify counter-intelligence work, to adopt it to contemporary forms and the methods of hostile activists, and to improve the quality of centralised management.

Organisational Structure of the XIIth Directorate of the National Security Corps in Years 1981 – 1988



The Counter-Intelligence Directorate in Bratislava was divided into functional and executive units. The functional units took care of the operation of the Directorate and its communication with other units of the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the National Security Corps. They included: the Unit of internal affairs, the Head's inspection unit, the Human resources group, the Analytical-information and statistical-registration department, and after February 14, 1978, the Defence group. The operational activities and activities of agents' networks

Směrnice

pro evidenci osob ohrožujících vnitřní pořádek a bezpečnost státu

Základní ustanovení

ČI. 1

Účelem těchto směrnic je stanovit jednotný postup útvarů Státní a Veřejné bezpečnosti při evidenci osob, které svým jednáním nebo politickými postoji ohrozily, ohrožují nebo by mohly ohrozit vnitřní pořádek a bezpečnost státu (dále jen "evidované osoby").

Č1. 2

Evidované osoby mohou být zařazeny do evidence při důsledném respektování třídních hledisek a jen na základě konkrétních a objektivních poznatků svědčících nebo signalizujících jejich činnost, jednání či postoje směřující k ohrožení vnitřního pořádku a bezpečnosti státu.

Č1. 3

Kontrolu nad evidovanými osobami a soustavné sledování jejich činnosti, politických postojů, styků a pobytu provádějí příslušné útvary Státní a Veřejné bezpečnosti podle stanovené působnosti.

Čl. 4

- (¹) Evidenci a písemnosti s ní spojené vedou v rámci okresu oddělení Státní bezpečnosti okresních správ Sboru národní bezpečnosti, popřípadě příslušný odbor správy Státní bezpečnosti podle místa trvalého pobytu evidované osoby.
- [2] Jestliže evidovaná osoba pracuje v místě, kde má pouze přechodný pobyt, může být výjimečně zařazena v evidenci v místě přechodného pobytu.

Č1. 5

- Evidence v rámci kraje se vede u statisticko-evidenčního oddělení správy Státní bezpečnosti.
- [2] Ústřední evidenci všech evidovaných osob v Československé socialistické republice vede statisticko-evidenční odbor federálního

ministerstva vnitra, který poskytuje údaje pro potřeby analytické a řídící práce.

ČI. 6

Osoby podléhající evidenci

Evidenci podle těchto směrnic podléhají zeiména:

- a/ představitelé a aktivní činitelé pravicového oportunismu, slonismu, trockismu, nacionalismu, maoismu, mluvčí a organizátoří tzv. "nelegální kultury", signatáři tzv. "Charty 77" a ostatních nepřátelských opozičních seskupení, spolupracovníci a informátoři zahraničních ideologických center a ostatní osoby udržující aktívní styky s jinými nepřátelskými emigrantskými seskupeními:
- b/ představitelé antisocialistických sil, zejméná z řád bývalých funkcionářů kontrarevolučních organizací Klub-231, Klub angažovaných nestraníků, Společnosti pro lidská práva, bývalých pravicových sociálních demokratů, aktivní funkcionáři bývalých reakčních a fašistických politických stran a jejich organizací, odhalení agenti cizích zpravodajských služeb;
- c/ představitelé bývalých vykořisťovatelských tříd a kapitalistického státního a hospodářského aparátu, osoby, která v minulosti spáchaly závažné trestné činy podle hlavy přvní zvláštní části trestního zákona, a navřátlici projevující nepřátelství vůči státu;
- d/ autoří, rozmnožovatelé a rozšířovatelé závažných protisocialistických a protizákonných pamfletů a tiskovin;
- e/ organizátoři a aktivní účastníci protisocialistických a protisovětských akci, demonstrací a jiných nebezpečných protispolečenských vystoupení a aktivní účastníci fyzického a psychického teroru;
- f/ představitelé bývalých protisocialistických studentských a mládežnických organizací (ARS, Svaz vysokoškolského studentstva, Junák atd.), organizátoři závadových seskupení z řad narušené mládeže a ostatní osoby, které uplatňovaly protisocialistický vliv v procesu výchovy mládeže;
- g/ reakční představitelé <u>církevní hierarchie</u>, kléru, tajní biskupi a <u>kněží</u>, představitelé jednotlivých rádů, sekt a vedoucí ideologové laického apostolátu.

The directive on recording the so called "enemy individuals" from 1978 Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

Kategorie nebezpečnosti evidovaných osob

ČI. 7

- [1] Příslušný útvar při evidenci osob důkladně vyhodnotí poznatky ke každé osobě podle stanovených hledisek a rozhodne o zařazení do odpovídající kategorie nebezpečnosti.
- (²) Do I. kategorie nebezpečnosti se zařazují zvlášť nebezpeční aktivní organizátoři a pachátelé nepřátelské činnosti proti státu z řad hlavních činitelů a představitelů pravice a antisocialistických sil a odhalených agentů cizích zpravodajských služeb.
- [3] Do II. kategorie nebezpečnosti se zařazují nebezpečné protisocialisticky zaměřené osoby, které udržují styky s dalšími reakčními silami doma i v zahraničí, působí nepřátelsky ve svém okolí a při mimořádných událostech se zapojují do aktivní činnosti proti státu.
- (4) Do III. kategorie nebezpečnosti se zařazují protisocialisticky zaměřené osoby, které zaujímají <u>vyčkávací stanovisko a v době mimo-</u> řádných událostí se mohou zapojit do aktivní činnosti proti státu.
- (5) Do IV. kategorie nebezpečnosti se zařazují ostatní protisocialisticky zaměřené osoby, které svým charakterem nesplňují podmínky pro zařazení do některé z předchozích kategorií.

Č1. 8

- [1] Evidované osoby zařazené do I. a II. kategorie nebezpečnosti musí být současně rozpracovávány v příslušných svazcích kontrarozvědného rozpracování.
- [2] U okresních správ Sboru národní bezpečnosti, kde není oddělení Státní bezpečnosti, provádí rozpracování evidovaných osob zařazených do I. a II. kategorie nebezpečnosti příslušný odbor správy Státní bezpečnosti.
- (3) Kontrolu evidovaných osob zařazených do III. a IV. kategorie nebezpečnosti provádějí příslušnící Veřejné bezpečnosti podle pokynů zástupce náčelníka okresní správy Sboru národní bezpečnosti pro Veřejnou bezpečnost vydávaných v součinnosti se zástupcem náčelníka této správy pro Státní bezpečnost.
- (4) Náčelník okresní správy Sboru národní bezpečnosti je současně informován o osobách evidovaných v I. a II. kategorii nebezpečnosti s cílem zajišťovat aktivní pomoc příslušníků Veřejné bezpečnosti při kontrole a rozpracování těchto osob.

Č1. 9

Zařazení osob do I. až IV. kategorie nebezpečnosti navrhuje na základě písemných podkladů náčelník oddělení Státní bezpečnosti na správě Státní bezpečnosti, doporučuje náčelník odboru na této správě a schvaluje náčelník příslušné správy Státní bezpečnosti.

Čl. 10

Oblasti působnosti evidovaných osob

- Každá evidovaná osoba musí být v evidenci zařazena do některé ze stanovených oblastí působnosti.
- (2) Oblastmi působnosti evidovaných osob jsou:
- a/ ideová a kulturní;
- b/ sdělovací prostředky (zejména tisk, rozhlas, televize);
- c/ školství;
- d/ cirkev:
- e/ průmysl;
- f/ věda a výzkum;
- g/ zdravotnictví;
- g/ zuravotilictvi,
- h/ služby a obchod;
- th/ doprava;
- i/ zemědělství;
- j/ ostatní.

Postup při evidenci osob

Čl. 11

Evidence osob se provádí na základě dvojmo pořízen<u>áho návrhu,</u> který obsahuje rozhodující údaje o evidovaných osobách: jméno, datum narození, národnost, státní příslušnost, místo trvalého i přechodného pobytu, povolání, současné zaměstnání, stručnou politickou charakteristiku, odůvodnění pro zařazení do evidence, oblast působností a příslušnou kategorii nebezpečnosti, v níž má být osoba evidována, výsledek lustrace v ústřední evidenci u statisticko-evidenčního odboru federálního ministerstva vnítra a v evidenci federální kriminální ústředny federální správy Veřejné bezpečnosti.

Čl. 12

Po schválení návrhu (čl. 11) provede příslušník Státní bezpečnosti, který osobu eviduje, tato opatření: In the 80s, the attitudes of the inhabitants towards the regime gradually changed. People started to be more courageous, and so the numbers of church-goers participating in pilgrimages all over Slovakia increased. Since 1984, one may speak about massive character of those events. In 1984 there was a pilgrimage to the Mountain of the Holy Mary in Levoča which approximately 150, 000 people participated, and in September about 50, 000 people from whole Slovakia came to Šaštín. In July 1985, about 200, 000 people came on the pilgrimage to Velehrad and manifested their discontent with the state policy against the church. This would definitely not escape the notice of State Security, which started to take actions to decrease the number of pilgrimage participants, or at least to hinder an open confrontation with the regime. Attention was concentrated on preventive activity and interviews with

well-known activists and priests in dioceses. Measures taken before the pilgrimages included efforts to identify plans to organise massive participation of worshippers. The officers of State Security then implemented measures in factories and companies so that the buses could not be used at a time when there was a pilgrimage. Photocopy machines were also checked to prevent the printing of flyers and promotional materials. Officers of and secret collaborators with State Security were directed to make photo-documents at pilgrimages, on the basis of which individual participants were identified. In a similar way, the registration plates of cars and buses bringing people to the pilgrimage were identified. The owners were then invited for an interview. There were special activities that were intended to stop the pilgrims signing any declarations or similar documents.

were performed by the Unit for the Fight against the External Enemy (Ist Unit), the Unit for the Fight against the Internal Enemy (IInd Unit), and the Unit for the Protection of the Economy (IIIrd Unit). Among the executive units there were the Unit of Surveillance and the Unit of Intelligence Service Technology (IVth and VIth Units).

The Unit for the Fight against the External Enemy concentrated on the activities of hostile foreign intelligence services, their workers and the networks of agents in places of its interest, on monitoring the diplomats from the so-called capitalistic countries and visa foreigners, on taking measures against emigrants and home-comers, as well as the 'protection' of persons who travelled to so-called capitalistic countries (preparing and instructing the travellers to possible contacts with a foreign intelligence service, non-disclosure of state secrets and other important information, and the follow-up informing State Security members about the business trip and about all extraordinary events immediately after coming back). The unit worked on the objects of the Directorate of Services Provided to the Diplomatic Corps, the UN Research Computer Centre, the UN Centre for Environment Protection Research, the Press and Information Centre

XII. správa ZNB Bratislava

2. odbor, 1. oddelenie č p.: &&- 00 +50+ |20-+|44 Bratislava, 30. 11. 1981

PRÍSNE TAJNÉ I

Schvalujem:

Macelník XII. s - ZNB

Výtlačok č. :-

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PLAN PRACE

v akcii " E S E R " na rok 1982

Realizáciou opatrení prijatých v ročnom Pláne práce na rok 1981 a Návrhu projektu celoštátnej preventívno-bezpečnostnej akcie "IZOLÁCIA", v podmienkach prípadu "ESER" bolo dosiahnuté:

- 1/ Prehlbenie poznania zámerov a cieľov objekta pre budúce obdobie, najmä v súvislosti s jeho odchodom na dôchodok, jeho stanoviská k rôznym vnútropolitickým a zahranično-politickým udalostiam,
- 2/ zamedzenie aktívneho vystúpenia objekta v prospech antisocialistických síl najmä v súvislosti s politickými udalosťami ako bol zjazd KSS, XVI. zjazd KSČ a voľby do zastupiteľských orgánov,
- 3/ udržanie objekta v politickej izolácii od exponentov pravice v ČSR a vplyvov opozičných síl v PĽR.

Zhodnotením dosiahnutých výsledkov v agentúrno-operatívnej činnosti možno konštatovať, že zámer a ciele v uplynulom období

Work planned against Alexander Dubček Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive The operation called KLIN (in English WEDGE) was a significant operation by State Security against anti-regime activists. Its aim was to isolate political confrontation streams in opposition groups and to eliminate them. It represented a reaction by State Security against the process of unification of the opposition that accelerated since 1986. The main objective of the operation was to isolate and fragmentise the opposition into smaller groups, and break it into groups fighting among themselves.

A similarly important objective was to stop newly established anti-regime groups taking on a political character. The leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party could in this way preserve its role in solving social and political problems. The measures focused on the liquidation of Charter 77 activities were the core of that action. It was this country-wide operation that represented one of the new forms of work of State Security in striving to silence the anti-regime activities.

of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Slovak abbreviation TIS FMZV), and embassies and consulates of the so-called capitalistic countries, China and Yugoslavia.

The Unit for the Fight against the Internal Enemy worked mainly on issues against so-called 'right-wing opportunists', people dismissed from the Czechoslovak Communist Party and released from their original jobs, and it performed agency and operational activities in the fields of research, culture, mass media, youth, education, top social organisations and revivalist political parties gathered in the National Front, and issues of Zionism and Slovak separatism. In June 1977, a separate operational group was transformed into a special department which worked, using agency and operational methods, on the main representative of 'right-wing opportunist powers' in Slovakia, Alexander Dubček.

The Unit for the Protection of the Economy carried out counterintelligence activities on selected aspects of the Czechoslovak economy in Bratislava, with the aim to actively discover economic diversionism, sabotage, espionage,

Comparison of number of operational units of the Czechoslovak counter-intelligence service members before and after the reorganisation in 1988

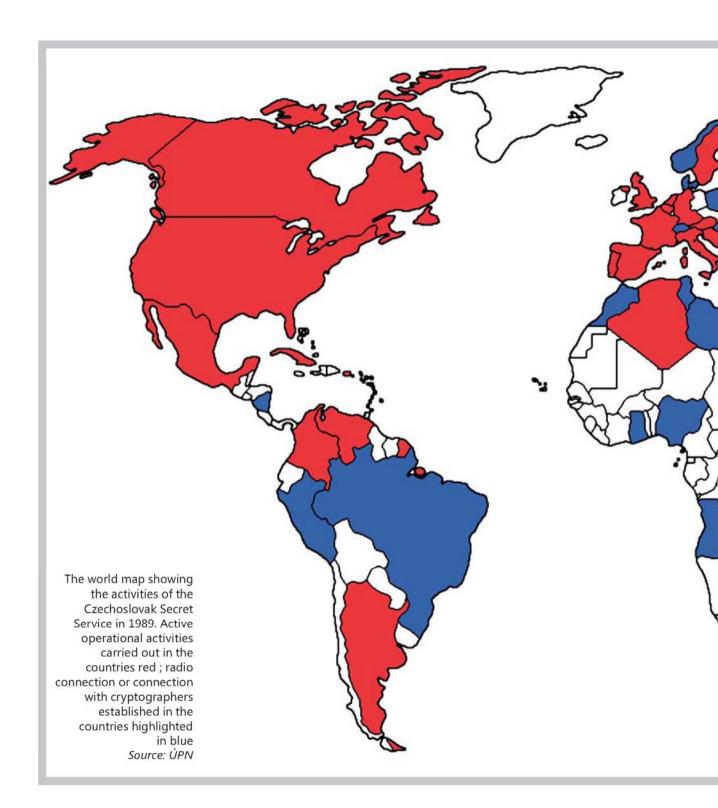
Field of interest	Before the reorganisation	After the reorganisation
External enemy	189	151
Internal intelligence service	159	183
Protection of the economy	204	182
Total	552	516

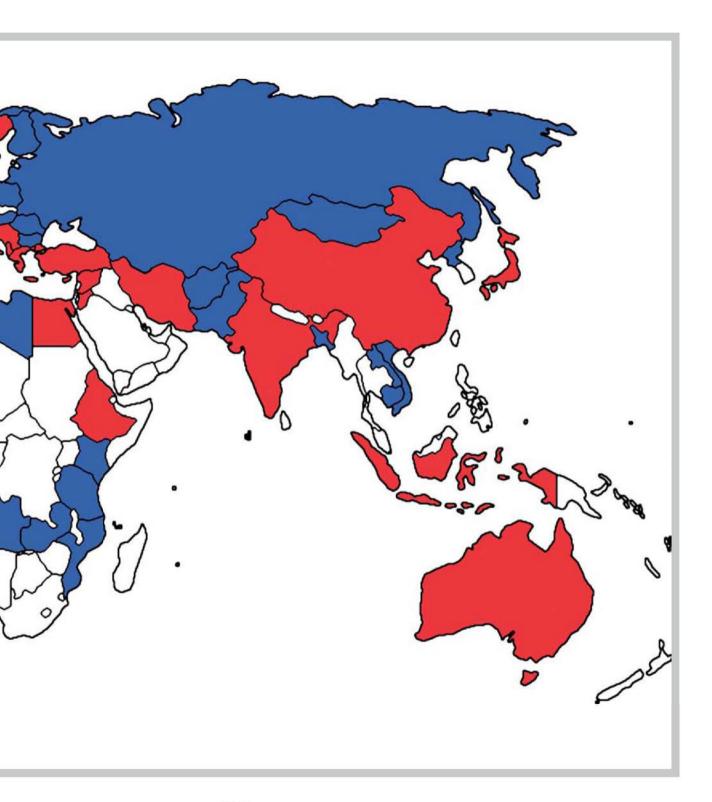
State Security initiated court trials followed by imprisonments mostly in case related to the activists and members of the Catholic Church, or activists of Charter 77. Legal steps were taken against many priests, but also against actively engaged church-goers. In most cases they got unconditional sentences, i.e. the sentences that could not be suspended. Those persons were arrested in Púchov or Ilava. The activists were accused by the regime of obstructing surveillance over churches, but in fact they were judged for their active work in the structures of the Hidden Church, participating

in spiritual exercises or importing religious literature from abroad. The civic activists were mostly accused of subversive activities against the Republic and anti-state activities, which in fact meant writing articles on the real situation in Czechoslovakia and making open criticisms of it. The most striking consequence of the penetrative operations of State Security against the Church was a set of mysterious and until today unexplained deaths of Christian activists; both priests and laymen. These included Milan Gono (1979), Přemysl Coufal (1981), Pavel Švanda (1981) and Štefan Polák (1987).

The activities of the Hidden Church played the most important role in the dissent in Slovakia at the end of the 70s. State Security could not monitor these activities and the Hidden Church's activities were not under its control. At the end of the 70s State Security decided to launch the operation KANAL (in English CHANNEL), the aim of which was to identify persons working as couriers bringing Catholic literature into Czechoslovakia and conveying information on the church policy of the Communist regime out of the country. Hundreds of laymen and priests were checked within the operation CHANNEL, until State Security came to the conclusion that the person they most wanted to find was Ing. Přemysl Coufal, the former secret theology student and former agent of State Security. The agent called PROLÓG (in English PROLOGUE) infiltrated emigrant organisations and played the key role in his disclosure. Members of State Security visited Coufal in

December 1980 and proposed to him to renew the collaboration, with the aim of control the contacts of the Hidden Church with people in other countries. In spite of the pressure in form of the offer to collaborate with State Security, Coufal refused. State Security started to shadow, intimidate and squeeze him. During the following meetings with State Security members, Coufal started to confess his activities in the Hidden Church, being placed under psychological pressure (He was permanently monitored, his flat was visited during his absence). In the night of February 24 to 25, 1981, Přemysl Coufal died in his flat. The case was immediately taken over by State Security, but the investigation did not bring any results. According to the official version, Přemysl Coufal committed suicide. But the case has not been explained satisfactorily until today and there is a strong suspicion that State Security was involved in Coufal's violent death.





wrecking activities and similar activities performed by capitalistic foreign intelligence services, monopolies, capitalistic economic groups, right-wing and other anti-socialist powers. The unit performed counter-intelligence protection of integration relations in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It was also responsible for counter-intelligence measures related to international fairs in Czechoslovakia and abroad, as well as to scientific symposiums and conferences, and counter-intelligence protection in selected aspects of national significance such as the leakage of the state, economic secret, and confidential information from official sources. The Surveillance unit organised and performed the monitoring of hostile secret services and persons suspected of hostile activities against Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, for the needs of own executive units, but also for State Security Directorate of the Regional ZNB Directorate in Bratislava, District unit of State Security, Military Counter-intelligence unit with the East Military District Trenčín, and from 1977 also for District ZNB Directorates. The Unit of Intelligence Service Technology carried out intelligence-technological operations and measures, examining the handwriting and linguistic elements of anti-state documents for operational and judicial needs within the Slovak Socialist Republic (in the case of documents written in the Slovak language applying to the whole of Czechoslovakia), dactyloscopic, chemical and biological expertise to be used by the State Security directorates in Slovakia, and it also maintained a nation-wide registry of Tactical Records of Scriptures and Tactical Records of the Slovak Language. It fulfilled tasks for its own executive units, but also for State Security Directorate of the Regional ZNB Directorate in Bratislava, the District Unit of State Security, the Military Counter-intelligence Unit with the East Military District Trenčín, and the units of the People's Police in Bratislava and in the West Slovakia region. At the beginning of 1981, a Unit for Checking the Correspondence and of Expertise (Vth unit) was set apart from two divisions within the unit. This new unit carried out technical tasks and measures related to inspecting the written contacts, provided for handwriting and linguistic expertises of anti-state documents for operational and judiciary needs within the Slovak Socialist Republic (in case of documents written in Slovak language for the whole Czechoslovakia), and provided dactyloscopic, chemical and biological expertise for the State Security units in Slovakia. It also took over the nation-wide registry

Head of the Central State Security Directorate in the Slovak Socialist Republic and the Counter-intelligence Directorate in Bratislava in the years of 1969 – 1989

Central State Security Directorate in the SSR	January 1,1969 – January 1, 1969	Ján Pobeha	
	February 1, 1969 – June 30, 1974	Ondrej Dovina	
XII th ZNB Directorate	June 1, 1974 – May 31, 1979	Ján Kováč	
	June 1, 1979 – July 31, 1986	Jozef Vavro	
	August 1, 1986 – February 9, 1990	Štefan Homola	

The activities of operational units of the Central Counter-intelligence Service Directorate focused on following scopes of interest

Executive units of the $\mathrm{II}^{\mathrm{nd}}$ ZNB Directorate	The activities focused on:			
I st Unit	Counter-intelligence surveillance of special US services, operational control of embassies and consulates of Latin American countries			
II nd Unit	Counter-intelligence surveillance of the special services of the Federal Republic of Germany, operational control of Austrian embassy and consulate			
III rd Unit	Counter-intelligence surveillance of special services of the Great Britain, France and other NATO countries and counter-intelligence protection of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs			
IV th Unit	Operational control of embassies and consulates of Afro-Asian countries, counter- intelligence dedicated to international terrorism, human smuggling organisations and Soviet troops protection			
V th Unit	Counter-intelligence protection of pre-production area, industry and agriculture			
VI th Unit	Counter-intelligence protection of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, local companies engaged in the foreign trade, foreign companies and monopoles			
VII th Unit	Counter-intelligence protection of the transport and communications, fuels and energy basis (including nuclear power plants)			
VIII th Unit	Protection of the state and economic and operational secret			
IX th Unit	Counter-intelligence surveillance of the churches and religious associations, and counter-intelligence of illegal sects			
X th Unit	Counter-intelligence surveillance of hostile groups			
XI th Unit	Counter-intelligence protection of the youth, science and research, culture and education			
XII th Unit	Counter-intelligence surveillance of ideologically diversionary centres and emigration groups and associations			

of the tactical records of Scriptures and also the tactical records of the Slovak Language. It was responsible for the legalisation of 'defective' documents in mail communication, made cover certificates and provided for legalisation stamps to be used by the counter-intelligence units of State Security and operational units of the People's Police in Slovakia.

At the end of the 70s and the beginning of the 80s, new units were added to the Central State Security structure. At the end of 1979, the Unit of Statistics and Registries was dissolved and on January 1, 1980 it was substituted by State Security Computer and Information Centre, with the cover name of the XIIIth ZNB Directorate. This was justified by "the aim to develop a homogeneously

SLUŽOBNÁ PRÍSAHA

PRÍSLUŠNÍKA ZBORU NĀRODNEJ BEZPEČNOSTI

(podřa ustanovenia § 5 ods. 3 zákona č. 100/1970 Zb., a služobnom pomere príslušníkov Zboru národnej bezpečnosti)

Ja, príslušník Zboru národnej bezpečnosti, slávnostne prisahám vernosť svojej socialistickej vlasti – Československej socialistickej republike, robotníckej triede a všetkému pracujúcemu ľudu vedenému Komunistickou stranou Československa.

Sľubujem, že budem čestným, udatným a disciplinovaným príslušníkom Zbaru národnej bezpečnosti, že budem neochvejne chrániť socialistické spoločenské a štátne zriadenie, zákonné práva občanov a verejný porladok.

Budem zdokonaľovať svoju politickú pripravenosť na základe marxismu-leninismu, úroveň svojho všeobecného aj odborného vzdelania a dbať na svoju bezúhonnosť. Prísne budem ochraňovať štátne a služobné tojomstvo.

Budem vždy rozhodne bojovať proti nepriateľom svojej socialistickej vlasti, nepriateľom Zväzu sovietskych socialistických republik a ostatných spojeneckých socialistických krajín. Budem ochraňovať priateľstvo a upevňovať spoluprácu s ľudom Zväzu sovietskych socialistických republik a ostatných spojeneckých socialistických krajín a bojový zväzok s ich ozbrojenými bezpečnostnými zbormi.

Vynaložím všetky svoje sily a schopnosti a som pripravený nasadiť i život v boji za záujmy Československej socialistickej republiky a pri plnení jej internacionálnych záväzkov, v boji za víťazstvo mieru a komunizmu.

TAK PRISAHĀMI

Banskej Bystrici

dan

1.10.1981

19

ppor. Hyža Ján

Potvrdzujem, že táto prísaha bola vykononá v mojej prítomnosti.

podpis načelníko súčasti lebo nii povereného služobného funkcioná

Oath of the State Security members in the 1980s Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive Bratislava Five (in Slovak: Bratislavská päťka) - The last attempt of the Communist regime in Slovakia to terrify and discourage anti-regime activists was arresting the members of the so-called Bratislava Five in August 1989. The Bratislava Five included: Ján Čarnogurský, leading Catholic activist and lawyer; Miroslav Kusý, the former member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, signatory and spokesman of Charter 77; Hana Ponická, dissident and writer, Anton Selecký, a Catholic publicist and an engaged layman; and Vladimír Maňák, a former member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. On August 21, 1989 they wanted to bring flowers and wreaths to those places where soldiers of the Warsaw Pact troops shot down demonstrating citizens in August 1968. Apart for this they took an active part in the antiregime operation in the community of Predmier, where there was the only statue of Milan R. Štefánik. On July 21, 1989, in front of that statue, a public meeting was organised requesting free elections and respecting the personality of Štefánik. The above mentioned five persons were arrested by State Security on August 14, 1989. They were accused of the criminal act of encouraging revolt. Both Ján Čarnogurský and Miroslav Kusý were arrested at the time of investigation, and Čarnogurský was kept there until the Velvet Revolution. On the one hand, taking criminal proceedings against the Bratislava Five made it possible for the opposition streams in Slovakia to unite, and on the other hand, it became clear that the regime; although using slogans about perestroika; would not hesitate to use state power to terrify its opponents.

If the monitoring of selected persons brought about 'suspicious' circumstances, the State Security members reacted by conducting home searches, during which 'harmful' and 'anti-state' materials were confiscated. State Security members breaking into houses or flats for a razzia considered all literature brought from the West, books written by exiles, religious publications or manuscript works by proscribed authors to be 'harmful'. Just to have them in libraries at home was enough to have a problem.

We may give an example of an operation against the historian Jozef Jablonický; as well as 'harmful materials' his own unfinished works were confiscated during the house search. State Security was able to fabricate the existence of 'anti-state materials' during the house search. Even headache pills could be said to be explosive planned to be used to meet terrorist aims, if there was any suspicion of anti-state activities and the investigators needed to manufacture an accusation

KSSNB-Správa Státnej bezpečnost oddolonie Spišská Nová Vos PRYOPISOM Prehlasenie Prehlassym, se dra 21 v 1941 bol som vor styku s organni st bispienoste no sp. v. visi pri pohovore bol som obornameny so skuloèmortami, blore broria charabler statulo hajonistva. O týchla veriach nebudem hovorih nihomu, lo knamena ani svojim pubutenym Porcisence byello rasad mobil by som by brany h rodpovednosti. Toroviri sa ravaregene, re podla mopile mornosti a selopuosti jomôrem organom STB pri odhalovane osob, Blore soojimi notormy a cinoslou si nepialelni nor raiadenia, budine na pridraiaval pohynor organa Bexprenosti Charime som loto preblamie odovidal

Example – a commitment of collaboration Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

organised, uniform and systematic procedure in the implementation and use of the computer technology within the sub-system of State Security, as well as in strengthening the central organising work". After the Federal Ministry of the Interior was reorganised as of March 1, 1982, that centre was included in the Secretariat of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. At the beginning of August 1986 it was substituted by the units of integrated information system (IIS) projection of State Security and People's Police, and the IIS departments and groups of financial management, social information, communications, construction production and air operation. The projection units were intended to coordinate and provide for developing integrated information systems, to make assessments of automated and non-automated databases in accordance with the requirements of the users and to propose corresponding measures.

A year later, on January 1, 1981 a Counter-intelligence Directorate for the Fight against Extraordinary and Special Forms of Criminal Activities (14th ZNB Directorate) was established in relation to the growing activities of terrorist groups. Within that Directorate there was a specialised Unit of Special Designation (from 1982 it was called a Special Designation Force). The Directorate was dissolved at the end of 1985. The operational work concerning terrorism was taken over by the IInd ZNB Directorate; the renamed Special Designation Unit was included in the Ministry of the Interior Troops Directorate as a special unit of National Security Corps.

In May 1988 the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic adopted Resolution no. 130 on the principles and the procedure of reducing staff in central bodies. It was decided to reduce the staff at ministries by 30% and to reduce the number of Deputy Ministers. The last reorganisation of the Federal Ministry of the Interior was launched as a result of to that resolution. It began with the reduction of deputy ministers from five to three. All deputy ministers, with the exception of Alojz Lorenc, the 1st Deputy Minister, were withdrawn from their offices. At the beginning of June two former Regional Heads of National Security Corps in Ostrava and in Brno were appointed to those vacant positions of deputy ministers; František Kincl (from June 1) and Stanislav Nezval (from June 10). According to the regulation adopted by the Minister of the Interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in October 1979, the Department of State Borders Protection, the Passport Control Department, and Airport Control Department were included among the base units of National Security Corps and the units of State Security.

By 1986 there were large staff numbers at central units of the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior. In the units of the Federal Ministry of the Interior there were 16,783 job positions, 5,345 being the jobs within State Security and 5,358 were jobs with Border Guard units. After reducing staff in 1969, the security sector had 5,910 job positions (in comparison to 9,894 in 1968). But in following years this tendency increased. In 1971 there were 8,995 job positions, while in 1976 there were 15,137 (by then the Border Guard was also included in the Federal Ministry of the Interior). By 1981 there were altogether 16,164 jobs altogether, and by 1986 there were 16,519 jobs.

Organisational structure of State Security Regional Directorate of the National Security Corps Košice from July 1st, 1971 until December 31st, 1974

State Security Directorate management	Head and deputy				
Division of Interior Affairs	providing methodological command and checking the observance of principles by State Security Directorate, stipulated by the Ministry of the Interior administrative rules principles				
Division of analyses, statistics and registries	operational registry of the files and persons, elaboration of statistical reports, providing information flow within State Security Directorate, and to superior bodies				
I st Unit	Department 1: against the intelligence services of the USA, Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Great Britain, France and other capitalistic countries, diplomats from Western countries.				
	Department 2: visa foreigners, CENTER, protection of Soviet troops, management of the Department of Passport Control;				
	Department 3: travels abroad, emigration, home-comers;				
II nd Unit	Department 1: youth, higher schools and universities, science, culture, anti-state documents, hostile persons;				
	Department 2: church, sects, religions (within the respective region, but also in relation to foreign countries);				
	Department 3: emigrant organisations (those supporting ideas of the Hlinka Slovak People's Party and the idea of independent Slovak state, Ukrainian-nationalistic, Zionist – within the region, but also in relation to foreign countries);				
	Department 4: state secret protection, sabotage, extraordinary events, protection of the socialist economy, and internal secret service (transport, communications, energetics);				
IV th Unit	surveillance				
VI th Unit	intelligence service technology				
	Division 1: operational technology				
	Division 2: checking the correspondence				
State Security Divisions:	Prešov, Poprad, Spišská Nová Ves, Michalovce, Rožňava, Humenné, Čierna nad Tisou, Trebišov				
State Security groups:	Bardejov, Vranov, Svidník, Stará Ľubovňa				
Division of Passport Control:	Čaňa – Hraničná pri Hornáde, Slovenské Nové Mesto, Čierna nad Tisou, Vyšné Nemecké, Javorina, Poprad – Tatry (airport), Mníšek nad Popradom (part of counter-intelligence service until June 12 th , 1973)				
State Security Airport Control Divisions	Košice, Poprad – Tatry (from September 1st, 1972).				

Safe and rented houses were the flats, or offices in buildings of authorities and institutions that were used for secret meetings of State Security members (so-called 'control bodies') with reliable, experienced and thoroughly checked secret collaborators. Safe houses were administered by the Ministry of the Interior. The actual users of those flats were State Security members, who took on false identities, for reasons of their own confidentiality. Safe houses belonged to civilians who, after making an agreement with State Security, committed themselves to provide their flats to be used for the needs of the StB. Safe and rented houses were selected by State Security mainly with respect to carrying out absolutely confidential meetings. These flats were usually located in standard apartments and houses. According to State Security regulations they could not be

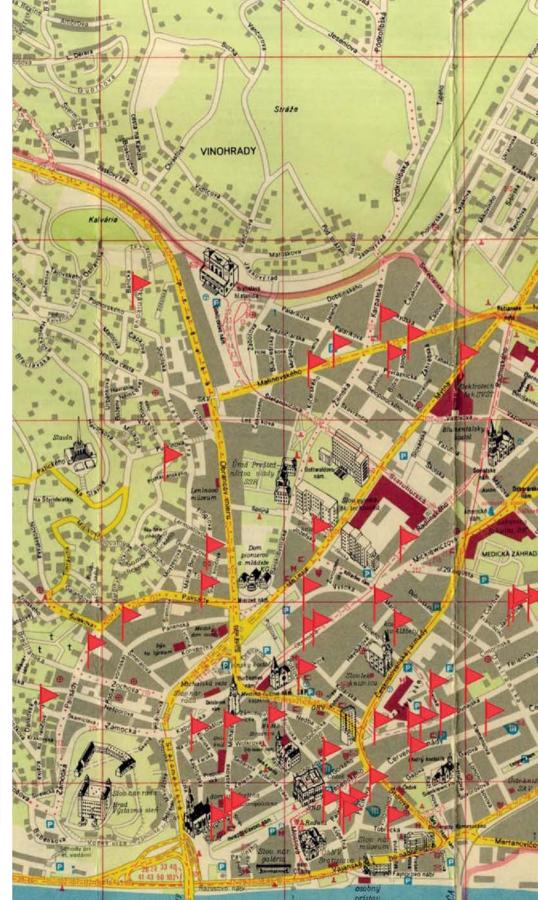
located in buildings belonging to the Czechoslovak Communist Party, other political parties or state authorities. State Security member, as well as secret collaborators visiting the safe or rented house agreed to a fictive reason for the visit in advance, the so-called 'legend', that should make people living in neighbouring flats believe there were reliable reasons why unknown people frequently visited a house. The use of safe and rented flats was terminated in cases where the location of the flat was disclosed, e.g. if the secret collaborator emigrated, or if other persons who knew that the flat was used by State Security revealed this fact. State Security units had records about 3.149 flats in Slovakia in the period from 1954 until 1989 (1.123 safe flats and 646 rented flats in Bratislava, 815 safe flats and 117 rented flats in Banská Bystrica, and 316 safe flats and 132 rented flats in Košice).

Legends:

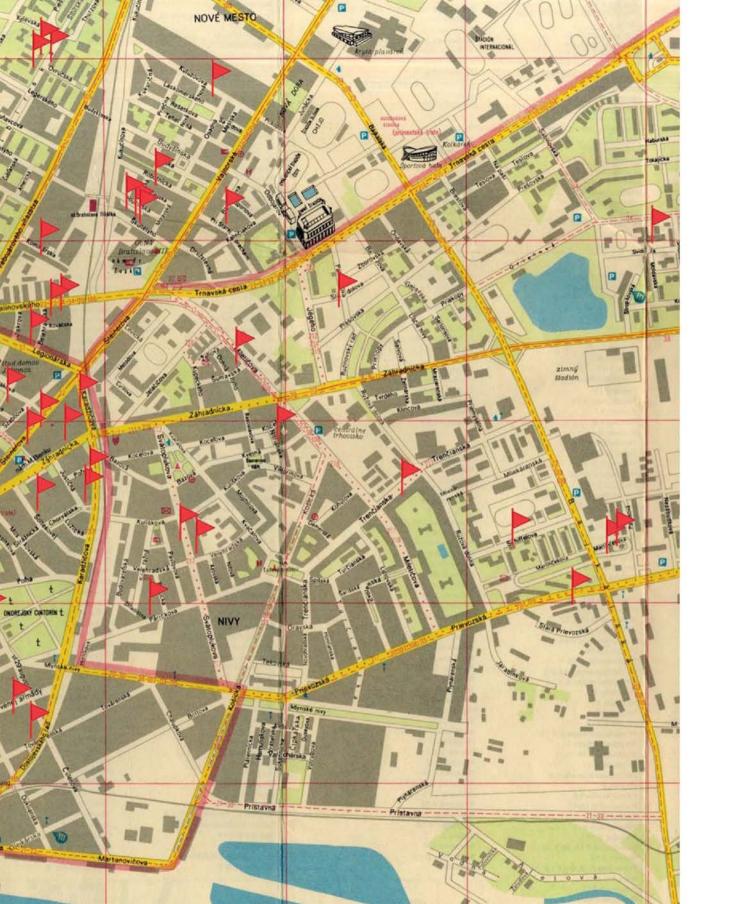
"a/ Information for the control body: Major VELICKÝ, undercover name Ján BYBČANYI, shall act as a person living in the safe flat. The doorkeeper shall be informed that the control body has been working with the company STAVOPROJEKT, operating in whole Slovakia. The control body shall use this legend in case he gets in contact with other people living in the house.

b/ Information for the collaborator: NERUDA – Collaborator who will come to the flat for meetings, will be informed how to behave when getting in contact with other people living in the house, in case they would ask him about the reason of his visit. He will tell them visiting his colleague in relation to elaboration of a project, a design of a garage or a garden house."

(Safe flat called SHOP, in Slovak OBCHOD, located at Dunajská Street no. 2 in Bratislava).



Map of safe houses and rented houses used by the State security in Bratislava Source: ÚPN



"On the door of the flat called "KYJEV" there is a door name plate of J. P. Khorkov. When a person visits the flat, a legend may be used that the secret collaborator or the operational worker is a friend/colleague of J. P. Khorkov who works at the Trade Representation of the USSR in Bratislava. This is why Chrokov travels a lot and he makes the flat available to his colleagues to use it for their occasional business negotiations. Or it may be claimed, depending on the concrete situation,

that J. P. Khorkov gave the flat keys to a friend asking him to water the plants in his flat during his absence, caused by frequent business meetings abroad. In case of questions asked by the people living in the house, it is necessary to give an indefinite answer so that they cannot find out what J. P. Khorkov looks like and when he stays in the flat. One can say he is a diplomat and so is very busy." (Rented flat called "KYJEV" located at Hollého Street no. 9 in Bratislava).

Numbers of staff, members of State Security Directorates of Regional ZNB Directorates in Slovakia and in Czechoslovakia as of March 1st, 1988

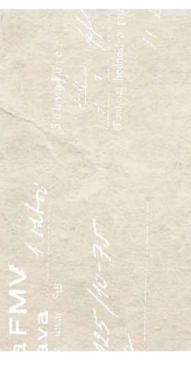
ŠtB Unit	Staff	External enemy	Internal enemy	Economy protection	Surveillance	Intelligence service technology
Bratislava	250	50	50	80	XII th Directorate	XII th Directorate
Banská Bystrica	201	29	29	34	28	46
Košice	223	32	32	38	36	41
Regions in the ČSSR	2,879	501	451	532	341	460

The organisational structure of the XIIth National Security Corps Directorate was significantly changed in relation to the complex reorganisation of the units of the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the ZNB in autumn 1988. Alojz Lorenc, the 1st Deputy Minister of Czechoslovakia was authorised to develop a plan for reorganisation. The final proposal on changes to be implemented within the management and the organisational structure of the Federal Ministry of the Interior and its staff was submitted by Vratislav Vajnar, the Federal Minister of the Interior, to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to be discussed and approved on July 19, 1988. The proposal was expected to reduce the number of units at the headquarters of the Federal Ministry of the Interior by 34%, to reduce the number of heads of directorates, their deputies, heads of units and their deputies by 29 (i.e. by 25%), to reduce the number of head positions in central units by 172 persons (i.e. by more than 30%) and to reduce the number of job positions by 816. The new organisational structure was implemented at the Federal Ministry of the Interior on August 1st, 1988. The Federal Minister of the Interior Vratislav Vajnar dissolved all 38 original units at the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the National Security Corps, and established 24 units at the Federal Ministry of the Interior which were subordinated to the Ministry. Among the units of State Security, it was the counter-intelligence service where most of the changes were implemented. The IInd ZNB Directorate (Fight against the External Enemy), the Xth ZNB Directorate (Fight against the Internal Enemy), the XIth ZNB Directorate (Protection of the Czechoslovak Economy) and the Unit of State Security Integrated Information System merged, and the Central Counter-intelligence Directorate with an undercover name of the IInd ZNB Directorate was established. Three operational units of the XIIth Directorate merged in the Counter-intelligence Unit (Ist unit). Two units, the Unit of Intelligence Technology and the Unit of Checking the Correspondence and of Expertises merged and the Unit of Intelligence Service Technological Operations and Expertises (IIIrd unit)

Organisational structure of State Security Directorate of the Regional Directorate of the National Security Corps Košice since January 1st, 1975:

The Unit for the fight against the external enemy was divided into four divisions. The first one dealt with intelligence services of the USA, Great Britain and France, contacted the embassies and consulates of so-called capitalist countries and helped with the protection of the troops of the USSR. The second division focused on the intelligence services of the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria and other so-called capitalist countries. The third division dealt with visa foreigners, assembly workers, businessmen, custom-houses, machinations with foreign currencies and the centre CENTER. The fourth division was responsible for foreign travel, emigrants and home-comers. The Unit for the Fight Against the Internal Enemy was divided into three divisions. The first dealt with right-wing opportunism, science and culture, mass media, education, sports and Zväzarm (Association for the cooperation with the army). The second dealt with issues of Zionism, Organisation of Ukrainian

Nationalists, the NTS, dissolved political parties, sentenced agents of hostile intelligence services, protection of revivalist parties within the National Front, anti-state documents, anonymous and threatening letters, terror, illegal armaments and hostile persons. The third division worked on issues of churches and sects. The Unit for the Protection of the Socialist Economy provided for the counterintelligence protection of objects and institutions of the pre-production area, transport and communications (1st division), counter-intelligence protection and work on objects of metallurgy, engineering, energetics, geological research, uranium and chemistry (2nd division), regime protection of confidential facts and extraordinary events (3rd division). State Security departments were located in Prešov, Poprad, Spišská Nová Ves, Rožňava, Michalovce, Trebišov and Humenné. State Security groups were dislocated in Bardejov, Svidník and Vranov nad Topľov.



In the 80s the 'normalisation' regime was designed to persuade the international community that the international agreements and treaties on human rights, signed by the Communist regime, were being observed. State Security persecuted people drastically who provided foreign media with information about the real political situation in Czechoslovakia, especially about the corruption, economic criminality and human rights infringements. In 1983 State Security revealed a channel in West Slovakia which had been used to send reports on political cases in that region to the broadcasters of the Voice of America. After an intensive investigation, an anti-state group was constructed from accused persons and they were judged in a trial known as 'Novotný and accomplices'. The 'group consisted of friends of Novotný who provided him with information about the real character of the Communist regime based on their own experiences. The official wording of the accusation was: "hostility against the social and political establishments in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, subversive activities against the social system in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in cooperation with foreign powers." Tibor Novotný, as the head of the anti-state group, was sentenced in a manipulated trial to 5 years in prison and Vojtech Ottmar to 8 months in prison.

E. Språ

illah, K.

State Security also intensively monitored Hungarian independent initiatives in fighting for the rights of the Hungarian national minority in Slovakia, and being in the opposition towards the regime. Such anti-regime activities included revealing cases of discrimination against minorities and protests against those measures that caused the discrimination, mostly in the field of education. This was why it was difficult for Hungarian dissidents to cooperate with the Czech and Slovak dissent, because the Hungarian

minority was being marginalised.
Except for criticizing laws on education,
Hungarian initiatives intensified also
in relation to their refusal of the
Gabčíkovo – Nagymaros waterworks
project that was launched in 1977.
In March 1978, the activist Miklós
Duray initiated the establishment
of the Committee for the Protection
of Hungarian Minority Rights in
Czechoslovakia, protesting against
the supposed attempts of the Slovak
authorities to Slovakize the education
system.

was established. The Unit of Surveillance got a new undercover name: it was called the IInd Unit. The counter-intelligence service in Bratislava operated with that structure until the events of November 1989.

The XIIth ZNB Directorate shared its seat with State Security Directorate of the Regional Directorate of the National Security Corps Bratislava, the district unit of State Security and other units of the ZNB located at Februárového Základné zameranie kontrarozviednej činnosti na úseku boja proti vnútornému protivníkovi na rok 1989

Hlavným cieľom KR činnosti na úseku boja proti vnútornému protivníkovi je systematicky rozkladať jeho hlavné zoskupenia, izolovať popredných exponentov antisoc. síl, NC a LA, reakčné-ho duchovenstva a mač. nacionalizmu a zamedzovať ich ideovej, akčnej a organizačnej integrácii. Včas odhaľovať prípravu nepriatakcií, hlavne pokusov o organizovanie hromadných vystúpení, účinne ich rozkladať a mariť.

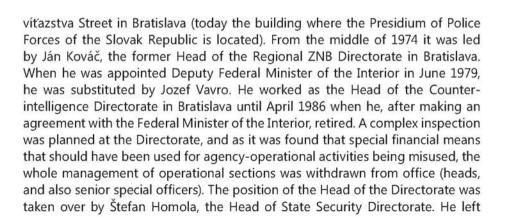
Za tým účelom :

- sily a prostriedky sústrediť na odhaľovanie hlavných organizátorov čimnosti nelegálnych rozmožovacích stredísk vnút. nepriateľa, mapovať a rozkrývať mechanizmus ich čimnosti. Zabezpečiť dokumentáciu, využiteľnú v správnom konaní a v odôvodnených prípadoch v tr. právnom procese prerušovať ich čimnosť a zoslabovať samizdatovú tvorbu.
- agentúrne prenikať do novopripravovaných "nezávislých štruktúr", včas získavať informácie o ich zameraní a v prípade ich protisoc. orientácie vplyvovými opatreniami tieto rozkladať. (Dostať agentúru do vedenia.)
- dôslednou kontrolou činnosti exponentov vnút. protivníka včas odhaľovať a prijímať účinné opatrenia k zamedzeniu ich pokusom vytvárať internacionálne zoskupenia, zamedzovať koordinačnému pôsobeniu IDC a špec. služieb protivníka vo vzťahu

1989 State Security Work Plan against people with "opposition" opinions Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive

The destruction of documents was a natural part of the administrative procedures at State Security units during the whole period of from 1948 until 1989. The extraordinary destruction of documents taking place in December 1989 was realised under the impression that the fall of the regime was about to occur, and this was de facto confirmed by a successful general strike on November 27, 1989. It was in the evening hours of December 1, 1989 when Lorenc issued an order to destroy 'vital' files and "materials that would have a compromising character with regard to the current political arrangement." Some days later, on December 6, the Head the Central Counter-intelligence Directorate in Prague, Karel Vykypěl ordered the immediate destruction of both 'vital' and archived 'hostile persons' files. According to Alojz Lorenc, the purpose of destroying the documents was to prevent their misuse for 'politicking' and compromising people. The real purpose of those extraordinary destructions was to hide the evidence of the misuse of information for the benefit

of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and for harassing politically inconvenient persons. The public learned about the liquidation of documents and there were even reports on the TV. The Ministry of the Interior claimed it was a regular planned destruction of documents. In Bratislava, lorries piled with documents stored in black bags were leaving the building of the XIIth Directorate for the crematorium in Bratislava or the paper-works in Štúrovo, where they were destroyed. Under public pressure, František Pinc, the Minister of the Interior, issued an order instructing his deputy ministers to stop those destructions. The measure was stopped on December 8 by an instruction of Alojz Lorenc reasoning that "the destruction of documents could be misused against the Federal Ministry of the Interior." But even this instruction was not fully respected by all StB units. Destroying the documents caused irreversible damage to the assessment of the period of Communist totality, especially with regard to the period between the 'normalisation' and 1989.



that position on February 9, 1990 and was substituted by Jaroslav Svěchota, the former State Security member, who was dismissed in the purge of 1968, and later became an agent of State Security.

Regional State Security units in Slovakia operated within regional ZNB Directorates in Bratislava, Banská Bystrica and Košice, without any major organisational changes until July 1971. These included the Division of interior affairs, the Division of statistics and registries, the Counter-intelligence unit (IInd unit), the Surveillance Unit (IVth unit), the Intelligence Technology Unit (VIth unit), and State Security Division or districts groups. In the new organisational structure of State Security, territorial units in the separate Ist unit were established for tasks dedicated to the fight against hostile intelligence services. The surveillance and intelligence-technological operations were transferred from State Security Directorate in Bratislava to the Central State Security Directorate in the SSR. There were departments of passport control within State Security Directorate that were included in the powers of the Central Border Guard and State Border Protection Directorate in the middle of June 1973. Due to aircraft hijacks and the necessity to secure the civil air transport, State Security Airport Control Units were established in September 1972, in Slovakia in Bratislava, Košice, Piešťany, Poprad, Lučenec, Sliač, and later also in Žilina - Hričov.

In relation to organisational changes at central counter-intelligence Directorates in July 1974, a new organisation of territorial State Security units was implemented at the beginning of the following year. State Security Directorates located in the Central and East Slovakia regions included not only the Division of Interior Affairs and the Division of Analyses, Statistics and Registries, but also the Unit For the Fight Against the External Enemy (Ist unit), Unit for the Fight Against the Internal Enemy (IInd unit), the Unit Protection of the Socialist Economy (IIIrd unit), the Surveillance Unit (IVth unit), and the Intelligence Service Technology Unit (VIth unit). State Security Directorate of the Regional ZNB Directorate had a similar organisational structure, with the exception of the Surveillance Unit and the Intelligence Service Technology Unit, which were parts of the XIIth ZNB Directorate. In the middle of 1980, District State Security units in Bratislava, Košice and Banská Bystrica were transferred from the organisational structure of Prague Foreign Intelligence Service to the structures of ŠtB Directorates of regional ZNB Directorates.

In October 1977 district ZNB Directorates, as the lowest management units of security units management in Czechoslovakia were established, in accordance with an order issued by the Federal Minister of the Interior, the Minister of the Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Minister of the Interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic. District ZNB Directorates had their seats in district towns. They were divided into functional units (the Division of Interior Affairs, the Financial Division) and executive units, such as the State Security Department and Passports and Visa Division as units of State Security, the Division of the People's Police and its Investigation Division. In Bratislava district ZNB Directorates were established and in Košice a municipal ZNB Directorate. In the region of West Slovakia there were State Security departments in Galanta, Nové Zámky, Nitra,

Komárno, Trenčín, Senica and Trnava. In the region of central Slovakia there were six ŠtB division (Martin, Prievidza, Žilina, Považská Bystrica, Zvolen, Liptovský Mikuláš) and four dislocated ŠtB groups (Dolný Kubín, Rimavská Sobota, Lučenec, Žiar nad Hronom). In the region of East Slovakia there were six ŠtB division (Poprad, Prešov, Humenné, Spišská Nová Ves, Michalovce, Rožňava) and two dislocated groups (Trebišov, Bardejov). In relation to the need to protect nuclear power plants in the territory of Slovakia a State Security Unit located in Trnava and Levice was established.

The leadership in power perceived the events of November 17, 1989 after the intervention at Národní třída in Prague with unconcealed fear, documented by the activation of State Security and the announcement of nationwide operations that had been prepared long ago for the case of extraordinary statesecurity situations. They concentrated on the protection of electronic media (the operation VLNA - WAVE) and economic objects, or preventing the citizens from being influenced by the organisers of massive anti-socialist events (the operation KRUH - CIRCLE). Also, State Security units could activate a network of agents and increase the flow of information. ŠtB tried to penetrate newly established political and economic structures. Its members monitored and recorded demonstrations taking place on the squares. They tried to monitor committees organising strikes, to reveal its members, connections to the opposition and detect prepared operations. State Security tried to prevent the general strike (which two thirds of inhabitants eventually took part in). ŠtB planned to launch a 'reduced variant' of the operation NORBERT and to isolate selected KSČ opponents. At the end the regime did not have courage to take that step.

After the successful general strike on December 27, 1989 the only option for State Security was to recognise the internal political situation and adapt to changed conditions. State Security then tried to disconnect itself from the policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Also, some of the agents and confidants hesitated as to whether to continue with their collaboration, or to fully refuse it. Political negotiations between the representatives of the Communist regime and opposition movements such as Public against Violence and the Civic Forum caused a change in the society from the point of view of political power. The fall of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and loss of its power brought about the end of State Security. Public opinion demanded that the Communists withdraw and as a result Alojz Lorenc, the 1st Deputy Federal Minister of the Interior stopped operational activities related to the fight against the internal enemy with immediate effect on December 11, 1989. In the middle of January 1990, special commissions were established, composed of re-activated State Security members, to develop a transformation of State Security and facilitate its adaptation to new conditions. In January 1990, personnel changes were made in leading positions. Many ŠtB members retired, and some waited to take up positions as reservists. Some were released from the organisation in 1990; while others were transferred to new intelligence service structures. The State Security units were finally dissolved by the Federal Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher on February 15, 1990.

XII. správa ZNB Bratislave

Schvalujem:

Náčelník XII. správy ZNB

plk. RSDr. Stefan HOMOLA

Dňa 1989

1. odbor, 6

V Bratislave 6.12.1989

Počet listov :

BORO, č.zv. 24550

DEOS 37196

Prvopisom!

FRANO 13771 MARC 14089

TANAM 37284

PODHORSKY 24357 SPANKO 24081

VRH

na skartáciu zväzkov 1. odboru XII. S-ZNB

1./ MALÝ, č. zv. 14352 2./ TICHÝ. č. zv. 12582

3./ VILO, č. zv. 14721

4./ JURAN, č. zv. 24006 VL

5./ VLČKO, č. zv. 27453 W

6./ MARCEL, č. zv. 20802

7./ ADAM, č. zv. 201220

8./ ALEŠ, č. zv. 12238 9./ JÁN, č, zv. 29675 W

10./ ROBERT, č. zv. 27364

11./ EKONÓM, č. zv. 12135

12./ DUSAN, č. zv. 16202

13./ JARNÝ, č. zv. 12227

14./ VESELÝ, č. zv. 11983

15./ NIKI, č. zv. 36574

16./ IRIS, č. zv. 11827

17./ KOZÁK, Č. zv. 14397

18./ TONO. č. zv. 34000 &

19./ KAROL, č. zv. 16208

20./ RASTO, č. zv. 15530

· 21./ REDAKTOR, č. zv. 32606 V

22./ SLOVÁK, č. zv. 37038

· 23./ JIRKO, č. zv. 30809 & 24./ HRIVÑÁK, č. zv. 36493 W 25./ STEFAN. č. zv. 15334 26./ HUDEC. č. zv. 21976 27./ ANDREA. č. zv. 30641 28./ GAL, č. zv. 38336 29./ EMU, č. zv. 38055 30./ MAJER, č. zv. 307694 31./ SEVERÍN , č. zv. 3144 32./ HOLLY, č. zv. 16975 33./ VYSLANEC č.zv. 14832 34. JANKOVSKÝ 24140/ 21685 35 METOD

Náč. 1. odboru XII S-ZNB pplk. JUDr. Anton FATOL

Extensive volume of documents was shredded early in December. Example of a proposal to destroy documents Source: Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) Archive



AN OVERVIEW of Leading State Security Officials



Teodor Baláž



Matej Bél

Teodor Baláž (1917 – 1994). After completing school, he worked as draughtsman in a cable producing factory in Bratislava. Baláž participated in the illegal communist movement, and in 1943, was interrogated for trying to fly out of the country in a military plane. He participated in establishing the Albín Grznár partisan brigade. cooperating with Jozef Trojan and Viliam Žingor¹⁵. Baláž went to the USSR in 1944, and returned to Slovakia in March 1945. In the USSR, he probably received some certain intelligence training. On returning to Košice, he began working with the 2nd unit of the National Security Corps. Shortly afterwards, he was transferred to Bratislava, and was appointed the head of II/1 division, and then the political (statesecurity) section of the 2nd division within the National Security HQ, where he was made deputy head of sections led by Štefan Feja and Jozef Ilčík. Subsequently, he became the head of the 1st division of 1st section of VIth or VIIth Unit and also deputy Section Director. In 1947-1948, Baláž was appointed head of the Z-XIV unit (Internal Political Intelligence). Later, he became deputy head of BA unit (State Security) within the Internal Affairs Commission, and since 1st January 1949 he was also appointed BAa group head (Internal State Security). He was also the head of the so called ST group whose aim was to search for enemies among Communist Party members and officials. From 1st April 1950, Baláž was acting director of the BA unit within the Internal Affairs Commission, and once the command units were cancelled in Slovakia. he became the Deputy Minister for National Security under Gen. Josef Paylo, was the Minister responsible. From early September 1950, he attended the Political School in Prague for two years. Early in April of 1951, Baláž was arrested, and was later also convicted in the Oskar Valášek trial. He was released from prison in 1960, and rehabilitated in 1963. After that, he worked in Považské strojárne¹⁶

Matej Bél, originally Móric Blumenfeld (1914 - ?). After completing elementary school in 1933, he moved to Palestine, worked as an unskilled worker and joined the local communist party. Gradually, he came into conflict with other members of the community, and with the British authorities. In 1938, he returned to Slovakia, and worked as a sales representative for various companies, between 1940 and 1944. He also he joined the illegal communist movement, and from 1941, used a different name that he kept after the war ended. After the Slovak National Uprising was broken up, he joined the partisan brigade "Za slobodu Slavianov¹⁷" led by Captain Valianský, as an intelligence officer. Early in February of 1945, he reached Košice and was assigned to organise the militia there. Later, he became a security officer within the Košice National Committee, and soon became the deputy commander of local National Security. Bél participated in building the National Security, in particular its security and intelligence unit comprising partisans and members of the Slovak Communist Party. In August 1945, he was transferred from the National Security Command for Eastern Slovakia to the Secret Service of National Security HQ, 2nd division. After the political intelligence and state security unit within the Internal Affairs Commission was established, he held several important functions; including being the deputy commander of the 1st division within the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission. In 1949 he was the head of the so called Small State Security and in December 1949 he was appointed the BAa group commander (internal state security) within the Internal Affairs Commission. At the end of March 1950, Bél left the police corps, and became the head of the Press Department within the Internal Affairs Commission.

¹⁵ Transl. note: famous Slovak partisans, members of the Slovak Communist Party.

¹⁶ Transl. note: machine Works in Slovakia.

¹⁷ Transl. note: may be translated as "For the freedom of the Slavs".



Martin Benček



Šimon Čermák

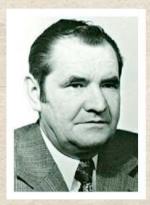
In March 1951, he was arrested by State Security, accused of being a Zionist and of having engaged in anti-state activities. He was convicted during the Oskar Valášek trial. When released from prison in 1960, he worked as economic expert in an agricultural cooperative. In October of 1963, Bél was rehabilitated. In 1964, he received disability pension. Bél died in Israel. His memoirs were published under the title Essays From Behind the Bars (1969).

Martin Benček (1923 – 2003). Joined the National Security Corps on 6th May 1946. and at the end of the same year, he was assigned to the guarding unit of the District National Security HQ in Bratislava, and supervised the representatives of the Slovak Republic 1939-1945 who were tried (Jozef Tiso, Martin Sokol, and Ferdinand Čatloš). In January of 1949, he joined the Regional State Security HQ in Prešov as political intelligence officer (2nd division), and in October of 1950, was appointed its head. In 1952, Benček became the head of the IInd unit. In May 1953 he was appointed deputy and in July 1953 Head of the Regional State Security HQ in Košice. After the State Security restructuring in January of 1954, Benček was appointed the head of Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Interior in Košice. Due to various negative personal features and his rather dictatorial leadership methods, he was not very popular among the staff. In 1956-1957, he attended the one year operative school of the KGB in Moscow. Since March 1963, he was appointed head of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Interior in Banská Bystrica. In 1966, he was forced to leave, and then appointed to less important positions. However, Benček was not satisfied with his grade, and finally in 1979 he left the National Security Corps and retired, after 33 years of active service.

Šimon Čermák, originally Porges (1924 – 2008). After finishing elementary school, he worked as an unskilled labourer in a labour camp for Jews in the city of Nováky. He was involved with the illegal communist movement and helped to smuggle weapons into the camp. At the end of August 1944, he joined a partisan unit as a reconaissance officer. In April of 1945, after coming to Košice, he was assigned to National Security, based on an order issued by Š. Gažík from the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, despite the fact that he was under 21, which was the lower age limit. There, he worked as executive and later as officer with the 5th department of the 1st division within the VIth Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission. From February of 1946 until the end of 1947, Čermák led a group in the 1st department of the 1st division within the VIth Unit. In the first two months in 1948, he worked with the so called Slovak Department of the Ministry of Interior led, by B. Pokorný. In February of 1948, he actively participated in the coup d'état, being in charge of connection with Slovakia, and also organised the action committee with the Ministry of Postal Services. After returning to Bratislava, he led the Department of Fight Against the Western Foreign Intelligence Services within the Defence secret service of the IIIrd Unit of the Internal Affairs Commission. From January of 1949, he was in charge of the 1st department of the State Security unit within the Internal Affairs Commission. After restructuring (since August 1950), he was appointed acting deputy of the Regional State Security HQ, and was in charge of operative activities of State Security units in Bratislava. On 30th April 1951, he was arrested, and later convicted in the Oskar Valášek trial. While serving his sentence, he was recruited by State Security as an agent. In 1958 Čermák was released from prison, and he was rehabilitated in October of 1963. Next year he moved to Israel, where he died in 2008. Čermák wrote his memoires, which, however, were not published in Slovak language.



Štefan Demjan



Ondrej Dovina

Štefan Demjan (1923 – 1996). Originally a worker, he joined the Communist Party in April of 1945 and worked at the Regional Committee of the Slovak Communist Party in Jesenské. Having completing alternative military service, he "enhanced" his political profile by attending a course at the Central Political School of the Slovak Communist Party in Boinice. After that, though still very young, he was appointed to the position of head secretary of the District Committee of the Slovak Communist Party in Šafárikovo, and was there during the communist putsch. After the coup d'état, Demian became an officer with the Organisational Department of the Regional Committee of the Slovak Communist Party, in Banská Bystrica. In 1950, he graduated at the Communist Party University of Politics in Prague, and was appointed head of Defence department within the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party in Bratislava. As a promising cadre, in 1952, Demian left for Moscow to study at the USSR Communist Party University of Politics. After returning, he was appointed head of the 1st department of the Regional Committee of the Slovak Communist Party in Banská Bystrica. In 1956, when it was decided to transfer the party officials to the State Security machinery, in order to enhance its political control. Štefan Demjan took over the position of deputy Minister of the Interior in April of 1956, and as such, he became responsible for investigation, technical units, control of mail, and the issues of passports and visa. Demian kept this position in the sixties. Firstly, he was sceptical about the "process of renewal", and was in opposition to Josef Pavel, the Minister. In June 1968, Demian was recalled from his position, though he remained with the Ministry, and took over the surveillance unit in July. After the Warsaw Pact invasion, he claimed to be of conservative opinions, though certain steps he took seemed to suggest that this was doubtful. Screening commissions cancelled his membership in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, which was reconfirmed after he was recalled from his position. In May of 1970, Demjan was formally recalled from the position of head of surveillance unit, but he still remained with the Ministry of Interior, and worked in the Passport and visa department with the Regional National Security Directorate in Prague. He retired in 1978.

Ondrej Dovina (1925 - 2011). Worker; joined the National Security Corps in September of 1948, and attended the 1st level National Security School in Poprad, and underwent intelligence training Nové Město nad Mětují. Between April 1949 and March 1960, he worked with the Regional State Security HQ (After the 1954 restructuring this became the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Interior) in Prešov. From October 1949, he was head of its 5th department, and from 1952 its deputy head. In May of 1953, he became the head of the Department of Internal Intelligence, and from February 1956, deputy head of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. In 1957, Dovina attended a one year KGB operative school in Moscow. After administrative restructuring and merger of the Regional Directorate of Ministry of Interior in Prešov and Košice, in April 1960, he was appointed deputy head of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Interior for operative activities. From May 1966, Dovina was the head of State Security in Eastern Slovakia, and from February 1969, head of the Central Foreign Intelligence Directorate in Slovakia. From July 1974 until April 1984, Dovina was the first deputy head of the Central Secret Service Directorate. In May 1984, he was transferred to the position of senior specialist in the first department of organisational and operative unit of the National Security Directorate for the Capital City of Bratislava and Western Slovakia. At the end of June of 1987, Dovina retired, as a colonel.



Michal Dudáš



Ján Hanuliak

Michal Dudáš (1923 - ?). In April and May 1945, the National Security 2 member in Trnava. In July of 1947, Dudáš joined the Ministry of Interior as administrative assistant in the political intelligence and the state security unit within the Internal Affairs Commission, in Bratislava, In August of 1950, he became the commander of the 1st group of the IInd department within the Regional State Security HO in Bratislava (Zionists, Trotskyists, and bourgeois nationalists). Since July of 1952, he was the head of the 1st department of IInd unit within the Regional State Security Directorate, and between 1952 and 1953, he was also leading special State Security group that was in charge of relocating people from Bratislava. Early in January of 1953, after restructuring. Dudáš continued to work in the political intelligence sector as the head of 1st department. In November of 1959, he graduated from the Economic University in Bratislava, and in April of 1960, was appointed the head of economy related counter-intelligence. After unified counter-intelligence unit was established, in March of 1964, he became the deputy head of the Regional Directorate of Ministry of interior in Bratislava. From May of 1966 until February of 1969, he was the head of State Security Directorate within the Regional National Security Directorate in Bratislava. In March of 1969, he became the deputy head of the Central State Security Directorate within the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic. After the intervention of G. Husák, in November of 1973, he was transferred to Szczecin (Poland), as the Federal Ministry of Interior representative. From April 1979, Dudáš taught in the State Security Department within the Investigation Faculty of the Higher School of the National Security Corps in Bratislava, and retired in September 1981, with the rank of Colonel.

Ján Hanuliak (1921 – 2000). He participated in battles against the Soviet Union during WWII as a member of the Slovak Army. At the end of October of 1943, he changed sides, and joined the Red Army; participating in the so called Battle of the Dukla Pass (Carpathian-Dukla operation) (wounded), and also in other battles in Slovakia. After WWII, Hanuliak acted as intelligence officer in Martin. In October 1946, he joined the National Security Corps as commander of National Security field station in the village of Suchá, District of Svidník, where he organised the fight against the members of the so called Ukrainian Liberation Army. After completing the National Security Corps School, he joined the National Security station and later the State Security unit in the city of Lučenec. During the February events¹⁸, he was also in charge of telegraph connection, controlling the post office building, and arrested Democratic Party officials. In November 1948, he was assigned to the Regional State Security HQ in Banská Bystrica, and attended "enlightenment courses" in the cities of Litoměřice and Senec. In September 1949, he became the political secretary. In 1950, Hanuliak participated in covering the traces of State Security crimes and in 1951 was recalled and moved to the State Security unit in the city of Moldava nad Bodvou. In September 1951, he was promoted to the Regional State Security HQ in Košice, as head of the Eastern emigration department. From April 1955, he led the political counter-intelligence unit, and from July of 1955, was also temporarily the deputy head of the Regional Directorate of Ministry of Interior in Košice. In 1957-1959, Hanuliak attended the Ministry of Interior Central School of F. E. Dzerzhinsky in Prague, and from August of 1959, led the economic counter-intelligence unit within the Regional Directorate of Ministry of the Interior in Košice. In March of 1963, Hanuliak was appointed deputy head of the Directorate of the Ministry of Interior for operative activities, and in June of 1966, was the deputy head of the State Security

¹⁸ Transl. note: the communist putsch.



Štefan Homola



Josef Houska



Ján Kováč

in Košice, and, at the same time, also the head of counter-intelligence unit. In 1968, after expressing pro-Soviet opinions, he cooperated closely with Soviet security bodies, and in March 1969, became the head of the State Security Directorate in Košice. In August of 1970, he became the head of the surveillance unit (IVth Directorate of Federal Secret Services Directorate FSSS). In February 1971, Hanuljak was appointed deputy and in March 1973, 1st deputy to the Federal Minister of the Interior. In the seventies, he participated in the Czechoslovak counter-intelligence restructuring, when the District National Security Directorate was established. Also, he participated in the so called "ASANÁCIA^{19"} operation when the State Security staff forced Czechoslovak people into exile. In May of 1979, he was recalled from the position of the 1st deputy, and then, for two years he worked as the Federal Ministry of Interior representative in Moscow. He retired in 1982.

Stefan Homola (1937 – 2011). He graduated from the school for junior cadets in Moravská Třebová, and from 1958 worked with the Public Security Service in the respective cities of Vráble and Bojnice. In 1963, Homola joined State Security in the city of Prievidza, where he "worked on" issues related to France and Germany. In June of 1970, he was appointed deputy head, and later also head (July 1974) of the State Security unit in Považská Bystrica. In October 1977, Homola was appointed head of the District National Security Corps Directorate in the same city, and one year later he graduated from the Communist Party University of Politics and gained the degree "RSDr". In July 1981, Homola became the deputy head of the State Security Directorate within the National Security Corps Directorate for the Capital City of Bratislava and Western Slovakia. In July of 1983, he was appointed the 1st deputy head of the National Security Corps Directorate for the Capital City of Bratislava and Western Slovakia, and, at the same time, the head of the State Security Directorate. Between August of 1968 and 9th February 1990, he led the Counter-Intelligence Directorate in Bratislava. He was released from the National Security Corps in 1990, as Colonel.

Josef Houska (1924 – ?). From 15th November 1948 he was a State Security member of the National Security Corps in the fight with the internal enemy. In 1953, he attended the State Security Central School in the USSR, and after returning from Moscow, on 1st February 1954, he was appointed the head of Regional Directorate of Ministry of Interior in Bratislava. Houska kept this position until 22nd November 1961, when he took over the Foreign Intelligence Central Directorate (Ist Directorate of the Ministry of Interior), and appointed its head. In July of 1968, he was recalled from this position and moved to the Research Institute of Ministry of Interior. In 1969, he was appointed deputy head of the intelligence unit of the Federal Secret Service Directorate, and in 1971, he was transferred to the VIth Directorate of the Federal Ministry of Interior. In 1981, Houska became the head of radio broadcasting related counter-intelligence. In 1985, he was released from the National Security Corps and retired.

Ján Kováč (1933 – 1988). A Czechoslovak army officer, he joined the Ministry of Interior in September of 1963, as combat preparation officer within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Interior in Banská Bystrica. From January 1966, he worked in the investigation unit of the State Security in Banská Bystrica, dealing with political crimes such as defamation of the state or of world socialist states. In

¹⁹ Transl. note: Sanitation.



Štefan Löhner



Aloiz Lorenc

1969, he graduated from Faculty of Law of the Comenius University. In November of 1969, Kováč became the head of the 1st department – personnel and education - within the Central Public Security Service HQ. Since 1970, he led the Public Security Service Anti-riot units in the Slovak Socialist Republic. In 1972, he was appointed the head of the Regional National Security Directorate in Bratislava, and in June of 1974, became head of Counter-intelligence Directorate in Bratislava. He approved the establishment of a special unit in 1977, focusing on Alexander Dubček. In the spring of 1975, Kováč attended three months study in the KGB School in Moscow. Kováč was an active member of the collegiums of the Minister of Interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party within the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic, and from 1976 was also MP in the Federal Assembly and member of its Constitution and legal committee. In June 1979, he became the deputy and in October of 1979 the 1st deputy of the Federal Minister of Interior; in 1980 became a Major General. In October of 1985 Kováč was recalled from his position, and assigned as the Federal Ministry of the Interior representative in Sofia. During 1986, certain indications of him committing crimes were found, in relation to the so called Babinský case. He was recalled from Sofia, in 1987 to be interrogated, and in December 1987, he was charged with stealing socialist property, and later also, investigated regarding misuse of his rights as a public representative. In February 1988, Kováč was expelled from the Czechoslovak Communist Party and released from the National Security Corps.

Štefan Löhner (1912 – 1973). Joined the National Security Corps on 26th April 1945, and worked as a State Security member in Košice. Since January 1949 he worked as Head of the political intelligence unit of Regional State Security HQ in Košice. In February 1949 he was appointed deputy head of the Regional State Security HQ in Košice and in April 1949 in Bratislava. From August of 1950, Löhner was the head of the Cadre Department within the Regional State Security HQ in Prešov. From 1st July 1952, he became the deputy head of Regional State Security HQ in Banská Bystrica. In mid-April 1953, Löhner was appointed deputy head of Regional State Security HQ in Bratislava, and in January of 1954, it is likely that he acted temporarily as the head of the Regional Directorate of Ministry of Interior in Bratislava. Once the new head of Regional Directorate of Ministry of Interior, in Bratislava was appointed on 1st February 1954, Löhner was appointed as his deputy. From October 1955 until March 1960, he was the head of the Regional Directorate of Ministry of Interior, in Prešov. In May of 1960, he was released from the National Security services, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

Alojz Lorenc (1939). Graduated from the school for junior cadets in Poprad, the artillery specialised technical apprentice school, and the apprentice school for anti-aircraft state defence. From 1960, he was a professional soldier with the Czechoslovak People's Army, serving with the artillery brigade as an anti-aircraft platoon commander. In 1970, Lorenc graduated from the Military Academy of Antonín Zápotocký in Brno (in electro-technical engineering). In September 1970, he left the army and joined the Ministry of the Interior, where he worked as cryptographical expert with the Special unit (Directorate) of the Ministry of Interior (coding), and participated in the production of coding system for the Warsaw Pact. Since May of 1975, he was the head of the IInd unit of the Special Directorate within the Federal Ministry of Interior. In October 1977, Lorenc became the head of Special Directorate within the Federal Ministry of Interior, and from May 1981, the head of the National Security Corps Directorate for the Capital city of Bratislava and Western Slovakia. In



Ferdinand Mĺkvy



Vincent Ožvolda

November of 1985, he was appointed the 1st deputy Federal Minister of the Interior, and besides others, controlled counter-intelligence fighting the internal enemy and for the protection of the socialist economy. At the end of the eighties, Lorenc restructured the Federal Ministry of Interior and security forces, which resulted of him directly leading all counter-intelligence units. In April 1989 he achieved the rank of Lieutenant General. His role during the so called Velvet Revolution has still not been satisfactorily explained. In December of 1989, he ordered an special shredding of the State Security documents in order to "cover the tracks and trails" of its various crimes. The Czechoslovak Socialist Government recalled him on 21st December 1989, though, paradoxically, he remained working within the Federal Ministry of Interior as special consultant to the Minister's Office. For his acts during the communist regime, Lorenc was sentenced in the Czech Republic in 1993 to four years of imprisonment, though being a Slovak citizen he never served his sentence. In 2002, a Slovak court gave him a 15 months suspended sentence. Lorenc lives in Bratislava.

Ferdinand Mikvy (1920 – 2000). Member of the 1st Czechoslovak Army corps in the USSR, and participated in the Slovak National Uprising with the paratrooper brigade, and in May 1945, joined the army. He was tasked with counter-intelligence. On 1st August 1958, Mikvy was transferred from Ministry for National Security to the Ministry of Interior, and was appointed deputy head of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Interior in Bratislava. In 1961, he became its head. After the State Security restructuring, he became head of the Regional State Security Directorate in Bratislava; and in November of 1968 was recalled from this position. After that, he was only given less important functions within civil defence in Slovakia (head and deputy head of the civil defence unit). In 1976, he was released from active service, and has been a reservist, since then.

Vincent Ožvolda (1931). He was born in a working class family with a childhood in territories that were ceded to Hungary after the Vienna Award. After completing elementary school in his village, in 1946, he commenced working at the Municipal National Committee in Surany, in administration. Later, Ožvolda worked as the secretary of District Committee of the Slovak Youth Association and the District National Front Action Committee. In 1950, he completed the school for young cadets and passed the final state examination, and in 1952, completed military apprentice school. Early in October 1952, he was assigned to the 70th infantry battalion, and two weeks later was transferred to the 68th auxiliary technical battalion as military counterintelligence officer. Since November 1953, Ožvolda worked with the 2nd military circuit Directorate, counter-intelligence unit. In 1954, he attended the Central School of F.E.Dzeržinský in Prague, and early in May of 1956, he was appointed the head of Military counter-intelligence department within the Regional Military Directorate, in Nitra. In August 1959, Ožvolda completed a one year study in the KGB operative school in Moscow, and took over the position of the head of the 2nd department within military counter-intelligence unit. In March 1963, he was promoted to became head of the military counter-intelligence unit within the 2nd Military circuit. From 14th March 1969 until 15th July 1970, Ožvolda was deputy Minister of Interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic for State Security. In August of 1970, he commenced working for the Defence Department of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic as a special advisor on State Security and Public Security Service issues, and in April of 1974, was appointed head of the department. From May 1975, Ožvolda worked as a 1st level specialised mentor with anti-riot police units of the Slovak Socialist Republic.



Eduard Pafčo



Ján Pobeha



Viktor Sedmík

At the end of June 1976, he was released from active service, with the rank of colonel. Ožvolda lives in Bratislava

Eduard Pafčo (1924 – ?). Joined the National Security Corps in March 1948, and at the end of the same year, he was assigned to the Internal Affairs Commission ("Jánošík" Unit). In August 1950, Pafčo was transferred to the Regional State Security HQ in Bratislava as group member and deputy head of the 1st department (since 8th April 1952). After the Regional Directorate of Ministry of Interior was established in Bratislava, Pafčo was appointed head of its IInd Unit. Since 1955, he attended the one year KGB operative school in Moscow. Having graduated, he took over the Regional Directorate of Ministry of Interior in Nitra, until 1st April 1960, when he was appointed deputy head for operative activities within the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava. From 1st July 1966, he was appointed head of the IVth unit of the National Security Regional Directorate – S-ŠtB. In March of 1969, he was transferred to the foreign intelligence and appointed the head of "F" Directorate. Early in March of 1970, Pafčo was recalled from his position, but remained working with "F" Directorate as a senior expert. He was released from the National Security Corps in February 1972.

Ján Pobeha (1922 – 2006). Originally a carpenter, in 1944-1945 he was a member of the partisan brigade SIGNAL, and from June of 1946, a member of the National Security Corps. In February of 1950, he was transferred from the National Security Corps to the Regional State Security HQ in Žilina, where he became the head of State Security unit in the city of Čadca, between August and December 1950. In January of 1953, Pobeha was appointed deputy head of the IInd unit of the Regional State Security HQ in Žilina. In 1954, he attended a one year KGB operative school in Moscow, and after returning from the USSR, he took over the position of head of the Regional State Security HQ in Banská Bystrica. After administrative changes and reduction of the number of regional offices, he was transferred to the position of deputy head of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Interior in Banská Bystrica, in April 1960. In July of 1960, he was transferred to Košice and appointed head of the foreign intelligence unit. In 1962-1964, Pobeha worked as the leader of advisors of the Ministry of Interior of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in Mali. After returning from Africa, he took over his earlier position. From October 1968, he was the head of the State Security the Slovak Directorate of the Ministry of Interior, and from January of 1969, became head of the Central State Security HQ within the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic. From 1st January 1969, Pobeha led the technical and scientific foreign intelligence, the regional units of the central foreign intelligence administration and its educational system, becoming the deputy head of the 1st unit within the Ministry of Interior. In April of 1971, he graduated from the Faculty of Law of the Comenius University in Bratislava. From August of 1974 until April 1981, he was head of the Regional Directorate of the National Security Corps in Bratislava. From May 1981, was the head (dean) of the Investigation Faculty of the Higher School of National Security Corps in Bratislava. He retired at the end of January 1987, as a colonel.

Viktor Sedmík (1916 – ?). Graduated from the Higher School for Teachers, and from 1935 was teaching at an elementary school in the city of Kokava nad Rimavicou. In 1937-1943 Sedmík was a military officer on active duty, fighting at the Eastern Front, and also cooperated with the intelligence unit of the National Security Ministry. In



Andrej Velgos



Rudolf Viktorin

February 1943, he was assigned to the Gendarmerie HQ; having important functions with the resistance gendarmerie forces. From February 1945, Sedmík worked in the security machinery, organising the National Security Corps in south of Slovakia, and later he was appointed adjutant to the National Security Head Commander. From the end of 1945, he was deputy Head of political intelligence and of the state security unit within the Internal Affairs Commission, and, at the same time, head of the IInd (secret service) division of the unit. From January 1949 until March 1950, Sedmík led the BA unit within the Internal Affairs Commission, and from April of 1950, he was appointed head of the economic and control unit within the Transport Commission. From June, he worked in the State Pedagogical Institute in Bratislava, and became a teacher. Early in January 1952, Sedmík was arrested and tried together with the Oskar Valášek and accomplices. In 1959, he was released from prison, and was rehabilitated in 1963. He then worked in the administration of Bučina²⁰.

Andrej Velgos (1910 – ?). Contrary to majority of the State Security officials, he graduated from the Law Faculty, and had long-time experience in police work. In the pre-war Czechoslovakian Republic, he worked with the State Police Authority in the city of Nýrsko, and in the Police HQ in Prague. During the Slovak Republic, Velgos worked with the State Security HQ, and, among others, interrogated T. Baláž, later to be his colleague. Velgos helped various illegal groups (e.g. Ľ. Kukorelli, with whom he had family relationship; M. Barbarič, and others). After the war, he became the head of secret service unit within the District National Security HQ in Bratislava, and, until 1948 after VIth and VIIth units were established, he was appointed the head of intelligence unit within the IInd division (II/2). Early in March 1948, he was transferred to the VIth Unit within the Internal Affairs Commission. Later, he returned to the BA unit, and in 1950 he was transferred to the Economic Audit Administration and soon after that to the IVth unit of the Internal Affairs Commission and was in charge of public administration.

Rudolf Viktorin (1896 - 1986). During WWI Viktorin participated in battles on both the Russian and Italian fronts. He later became a wood salesman for Lignum, a company in the city of Hodonín. Later, he became independent and lived in the city of Žilina. From 1926, he was a member of Social-Democratic Party. During the Slovak Republic²¹, he participated in the resistance movement, and cooperated with the "Flóra" group of Květa Viestová. In 1944, Viktorin actively participated in a merger of Slovak Social democrats and communists. He was member of the Slovak National Council established during the Slovak National Uprising. In 1945-1950, he was member of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee. Gustáv Husák, then the Commissioner, gave him the task of establishing a new state security service. In 1945, he was appointed deputy commander of the National Security Corps, head of the 2nd division of the National Security HQ, and the central political secret service, as well of the unit of state security and political intelligence of the Internal Affairs Commission. From January 1949 until June of 1950, he was the head of the coordination unit within the Internal Affairs Commission, and later, director of Dreyona²², Bratislava. Early in January 1952, he was arrested and tried in the Oskar Valášek trial. In 1959 he was released from prison and was rehabilitated four years later.

²⁰ Transl. note: wood factory.

²¹ Transl. note: WWII.

²² Transl. note: wood processing company.

List of Abbreviations

ABS	 Security Services Archive 	NTS	 National Labour Alliance
ČSR	 Czechoslovak Republic 	NZ	 Correctional facility
ČSSR	 Czechoslovak Socialist 	SNA	 Slovak National Archive
	Republic	SNP	 Slovak National Uprising
ČTK	 Czech News Agency 	SNR	 Slovak National Council
FSSS	 Federal Intelligence Services 	SSR	 Slovak Socialist Republic
	Directorate	ŠtB	 State Security
HR	 Human resources 	TASR	 Slovak Press Agency
HQ	 Headquarters 	TiS FMZV	– Press and Information Centre
KGB	 State Security Committee 		of the Federal Ministry of
	(USSR)		Foreign Affairs
KS	 Regional Directorate 	TS	 Secret collaborator
KS MV	 Regional Directorate of the 	UK	 United Kingdom
820	Ministry of Interior	UN	 United Nations
KSČ	 Czechoslovak Communist 	USSR	 The Union of Soviet Socialist
	Party		Republics
KSS	 Slovak Communist 	ÚPN	 Nation's Memory Institute
5050-4150-10-	Party	VB	 Public Security Service
KV ŠtB	 State Security Regional HQ 	VŠ ZNB	 the Higher School of the
MGB	 Ministry of State Security 		National Security Corps
	(USSR)	II WW	 World War II
GDR	 German Democratic 	YMCA	 The Young Men's Christian
	Republic		Association
NATO	 North Atlantic Treaty 	ZNB	 National Security Corps
	Organization		

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