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THE CZECHOSLOVAK LITTLE SISTER: A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE ORGANIZA- TIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IN COMMUNIST CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1953–1989

After the Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, an extensive and interlinked intelligence apparatus became one of the most important instruments of the Czechoslovak and Soviet foreign policy.¹ The headquarters of Soviet espionage in Moscow viewed the satellite states' intelligence services as a significant organizational complement in leading the Cold War.² The development of the intelligence apparatus of the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry (from 1950–1953 the Ministry of National Security) has not received due attention as yet for various reasons, such as secrecy or inaccessibility of archive funds.³

¹ Cf. for example, J. Larecki, L. Pawlikowicz, and P. Piotrowski, *Aparaty centralne służb wywiadu cywilnego Układu Warszawskiego jako wyspecjalizowane struktury państwa 1944–1991*, Rzeszów 2015.

² On the directive, control and communication role of Soviet intelligence advisors from 1949 see K. Kaplan, *Sovětské poradci v Československu 1949–1956*, Prague 1993, pp. 39–41, 104–105; P. Žáček, *Vzestupy a pády Bohumíra Molnára. Kariéra generála Státní bezpečnosti in B. Čelovský, Oči a uši strany. Sedm pohledů do života StB*, Šenov u Ostravy 2005, pp. 94–95; P. Žáček, *Czechoslovak and Soviet State Security Against the West Before 1968*. See http://users.ox.ac.uk/~oaces/conference/papers/Pavel_Zacek.pdf.

³ Only two works are worth mentioning in this context, paradoxically both affected by limited access to the resource basis: J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství se zaměřením na rozvědku, 1919–1990*, Prague 2015; and J. Larecki, L. Pawlikowicz, and P. Piotrowski, *Aparaty centralne służb wywiadu cywilnego Układu Warszawskiego*, pp. 40–63. Except this civil foreign espionage the Military Intelligence (zpravodajský odbor, zpravodajská správa Generálního štábu ČSLA) and the Intelligence Services of the Border guards (zpravodajský odbor, zpravodajská správa Pohraniční stráže) have also operated from Communist Czechoslovakia. See J. Štaigl: *Organizácia a hlavné smery činnosti čs. vojenského výzvědného spravodajstva (rozvedky) v rokoch 1945–1967*, "Historie a vojenství" 2001, vol. 2, pp. 410–436; P. Žáček, *Na obě strany. Československé vojenské zpravodajství 50. až 80 let dvacátého století očima „krtků"* F. Vojtásek, P. Žáček, *Francouzský krtek. V první linii studené války*, Cheb 2003, pp. 187–259; R. Fencl, *Struktura ZS/GŠ v roce 1989*, "Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek" 2011, vol. 9, pp. 181–194; E. Hošek, *Zpravodajská správa Generálního štábu ČSLA v období 1969–1973*, "Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek" 2016, vol. 14, pp. 473–506.

In mid-1946, a process aimed at making the foreign intelligence service (formerly Group Z-B – foreign defence) independent was launched under the responsibility of Dr. Zdeněk Toman, Deputy Chief of the Interior Ministry (MV) Directorate for Political Intelligence.⁴

At the start of December 1946, after Directorate Z had been renamed the MV VIIth Department, Group VII-B (foreign intelligence) headed by Dr. Toman became its component part.⁵ In the same way, in mid-December 1947, after the origin of the MV IIIrd Department “Security”, Sector III/Ab – foreign intelligence (ZZ) became part of Group III/A.⁶ After the Communist takeover, control was temporarily taken over in March 1948 by his Deputy Jiří Wehle.

IN STALIN’S SHADOW, 1948–1953

In November 1948, Lt. Col. Oskar Valeš – “Kovář” – became Chief of Sector BAb.⁷ In the context of the Ministry of National Security (MNB) reorganization, Sector BAb was renamed the 2nd Sector of Foreign Intelligence Service in mid-October 1950.⁸ During the first month of 1951, Lt. Col. Valeš and other leading representatives of the sector were arrested.⁹

On April 3, 1951, new cover names were given to the Ministry of National Security independent sectors: the 2nd Sector was renamed Department Z.¹⁰ It was headed first by 2nd Lt. Václav Haniger – “Havran” – and later, as of the end of September 1951, by Capt. Josef Boček – “Blažek”.¹¹ On July 1, 1952, MNB Directorate Z was renamed the Directorate of Foreign Political Intelligence (SZPR).¹² As of January 1, 1953, control of the Directorate was taken over by the then First Deputy Chief Maj František Kubík – “Šubrt”.¹³

⁴ J. Dvořáková, *Státní bezpečnost v letech 1945–1953. Organizační vývoj zpravodajských a státně bezpečnostních složek*, Prague 2007, pp. 56–59; M. Medvecký, *K počiatkom československej rozviedky*, “Pamät národa” 2012, vol. 1, p. 22.

⁵ I. Lukes, *The Czechoslovak Special Services and Their American Adversary during the Cold War*, “Journal of Cold War Studies” 2007, vol. 9 (1), pp. 19–20; J. Dvořáková, *Státní bezpečnost v letech 1945–1953*, pp. 66, 69–70; M. Medvecký, *K počiatkom československej rozviedky*, p. 25, 29–30.

⁶ P. Žáček, „Drtina v Plzni: Pokus o organizování reakční mocenské akce“. *Prověřování jedné fámy na pozadí reorganizace ministerstva vnitra v letech 1947–1948*, “Pamět a dějiny” 2008, vol. 1, pp. 62–63; J. Dvořáková, *Státní bezpečnost v letech 1945–1953*, pp. 96–97.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 124–129. The code names of the members of foreign intelligence apparatus are stated in quotation marks after the real names.

⁸ J. Frolík, *Nástin organizačního vývoje státobezpečnostních složek Sboru národní bezpečnosti v letech 1948–1989*, “Sborník archivních prací”, 1991, vol. 2, p. 469.

⁹ P. Žáček, *Vzestupy a pády Bohumíra Molnára*, p. 81.

¹⁰ J. Frolík, *Nástin organizačního vývoje státobezpečnostních složek*, p. 484.

¹¹ P. Žáček, *The Origins and Development of the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry First Directorate: Communist Espionage in the 1950s*, “The Journal of Intelligence History” 2005, vol. 5 (5), p. 81.

¹² P. Žáček, *Vzestupy a pády Bohumíra Molnára*, p. 84.

¹³ J. Dvořáková, *Státní bezpečnost v letech 1945–1953*, p. 206. The dates are not given correctly here.

In mid-September 1953, after the death of the Soviet and Czechoslovak leaders Joseph Stalin and Klement Gottwald, the Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and Deputy Premier Rudolf Barák was appointed head of the newly merged Interior Ministry and the Ministry of National Security. In the course of a fundamental reorganization of the security giant, six operative state-security directorates were established on October 1, 1953. Foreign intelligence, under the cover name of the Interior Ministry First Directorate (I. správa MV), gained the leading position among them, according to the Soviet model. It was subordinated to the First Deputy Interior Minister, Col. Antonín Prchal.¹⁴ The then Chief of the State Security Main Directorate (HS-StB), Lt. Col. Jaroslav Miller, was appointed Chief of the MV First Directorate; Maj. Kubík, Maj. Oldřich Štecha – “Hecht” – and newly also Capt. Milouš Vejvoda – “Bartoš” – became his deputies.

At the turn of November and December 1953, the MV First Directorate comprised:

- Three Departments of Political Intelligence (1st, 2nd, and 3rd Departments) assigned to gain information about “the plans and aims of imperialist governments directed against the peace camp”, and to penetrate “the intelligence services of the enemy”;

- Two Departments of Emigration (4th and 5th Departments) charged with gathering information about “the hostile activity of emigrés and their collaboration with imperialist espionage”;

- Department of Foreign Counterintelligence (6th Dpt) which was to expose “the possible hostile orientation of Czechoslovak citizens working abroad”, and to provide for the protection of tours, delegations and Czechoslovak representative offices “against penetration by imperialist espionage”;

- Department of Illegal Intelligence (7th Dpt) which was in charge of planting illegal agents abroad and maintaining connection with them;

- Analytical Department (8th Dpt) which processed and assessed the agency reports obtained;

- Personnel Department (9th Dpt),

- School of the First Directorate (10th Dpt),

- Department Bratislava (11th Dpt).¹⁵

At the close of 1953, the foreign intelligence headquarters comprised 302 members of the National Security Corps (SNB).¹⁶ A total of 187 worked as operatives, and another 25 were in reserve getting ready for dispatch. A total of 150 job positions were allocated to the First Directorate for activity at eighteen “legal” residencies at Czechoslovak representative offices in seventeen countries all over the world, yet only 57 of these positions were occupied and only 37 operative workers planted. In the same period, the First Directorate registered 71 agents (35 of them “unconnected”). The distribution of agents and the layout of the agency network in the world clearly reflected intelligence priorities:

¹⁴ P. Žáček, *Nástroj triedneho štátu. Organizácia ministerstiev vnútra a bezpečnostných zborov 1953–1990*, Bratislava 2005, p. 13.

¹⁵ P. Žáček, *Menší sestra I. Vznik a vývoj První správy ministerstva vnitra 1953–1959*, Brno 2004, p. 19.

¹⁶ As of the turn of 1949, intelligence apparatus employees were members of the National Security Corps (SNB), the chief component of the Czechoslovak Communist security system.

- Western Europe (including Finland): 25 operatives (9 technical staff, non-operative)
- 31 connected and 22 unconnected agents,
 - North America: 5 operatives and 5 non-operatives – 5 unconnected agents,
 - South America: 2 operatives and 1 non-operative – 1 connected and 4 unconnected agents,
 - The Balkans – Asia Minor: 4 operatives and 3 non-operatives – 4 connected and 2 unconnected agents,
 - Middle East: 2 operatives and 2 non-operatives – 2 unconnected agents.

In addition to the above list, the MV First Directorate agency network comprised 21 collaborators trained for dispatch abroad and 98 collaborators (tipsters, messengers) from the ranks of Czechoslovak citizens. It also registered 166 “tipes” – potential collaborators. The total number was thus 190 agents (collaborators) and 166 “tipes”.¹⁷

On May 22, 1954, Interior Minister Barák issued a founding document on the operational activity of the MV First Directorate. According to the *Statutes* (Statut I. správy ministerstva vnitra ČSR), it provided for security and implemented the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia, the USSR and the Communist countries by performing intelligence and counterintelligence activities in western countries while observing the resolutions and special instructions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSČ) Central Committee and the Czechoslovak Government. All its activity was oriented towards the struggle against the “chief enemies of the camp of peace, socialism and democracy”.

The main tasks of the foreign intelligence service were to gather reliable intelligence information on the military-political plans and preparations of the USA, Great Britain, France, the FRG and other western states for a possible conflict, to fight against foreign intelligence services acting against the countries of the socialist camp, to thwart the plans and intentions aimed at harming the Communist system in Czechoslovakia, to break and compromise emigrant organizations and groups, to misinform the governments of western countries, general staffs and intelligence services, to procure secret documents and scientific and technological materials, and to exercise other important measures.¹⁸

On January 15, 1955, Minister Barák decided to change the organizational structure of the Interior Ministry, and to put the First Directorate under his direct control.¹⁹

In terms of organization, the shape of the foreign intelligence service changed relatively often. The 4th session of the MV Collegium on February 3, 1955, e.g., discussed draft changes in the organization and staff number of the MV First Directorate, calling for changes in the following sections: the 2nd Department was to “pursue the line of political intelligence and emigration at the centre of European aggression in Austria”, the 4th Department was charged with the same range of tasks in Germany, the 6th Department provided for the protection of representative offices, tours and

¹⁷ P. Žáček, *Menší sestra*, p. 12.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

¹⁹ P. Žáček, *Nástroj triedneho štátu*, p. 17.

delegations to capitalist countries as well as Czechoslovak ships overseas. The task of “building illegal residencies in Austria and other European capitalist countries” was left within the responsibility of the 7th Department, with issues concerning West Germany being set apart.²⁰

As of mid-June 1954, the number of employees dropped to 239 in the headquarters, while rising to 48 operatives and 20 operative-technical staff abroad (cryptographers, drivers, etc.). By the end of 1955, the MV First Directorate had a total of 474 staff members, including 90 operatives and 33 operative-technical staff working abroad. The following staff members were planted and handled at 29 residencies spread over a number of regions all over the world:

- Western Europe: 48 operatives and 17 non-operatives – 168 agents (2 unconnected + 6 others in Czechoslovakia), 134 “tipes” at residencies and about 128 in Czechoslovakia;
- North America: 17 operatives and 6 non-operatives – 16 agents, 44 “tipes” at residencies and 23 in the headquarters;
- South America: 6 operatives and 2 non-operatives – 10 agents, 20 “tipes” at residencies and 14 in the headquarters;
- The Balkans – Asia Minor: 6 operatives and 5 non-operatives – 11 agents, 13 “tipes” at residencies and two in the headquarters;
- Middle East: 6 operatives and 2 non-operatives – 6 agents, 14 “tipes” at residencies and 7 in the headquarters;
- Far East (including Australia): 6 operatives and 2 non-operatives – 8 agents (one unconnected), the number of “tipes” not given;
- USSR and Poland: 2 operatives.²¹

By the end of 1955, the agency network of the MV First Directorate had risen to 216 agents. In addition to them, at least 125 “tipes” were being worked on in the intelligence service headquarters and about another 232 “tipes” of potential collaborators at the residencies. Security-defence work was ensured by a network of 481 ideological collaborators.²²

Table 1. Overview of Residencies of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service, April 1956

Residency	Country	Residency Chief	Code-named	Holding from	Holding to
Vienna	Austria	Maj. Jarmil Šindelář	“Šustr”	June 1955	May 1957
East Berlin	GDR	Lt.Col. František Kubík	“Šubrt”	April 1956	April 1956

²⁰ P. Žáček, *Menší sestra*, p. 31, Note 6.

²¹ No residencies were established in the countries of the East European Communist bloc. The only exception was the residency in Budapest, Hungary, during 1956–1958 (and Bucharest, during 1971–1988). See P. Žáček, “*Napětí v Budapešti trvá*”. *Hlášení rezidentury Správy rozvědky ministerstva vnitra, 1956–1957 (1. part)*, “Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek” 2016, vol. 14, pp. 431–471.

²² P. Žáček, *Menší sestra*, pp. 13–14, 138–139.

Residency	Country	Residency Chief	Code-named	Holding from	Holding to
London	GB	Capt. Václav Louda	"Linhart"	August 1954	December 1956
Paris	France	Maj. Zdeněk Ludvík	"Lenský"	April 1956	January 1960
Roma	Italy	1st Lt. Josef Kuřík	"Klíma"	April 1956	September 1960
Bern	Switzerland	Maj. Jiří Fišer	"Fikar"	April 1956	June 1956
Oslo	Norway	1st Lt. František Matal	"Merta"	April 1956	December 1957
Washington, D.C.	USA	1st Lt. Jaroslav Marek	"Moučka"	April 1956	May 1959
New York	USA	Maj./Lt.Col. Milouš Vejvoda	"Bartoš"	May 1954	July 1958
Montreal	Canada	Lt. Ladislav Weidinger*	"Macháček"	April 1956	October 1958
Ottawa	Canada	Maj. Antonín Liška	"Verner"	April 1956	June 1956
Mexico City	Mexico	Lt. Bedřich Kubeš	"Rogl"	April 1956	May 1959
Buenos Aires	Argentina	Lt. Jan Stehno	"Skořepa"	April 1956	November 1958
Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	Lt. Josef Mejstřík	"Moldán"	April 1956	July 1958
Athens	Greece	Lt. Oldřich Dobeš	"Doubek"	April 1956	May 1958
Ankara	Turkey	1st Lt. Vladimír Prokop	"Prokeš"	April 1956	August 1956
Istanbul	Turkey	Lt. Vojtěch Lasovský	"Linek"	April 1956	August 1957
Tel Aviv	Israel	1st Lt. Václav Louda	"Havlík"	April 1956	April 1960
Cairo	Egypt	1st Lt. Josef Šebesta	"Miksa"	April 1956	September 1957
Delhi	India	Lt. Bohuslav Laška	"Dub"	April 1956	July 1958
Karachi	Pakistan	Lt. Jiří Brožovský	"Bílek"	April 1956	July 1958

* Deputy Residency Chief

DESTALINIZATION AND EXPANSION, 1956–1967

According to the table of planned staff numbers, the organizational structure of the MV First Directorate on October 1, 1959, was as follows: The Directorate leadership (Chief and four Deputies), Secretariat of the First Directorate Communist Party Organisation, 1st – 14th operational Departments, Courier Department, Encryption Department, 1st and 2nd Independent Special Tasks Division, Division for the management of 1st Departments of Regional Directorates, Registration Division, Division of Finance, Internal Division and Economic Department.

In 1959, the MV First Directorate had a total of 770 allocated job positions at its disposal,²³ with 617 of them used by the headquarters. This was almost double compared with December 1955.²⁴

On June 23, 1961, Interior Minister Barák was replaced by Lubomír Štrougal. Following some leaks in Western Europe, Col. Miller was removed from the First Directorate leadership. His post was taken over by Col. Josef Houska, Chief of the MV Regional Directorate Bratislava, on November 22, 1961.²⁵

In his first month the new Chief made some organizational changes in the Directorate. The 13th Department was re-established, the 16th Department (Scientific and Technological Intelligence) was extended by one division, education and analytical divisions were established, and an inspection group was set up. The African and Asian Departments were merged into one, which led to the dissolution of the 9th Department. On April 1, 1962, the First Directorate had a total of 854 staff members (apart from illegal agents).²⁶

At the beginning of 1963 the intelligence service headquarters comprised the leadership (the Chief and five Deputies), the secretariat including three groups (analytical, inspection-mobilization-defence, and administration), the Directorate's Communist Party Committee (CÚV KSČ), and a relatively complicated organizational complex of 22 departments and one independent division.

In addition to his Deputies, Chief Col. Houska directly controlled:

18th Department – information (America, Europe, Asia and Africa, active measures, NATO, translators' division and the editorial and documentation division),

19th Department – personnel and education (legalization and personnel, personnel in legalization offices, and education),

20th Department – economic, and
Disinformation division.

First Deputy Chief Lt. Col. Jan Příhoda – “Pražský” – was in charge of:

9th Department – counterintelligence (USA, FRG and Austria, Great Britain and France, other countries, emigration, education, and analysis),

²³ F. Koudelka, J. Suk, *Ministerstvo vnitra a bezpečnostní aparát v období pražského jara, leden – srpen 1968*, Brno 1996, p. 68.

²⁴ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, pp. 119–120.

²⁵ P. Žáček, *Vzestupy a pády Bohumíra Molnára*, pp. 111–114.

²⁶ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, pp. 128–129.

21st Department – operative and technical recordkeeping (mechanical recordkeeping and case recordkeeping and screening),

22nd Department – special purpose service (SZU).

Deputy Chief Maj. Jan Paclík was in charge of:

1st Department – USA, Canada,

2nd Department – Latin America (Central American and South American countries),

16th Department – scientific and technological intelligence (USA, Canada, Japan, Mexico, India, Great Britain and Sweden; Germany, Austria and Denmark; France, Italy and the Netherlands).

Deputy Chief Maj. Josef Kalina – “Karhan” – was responsible for:

3rd Department – France, Italy (France; Italy and Belgium),

4th Department – Germany (FRG and Berlin; Austria and Switzerland),

5th Department – Great Britain, Greece.

Deputy Chief Lt. Col. Josef Jindřich – “Janouš” – was responsible for:

6th Department – the Arab region,

7th Department – Turkey, Far East,

8th Department – Black Africa.

Deputy Chief Lt. Col. Zdeněk Žlábek was in control of:

10th Department – documentation (Europe with the exception of Great Britain, other countries, and the graphic division),

11th Department – illegals,

12th Department – illegals,

13th Department – illegals,

14th Department – illegals,

17th Department – encryption,

Courier Department.²⁷

Almost ten years later, on February 25, 1963, Interior Minister Štrougal issued the updated *Statutes of the Interior Ministry First Directorate* (Statut I. správy MV), a document containing a more detailed list of tasks, rights and duties of the foreign intelligence service. He set as its basic working sections the headquarters with the newly constituted Information and Analytical Department charged with monitoring, organizational and supervisory work, and residencies focused directly on intelligence activity abroad. The 1st Departments of MV Regional Directorates, which were being established one by one in the course of 1955–1957, acted as auxiliary units of the MV First Directorate.²⁸ The Statutes newly stipulated that the execution of active measures was an inseparable and effective part of intelligence work.²⁹

Shortly afterwards, on April 24, 1963, the *Statutes of the Illegal Intelligence Service* (Statut nelegální rozvědky) were approved. The service consisted of two working sections:

²⁷ Ibid, pp. 131–132.

²⁸ See P. Žáček, *Menší sestra*, pp. 153–155.

²⁹ *První správa. Československá rozvědka v dokumentech 1945–1990*, Prague 2000, p. 42.

the headquarters in Czechoslovakia and the illegal intelligence apparatus abroad.³⁰ At the same time, Minister Štrougal approved the *Statutes of the Special Purpose Service* (Statut služby zvláštního určení), which was charged with preparing and executing subversion, sabotage and other actions, and which was directly subordinated to the Directorate Chief. The SZU Department was set up as of April 1, 1963 as the 22nd Department by detachment from the 12th Department of Illegal Intelligence. Less than a year later it was re-numbered as the 7th Department of the MV First Directorate.³¹

The beginning of 1964 witnessed substantial organizational changes in the state security apparatus. Most importantly, the existing Counterintelligence Directorates were merged into a single Counterintelligence Directorate of the Interior Ministry (MV Second Directorate).³² A response to this change also came from the Foreign Intelligence Directorate. The Interior Minister's Order No. 2 of January 18, 1964, whose appendix, however, is not available, stated that the organization of the MV First Directorate "had been outdated by the development of international situation", and that it thus no longer corresponded with the requirements of intelligence work or with "increased requirements on managerial, organizational and monitoring activity".

The new organizational structure, effective as of February 1, 1964, brought about substantial changes particularly in the field of political intelligence. Individual line and territorial departments were merged and new departments were established (the list below includes the names of their directors):

Leadership of the MV First Directorate: Chief Col. Houska and his Deputies Maj. Příhoda, Maj. Paclík, Maj. Kalina, and Lt. Col. Žlábek.

1st Department – American (former 1st and 2nd Dpts), Capt. Miloslav Čech – "Čada",

2nd Department – German-Austrian, Maj. Zdeněk Skoba – "Sýkora",

3rd Department – European (former 3rd and 5th Dpts), Lt. Col. Zdeněk Jodas – "Juran",

4th Department – Afro-Asian (former 6th, 7th and 8th Dpts), Maj. Luděk Tomek – "Rivet",

5th Department – scientific and technological intelligence, Capt. Zdeněk Hazlbauer – "Hegr",

6th Department – foreign counterintelligence, Lt. Col. Antonín Kratina – "Klepáč",

7th Department – special purpose unit, Lt. Col. Jan Ondrovčák – "Ostrovský",

8th Department – active measures and disinformation, Maj. Jiří Stejskal – "Borecký",

9th Department – information, Capt. Jaroslav Marek – "Moučka",

10th Department – documentation (illegals), Maj. František Šindelář – "Stupka",

11th Department – selection, training (illegals), Maj. Antonín Brych – "Vojan",

12th Department – operative (illegals), Capt. Štěpán Meixner – "Mráz",

13th Department – technical (illegals), Capt. Zdeněk Paukner – "Plachý",

14th Department – personnel and education, Maj. Václav Hrubý,

³⁰ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, p. 133.

³¹ P. Žáček, *Služba zvláštního určení. Nejtajnější úsek čs. rozvědného aparátu 1963–1969*, "Památ národa" 2006, vol. 3, pp. 20–25.

³² P. Žáček, *Nástroj triedneho štátu*, pp. 26–27.

15th Department – mechanical recordkeeping, unoccupied,

16th Department – economic, Capt. Jiří Listopad – “Lesný”,

17th Department – encryption, Capt. Josef Kostka.³³

As of March 1, 1964, the MV First Directorate became a component part of the newly established MV headquarters, designated as the MV Intelligence Directorate. Intelligence Departments of the MV Regional Directorates continued to pursue their activities at the regional level.³⁴

In the spring of 1965, the main sectors of activity were described as follows: Political Intelligence with five departments was in charge of intelligence and influence work in West European states, on the American continent and in some countries of Africa and Asia. The Scientific and Technological Intelligence (S&T) Department worked through agencies based on the needs of the national economy and the interests of communist countries in the most industrially advanced countries of the capitalist world. The illegal intelligence apparatus organized operations against western intelligence centres and counterintelligence work from illegal positions.

The rapidly expanding MV First Directorate had 1200 staff members in service, including about 550 in the headquarters, 450 abroad, and roughly another 200 listed as auxiliary communications personnel (cryptographers, radio operators, etc.). There were 23 high priority residencies abroad, nine of them large residencies working within all the set lines.³⁵

According to the plan for 1965–1970, the MV Intelligence Directorate focused on the following major fields of work:

A. Political Intelligence was charged with implementing tasks of political and economic intelligence, active measures and disinformation. It consisted of the following departments:

1st Department (America and Latin America) with residencies in Washington and New York in the USA, in Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela, Uruguay, and partly also in Canada, Colombia and Argentina, the implementation of political intelligence, scientific and technological intelligence and foreign counterintelligence tasks was of foremost interest; in Latin American countries, emphasis was laid on tasks relating to political intelligence.

2nd Department (FRG, Austria) with residencies in Frankfurt, Berlin (primarily conducting foreign counterintelligence tasks, with the prospect of expanding collaboration with illegal intelligence), and Vienna (besides foreign counterintelligence, emphasis was put on strengthening political intelligence activity against the FRG).

3rd Department (Europe, NATO, EEC) with chief residencies in Paris and London, supplemented by those in Rome, Brussels, Athens, in small NATO countries, and Stockholm and Oslo in the “third” countries (implementation of political and scientific-technological intelligence tasks, including foreign counterintelligence).

³³ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, pp. 136–137.

³⁴ P. Žáček, *Nástroj triedneho štátu*, pp. 30–31.

³⁵ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, pp. 141–142.

4th Department (Asia, Africa): residencies were distributed according to regions:

Far East – India and Indonesia,

Arab countries and northern African – United Arab Republic, Lebanon, Iraq, Algeria and Morocco,

Black Africa – main residencies in Ghana, Guinea, planned residencies in Congo-Léopoldville, Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania (priority was given to political intelligence, also in some places foreign counterintelligence too).

5th Department (active measures and disinformation) was to operate all over the world through the above residencies.

The major political intelligence target countries included the USA, the FRG, Great Britain and France, i.e. states with complicated agency environment to which agents were sent via third countries. The third countries were states that had contacts to the “major enemy” but stood aside from the direct activity of its state apparatus. It was possible to work up the “objects” of the major enemy from these countries or to send and handle agents from them.

B. Illegal Intelligence was designed to set up illegal residencies abroad, and it consisted of the following departments:

1. Documentation of illegal agents,
2. Selection and training,
3. Illegal agents’ planting and handling,
4. Communications equipment.

C. Foreign Counterintelligence provided for active penetration of western intelligence and counterintelligence central security organs, and for active defence of residencies and Czechoslovak institutions. It was formed by the 6th Department – Foreign Counterintelligence Department.

D. Scientific and Technological Intelligence was charged with gathering classified scientific and technological knowledge, with a focus on the nine most important fields: chemistry, metallurgy, electronics, automation, atomic energy, machinery, arms equipment, weapons of mass destruction, and operative equipment for the needs of the Interior Ministry.

Scientific and technological intelligence pursued activity in the most advanced countries, in particular the USA, the FRG, Great Britain and France. From the operative point of view, however, some smaller countries were also in the focus of its interest, e.g. Italy, Japan, Canada, Sweden, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Austria. Mexico represented a standard third country in this field.

E. Special Purpose Service (SZU) was designed to mastermind and back up especially violent and aggressive operations (subversion and sabotage), organized and implemented in support of the foreign policy and security of Czechoslovakia and the world communist system.³⁶

Residencies at Czechoslovak representative bodies in foreign countries (“legal” residencies) represented the basic operative component of the MV First Directorate. It ran

³⁶ Ibid, pp. 147–149.

a total of 41 residencies in 39 countries, with political intelligence operating at 34, foreign counterintelligence at 23, scientific and technological intelligence at 15, illegal intelligence at 11 and the special purpose service at 4 of them.³⁷

In March 1966, The Main Directorate of the State Security (HS-StB) was established within the MV Headquarters, headed by Deputy Interior Minister Col. Jaroslav Klíma. It acted alongside the MV Intelligence Directorate, and reported directly to the Interior Minister.³⁸ The situation stayed unchanged even after the issue of the *Principles of the governing activity arrangement within the National Security Corps* (Zásady pro uspořádání řídicí činnosti ve Sboru národní bezpečnosti), which defined the intelligence service as one of the sections of the State Security, an independent constituent part of the National Security Corps (SNB) as far as the field of activity was concerned.³⁹

The *Principles of work for illegal positions* (Zásady práce z nelegálních pozic) of September 1966, which were approved by the staff of the Chief of the MV First Directorate at the beginning of 1967, showed the layout of Illegal Intelligence in the headquarters at that time:

10th Department – selection and training of candidates for illegal work,

11th Department – documentation and legalization of illegal agents, preparation and backup of illegal trips, making of false documents,

12th Department – planting of illegal agents and control of the illegal intelligence apparatus abroad,

13th Department – communication equipment,

Analytical and Defence Division of Illegal Intelligence.⁴⁰

Table 2. Overview of Residencies of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service, 1967

Residency	Country	Residency Chief	Personnel
Vienna	Austria	Lt.Col. Jan Příhoda – “Pražský”	28
Paris	France	Maj. František Kramář – “Krajíček”	22
London	GB	Lt.Col. Josef Kalina – “Karhan”	18
East Berlin	GDR	Maj. Vladislav Děkan – “Nezval”	9
Frankfurt	FRG	Maj. Miloslav Purger – “Podhráský”	7
Roma	Italy	Capt. Ferdinand Viduna – “Jaroš”	7
Brussels	Belgium	?	6
Athens	Greece	Maj. Zdeněk Vítek – “Večeřa”	6

³⁷ Ibid, p. 150.

³⁸ P. Žáček, *Nástroj triedneho štátu*, pp. 38–39.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 48.

⁴⁰ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, p. 164.

Residency	Country	Residency Chief	Personnel
West Berlin	FRG	Maj. Zdeněk Skoba – “Sýkora”	5
Stockholm	Sweden	Maj. Jiří Černý – “Nedbal”	6
Haag	Holland	Maj. Josef Matějka – “Malinský”*	5
Bern	Switzerland	Maj. František Pospíšil – “Pýcha”*	4
Oslo	Norway	?	2
Helsinki	Finland	?	2
Europe total			127
Washington, D.C.	USA	Maj. JUDr. Jaroslav Andres – “Anděl”	17
Montreal	Canada	Lt.Col. Jiří Svoboda – “Sviták”**	13
New York	USA	Maj. Miroslav Polreich – “Patera”	12
Mexico City	Mexico	Maj. Bedřich Kubeš – “Rogl”	8
Havana	Cuba	Maj. Ota Jiroušek – “Jíra”	7
Montevideo	Uruguay	Maj. František Vacula – “Jezerský”	7
Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	Maj. Vladislav Slezák – “Svatoň”*	7
Ottawa	Canada	Maj. Erhard Salomon – “Seidl”	4
Santiago de Chile	Chile	Maj. Eduard Fuchs – “Dominik”	4
Bogota	Colombia	1st Lt. JUDr. Emanuel Havlík – “Hlavsa”	4
Buenos Aires	Argentina	?	3
America total			86
Cairo	Egypt	Maj. Miroslav Chytrý – “Chládek”	16
Beirut	Lebanon	Maj. Miroslav Jánský – “Jarolím”*	9
Delhi	India	Maj. Vladimír Baudyš – “Bednář”	6
Tokyo	Japan	Maj. Václav Pospíšil – “Petránek”	6
Djakarta	Indonesia	Maj. Stanislav Kozubík – “Krejčí”	4
Baghdad	Iraq	?	3
Peking	China	?	3

* Deputy Residency Chief

** Chief of Special Residency for EXPO 67

Residency	Country	Residency Chief	Personnel
Kabul	Afghanistan	?	2
Asia total			49
Conakry	Guinea	Maj. Karel Polák – “Pecháček”	8
Rabat	Morocco	Maj. Otto Fait – “Forejt”	7
Algiers	Algeria	Maj. Jaromír Vašíček – “Žďárský”	6
Accra	Ghana	Maj. Karel Hotárek – “Holický”	5
Dar es Salaam	Tanzania	Capt. Jiří Brožovský – “Bílek”*	5
Nairobi	Kenya	Maj. Leo Kustoš – “Krupička”	3
Kinshasa	Congo	Maj. Otakar Hromádka – “Mařík”	3
Lagos	Nigeria	Maj. Alois Semelka – “Suk”*	3
Brazzaville	Kongo	Maj. Jiří Vančura – “Vyštejn”***	3
Africa total			43
Sydney	Australia	?	2
Total			307

*** Head of the Czechoslovak Advisers

PRAGUE SPRING REFORM, 1968

In connection with the political changes brought about by the Prague Spring movement, work on the *Intelligence Service Action Programme* (Akční program rozvědky) was launched at the MV First Directorate at the beginning of March 1968. It was intended to address the question of the institution’s internal organization and the overall orientation of its activity including its legal position. The proposals submitted by individual departments reflected their effort to strengthen their own position or the line of intelligence they pursued. Political intelligence, e.g., preferred a territorial approach, and sought to strengthen its positions by way of bringing foreign counterintelligence within its powers. In contrast, a consistent line-based principle was enforced by scientific and technological intelligence – and illegal intelligence in particular – in an effort to preserve their already strong position. There was, however, agreement as to the elevation of the then Scientific and Technological Intelligence Department to an independent line of intelligence.⁴¹

In mid-April 1968, the MV Intelligence Directorate consisted of 15 departments, four independent divisions and other units. Col. Houska was in direct control of the 5th Department (scientific and technological intelligence), 14th Department (personnel

⁴¹ M. Miklovič, *Reorganizácia rozvedky v roku 1969*, “Paměť a dějiny” 2012, vol. 3, pp. 91, 95.

and education), 16th Department (economic), 17th Department (encryption), financial division, diplomatic couriers division, analytical group, and the section for coordination with communist intelligence services.

First Deputy Chief Lt. Col. Paclík was responsible for the 6th Department (foreign counterintelligence), 8th Department (active measures and disinformation), 9th Department (education and information), 15th Department (mechanical recordkeeping and archives), and the unit for the control of the SNB Regional Directorates First Departments.

Political intelligence departments fell under the authority of Deputy Chief Maj. Čech. They included the 1st Department (American), 2nd Department (German), 3rd Department (European) and 4th Department (Afro-Asian).

Deputy Chief Col. Žlábek was in control of illegal intelligence units: the 10th Department (documentation), 11th Department (selection and training of candidates), 12th Department (operative), 13th Department (communications and technical), the analytical-defence division of illegal intelligence, the 7th Department (special purpose service), and the unit for coordination with the Intelligence Directorate of the Czechoslovak People's Army General Staff (Zpravodajská správa Generálního štábu ČSLA).⁴²

Specific orientation of individual departments and their leadership:

1st Department – political intelligence (US, Canada, Colombia, Argentina, Venezuela, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico, Chile, Uruguay), Maj. Ladislav Derka – “Deml”,

2nd Department – political intelligence (FRG, Austria, West Berlin), Maj. Slavoj Frous – “Farkač”,

3rd Department – political intelligence (Great Britain, France, Italy, Greece, Sweden, Belgium), Maj. Václav Táborský – “Majer”,

4th Department – political intelligence (India, Indonesia, Lebanon, Iraq, United Arab Republic, Algeria, Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, Congo-Léopoldville, China), Lt. Col. Jindřich,

5th Department – scientific and technological intelligence (Japan, US, Canada, Mexico, Great Britain, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, FRG, Austria), Maj. Jiří Vojta – “Voborník”,

6th Department – foreign counterintelligence (Austria, France, Great Britain, FRG, West Berlin, United Arab Republic, Lebanon, Switzerland, Syria, India, Cuba, Afghanistan, Guinea, Mexico, US, Canada, Morocco, Brazil, Italy), Lt. Col. Jodas,

7th Department – special purpose service (Austria, France), Lt. Col. Ondrovčák,

8th Department – active measures and disinformation, Maj. Stejskal,

9th Department – education and information, Capt. Emil Paták – “Pelikán”,

10th Department – illegal intelligence – documentation; Austria, Brazil, Australia, Canada, France, Italy, Lebanon, FRG, Argentina), Lt. Col. Brych,

11th Department – illegal intelligence – selection and training of candidates for illegal work, Maj. Vítězslav Litera – “Lučan”,

12th Department – illegal intelligence – handling of illegal agents abroad, Maj. Meixner,

⁴² Ibid, p. 91.

13th Department – illegal intelligence – communication with illegal agents; transmission and reception centre; technical support of operative actions, radio operators), Maj. Paukner,

14th Department (personnel and education), Maj. Ladislav Svoboda,

15th Department (mechanical recordkeeping, archives), Maj. Milan Vokurka – “Vyhlíd”,

16th Department (economic), Maj. Jiří Listopad,

17th Department (encryption; at the Foreign Ministry), Maj. Kostka.

Independent divisions:

Administrative division (secretariat, coordination with communist intelligence services), Maj. Blahoslav Sláma – “Svatoš”,

Financial division, Capt. Zdeněk Skála – “Orlický”,

Analytical-defence division of illegals, Maj. René Kraus – “Kinský”,

Analytical group of the Directorate Chief, Lt. Col. Miloslav Novák – “Nerad”,

Diplomatic couriers division (at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).⁴³

At the beginning of 1968, the Interior Ministry First Directorate had a total of 1,236 staff members, including 352 operatives and non-operatives working abroad (52.5 per cent operatives, 22 per cent non-operatives, 17.5 per cent cryptographers, radio operators and couriers, 6 per cent analytical personnel, and 2 per cent illegal agents). A total of 41 residencies pursued intelligence activity in 39 countries, with only 19 of them being the one-line type.⁴⁴

Following the recall of Col. Houska, compromised by his share in the political trials at the beginning of the 1950s, Interior Minister Josef Pavel provisionally appointed Maj. Čech as the Chief of the MV Intelligence Directorate as of August 1, 1968. After Czechoslovakia's occupation by the Warsaw Treaty armies on 21 August, 1968, Soviet KGB bodies tried to reinstall Col. Houska as Chief of the MV First Directorate. When these attempts failed, the responsibility for the operation of the intelligence service was assumed by Deputy Chief Col. Žlábek for several days, with the Soviets' knowledge.⁴⁵

Both the political developments following the occupation and the pressure exerted by Soviet security forces prevented Lt. Col. Čech from consolidating the situation. In spite of this, a new version of the *Intelligence Service Action Programme* was being worked out in the course of autumn 1968.⁴⁶

SOVIET OCCUPATION ERA, 1969–1979

In mid-December 1968, Interior Minister Jan Pelnář recalled Lt. Col. Čech from his function to replace him with Col. Čestmír Podzemný, former Chief of the Strategic Intelligence Section of the Intelligence Directorate of the Czechoslovak People's Army

⁴³ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, pp. 183–184.

⁴⁴ F. Koudelka, J. Suk, *Ministerstvo vnitra a bezpečnostní aparát*, pp. 68, 71, 73.

⁴⁵ See P. Žáček, *The KGB and the Czechoslovak State Security Apparatus in August 1968*, “The Journal of Slavic Military Studies” 2016, vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 632–633, 639, 646.

⁴⁶ *První správa*, pp. 56–57.

General Staff. The new leadership of the First Directorate primarily responded to Czechoslovakia's federalization, calling for the institution's corresponding position in the security forces hierarchy. This was to be achieved by the establishment of the Main Intelligence Directorate (Hlavní správa rozvědky) that would be put on the same level as the Main Counterintelligence Directorate. The defection of two intelligence service members was given as a specific reason for the changes, among other things.

On March 1, 1969, the Main Intelligence Directorate (HSR) came into existence, to become part of the Federal Intelligence Directorate (FSZS), together with other units. According to the Soviet model, a strict line-based principle was applied in its internal organization. The territorial principle was applied only on the level of the Political Intelligence and Scientific and Technological Intelligence Departments, or divisions in the case of foreign counterintelligence and illegals.

According to the *Provisional Statutes* (Prozatímní statut) of April 15, 1969, the Main Intelligence Directorate consisted of the headquarters, residencies abroad, regional departments, HSR departmental centres, and members pursuing independent activity abroad over a long time. The HSR Headquarters shared the leadership with directly controlled professional units, four operative directorates, the internal directorate, and a branch office in Bratislava. The changes in the organizational structure affected the headquarters as well as the intelligence units in individual regions.⁴⁷

HSR Chief Col. Podzemný directly controlled his secretariat, the information department (Department "S"), the personnel and education department (Department "R"), and the HSR Chief's special reserve. First Deputy Lt. Col. Paclík was in control of the Bratislava branch office Chief and of the HSR regional departments in the county seats. Col. Jindřich became another Deputy Chief.

Operative "Directorate A" (political intelligence), headed by Lt. Col. Čech, maintained its former position of an independent operative line. It was composed of four political intelligence departments from the current structure, newly designated as: the 1st Department (A/1) – German, 2nd Department (A/2) – European, 3rd Department (A/3) – Afro-Asian, and the 4th Department (A/4) – American. The Directorate was responsible for the performance of political and political-economic intelligence, and it participated in designing and implementing active and psychological measures.

Operative "Directorate B" (foreign counterintelligence), as of June 15, 1969 headed by Lt. Col. Milan Michel – "Mozr" – was in charge of the struggle against enemy intelligence and counterintelligence services, and the implementation of active and psychological measures. It consisted of the newly established 1st Department (B/1) – inspection and defence, 2nd Department (B/2) – counterintelligence (former 6th Dpt), 3rd Directorate (B/3) – disinformation and active measures (former 7th and 8th Departments), and the HSR analytical division (former analytical group).

Operative "Directorate C" (scientific-technological intelligence), as of September 1, 1969 headed by Maj. Věroslav Sobek – "Šedivý" – was formed from the former 5th Department and consisted of the 1st Department (C/1) – American, and the 2nd

⁴⁷ Ibid, pp. 56–57.

Department (C/2) – other countries. In contrast to the preceding period, scientific and technological intelligence was elevated from a department to an independent line.

Operative “Directorate D” (illegals) was headed by Col. Žlábek and comprised the 1st Directorate (D/1) – documentation, 2nd Department (D/2) – selection and training of candidates, 3rd Department (D/3) – operative, and the 4th Department (D/4) – technical. The Directorate had its own analytical and defence division of illegal intelligence.

“Directorate E” (administration and support elements), headed by Lt. Col. Kostka, was responsible for administration, archives, records, communications, financial and economic service, and for the handling of social affairs within the intelligence service. The Directorate was composed of three departments and two independent divisions: 1st Department (E/1) – operative and mechanical recordkeeping, 2nd Department (E/2) – economic, 3rd Department (E/3) – communications, the division of finance and planning, and the internal division.

“Directorate F” (HSR Headquarters branch office in Bratislava), headed by Lt. Col. Eduard Pafčo, participated in the operative activity of the Headquarters Directorates A, B, C and D, and in the selection and training of intelligence service members. It provided for linking the intelligence service information system to the party and state bodies of the Slovak Republic in specific issues of Slovak interest (separatism, emigration, the Vatican).

The HSR incorporated directly in its structure the intelligence service territorial units which, in terms of organization, formerly fell under the Regional Directorates of the National Security Corps (1st Departments). The newly established regional departments acted as executive operative intelligence departments in individual Czechoslovak regions.⁴⁸

Based on an order of Czechoslovak Interior Minister Pelnář, the Chiefs of FSZS constituent units, including the HSR Chief, were subordinated to Deputy Minister for the control of the federal intelligence service and protection of the state secret Col František Vašek as of July 16, 1969. On November 3, 1969, the intelligence service returned under the direct control of the Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior.⁴⁹

In December 1969, a total of 817 staff members served in the FSZS First Directorate Headquarters, another 201 worked in legalization offices and 323 abroad. Some 200 operative workers pursued real intelligence or counterintelligence activity abroad.⁵⁰

A new Federal Interior Minister, Radko Kaska, was installed on January 28, 1970. At the close of the year, the FSZS ceased to exist, and on January 1, 1971, the Main Intelligence Directorate became a unit of the Federal Interior Ministry (FMV) executive apparatus. On the same day, Col. Miloš Hladík was appointed Chief of the FMV First Directorate. As of January 28, 1971, the Minister took the Main Intelligence Directorate under his control.⁵¹ The new Chief was ordered to “provide for [...] fluent transition to the new organization of the FMV First Directorate”.⁵²

⁴⁸ M. Miklovič, *Reorganizácia rozvedky v roku 1969*, pp. 95–97.

⁴⁹ P. Žáček, *Nástroj triedneho štátu*, pp. 95, 104.

⁵⁰ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, p. 202.

⁵¹ P. Žáček, *Nástroj triedneho štátu*, p. 112.

⁵² J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, p. 206.

The organizational structure of the Main Intelligence Directorate of the Czechoslovak Federal Ministry of the Interior (HSR FMV) and the scope of responsibility of its chiefs changed in the following way as of March 8, 1971:

First Deputy Chief Col. Ján Pobeha supervised:

Group of the FMV First Directorate First Deputy Chief,⁵³

Secretariat of the Chief of the FMV First Directorate, Lt. Col. Litera,

Analytical department (22nd Dpt), Lt. Col. Novák,

Department of defence and inspection (33rd Dpt), Lt. Col. Kraus,

Information department (17th Dpt), Lt. Col. Tomek,

Personnel department (27th Dpt), Maj. Rudolf Zach – “Žitný”,

Intelligence school of the FMV First Directorate (4th Dpt), Lt. Col. Skoba,

Department of foreign communication (50th Dpt), Lt. Col. Jaroslav Myšík – “Císařík”.

Deputy Chief for political intelligence Col Žlábek was in charge of:

Operative department – FRG, Austria, the Netherlands (37th Dpt), Lt. Col. Miroslav Burgr – “Bareš”,

Operative department – Europe (42nd Dpt), Maj. Zdeněk Vítek – “Večeřa”,

Operative department – developing countries (47th Dpt), Maj. Miloslav Matějů – “Mach”,

Operative department – USA (52nd Department), Lt. Col. Miroslav Chytrý – “Chládek”.

Deputy Chief for foreign counterintelligence Lt. Col. Ondrovčák supervised:

“Special services” department (21st Dpt), Lt. Col. Stanislav Tomeš – “Formánek”,

Department of defence (26th Dpt), Lt. Col. Jiří Brůna – “Bradáč”,

Department of emigration (31st Dpt), Maj. Jan Pěňčík – “Pozorný”,

Department of psychological operations (36th Dpt), Capt. Emanuel Havlík – “Hlavsa”.

Deputy Chief for scientific-technological intelligence Lt. Col. Sobek controlled:

1st Department of S&T (69th Dpt), Lt. Col. Jaroslav Bečka – “Bendl”,

2nd Department of S&T (74th Dpt), Lt. Col. Václav Pospíšil – “Petránek”.

Deputy Chief for illegal intelligence Lt. Col. Paukner supervised:

Analytical-defence division (13th Div),

Department of documentation (18th Dpt), Lt. Col. Jaromír Felcman – “Frýbort”,

Department of selection, training and supervision (23rd Dpt), Lt. Col. Meixner,

Department of telecommunications and operational equipment (28th Dpt), Maj.

Jaroslav Holý – “Hlávka”.

Chief of the Material and Technical Supplies and Operations Directorate Lt. Col. Kostka controlled the department of operative and mechanical recordkeeping, the department of economic affairs and services, the financial and planning division, and the independent transport division.

The real number of the HSR FMV staff dropped to 1,150. In view of the personnel crisis, the Directorate leadership was unable to fill the planned staff number (1,376 allocated jobs).⁵⁴

⁵³ The group supervised the regional departments of the FMV First Directorate (Praha, České Budějovice, Plzeň, Ústí nad Labem, Hradec Králové, Brno, Ostrava, Bratislava, Banská Bystrica, and Košice).

⁵⁴ J. Larecki, L. Pawlikowicz and P. Piotrowski: *Aparaty centralne służb wywiadu cywilnego*, pp. 52–53; <http://ustrcr.cz/data/pdf/hsr-statuty/organizace-brezen-1971.pdf>.

After the origin of the FMV First Directorate, several fundamental documents were worked out, including the *Statutes of the FMV First Directorate* of March 1971, and the *Statutes of the FMV Intelligence Directorate*, which was finally approved by Minister Kaska on November 19, 1972, but came into effect only by FMV First Directorate Chief order No. 29/1974.⁵⁵

Discussion over the draft statutes revealed the need to establish the function of another First Deputy Chief. Maj. Gen. Hladík justified this need by arguing that coping with the Chief's duties in terms of the extent and variety of work abroad *went beyond the physical capacity of one single leading official*. The current First Deputy Chief Col. Pobeha supervised the regional departments of the First Directorate, telecommunication services, the school of the FMV First Directorate, and material and technical supplies and operations. As of August 1, 1972, Col. Žlábek was installed in the newly established function of the First Deputy Chief for the control and coordination of agency-operative work abroad. Maj. František Vlček – „Petřina” replaced him temporarily as the Deputy Chief for political intelligence.⁵⁶ In the following years it applied that if a person of Czech nationality became the intelligence service chief, a person of Slovak nationality was appointed his first deputy. As of January 14, 1974, the post of the Foreign Counterintelligence Deputy Chief, which had been held by Lt. Col. Ondrovčák since March 8, 1971, was abolished.⁵⁷

On February 1, 1974, the Chief of the FMV First Directorate pushed through a new organizational structure for the intelligence service which was based on the wording of the statutes approved earlier by minister Kaska. The FMV Main Intelligence Directorate was thus composed of the headquarters in Czechoslovakia, residencies, and regional departments.

The leadership of the Main Intelligence Directorate was as follows: the Chief of the First Directorate was in control of the Secretariat (under the cover name of 12th Dpt), Personnel Department (27th Dpt), Information Department (17th Dpt), Department of Supervision and Defence, including protection of the state secret (33rd Dpt), and the Chief's inspection group.

The First Deputy was in charge of the Department of the Enemy's Special Services Analysis (21st Dpt), Department of Active Measures (33rd Dpt), Federal Foreign Ministry (FMZV) Special Department (26th Dpt), and the Department of Analysis and Planning (22nd Dpt).

The Second First Deputy Chief was responsible for the material-technical and operational support, regional departments of the FMV First Directorate, the Department of Special Communication (50th Dpt), the Department of Automation and Recordkeeping (55th Dpt), and the Intelligence School of the First Directorate (4th Dpt).

⁵⁵ *První správa*, pp. 69–98.

⁵⁶ The Czechoslovak Interior Minister approved the proposal for filling the post of the First Deputy Chief of the FMV First Directorate, Ref No A-0078/12-1972, on July 11, 1972. Comp. http://www.abscr.cz/data/pdf/knihy/KRNS1/KRNS1_1972.pdf.

⁵⁷ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, pp. 208–209.

The Deputy for territorial departments was in charge of control of the Department of Africa and the Middle East (47th Dpt), Department of the USA and Latin America (52nd Dpt), and the Department of Asia (57th Dpt).

The Second Deputy Chief for territorial departments controlled the Department of the FRG and Austria (37th Dpt), Department of Europe and NATO (42nd Dpt), and the Department of Emigration (31st Dpt).

The Deputy for illegal intelligence units was in charge of the Documentation Department (18th Dpt), Department of Selection, Training and Supervision (23rd Dpt), Department of Communication and Operative Equipment (28th Dpt) and analytical division of illegal intelligence (13th Div).

The Deputy for scientific and technological intelligence units controlled two departments of operative performance (69th and 74th Departments).

The Chief for material and technical and logistic support was responsible for the Economic Department, later Economic and Technical (59th Dpt), the Division of Finance and Planning (66th Div), and the Transportation Division (73rd Div).⁵⁸

In mid-1974, the FMV Main Counterintelligence Directorate experienced another significant change – its division into independent counterintelligence departments based on the range of issues they handled. A new reorganization of the Federal Interior Ministry followed. The Main Intelligence Directorate – the FMV First Directorate – was confirmed as one of the FMV executive formations as of July 1, 1974.⁵⁹

Further internal changes in the organization and subordination of individual sections came in consequence of the replacement of Col. Pobeha by Col. Ondrej Dovina (as of July 1, 1974), and also the attempted suicide of Lt. Col. Vlček after which the Interior Minister decided that the Chief of the First Directorate should have only one First Deputy Chief in the future.⁶⁰ Consequently, it was necessary in mid-October 1974 to define the responsibility of leading functionaries a new:

– The Chief of the FMV First Directorate had as his direct subordinates: Deputy Chief for Illegal Intelligence Lt. Col. Meixner, Deputy Chief for scientific and technological intelligence Lt. Col. Ing. Paukner, the Secretariat, the Personnel Department, the Department of Supervision and Defence, the Inspection Group, Information Department and the Department of Analysis and Planning.

– First Deputy Chief Col. Dovina was directly superior to Deputy for the Territorial Departments of North and South America, Africa and Asia Col. Žlábek, Deputy Chief for European Territorial Departments Lt. Col. Felcman, the Intelligence School of the FMV First Directorate, Department of Automation and Recordkeeping, and the Economic and Technical Department.

– Deputy Chief for the Territory of North and South America, Africa and Asia Col. Žlábek was in direct control of Departments 47, 52, 57, 36, and the FMZV Special Department.

⁵⁸ See <http://www.ustrcr.cz/data/pdf/rozkazy/1sprava/rns05-1974.pdf>.

⁵⁹ P. Žáček, *Nástroj triedneho štátu*, p. 140.

⁶⁰ Comp. <http://www.ustrcr.cz/data/pdf/rozkazy/1sprava/rns39-1974.pdf>.

- Deputy Chief for European Territory Lt. Col. Felcman was in direct control of Departments 37, 42, 21, 31, and the regional departments of the FMV First Directorate.
- Deputy Chief for Illegal Intelligence Lt. Col. Meixner was in direct control of Departments 18, 23, 28, the analytical division of illegal intelligence and Department 50.
- Deputy Chief for Scientific and Technological Intelligence Lt. Col. Paukner was in direct control of Departments 69 and 74.⁶¹

The FMV Main Intelligence Directorate had a total of 1,353 staff members in 1974, but only 1,220 in 1980. A total of 601 of them were operational personnel. 187 persons were planted in “legal” residencies, including 113 non-operative and 74 intelligence officers from operative departments. The FMV First Directorate staff session in November 1978 came to the conclusion that the territorial organizational layout dating from 1974 *appeared to be outdated*. This was the presage of a new reorganization which followed in 1980.⁶²

In the second half of the 1970s, the Czechoslovak intelligence service ran a total of 33 residencies abroad. They were occupied by 259 members, including 137 operatives. The rest were accounted for by cryptographers, radio operators and auxiliary personnel. The residencies in Hague, Bern and Montevideo were dissolved, while new ones were established in Geneva, Lisbon, Madrid, Nicosia and Tehran. The residencies in Baghdad, Buenos Aires and Caracas resumed their activity.⁶³

With effect from August 1, 1979, the Main Intelligence Directorate was formally incorporated among the units of the National Security Corps – State Security constituent parts, under the new cover name of the SNB First Directorate (I. správa SNB).⁶⁴

Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jaromír Obzina transferred the SNB First Directorate from his control under the authority of Deputy Interior Minister Col. Vladimír Hrušecký retroactively as of January 1, 1980.⁶⁵ After the death of Maj. Gen. Hladík on February 20, 1980, Col. Dovina was installed as the Directorate Chief on a temporary basis.

In connection with the above personnel changes, the range of responsibilities of some leading functionaries was temporarily redistributed: Col. Meixner was not affected by any changes, Col. Paukner assumed control over the intelligence school and over the 5th Department, Col. Felcman controlled, in addition to his own duties, operative Departments 47, 52 a 57 in the absence of Col. Žlábek, and Col. Dovina stayed in charge of Departments 17, 26, 27, 33, 59, 36, and of the Internal Department.

As of June 14, 1980, Col. Felcman and Col. Žlábek were recalled from their functions and replaced by Col. Jindřich Nekolný – “Nikodém” and Col. Štefan Viedenský – “Vršinský”, who assumed control of the departments of foreign counterintelligence, emigration and ideological subversion, active measures, regional departments, and political intelligence, respectively.⁶⁶

⁶¹ See <http://www.ustrcr.cz/data/pdf/rozkazy/1sprava/rozkaz39-1974.pdf>.

⁶² J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, p. 213.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁶⁴ P. Žáček, *Nástroj triedneho štátu*, p. 156.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁶⁶ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, pp. 229–230.

On July 1, 1980, regional departments were removed from the organizational structure of the SNB First Directorate, to be incorporated in the State Security (StB) units of individual regional directorates of the National Security Corps (SNB) as StB regional departments.⁶⁷

Table 3. Overview of Residencies of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service, 1980

Residency	Country	Residency Chief	Codenamed	Holding from	Holding to
Vienna	Austria	Capt./Maj. PhDr. Vilém Václavek	“Kainar”	March 1979	June 1981
Bonn	FRG	Maj. Andrej Kuzmík	“Levinský”	December 1979	February 1982
Berlin	GDR	?			
London	GB	Capt. Ing. Jaromír Kaloč*	“Kaluža”	March 1980	February 1981
Paris	France	?			
Brussels	Belgium	Maj. Jiří Opršal	“Ondruška”		
Roma	Italy	Capt. Václav Pavelka	“Šamonil”	December 1980	November 1984
Bern	Switzerland	Lt. Jan Jirůšek	“Havelský”		
Belgrade	Yugoslavia	Maj. Bohumil Bednář	“Borovec”	November 1977	March 1983
Bucurest	Romania	Lt.Col. Václav Moc	“Mourek”	August 1978	June 1981
Tirana	Albania	Lt.Col. Josef Kuřík	“Klíma”	September 1976	July 1980
Athens	Greece	Capt. Stanislav Ulík	“Viktor”	April 1976	August 1982
Nicosia	Cyprus	Lt.Col. Ing. Miroslav Chytrý	“Chládek”	November 1973	May 1980
Washington, D.C.	USA	Lt.Col. Vladimír Špínka	“Lefler”	December 1978	January 1981

⁶⁷ P. Žáček, *Nástroj triedneho štátu*, pp. 274–275.

Residency	Country	Residency Chief	Codenamed	Holding from	Holding to
New York	USA	Lt. Col. Jiří Slanina	“Sádek”	June 1977	June 1981
Montreal	Canada	?			
Mexico City	Mexico	?			
Lima	Peru	Lt.Col. Richard Hochman	“Charvát”	June 1978	July 1985
Caracas	Venezuela	Maj. Miroslav Vladyka	“Vyhnanovský”	February 1979	January 1982
Buenos Aires	Argentina	Maj. Vladislav Slezák*	“Svatoň”	December 1979	November 1985
Santiago de Chile	Chile	2 nd Lt. Stanislav Buřival*	“Bosák”	January 1975	August 1980
Havana	Cuba	?			
Beyruth	Lebanon	Maj. Jiří Brožovský	“Bílek”	April 1980	December 1982
Damascus	Syria	Karel Buralt	“Zika”		
Amman	Jordan	Maj. František Matal	“Merta”	January 1977	August 1982
Baghdad	Iraq	Maj./Lt.Col. Josef Konecký**	“Foltýn”	September 1977	July 1980
Algiers	Algeria	Maj. Ladislav Mlčák	“Moláček”	July 1975	June 1981
Cairo	Egypt	Lt.Col. Zdeněk Fryauf	“Fučík”	February 1978	September 1980
Tehran	Iran	Lt.Col. Oldřich Hlavička	“Racek”	June 1979	March 1981
Delhi	India	Maj. František Sailer	“Bečvár”	November 1977	October 1981
Djakarta	Indonesia	Maj. Jaromír Vašíček*	“Žďárský”	December 1979	June 1983
Peking	China	Maj. Jiří Čermák*	“Čechura”	February 1979	August 1982
Tokyo	Japan	Lt.Col. Karel Fiřt	“Fidler”	January 1977	February 1982

* Deputy Residency Chief

** The Commissioner of the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry

UNTIL THE BITTER END, 1980–1989

On October 1, 1980, a new organizational order of the SNB First Directorate was issued, cancelling the principles of the SNB First Directorate management of January 31, 1980. The SNB Main Intelligence Directorate (HSR SNB) pursued intelligence activity within the united defence system of Czechoslovakia and the countries of the socialist camp. Emphasis was put on the enemy's special services, emigration, ideological subversion centres, defence of economic interests of Czechoslovakia and other communist countries, on science, technology, the military, influence operations, defence of Czechoslovak institutions abroad, and provision of courier and encryption connection.

The Intelligence Service consisted of the following organizational units: Internal Department, Director's Inspectorate, Personnel and Education Department, Department of Defence and Protection, Economic Department, Department of Special Communications, Analytical Information Department, Department of Automation and Recordkeeping, Health Institute. Operative Sections I – III provided for political and political/economic intelligence, obtained scientific/technological and economic documentation, materials and information needed for the defence and scientific/technological development of Czechoslovakia and other communist countries. Their activity focused on the enemy's special services, centres of ideological subversion and emigres; they ensured the defence of representative bodies and Czechoslovak citizens abroad, and implemented active and influential measures. Operative Section IV – illegal intelligence – was guided by special regulations. Also included in this structure were residencies – the basic executive units of intelligence and counterintelligence activity in the countries of interest, and the Warrant and Commissioned Officers School.⁶⁸

As of March 1, 1981, the leadership of the SNB First Directorate was taken over from Col. Dovina by Maj. Gen. Karel Sochor who had formerly worked in the Intelligence Directorate of the Czechoslovak People's Army General Staff.

After his installation, the SNB Main Intelligence Directorate launched preparations for activity under the conditions of the State Defence Emergency. In this eventuality, the Directorate would be divided into two echelons. The first was to be deployed in the main war zone while the second would represent reserves and would be composed of the reserve forces of the First Directorate. It would nevertheless be able to fulfil independent tasks and take over the function of the leading entity in case of need.

The organizational structure of the Czechoslovak intelligence service under the conditions of the State Defence Emergency in 1981 would be the following:

The Directorate leadership – Chief, First Deputy and three other Deputies (for political intelligence, scientific and technological intelligence and illegal intelligence), the Directorate's Communist Party Committee, Internal Department, the Chief's Inspection, Personnel Department, Department of the Directorate's Apparatus Defence and Protection, Information Department, Economic and Technical Department, Departments of Special Communications, Automation and Recordkeeping Department,

⁶⁸ *První správa*, pp. 121, 128, 138.

Warrant and Commissioned Officers School, Health Department, and the Group for Contact and Coordination. Further units included: Section I – political intelligence (Departments 37, 42, 47, 52 and 57), Section II – scientific and technological intelligence (Department 69 and 74), and Section III – illegal intelligence (Departments 13, 18, 23 and 28).⁶⁹

As of February 1, 1982, the SNB First Directorate returned under the control of Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jaromír Obzina.⁷⁰ On the same day, the Department for Performance, Control and Coordination (80th Dpt) was set up to exercise, organize and coordinate operations within and from the Czechoslovak territory, provide for cooperation between intelligence units in Czechoslovakia and abroad, and between SNB intelligence and counterintelligence units. It was also in charge of methodological control and direction of StB regional departments.

As of April 1, 1982, Chief Maj. Gen. Sochor dissolved Department 33 (supervision, defence and protection of the state secret) and 57 (Department Asia), and newly established Department 10 (planning and analysis – these issues were removed from the Internal Department's scope of activity). The issues formerly handled by the dissolved 57th Department were transferred to the 47th Department (Africa and the Middle East), and the activity of the 1st and 2nd Divisions of the dissolved 33rd Department was transferred to the 26th Department (counter-intelligence line). The Surveillance Division of the former 33rd Department was transferred to the Internal Department (later it became an independent mobilization group).⁷¹

The next fundamental reorganization of the intelligence service came into effect on January 1, 1988, when the SNB Main Intelligence Directorate fell within the competence of Interior Minister Vratislav Vajnar. Maj. Gen. Sochor as the HSR SNB Chief controlled the Department of Planning and Analysis (10th Dpt), Personnel Department (27th Dpt), Department of Defence and Protection of the Intelligence Service Apparatus (25th Dpt), the Chief's Inspectorate, Group of Defence – mobilization, Department KAHAN⁷² (40th Dpt) and protection of the state secret.

His First Deputy, Col. Viedenský, was responsible for the Department of Organization and Operations (12th Dpt), Information Department (17th Dpt), Department of Counterintelligence (26th Dpt), Department of Emigration and Ideological Subversion (31st Dpt), Department of Automation and Recordkeeping (55th Dpt), Department for Operations within and from the Czechoslovak Territory (80th Dpt).

The Deputy for Political Intelligence Col. Jan Stehno – “Skořepa” was in charge of the Department of Active and Influence Measures (36th Dpt), Department of the FRG and Austria (37th Dpt), Department of Western Europe and NATO (42nd Dpt), Department of Africa, the Middle East and the Far East (47th Dpt), Department of the USA and Latin America (52nd Dpt).

⁶⁹ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, pp. 238–239. On the planned shape of the SNB First Directorate under the Conditions of the State Defence Emergency in 1985 see *ibid.*, pp. 240–241.

⁷⁰ P. Žáček, *Nástroj triedneho štátu*, p. 179.

⁷¹ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, p. 240.

⁷² “Kahan” was the cover name of the standby war HQ of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service.

The Deputy for Scientific and Technological Intelligence Col. Jaroslav Souček – “Slaviček” was responsible for the operative Department of S&T Intelligence (69th Dpt), Analytical-Information Department of S&T Intelligence (74th Dpt), Economic Department (59th Dpt), Intelligence School of the First Directorate (4th Dpt), and the Health Institute of the First Directorate.

The Deputy for Illegal Intelligence (NR) Col. Nekolný controlled the NR Analytical-Defence Division (13th Div), NR Documentation and Operative Department (18th Dpt), NR Department of Selection, Training and Supervision (23rd Dpt), Operative-Technical Department – agency communication (28th Dpt), Communications Department – radio, encryption, courier service (50th Dpt), and the Division of Agency Operative Environment (14th Div).

The order of the First Directorate Chief also established the cover names of the regional departments (OO): Bratislava (70th Dpt), Košice (75th Dpt), Banská Bystrica (78th Dpt), Plzeň (81st Dpt), Ústí n. Labem (84th Dpt), Brno (87th Dpt), Hradec Králové (90th Dpt), Ostrava (93rd Dpt) and České Budějovice (99th Dpt).⁷³

In connection with the declared restructuring of the security apparatus, Minister Vajnar issued instructions to Maj. Gen. Sochor on May 11, 1988, ordering the HSR SNB leadership to work out an analysis of the headquarters staff as recorded on March 1, 1988. According to the set staff number, the headquarters were to consist of 1,030 employees, but the real figure was 905 staff members and 69 civil workers. A total of 588 persons worked in the operative (the plan provided for 63 more).⁷⁴

Of the 613 job positions of both diplomatic and administrative/technical personnel of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry (FMZV) at 37 Czechoslovak representative offices abroad, a total of 158 were allocated to the SNB Main Intelligence Directorate in the “second reserve”, based on the resolution of the 33rd session of the State Defence Council on December 9, 1982. A total of 126 of these allocated positions were filled by March 1, 1988, and another 16 persons were getting ready for dispatch. Similarly, the SNB First Directorate was granted 56 legalization positions of the 549 allocated positions of trade, administrative and economic workers of the Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Ministry (FMZO) and the state-run Foreign Trade Enterprise (PZO). A total of 31 of these positions were filled, four members were getting ready for dispatch.⁷⁵

The last reorganization of the Main Intelligence Directorate effective as of October 1, 1988, dissolved Division 14 (agency operative environment), and Departments 28 (agency operative equipment), 31 (emigration and ideological subversion), 26 (foreign counterintelligence), 37 (political intelligence for the FRG and Austria), 42 (political intelligence for Western Europe) and Department KAHAN (separate unit). Departments 26 (counter-intelligence, ideological subversion and emigration), 37 (Europe) and 28 (agency operative equipment and environment) were newly established; unit

⁷³ Ibid, pp. 251–254.

⁷⁴ P. Žáček, *Poslední reorganizace zahraniční rozvědky. Snižování početních stavů Hlavní správy rozvědky SNB v letech 1988–1990*, “Securitas Imperii” 2009, vol. 15, p. 186.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 187.

KAHAN was included in the Organizational and Operational Department of the SNB First Directorate.⁷⁶

Until 1988, the SNB First Directorate had residencies in the following cities of Europe and the world:

Department 42: London, Paris, Brussels, Rome, Madrid, Lisbon, Athens, Nicosia and Helsinki,

Department 37: Bonn, West Berlin, Vienna, Bern, Belgrade and Tirana,

Department 52: Washington, New York, Montreal, Buenos Aires, Mexico City and Caracas,

Department 47: Tokyo, Beijing, New Delhi, Jakarta, Amman, Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, Baghdad and Algiers.

“Legal” residencies conducted operations at 37 Czechoslovak representative offices, including 16 in Europe, 8 in America, 8 in Asia and 3 in Africa.⁷⁷

In November 1988, the Internal and Organizational Directorate of the Federal Interior Ministry sent their opinion on a draft new organizational order of the SNB First Directorate to Maj. Gen. Sochor. After comments had been incorporated, the order of the First Directorate Chief was finalized at the close of January 1989.

According to Article 5, the Directorate Chief was authorized to control the Chief’s Inspectorate, Personnel Department, Defence Group, Department of Planning and Analysis, Department of Defence and Protection of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service Apparatus.

The First Deputy for Political Intelligence was to be in charge of the Department of Counter-intelligence, Ideological Subversion and Emigration, Information Department, Department of Active and Influence Measures, Department of Europe, Department of the Middle and Far East, Department of the USA and Latin America.

The Deputy for Illegal Intelligence (NR) was to be responsible for the Department of Organization and Operation, Communications Department, NR Analytical and Defence Division, NR Documentation and Operative Department, NR Department of Selection, Training and Supervision, Department of Agency Operative Equipment and Environment, and the Group of Special Communication.

The Deputy for Scientific and Technological Intelligence (VTR) was charged with control of the Department of Automation and Recordkeeping, Economic Department, Health Institute, Department for the Performance, Control and Coordination of Intelligence Activity from the Czechoslovak Territory, VTR Operative Department, VTR Analytical-Information Department, and the Intelligence School.⁷⁸ The order for the reorganization was never issued, apparently as a result of the situation following the defection of Deputy Chief of residency in New Delhi Lt. Col. Vlastimil Ludvík – “Pantůček”.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 194.

⁷⁷ J. Dvořáková, *Historie a vývoj československého civilního zpravodajství*, pp. 259, 264; P. Žáček, *Poslední reorganizace zahraniční rozvědky*, pp. 201–204.

⁷⁸ Cf. *První správa*, pp. 141–164.

After the recall of Maj. Gen. Sochor, the post of the HSR SNB Chief was taken by Col. Vodrážka – “Budín” on May 1, 1989, but he died of heart attack on the last day of June 1989. On July 1, 1989, Lt. Col. Vilém Václavěk – “Kainar” was installed as the First Deputy. It was he who initiated discussion of a draft new concept of the Czechoslovak intelligence service in mid-September 1989. The process of reorganization and de-bureaucratization of the intelligence apparatus was to be completed by February 1990.⁷⁹

As of November 17, 1989, the organizational structure of the SNB Main Intelligence Directorate and the assigned responsibilities of the Czechoslovak intelligence service incomplete leadership were as follows:

First Deputy Lt. Col. Dr. Václavěk was in charge of:

10th Department (planning and analysis), Lt. Col. Zdeněk Tomíšek – “Grus”,

25th Department (intelligence apparatus defence), Maj. Vladimír Sejkora – “Artuš”,

27th Department (personnel), Col. Ladislav Fajt,

Director’s Inspectorate,

Group of Defence – mobilization, Capt. Jaroslav Belinger,

Protection of classified information,

17th Department (information), Maj. Karel Suchopár – “Míšek”,

26th Department (counter-intelligence, ideological subversion and emigration),

Lt. Col. Milan Jelínek – “Brodský”,

36th Department (active and influence measures), Maj. Jaroslav Sládeček – “Pánik”,

37th Department (Europe), Maj. Karel Platl – “Falkman”,

47th Department (Middle and Far East), Lt. Col. Josef Zelenka – “Závada”,

52nd Department (USA, Latin America), Lt. Col. Imrich Farnbauer – “Ondráš”.

Deputy for Illegal Intelligence (NR) Col. Nekolný was responsible for:

13th Division (NR analytical and defence), Lt. Col. Jiří Mráček – “Štefan”,

18th Department (NR documentation and operative), Maj. Josef Sabo – “Bártek”,

23rd Department (NR selection, training and supervision), Lt. Col. Andrej Kuzmík – “Levinský”,

28th Department (agency operative equipment and environment), Maj. Oldřich Jesenský – “Andrle”,

50th Department (communication – radio, encryption, courier service), Lt. Col. Josef Mánek – “Došek”,

12th Department (organisation and operation), Capt. Jan Dušek,

Unit KAHAN, Maj. Pavel Matějka.

Deputy for Scientific-Technological Intelligence (VTR) Col. Souček was in charge of:

69th Department (operative VTR), Col. Alois Horsák – “Hajský”,

74th Department (analytical-information VTR), Lt. Col. Pavel Chaloupka – “Hozman”,

55th Department (automation and recordkeeping), Maj. Miroslav Žilka – “Škoda”,

59th Department (economy), Maj. Jaroslav Henzl,

⁷⁹ P. Žáček, *Z operativních porad náčelníka I. správy. Klíčové dokumenty Hlavní správy rozvědky SNB v roce 1989*, “Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek”, 2010, vol. 8, pp. 93–94, 147–148.

Intelligence School of the SNB First Directorate, Lt. Col. František Kořísko – “Zvoníček”,

80th Department (operations within and from the Czechoslovak territory), Lt. Col. Jaromír Kaloč – “Kaluža”,

Health Institute of the SNB First Directorate – Col. Valentin Almássy,

The First Directorate Communist Party Committee F-16,

The First Directorate Socialist Youth Union (SSM) Committee.⁸⁰

In the last year of the existence of the SNB First Directorate, a total of 38 “legal” residencies worked in 35 countries of the world.⁸¹

Table 4. Overview of Residencies of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service, February 1989

Residency	Country	Residency Chief	Personnel
Bonn	FRG	Capt. Jiří Lejnar – “Dusík”	23
Vienna	Austria	Maj. JUDr. Oldřich Váca – “Drtina”	19
London	GB	Capt. Ing. Jiří Musiál – “Polanka”	15
Paris	France	Capt. JUDr. Miroslav Kobéda – “Durdík”	11
Roma	Italy	Maj. Ing. Miroslav Čemus – “Hojer”	9
Berlin	GDR	Lt.Col. Jaroslav Žemlička – “Žabka”	7
Brussels	Belgium	Lt.Col. Ing. František Klouček – “Kružík”	7
Belgrade	Yugoslavia	Capt. JUDr. Pavel Lašček – “Lechovič”	6
Haag	Holland	Capt. Ing. Jaromír Felcman – “Čajkovský”	4
Geneva	Switzerland	Lt.Col. Bohumil Bednář – “Borovec”	4
Lisbon	Portugal	Capt. Oldřich Tobiáš – “Trojan”	4
Athens	Greece	Capt. Ing. Antonín Vejmelka – “Kostík”	4
Stockholm	Sweden	unoccupied	3
Madrid	Spain	Lt.Col. JUDr. Miroslav Vladyka – “Vyhnanovský”	3
Tirana	Albania	Lt.Col. Vladimír Strhan – “Stacho”	3
Nicosia	Cyprus	Lt.Col. Miroslav Vích – “Vápeník”	3
Bern	Switzerland	?	1

⁸⁰ See <http://www.ustrcr.cz/cs/hlavni-sprava-rozvedky-snb-1sprava>.

⁸¹ P. Žáček, *Poslední reorganizace zahraniční rozvědky*, pp. 211–226; M. Miklovič, M. Slávik, *Obsadenie rezidentúr rozvedky v roku 1989*, “Pamět a dějiny” 2010, vol. 2, pp. 83–93.

Residency	Country	Residency Chief	Personnel
Europe total			123
Washington, D.C.	USA	Maj. Josef Poštulka – “Kopřiva”	16
New York	USA	Capt. JUDr. Petr Hála – “Hlinka”	10
Montreal	Canada	Capt. JUDr. Jaroslav Hrbáček – “Paukert”	5
Mexico City	Mexico	Capt. Ing. Josef Erényi – “Hrubiš”	5
Caracas	Venezuela	Maj. JUDr. Ján Trgala – “Vallo”	4
Buenos Aires	Argentina	Maj. JUDr. František Němec – “Těšínský”	3
Bogota	Colombia	Maj. JUDr. Josef Zapletal – “Hofman”	3
Havana	Cuba	?	3
America total			46
Peking	China	Col. Ing. Štefan Viedenský – “Vršínský”	10
Tokyo	Japan	Lt.Col. Ing. Jaroslav Pettík – “Pilný”	8
Damascus	Syria	Maj. Ing. Stanislav Havel – “Brož”	6
Delhi	India	Capt. PhDr. Miroslav Mojžita – “Brezovský”	6
Tehran	Iran	Capt. Bohumil Doležálek – “Kalousek”	4
Amman	Jordan	Maj. Ing. Stanislav Kozubík – “Světlý”	3
Djakarta	Indonesia	Capt. Ing. Jan Malásek – “Bezruč”	3
Baghdad	Iraq	?	2
Asia total			42
Cairo	Egypt	Maj. Ján Kuruc – “Mináč”	7
Algiers	Algeria	Maj. JUDr. Vladimír Gelbič – “Štol”	4
Addis Ababa	Ethiopia	?	3
Djakarta	Indonesia	Capt. Ing. Jan Malásek – “Bezruč”	3
Istanbul	Turkey	?	1
Africa total			15
Sydney/ Canberra	Australia	?	2
Total			228

After the fall of the Communist regime in November 1989, the leadership of the SNB First Directorate submitted a proposal for reorganization and a draft new concept of the Czechoslovak intelligence service to Czechoslovakia's new Interior Minister Richard Sacher for consideration. The proposed reduction of the staff number by 30 per cent was based on the staff number planned on December 1, 1989, which was close to the real number. Of the 1028 allocated job positions, the headquarters were to be reduced to 684 positions in both the operative, and technical and support units.

It was only under the new political conditions at the beginning of January 1990 that the leadership of the SNB First Directorate agreed to a substantial reduction of the staff number and the organizational structure. This concession, however, came too late – not even this specific part of the state security could be saved by this act.⁸² At the beginning of February 1990, the reactivated intelligence officer Lt. Col. Přemysl Holan – “Hanousek” was installed as the Chief of the SNB First Directorate, and only two weeks later the SNB Main Intelligence Directorate was transformed to the Intelligence Service of the Federal Interior Ministry based on the decision of Interior Minister Sacher.⁸³

Table 5. List of Residency Chiefs of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service in Vienna, Austria, 1953–1990

Name and Surname	Codenamed	Holding from	Holding to
1st Lt. Miroslav Nacvalač	“Kubeš”	1952	October 1953
1st Lt. Bohumír Motejlek (Molnár)	“Drábek”	October 1953	June 1955
Maj. Jarmil Šindelář	“Šustr”	June 1955	May 1957
Capt./Maj. Josef Kalina	“Karhan”	May 1957	October 1960
Maj. Vilém Koziorek	“Pavliš”	November 1960	March 1963
Maj. Slavoj Frous	“Farkač”	1963	December 1964
Lt.Col. Vlastimil Kroupa	“Hovorka”	December 1964	November 1966
Lt.Col. Jan Příhoda	“Pražský”	December 1966	December 1969
Lt.Col. Vilém Koziorek	“Pavliš”	December 1969	June 1972
Lt.Col. Josef Slunečko	“Srba”	October 1972	March 1978
Lt.Col. Karel Vodrážka, prom. hist	“Budín”	March 1978	November 1978
Capt./Maj. PhDr. Vilém Václavek	“Kainar”	March 1979	June 1981

⁸² P. Žáček, *Poslední reorganizace zahraniční rozvědky*, pp. 205–208.

⁸³ P. Žáček, *Nástroj triedneho štátu*, pp. 213–214.

Name and Surname	Codenamed	Holding from	Holding to
Maj. Zdeněk Nečacký*	“Německý”	September 1981	March 1983
Lt.Col. Karel Vodrážka	“Budín”	March 1983	October 1987
Maj. JUDr. Oldřich Váca	“Drtina”	October 1987	1990

* Deputy Residency Chief

Table 6. List of Residency Chiefs of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service in London, Great Britain, 1954–1990

Name and Surname	Codenamed	Holding from	Holding to
Capt. Václav Louda	“Linhart”	August 1954	December 1956
Lt./Capt. Václav Táborský	“Majer”	December 1956	April 1959
Maj. Vlastimil Kroupa	“Hovorka”	March 1959	June 1963
Capt. Josef Minx	“Malena”	July 1963	December 1966
Lt.Col. Josef Kalina	“Karhan”	December 1966	September 1969
Maj. Josef Konecký	“Foltýn”	February 1970	October 1973
Maj. Jan Příkopa*	“Percha”	February 1974	February 1980
Capt. Ing. Jaromír Kaloč	“Kaluža”	March 1980	February 1981
Maj. Ing. Václav Javůrek*	“Krofta”	February 1981	July 1982
Maj./Lt.Col. JUDr. Josef Houžvička	“Hradil”	July 1982	December 1985
Capt. Ing. Libor Tělecký*	“Vozňák”	January 1986	August 1987
Capt. Ing. Jiří Musiál	“Polanka”	December 1987	1990

* Deputy Residency Chief

Table 7. List of Residency Chiefs of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service in Washington, D.C., 1953–1990

Name and Surname	Codenamed	Holding from	Holding to
1st Lt. Karel Brus	“Zelenka”	?	1955
Lt./1st Lt. Jaroslav Marek	“Moučka”	October 1955	April 1959
1st Lt./Capt. JUDr. Ladislav Derka	“Deml”	April 1959	October 1961
Capt. Ladislav Weidinger	“Macháček”	October 1961	October 1964
Capt./Maj. JUDr. Jaroslav Andres	“Anděl”	December 1964	July 1968
Maj. JUDr. Ladislav Derka	“Deml”	December 1968	July 1970

Name and Surname	Codenamed	Holding from	Holding to
Maj. Jan Smělý*	“Stolař”	July 1970	December 1970
Maj. Karel Šimůnek	“Šener”	December 1970	October 1971
Maj. Jan Smělý*	“Stolař”	October 1971	August 1972
Lt.Col. Eduard Fuchs	“Dominik”	August 1972	May 1976
?			
Lt.Col. Vladimír Špínka	“Lefler”	December 1978	January 1981
?			
Lt. Col. Zdeněk Sokol	“Záleský”	August 1983	August 1988
Maj. Josef Poštulka	“Kopřiva”	August 1988	1990

* Deputy Residency Chief

Table 8. List of Residency Chiefs of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service in New York, USA, 1953–1990

Name and Surname	Codenamed	Holding from	Holding to
Maj./Lt.Col. Milouš Vejvoda	“Bartoš”	May 1954	July 1958
Maj. Miroslav Nacvalač	“Kubeš”	July 1958	June 1961
Maj. Jan Paclík	“Novák”	September 1961	September 1962
Lt.Col. Milouš Vejvoda	“Bartoš”	September 1962	June 1965
Maj. Miroslav Polreich	“Patera”	July 1965	September 1969
Lt.Col. Václav Králík	“Kareš”	January 1970	September 1973
Maj. JUDr. Emanuel Havlík	“Hlavsa”	December 1973	July 1977
Lt.Col. Jiří Slanina	“Sádek”	June 1977	June 1981
Lt.Col. Emil Šefara	“Ševčík”	September 1981	August 1983
Maj. Ing. Lubomír Kovačič	“Sudek”	August 1983	January 1988
Capt. JUDr. Petr Hála	“Hlinka”	December 1987	1990

KEY WORDS

Communism, Cold War, Czechoslovakia, Interior Ministry, State Security Apparatus, First Directorate, foreign intelligence service

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„Czechosłowacka młodsza siostra” – krótki zarys zmian organizacyjnych w służbie wywiadowczej komunistycznej Czechosłowacji w latach 1953–1989

Pierwsza Delegatura Wywiadu, jedna z najważniejszych służb StB (tajnej policji), wyłoniła się z wywiadu zagranicznego i politycznego w trakcie najważniejszej reorganizacji czechosłowackiego Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych w październiku 1953 r. Pierwsza Delegatura odgrywała ważną rolę do końca 1989 r., będąc satelickim aparatem wywiadu sowieckiego oraz realizacji polityki zagranicznej i polityki bezpieczeństwa całego bloku komunistycznego.

Czechosłowacki wywiad pracował zgodnie z kilkoma wytycznymi operacyjnymi w taki sam sposób jak wywiad sowiecki: polityczny, naukowy i technologiczny oraz wywiad nielegalny. W siedzibie głównej mieściło się kilka działów operacyjnych i departamentów, których struktura organizacyjna była stosunkowo często zmieniana.

Na przełomie lat pięćdziesiątych i sześćdziesiątych XX w. Pierwsza Delegatura rozszerzyła swoją działalność na wiele regionów całego świata i funkcjonowała w Azji, Afryce i Ameryce Południowej oraz w krajach, będących głównymi wrogami reżimu (USA, Wielkiej Brytanii, Republice Federalnej Niemiec, Francji itd.). W 1968 r. wywiad czechosłowacki osiągnął wiele sukcesów i zdołał przeniknąć do wybranych instytucji politycznych, bezpieczeństwa oraz finansów demokracji zachodnich oraz państw Trzeciego Świata.

Po stłumieniu Praskiej Wiosny Pierwszą Delegaturę zreorganizowano. Przeprowadzono gruntowną wymianę personelu, co miało duży wpływ na jego *modus operandi*. Wywiad działał ponownie pod nadzorem sowieckim, a w okresie normalizacji stał się godną zaufania satelicką służbą wywiadowczą bloku komunistycznego, odgrywając jedną z ról w globalnej strategii skoordynowanej z centralą KGB w Moskwie.

Rozwój wywiadu czechosłowackiego można łatwo prześledzić, obserwując stopniowy wzrost liczby pracowników Pierwszej Delegatury: pod koniec 1953 r. zatrudniała ona tylko 300 osób; na początku roku 1962 – 854; pod koniec roku 1969 – 1341; a w 1988 r. łączna liczba pracowników wywiadu wyniosła 1562 osoby. Wzrosła także liczba obco-krajowców pracujących w tej instytucji: pod koniec 1953 r. było ich osiemnastu w siedemnastu krajach, działających w ambasadach Czechosłowacji; w połowie lat sześćdziesiątych – 41 w 39 krajach, a pod koniec lat osiemdziesiątych – 38 w 35 krajach. Liczba nielegalnych rezydentów była znacznie niższa.

Artykuł koncentruje się na rozwoju struktury organizacyjnej wywiadu i dokonanych w nim zmianach, a także na składzie kierownictwa Pierwszej Delegatury i poszczególnych działów operacyjnych oraz zaplecza centrali; częściowo także jednostek organizacyjnych działających na terytorium Czechosłowacji. Tylko niewielka część rozważań obejmuje rozwój sieci agentów, skład personelu poza granicami kraju, zarządzanie przez sowiecką służbę wywiadowczą oraz współpracę z zaprzyjaźnionymi służbami satelickimi.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

komunizm, zimna wojna, Czechosłowacja, MSW, aparat Służby Bezpieczeństwa,
Pierwsza Delegatura, służba wywiadowcza