



**On the
Cold War Front**
Czechoslovakia 1948-1956



PROKOP TOMEK

ON THE COLD WAR FRONT

CZECHOSLOVAKIA 1948–1956

EXHIBITION ON THE OCCASION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF ANTI-COMMUNIST RESISTANCE ABROAD.

ON THE COLD WAR FRONT – CZECHOSLOVAKIA 1948–1956

The moment that the Communists took over the reins in Czechoslovakia on February 25, 1948 may be understood, among other things, as the beginning of the anti-Communist resistance. It is no secret that Western non-Communist powers participated in this resistance, which combined the interests of Czechoslovak exiles with the interests of the countries facing supposed or real threat from the Soviet Union and its nascent system of satellites.

The anti-Communist resistance, called the “third resistance” in Czechoslovakia, is understood (if it is accepted at all) as concrete armed, intelligence or sabotage operations between the years 1948-1956. The participants were tens of thousands of Czechoslovak citizens, either living on state territory or in exile, who acted of their own will. In many cases, the resistance formed independently and spontaneously, in response to the terror the Communists were unleashing against those who thought differently. Where this resistance was organized, it was directed by several not very tightly coordinated centers abroad.

The country’s position between East and West predestined it to witness dramatic Cold War clashes. While they did not develop into open conflict, they are undoubtedly significant. In recognizing and describing them, we can also come to appreciate their victims’ value.

More than fifty years have passed since the couriers’ operations, but the topic is still little known, and historical science covers it only randomly. Many documents are yet to be made available – mostly from democratic countries’ archives. Yet it is our duty to try to clarify and redefine what happened. We must answer questions concerning the significance and accomplishments of the resistance. We must remember the thousands of fellow citizens who were imprisoned, executed or killed on the border, and who embarked on a war against totalitarian power, conscious of the huge risks this involved for themselves and their relatives.

Last but not least, this exhibit reminds us of the anniversary of the Communist coup d’état in Czechoslovakia – the reason why thousands of our fellow citizens bravely fought the totalitarian power.

The (Communist) Secret Police (StB) succeeded in capturing about four thousand people who participated in intelligence operations in Czechoslovakia as couriers, organizers abroad and their assistants on Czechoslovak territory.

Approximately 250 couriers were sentenced to long-term imprisonment. Nineteen couriers were executed, at least seven died on the border, and eleven died in prisons.

Exhibition Catalogue

ON THE COLD WAR FRONT - CZECHOSLOVAKIA 1948 - 1956

Published by The Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, Prague 2009

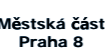
Text: Prokop Tomek

Photographs and illustrative documents: Archiv bezpečnostních složek

Graphic design and layout: Carton Clan

Printer: Janova Dílna, Třebestovice

ISBN 978-80-87211-15-1



Not all of them were textbook heroes. They lived in an era that placed immense demands on the individual. Yet they took the risks, and they deserve our respect.

The Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes wishes to thank all those who participated in the preparation of this exhibit, most notably the Prague City Museum (Muzeum hlavního města Prahy) and the Police Museum of the Czech Republic (Muzeum Policie ČR).

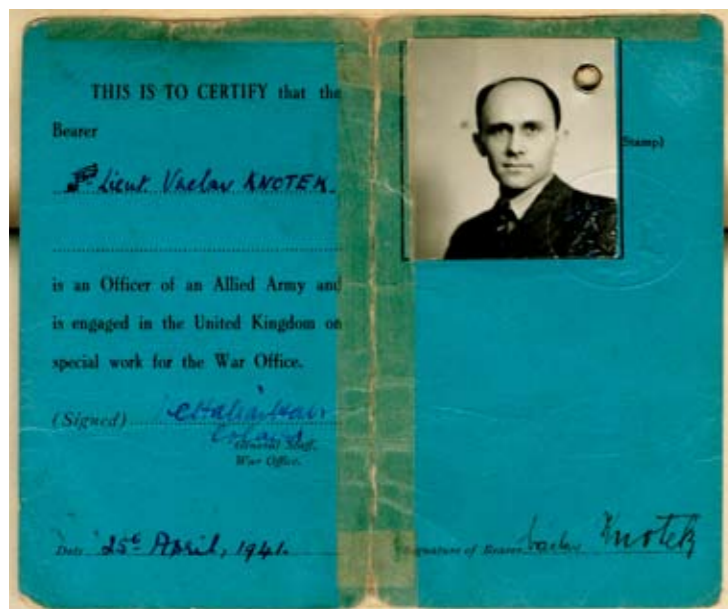
THE BEGINNING

February 1948 meant the beginning of fundamental changes in society and state. Citizens were in for massive existential changes. Persecution took various forms. Non-Communists fell prey to purges in the areas of state administration, education, military, and security. 4,600 officers were forced to leave the army by 1949. The National Front's Action committees dismissed approximately 28,000 employees. 75,000 officials had to leave the national committees, some 20,000 officials were forced to leave trade unions and boards, and about 15,000 people were forced out of Sokol (lit. "falcon," a Czech organization focused on physical education combined with the promotion of specific moral values, originally founded in 1862, eventually banned by the Communist government). The independence of political parties was eliminated after February: the numbers of people expelled include about 120,000 officials of the National Socialist Party, 100,000 officials of the People's and Democratic Party, and some 20,000 Social Democrats... Out of 600 state enterprise directors, 294 were dismissed; 18% of the 48,000 university students, or 8,640 people, were expelled, and more than 500 university teachers were dismissed. Overall, about 250,000 to 280,000 people were affected by the purges – fired from their jobs or kicked out of school. In 1948, about 3,000 people were detained, 7,000 were accused of political crimes, and the (Communist) Secret Police (StB) conducted 3,700 house searches...

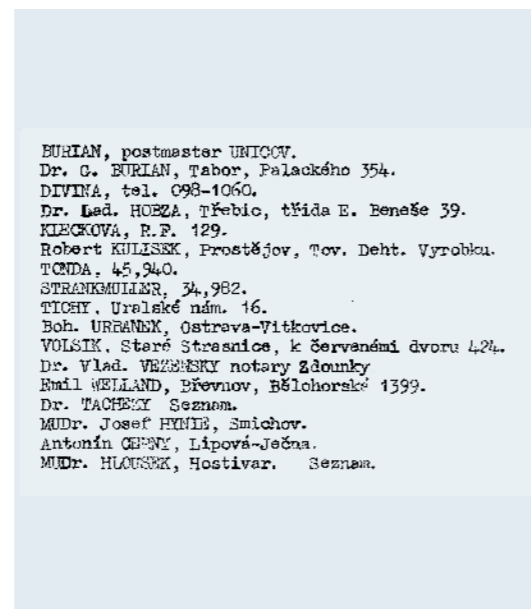
Thousands of persecuted citizens and convinced democrats could not come to terms with the new situation. These people were deprived of their existence or were unable to live in the new political regime for reasons of principle. They responded by getting involved in the resistance – following the example from their recent past, during the Nazi occupation. Groups formed to produce and distribute leaflets, gather weapons and obtain information. Fearing punishment for such activities, or even independently of this, tens of thousands of citizens decided to leave Czechoslovakia for the free world, where they sought a new existence or wanted to participate in the anti-Communist resistance from abroad.

Initially, individuals or small groups of exiles sent their couriers to Czechoslovakia. Their chief task was to establish connection with the home country, bring fresh information, and lead family members over the border or bring property that had been left behind in haste.

The first participants in the third resistance were veterans of the anti-Nazi resistance. One of the first international resistance projects was the mission of Staff Captain Václav Knotek (1910–1948). Knotek had experience from both domestic and international resistance (in Great Britain) during World War II. Following the war, he was an employee of the Ministry of Interior, and before February 1948,



▲ V. Knotek's ID card from his service in the Czechoslovak Army in the UK.



▲ From V. Knotek's intelligence equipment – contact addresses.

he cooperated with the secretary of the National Socialist Party, Vladimír Krajina, as an intelligence officer. As early as February 1948, he had to flee to avoid arrest by the StB, crossing the border to Germany. In the spring, he arranged for the transfer of his wife and four children to the UK.

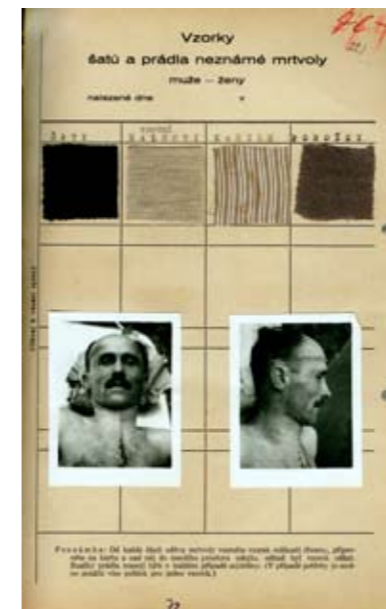
Knotek arrived in Czechoslovakia on a train on 15 June 1948, with a British passport in the name of John Robert Coles. He changed his appearance using a wig, glasses, and rubber mouth inserts. He intended to make use of his existing contacts with Czechoslovak authorities to build an information channel leading abroad. Knotek even planned to use the radio connection of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whose transmissions were to contain encrypted messages for exiles. However, one of his contacts, Karel Svoboda, betrayed him to the StB on the second day of his stay in Czechoslovakia. Svoboda was Knotek's fellow fighter from the international resistance, a member of the WOLFRAM paratroopers who became an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the war.

- ▼ Miloslav Choc (born on Jan. 19, 1925), a student expelled after February 1948, lived in an exile camp in Regensburg from March 26, 1948 to April 25, 1948. He returned to Czechoslovakia illegally with resistance and courier assignments. On May 27, 1948, he allegedly assassinated Augustin Schramm, an official of the Communist Party's Central Committee. Choc was sentenced to death on November 25, 1948 and executed on February 19, 1949. The photograph is from the assassination reconstruction staged by the StB. Miloslav Choc is on the right.

▼ Photograph of the dead V. Knotek.



◀ V. Knotek's transformation into John R. Coles.



Knotek was arrested on an embankment of the Vltava River near Prague's Law Faculty during a meeting with Svoboda, and was taken to the StB prison on Washingtonova Street in the early evening of June 16, 1948. During the prison entrance procedures, he succeeded in taking poison hidden in his mouth. The StB kept Knotek's death a secret for a long time afterwards.

Thus what might have been the very first attempt at an intelligence action on the part of exiles under British protection ended tragically and unsuccessfully. It suffered from the chaotic post-coup situation in Czechoslovakia as well as not very well thought out and underconspired preparation abroad.

ORGANIZING INTERNATIONAL RESISTANCE

After February 1948, exiles abroad began organizing new resistance towards the revival of a democratic Czechoslovakia. Many democratic politicians had fled from the country, intending to build a united political leadership of those in exile and participate in the resistance movement as during the period of the First and Second world wars. National Socialist exiles included Hubert Ripka, the party's chairman Petr Zenkl, Vladimír Krajina, and Ladislav K. Feierabend. Jozef Lettrich represented the Slovak Democratic Party. Adolf Procházka and Ivo Ducháček from the ranks of "lidovci" (Christian Democrats) left the country, but the party's leaders Jan Šrámek and František Hála were caught attempting to leave and were detained. Václav Majer of the Social Democrats left the country. Bohumil Laušman also left at the end of 1949, but the party rejected him. Diplomats such as Sergej Ingr and Ján Papánek joined the exiles as well.

The international resistance movement formed under difficult conditions, without advance preparation and lacking its own finances. This is why it had to accept the support of Western democratic governments, primarily the Government of the US. The process of establishing a parent authority for Czech exiles started in the spring of 1948, with a view to forming the Council of Free Czechoslovakia (CFC) on the national holiday, 28 October 1948. However, the CFC was announced only later, at its meeting held in Washington, DC from February 19-25, 1949. Petr Zenkl was elected chairman of the elected presidium, with Jozef Lettrich as his deputy. The CFC resided in Washington, with branches in London and Paris. The absence of a respected uniting personality proved to be a problem. The Council was formed in February 1949, but was fragmentary since its inception and virtually incapable of action.

In addition to exercising a political leadership role, the Council intended to act as the leading anti-Communist resistance authority. The creation of an intelligence organization was planned with several parts, subordinate to the intelligence services of the US, the UK and France.

The Council of Free Czechoslovakia initially entrusted deputy and participant in the Second Resistance Antonín Bartoš with leadership of the exile intelligence organization.

Thus the organization was formed in 1949, virtually coordinated by Sergej Ingr, whom the Council formally appointed as head of the special task department only later, in June 1952. Ingr's loose subordinates were the heads of the intelligence sections associated with the Allies' intelligence services:

USA	General František Moravec - "Arnold"
UK	Lt. Col. Karel Jindřich Procházka - "Proud"
France	Gen. Čeněk Kudláček - "Hutník"

All of these forces were active in the occupied parts of Germany and/or Austria.



▲ A cartoon from the February 9, 1952 issue of Rudé právo.

◀ Association of exile with espionage and betrayal. Title page of the June 1950 issue of Dikobraz magazine.

Similarly to the political exile scene, the intelligence exile movement also went through a number of crises and problems. The unified intelligence service concept did not work out. The individual intelligence sections associated with the Allies' intelligence services were completely independent of each other, and served their sponsors. In the end, no subordination to the CFC was implemented. The only unifying factor was the authority of Gen. Sergej Ingr.



General **Sergej Ingr** (1894–1956). A member of the Czech Legions in Russia and France during World War I. Graduate of the *École Supérieure de Guerre* in Paris. Land Commander of Defense of the Nation (ON) after the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1939. Left the country for international resistance in May 1939; member of the Czechoslovak National Committee in Paris and head of the Military Administration. Minister of Defense of the Czechoslovak exile government between 1940 and 1944, and the Supreme Commander of Czechoslovak military forces from 1944 to April 1945. Prevented from working in the Czechoslovak military after liberation; held the position of Czechoslovak ambassador to the Netherlands from December 1947. Resigned his position in response to the coup in February 1948. Active in the anti-Communist resistance in Paris until his sudden death in 1956.

Antonín Bartoš – “Braun” (1910–1998). A post office clerk, active Sokol member, and National Socialist. Left for the international army in 1940, fought in France, took special courses in the UK, and led the successful CLAY paratroopers on Protectorate territory from April 1944 until the end of the war. Deputy of the National Socialist Party after the war. Left the country in February 1948. Worked with the intelligence services of the US Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) in Germany at least between 1950 and 1952. Led his own group subordinate to Gen F. Moravec. Later relocated to the USA and remained active in the exile movement.

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE USA

“Moravec’s espionage group is subordinated to an American intelligence service, probably the MIS. (According to earlier knowledge, it was subordinated to the CIC). According to Křivohlavý, it is subordinated to the FBI.”

Summary report on Moravec’s espionage group, I. Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior, 1954

Organizing Czechoslovak intelligence groups under the patronage of the US intelligence services started on the territory of Germany’s US occupation zone in the summer of 1948. It was initiated by Charles Katek, who, residing in Frankfurt, directed the cover-up organization ERU (Economic Research Unit) located in Regensburg. The ERU discontinued its activity in approximately 1953.



Colonel **Charles Katek** (1910–1971). A Czech-American; worked for the Office of Strategic Services in Europe and cooperated with the Czechoslovak resistance during the Second World War. Head of the US military mission in Prague from 1945 and a military attaché of the US Embassy in Prague from 1946. Recalled on March 18, 1948, upon pressure from Communist authorities. He subsequently organized Czechoslovak exile intelligence under the patronage of the Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) from Frankfurt from the summer of 1948. Recalled to the US in 1954. Worked at the US Embassy in Vienna between 1960 and 1965.

Through his deputy, Kurt Taub (“Taylor”), Katek directed the groups led by Jaroslav Kašpar (“Pátý”), Rudolf Drbohlav (“Ralph”), František Bogataj (“Frank”), Alois Šeda (“Šubrt”) and František Moravec (“Arnold”).

Each group consisted of a leader and two to three helpers, each of whom directed several couriers independently. Each group also included a scribe and translator. Local canvassers recruited couriers for the group in local refugee camps. Couriers lived in the group’s detached facilities, privately, or in refugee camps. The groups used many roads along the entire border. The couriers initially did not undergo virtually any training. The scope of the courier’s work was mainly in the field of intelligence.



Major **František Bogataj**, AKA “**Robert**”, “**Frank**”, etc. (1913–1999). A Czechoslovak army officer from 1934; active in the Defense of the Nation organization following the Nazi occupation of Germany in 1939; left the country to escape arrest and join international resistance in December 1939. Having fought in France, he underwent training in the UK and became a member of the successful CARBON paratroopers on Protectorate territory in 1944. After the war, Bogataj studied at the War University. Fired from the military after February 1948, he left the country to join the international resistance movement again in December 1948. Directed his own intelligence group subordinate to the ERU in Germany. Left for the US after the discontinuation of intelligence groups in Germany in 1954. Worked as a bank clerk in Chicago.

The President of Czechoslovakia bestowed the M. R. Štefánik Order upon František Bogataj in 1992, and Mr. Bogataj was promoted to the rank of General later on in the 1990’s.

The Czechoslovak State Security Service (StB) won some of Bogataj’s couriers over for cooperation. Bedřich Hrdlička (*1922) was one of them. He organized the StB arrest of Andrej Škvarek, a courier of Bogataj’s group, on the border (sentenced for 22 years) and staged Bogataj’s kidnapping: he tried to stun Bogataj on the border, but Bogataj, although injured, defended himself successfully.



Major **Rudolf Drbohlav**, AKA “**Ralph**” (1914–1954). A Czechoslovak army officer; left the country for resistance after the occupation in 1939. Fought in France and worked as a military intelligence officer in the UK. Studied at the War University in Prague after the war; was expelled after February 1948 and then dismissed from the army. Drbohlav left the country in June 1948. Directed an intelligence group from Regensburg, Germany, as early as at the end of summer 1948. Following a number of failures caused by Communist agents, his group was dismissed on April 28, 1952, and Rudolf Drbohlav left for the UK to rejoin his family.

Colonel **Jaroslav Kašpar** AKA “**Pátý**” (1903–1995). A Czechoslovak army officer, artillerist and aviator. Was active in the Defense of the Nation (ON) during the Nazi occupation, organizing emigration for soldiers. He left the country to join the international resistance himself in early 1940. Jaroslav Kašpar worked as an intelligence officer and diplomat in Turkey, the USSR and Iran, and later as a liaison officer with the Allies. Left Czechoslovakia again in April 1948; led an intelligence group under the CIC in Germany from 1949 to 1955. He then left for the US and worked as an air force analyst at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. Promoted to Major General in 1989. The President of the Czech Republic bestowed upon him the T. G. Masaryk Order in Memoriam in 1998.



Colonel **Alois Šeda**, AKA “**Šubrt**” (1908–1999). Left the country in April 1948 and, together with his brother Ferdinand Šeda, led an intelligence group until 1951. In the US, A. Šeda taught at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey. Promoted to General’s rank in the 1990s.

Intelligence groups were formed, regrouped and discontinued, and in about 1952 they were united under the leadership of General František Moravec.



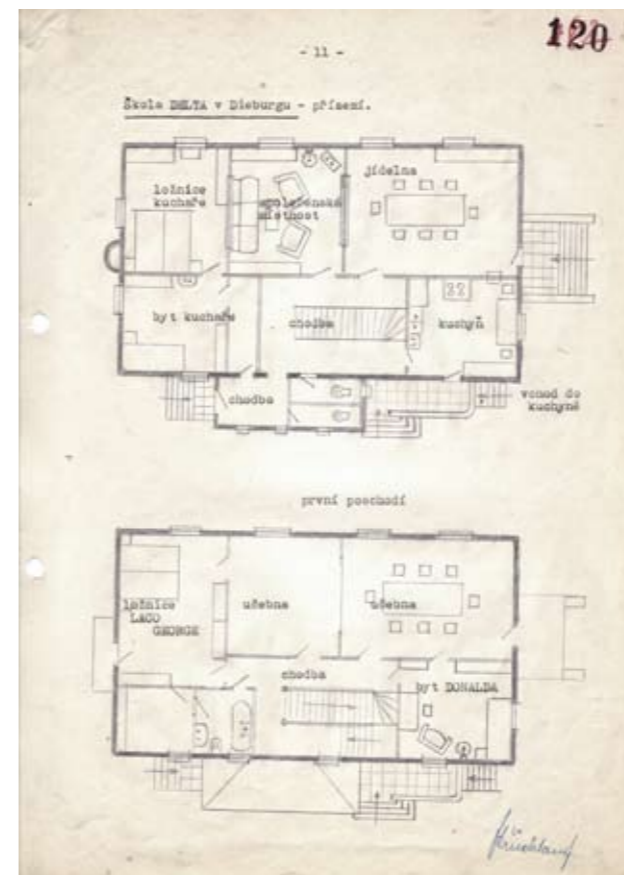
General **František Moravec** (1895–1966) directed the Czechoslovak Army’s military intelligence before WWII. On March 14, 1939, he and a group of officers fled the occupation of Czechoslovakia to the UK, where he later joined the Czechoslovak resistance. Directed the military intelligence section of the Ministry of Defense in the Czechoslovak exile government until 1945. The Allies rated the results of his section very highly. Returning to Czechoslovakia, he was moved away to an inferior position between 1945 and 1948. Dismissed from the military in March 1948, he left the country again. Under the patronage of the US intelligence services, he started working against the Czechoslovak communist regime from Germany. Ended his intelligence activity in Germany at the end of 1954 and left for the US, where he worked as an analyst for the US Department of Defense until his death on July 27, 1966. In 1991, the President of Czechoslovakia awarded František Moravec the M. R. Štefánik Order in Memoriam and promoted him to the rank of Army General.



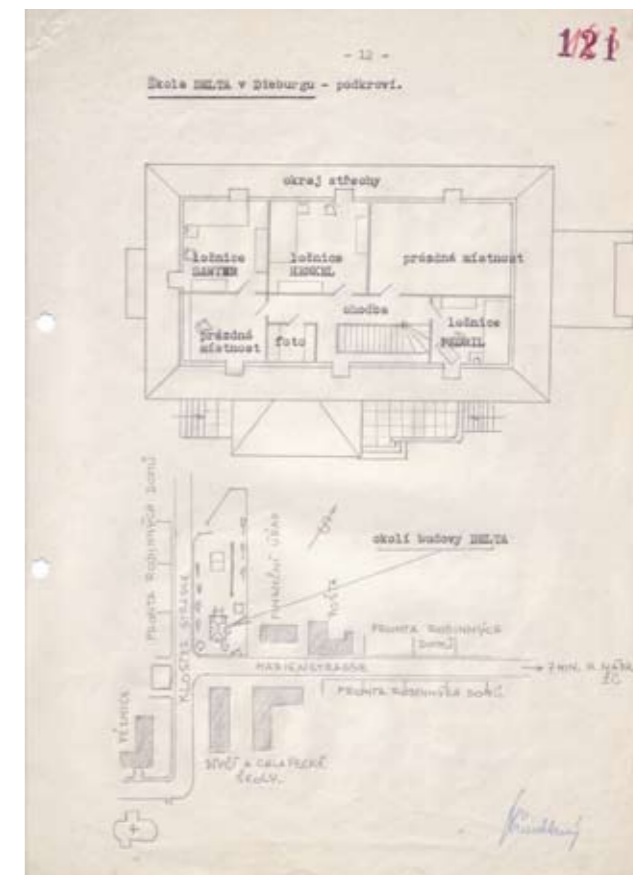
▲ Propaganda books from the 1960's aimed against the intelligence groups, compiled under the patronage of the State Security Service (StB).



▲ Drawings of the Delta intelligence school in Germany. Drawn by Miloslav Krivohlavý while in StB detention in 1954.



▲ Drawings of the Delta intelligence school in Germany. Drawn by Miloslav Krivohlavý while in StB detention in 1954.

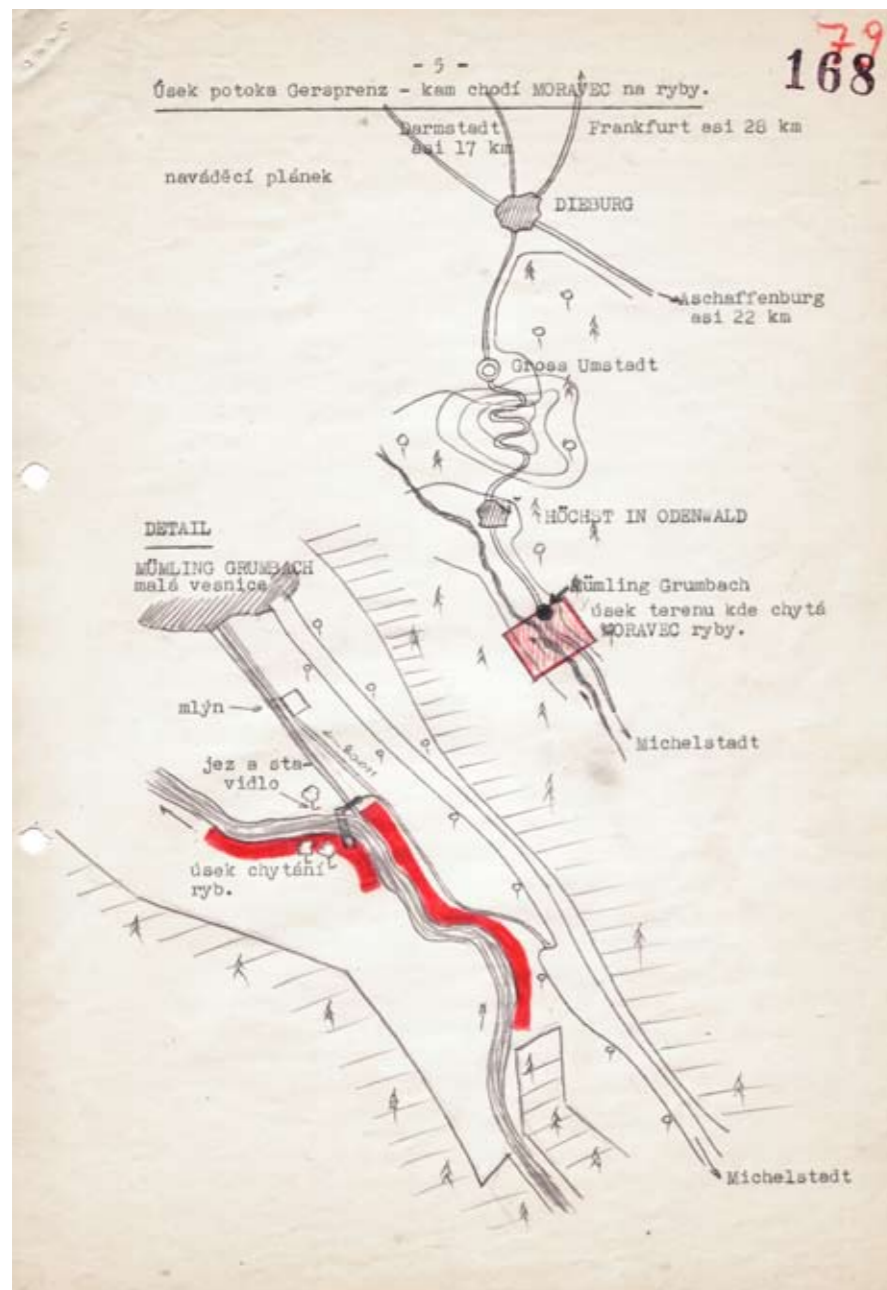


▶ Kurt Taub.



◀ A cartoon from the magazine Dikobraz, Spring 1950.





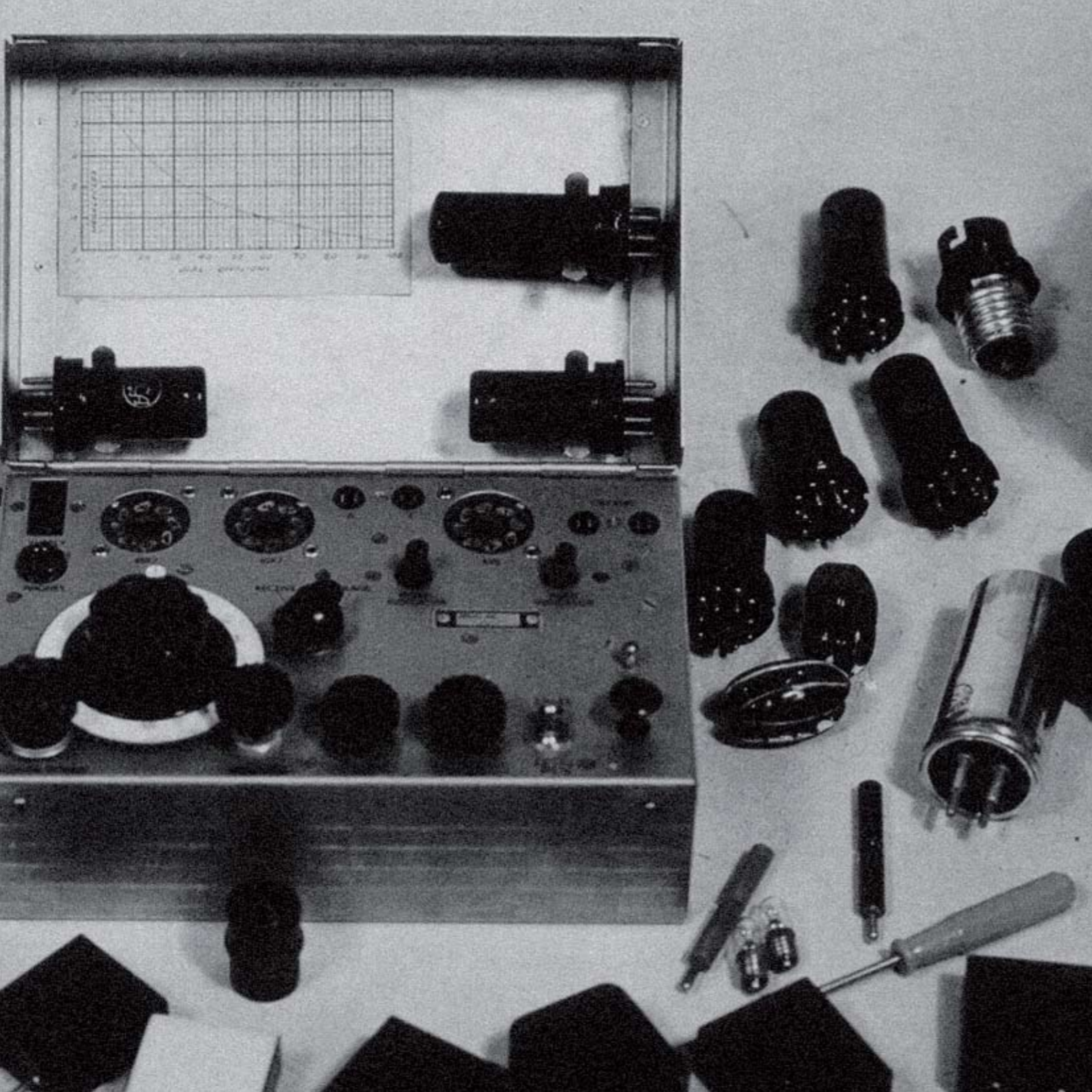
◀ When interrogated, courier Miloslav Krivohlavý steered the StB towards the idea of kidnapping General Moravec. A drawing by Miloslav Krivohlavý made while in StB detention, 1954.

Moravec's group status in 1954. The staff was headquartered in Bensheim, Germany.
 Major Miloš Knorr - Moravec's deputy
 Colonel Jaroslav Kašpar - Head of the Executive Group
 Lieutenant-Colonel Alois Šeda - selection and training of couriers; governing body
 Staff Captain Imrich Erős - Instructor
 Major Herbert Němec - Head of the Defense Department
 Captain Jiří Štokman - Instructor
 Major František Bogataj - Head of the Balloon Base
 Staff Captain František Opelský - executive section

Moravec group's structure in December 1954:
 Head - relations with the senior American Office and the Council of Free Czechoslovakia
 Operation Department - action planning and execution
 Defense Department - verification, tracking of suspects
 Economic Department - management of facilities, couriers' equipment
 Promotion Department - cooperation with RFE, VOA and the BBC, refugee interviews, analyses of Czechoslovak press
 Technical Department - draftsman and photographer; processing of obtained material
 Schools: OKTA - radiotelegraphy; OKTA II. - technical training (dead drops, shooting, photographing, radio training, secret scripts, visual intelligence...); DELTA - advanced and maintenance training. Parachuting and balloon training took place on an individual basis.

Czechoslovak intelligence groups within the US intelligence services concluded their activity at the end of 1954.

The following is an attempt at an overall summary of the losses on the part of the resistance movement under the patronage of US intelligence services: During the period between 1950 and 1960, the StB kept 2,299 persons connected to the activities of US intelligence services on file. 199 couriers were arrested; 17 of them executed (Pavol Babík, Bohuslav Beneš, Petr Čížek, Jaroslav Dvořák, Rudolf Fuksa, Štěpán Gavenda, Karel Gruber, Jiří Hejna, Anton Kandrác, Lubomír Koukal, Augustin Lednický, Alexander Lhotský, Ladislav Lindner, Josef Liška, Robert Půček, Emanuel Rendl, and Alois Sutý); six other were shot while being arrested or at the border (Jan Borýsek, Josef Bursík, Bohumil Hasil, Bedřich Lorenc, Josef Mašek, and Bohuslav Pavlů).



CZECHOSLOVAK INTELLIGENCE OFFICE – UK

The Czechoslovak Intelligence Office (CIO) was formed at the turn of 1948 and 1949 as one of the branches of the planned exile intelligence organization. As such, it was initially a partner, and later a part of UK's Secret Intelligence Office (SIS). General Sergej Ingr led the initial discussions with the British side, and chose Col. Karel Procházka for the position of CIO Head.

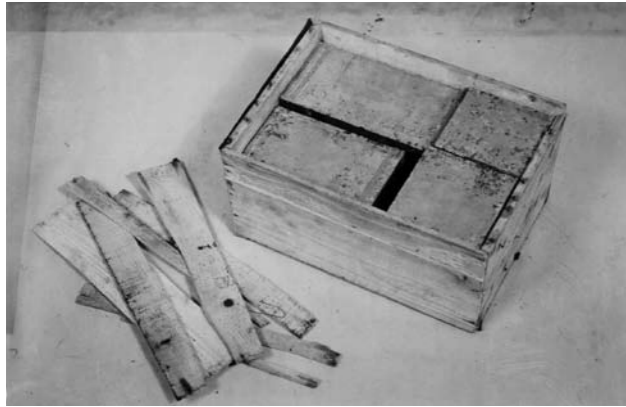


Colonel **Karel Jindřich Procházka**, AKA “**Kenneth Proud**” (1905–1999). Graduated from the Military Academy in Hranice in 1925, and became a Czechoslovak army officer. Completed studies at the War University between 1933 and 1936. Left the country for the resistance movement in 1939, fought in France, and was an officer of the Czechoslovak Brigade in the UK. Was sent to India from 1941 to 1944, and took part in the liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1945 as a member of the artillery staff of the 1st Czechoslovak Armed Force. Served as the General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Committee for Emigration of Slovaks from Hungary between 1946 and 1947. Served in the army until February 1945; later left the country in August 1948 to become the head of the Czechoslovak intelligence organization formed in the UK at that time. Led the CIO from its inception to the end of its activity in 1957. Returned to his home country in 1991 and lived in seclusion until his death in 1999.

The CIO headquarters were in London, situated consecutively at several addresses under the cover name of Kenneth Proud Translation Office and internally called MEASURE. Early on, CIO members likely chose methods fully in line with the period and possibilities. Until 1953 the focal point of activities was sending couriers across the border.

The main executive base for the CIO's activities was in the Wörthersee lake area in the British occupation zone near Klagenfurt, Austria. There was a courier training center and radio center there. A top radiotelegraph operator, Major Josef Süsser provided the connection with collaborators in Czechoslovakia from the CIO's radio center in Klagenfurt.

Couriers obtained information and built intelligence and radio operator networks in Czechoslovakia. As an example, we can mention the network built by courier Jan Brejcha and the couriers Cyril Sláma and Miloslav Procházka, whom he recruited between 1950 and 1952. These CIO couriers led an intelligence network in South Moravia and Slovakia, setting up extensive groups of collaborators, informers and radio operators – Czechoslovak citizens.



The CIO experimented with using balloons for safer transport of couriers to Czechoslovakia in 1953 and tried to build a network among the Labe waterway shipmen.

They had mainly intelligence assignments -covering uranium ore supplies to the USSR. According to Procházka, they also organized sabotage and spread disinformation. But the guarding of the state border was constantly improving, and crossing the border was becoming increasingly dangerous. Intelligence results were not very brilliant, as Procházka admitted: "Given the intellectual level, age, and social position, it was impossible to use normal agents for obtaining high value information and setting up contacts with premier economic, political, and cultural personalities." The political situation started to change in the course of the 1950's and contacts between the East and West grew, enabling a major change in working style.

The CIO's activity in Austria was discontinued sometime in the middle of 1954. Couriers were offered the possibility of relocating to the US or Australia.

Subsequently, the CIO obtained information via "white lines." Its activity nonetheless finally ended in 1957 as a result of the betrayal of Karel Zbytek, a HQ employee.



Major **Miroslav Plaňava**, AKA "**Ivan**" or "**Poyser**" (1909-1968); a member of the RAF's 311th Squadron in the UK during WWII. Left the country in the summer of 1948 and started directing intelligence activity in Austria. At the CIO, he worked in the HQ's operating department, and was later on residentura in Brussels. He died in an unfortunate accident in Austria in 1968.

◀ One of the British-made MK VII. transmitters dug up from a dead drop by State Security.



Major **Jaroslav Stuchlý** AKA “**Bill**” or “**Pitter**” (1913-?). A Czechoslovak army officer; participated in the Western resistance during WWII. Worked in the UK from 1940 as a cryptographer and analyst in the II. intelligence section of the Ministry of National Defense (MNO). A graduate of the War University, he taught at the Military Academy in Hranice. Left the country on 30 March 1948 and joined the CIO in 1949. Initially he led the operating department at CIO’s HQ in London, later headed the CIO’s branch in Frankfurt, FRG. He relocated to Klagenfurt, Austria at the end of 1952 to direct the FSS centre that sent couriers to Czechoslovakia. Left for the UK for good in 1954 when the CIO’s activities in this area came to an end.

A summary of couriers lost on duty for the CIO: Between 1950 and 1960, the State Security Service (StB) had records of 1,090 people connected to the activities of the British intelligence services. 30 couriers were arrested, two of them executed (Josef Ludvík and Vladimír Palma), and another three were shot while arrested or on the border (Josef Princ, Josef Zika, and Štefan Krajger).

THE CZECHOSLOVAK INTELLIGENCE GROUP IN FRANCE

National Socialist politician Hubert Ripka and General Čeněk Kudláček, AKA “Hutník,” discussed the formation of an affiliated intelligence organization in France in 1948. In September of that year, Ripka was to sign an agreement on the formation of an intelligence section affiliated with France’s intelligence service, SDECE (Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage), with French representatives.

Čeněk Kudláček, AKA “Hutník” (1896–1967). A Legion veteran and officer of the Czechoslovak army, he worked as a teacher in military schools and as a diplomat. He was active in Defense of the Nation (Obrana národa, or ON – one of the first anti-Fascist resistance groups during the time of the Protectorate) in 1939 as the first head of its central staff. He had to leave the country in November 1939, where he connected with the resistance as a superior officer and diplomat. He was dismissed from the army after February 1948 and left the country in the summer of 1948. He participated in intelligence activities in Paris until 1956, then lived in the US, where he participated in exile activities.

Specific intelligence activities were carried out by chapters deployed in France’s occupation zones in Austria and Germany. Couriers were sent to Czechoslovakia across the border with intelligence assignments and radio transmitters; they sought out and trained collaborators.

The branches were allegedly discontinued in 1954, and the Paris headquarters was closed in 1957.

The leaders and organizers of intelligence activities known to date include Radomír Luža, Karel Kašpárek and Karel Škrábek. They operated in Vienna and Salzburg, with another branch in Baden-Baden, Germany.

In terms of scope, the French exile intelligence group was the smallest. The (Communist) Secret Police (StB) tracked 535 persons involved in French networks, both abroad and on Czechoslovak territory. František Klimovič, AKA agent “13,” was the StB’s most important informer in Vienna.

Couriers were not the only ones affected by the Communist regime’s direct repression. One example is member of the Czechoslovak section Karel Škrábek (*1919). He left for France in March 1949, joining Č. Kudláček’s intelligence network in 1952. With Kudláček’s authorization, he left for Vienna to build a network of cross-border guides. He ended this service in 1954, and lived in the US from 1956. In February 1961 he applied for repatriation through the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington. He returned to Czechoslovakia based on an amnesty on April 18, 1961, but was arrested and sentenced to eleven years in prison for his intelligence activities abroad.



▲ The French transmitter of MUDr. Josef Zenáhlík from Vyšší Brod, in the state in which the State Security Service (StB) managed to find it.



▲ The French transmitter of Josef Krinsky from Velešín.



▲ One of the dead drops from Josef Krinsky's network.

1 210/013 Akce „úředník“ II

Dne 2.12.1952 zachytil V.svl.odbor MV spojení radiocentrály v Paříži, s neznámou protistanicí v ČSR. Po této době bylo zaznamenáno 7 dalších radiospojení bez změny stanice v ČSR.

Dne 12.9.1953 byla protistanice v ČSR zaměřena do prostoru Velešín - České Budějovice a po této době zaznamenáno dalších 5 radiospojení a

dne 22.9.1953 byla opět protistanice radiocentrály Paříž zaměřena do stejného prostoru.

V dalších 19 kontrolovaných spojení radiocentrály Paříž, se nepodařilo protistanici v ČSR zaměřit do vymezenějšího prostoru protože vysílání se dělo ze 4 různých míst.

Dne 17.5.1954 byla protistanice radiocentrály Paříž zaměřena do severní části okraje Velešína, samota Holkov.

V listopadu 1952 získal zahraniční spolupracovník „FERDINAND“ poznatek, že v letních měsících

ráku 1952 navštívil agent francouzské rozvědky krycím jménem KOŠUT Karel technického dřevníka z Velešína - svého známého z dřívější doby, kterého měl zaškolit v obsluze vysílací stanice.

Radiocentrála francouzské rozvědky nebyla s obsluhou vysílačky technickým dřevníkem z Velešína spokojena a proto byl k němu podle další správy zahraničního spolupracovníka „FERDINANDA“

z června 1953 opět vyzván agent francouzské rozvědky KOŠUT v květnu 1953 aby provedl jeho doškolení.

Po příchodu do Velešína agent KOŠUT zjistil, že uvedený dřevník koná vojenské cvičení a protože nemohl doškolení provést, vrátil se do zahraničí. Podle další správy zahraničního spolupracovníka „FERDINANDA“ z

konce srpna 1953 byl francouzský agent KOŠUT k uvedenému dřevníku vyzván, provedl jeho doškolení, vrátil se

14. srpna 1953 do zahraničí a od té doby se vysílání dosud nez-

► Title page from the StB report on the exposure of Josef Krinsky.

The network of collaborators in Southern Bohemia was perhaps the largest and most important activity of the Czechoslovak section of France's intelligence service.

Jan Král (1924–1954), a native of Pračov near Český Krumlov, left the country in March 1951 and started cooperating with the Baden-Baden chapter. From September 1952, he would cross the Czechoslovak border as an instructor of radio transmitter operators. He trained MUDr. Josef Zenáhlík from Vyšší Brod and Josef Krnínský from Velešín.

Zenáhlík collaborated with the French from the end of 1951; from Summer 1952 he operated a radio transmitter in his house and built an intelligence network in his area. He was detected in 1953 as a result of a combined effort of radio-location and the StB's partial penetration of the Baden-Baden branch. Zenáhlík and his group of twenty-three collaborators were sentenced to long-term imprisonment in late 1953.

Josef Krnínský's group was also discovered by the StB in the autumn of 1954. Courier Jan Král was killed by electric shock on the border in the Maršlák area, Český Krumlov District, while leaving the country on October 16, 1954.



◀ French courier Jan Král died of electric shock at a border entrenchment.

OTHER INITIATIVES

Aside from Czechoslovak intelligence groups, there were other, uncoordinated initiatives as well. Given the fragmentary findings of the State Security Service (StB), we know very little about many of them.

The Polish group Rada polityczna (Political Board) operated in Germany, providing intelligence activity concerning Poland under the US Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC). Given the geographic conditions, Polish operations took place on our territory as well. Czech refugees were used as couriers-cross-border guides. One of them was:

Rudolf Dziadek (*1924) from Orlová in Silesia. A locksmith engineer by vocation, he crossed the border to Germany near Aš in September 1948 and started collaborating with the CIC in Munich in 1951. His task was to guide the Polish courier, 21-year-old student Alfred Planeta from Radom, Poland, through Czechoslovak territory. In addition, Dziadek was to find a collaborator near Český Těšín to arrange contact with Poland.

The railroad guard arrested both Dziadek and Planeta on a train from Domažlice to Plzeň in the evening of the very first day of their mission, September 8, 1951. Rudolf Dziadek was sentenced by the State Court in Brno to 18 years for high treason and espionage on March 21, 1952. Released from prison after twenty years in October 1963, he lived under StB surveillance. In 1968, R. Dziadek was a member of the K 231 preparatory committee in Karviná. He left for the FRG in 1969, never to return to the country.

The Communist regime referred to priests on the borders as “Vatican spies”.

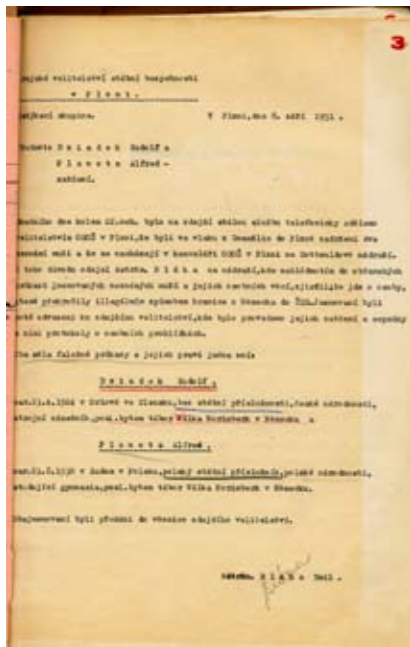
Salesian priest and cross-border guide **Titus Zeman** was born on January 4, 1915 in Vajnory. A Salesian priest, religion teacher, and youth educator in Pezinok. Upon his superiors' request, he and two couriers successfully brought six Salesian priests across the border on August 30, 1950. Aided by Jozef Macek, he guided them to Austria through the Malé Leváre area and then to Turin, Italy. Zeman returned to Slovakia in mid-October 1950 and organized another group of thirteen priests and monks, leading them successfully across the border along with three other refugees and the couriers Jozef Macek and Ferdinand via the same path.

Only Ferdinand Totka accompanied Zeman on his way to Czechoslovakia in April 1951. Zeman was equipped with a false ID in the name of Pavol Plahdaník. He gathered a group of about eighteen priests, monks, and theologians who had been interned in concentration monasteries since April 1950 as part



of Action “K,” or who faced the threat of arrest. On April 16, 1951, Zeman and the entire group were captured in the border zone in the Malé Leváre municipality. Titus Zeman’s motivation was undoubtedly service to his fellow brethren.

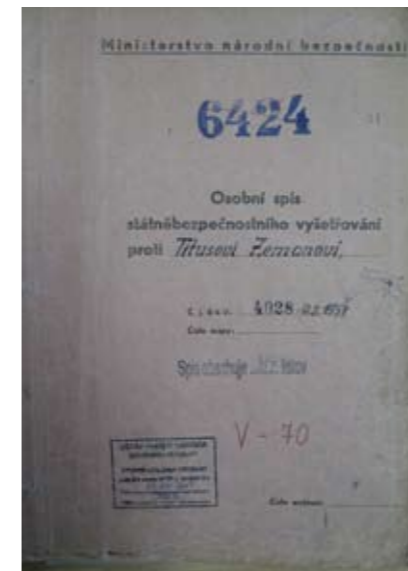
The State Court in Bratislava sentenced Titus Zeman to 25 years, Ferdinand Totka to 22 years for high treason and espionage, and 19 other refugees and/or helpers to unconditional sentences ranging from 2 to 18 years on February 22, 1952.



▲ Photograph of Rudolf Dziadek in State Security (STB) detention.

◀ Report on the arrest of Dziadek and Planeta.

◀ Verdict on Rudolf Dziadek.



▲ Cover of Titus Zeman's case file.



▲ Titus Zeman's photograph from his STB case file.



▲ Report on the arrest of Titus Zeman.



WOMEN ON THE BORDER – COURIERS AND GUIDES

The dangerous and physically demanding cross-border trips were largely a men's affair. Yet there were also female couriers and guides.

Otilie Mücková (*1928 in Brno) was one of them. She left the country in December 1949 when her friend, former National Security Corps (SNB) member Oldřich Kokorský, came back from Vienna to Bratislava for her. After a year living in Vienna, she met the guides Josef Fuchshuber and Eliška Wagnerová ("Lízinka"). Fuchshuber offered her cooperation in guiding refugees across the border. Otilie Mücková made her first trip in early January 1951, coming from Vienna to Bratislava with Fuchshuber, and continuing to Frýdek to fetch Czechoslovak Intelligence Office (CIO) member Karel Zbytek's wife. Mücková brought her and her daughter to Bratislava, then Fuchshuber guided all of them across the border near Bratislava-Petržalka.

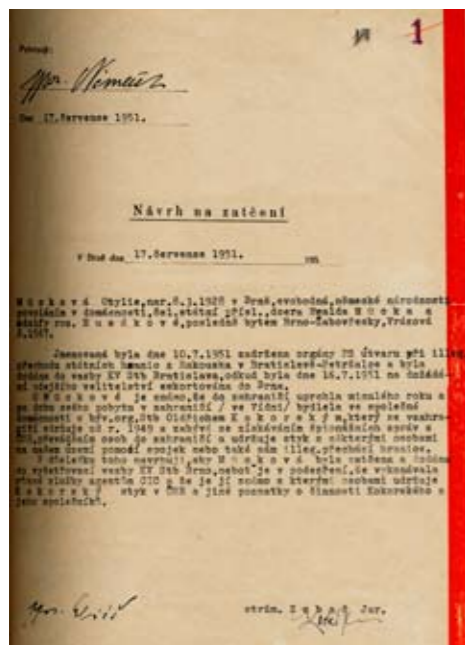
Otilie Mücková took a total of four trips to Czechoslovakia. She guided about eight refugees and brought messages. Border patrols caught her on her way to Austria near Bratislava-Petržalka in July 1951. Apart from Fuchshuber's well-tried route, Mücková would cross the border with Eliška Wagnerová, as well: they walked 35 km from Popice near Brno to Ziegelhofen in Austria overnight!

The State Court in Prague sentenced Otilie Mücková to 14 years for high treason on February 5, 1952. Her three helpers in Bratislava were sentenced along with her.

Olga Kamanová (*1914) was another courier. She left for West Berlin illegally in June 1952. The US military intelligence service allegedly acquired her for cooperation. She took a special four-month intelligence course, where she learned how to seek and direct suitable collaborators, use invisible inks, set up and use dead drops, make and process photographs, use a map and compass, use the Morse code, and copy stamps and signatures. She was in Czechoslovakia at least four times, and built her own intelligence network in North Bohemia. She brought information and sometimes guided people across the border.

One of her collaborators probably betrayed her, and the (Communist) Secret Police (StB) arrested her at the train station in Ústí nad Labem on 20 May 1953. Olga Kamanová was sentenced to 18 years on 15 February 1954. Her four collaborators were sentenced to eight years on average.

Olga Kamanová was released from prison conditionally in April 1967, having served fourteen years.



▲ Otilie Mücková after her arrest by the StB.

◀ Proposal for the arrest of Otilie Mücková.

▲ Photograph of Olgy Kamanová in StB prison, demonstrating hidden intelligence instructions in the seam of her skirt.

▲ Documents presumably made by American intelligence services for Olga Kamanová.



CROSSING THE BORDER

Crossing the state borders with Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany was a life-threatening endeavor.

Border security represented the first obstacle. As of 1949, the Border Guard Service operated under the direction of the Ministry of the Interior. From 1950 on, following the Soviet model, it was an armed force with military organization, consisting of approximately 20,000 officers and (as of 1950) soldiers fulfilling compulsory service, as well.

The traps forming the “iron curtain” were a further obstacle.

Czechoslovakia’s state border was not set up with any signalling equipment or snares until 1951. The so-called engineering-technical border security was built between 1951 and 1952:

- Signal flares, actuated by touching on a stretched wire, were installed in front of the border entrenchment, on the domestic side.
- The entrenchment was located in the middle of a ten to eighteen meter-wide clearing hewed in the forest along the border. A six-meter control zone of ploughed soil for detecting footprints abutted the domestic side of the entrenchment.
- The most significant security measure was the barbed wire entrenchment itself. Between 1951 and 1952, it consisted of wooden posts thickly interwoven with barbed wire. Initially it was made up of a single wall, but it gradually increased to three walls. The two outer walls were 160 cm high; the inner wall was 220 cm high. From 1952 onwards, the barrier’s middle wall was fitted with 5 to 7 barbed wire conductors with high voltage (2,000–6,000 volts). Apart from the danger of fatal electrical injury, any short circuit signalled an attempt to cross the entrenchment. The barrier’s electrification was completed in 1956. The original route was rebuilt and perfected under the supervision of Soviet consultants between 1953 and 1956. The electricity in the wire barrier was finally switched off in 1965.
- Between 1952 and 1957, the area between the barrier’s walls was mined using kick-start or wire-actuated landmines. The mines were removed, as they proved dangerous even for the border guard soldiers.

Soldiers of the Border Guard Service shot 143 people on the state border. The electrified entrenchment caused the deaths of almost one hundred people. Two people died of mine explosions; many more people were injured, often with lifelong consequences. Overall, the “iron curtain” claimed more than 300 lives in Czechoslovakia.



- ▲ Jan Kovač, allegedly a foreign intelligence service courier, stepped on a landmine in the middle of an entrenchment in the Kout area of Šumava on 20 September 1953. The mine separated his foot at the ankle. Facing a hopeless situation, he shot himself dead.
- ◀ Miroslav Svatoň, age 22, died on the barbed wire of the entrenchment on May 16, 1953 in the Rozvadov area. He was probably crossing the border from Germany to Czechoslovakia.



- ◀ Ferdinand Pavlik, a CIC courier, was caught while cutting through the entrenchment in the Železná Ruda area of Šumava on 25 March 1953. The photograph was made during the incident's period reconstruction and shows very clearly the courier's main instruments: insulated pliers and rubber gloves protecting him from high voltage.



- ▲ An illustration of the entrenchment in 1955 and 1956.

Communist propaganda created the myth of the border guards' heroic war with terrorists and subversion agents. In fact, at least 584 border guard soldiers died between 1948 and 1989. Only 11 of these, however, were killed by "state border violators". For example, 185 soldiers committed suicide; 243 died of the consequences of various injuries and accidents; 39 soldiers died as a result of being wounded by firearms, and 47 soldiers died while handling border control equipment (electrical injuries; explosions of mines, grenades, and explosives).

Border crossing in either direction can thus be divided into two periods, separated by the installation of the border security measures during the year 1951.

Until that time, crossing the border was a dangerous yet feasible operation, subject to excellent knowledge of the landscape and monitoring of the border guarding system. No special equipment was necessary.

Once the entrenchment had been erected, it was necessary to cut a passage through it. Insulating gloves and pliers were used for this purpose. Subsequently, it was necessary to avoid a number of further measures and traps.



◀ Two couriers from Austria crossed the border in the Rusovce area near Bratislava on 12 June 1952. A photograph from the period reconstruction shows the control zone.

SPECIAL METHODS OF CROSSING THE BORDER

Apart from walking, there were other possible ways to cross the border, using existing means of transport: train, riverboats, or via waterway or air.

Courier transport using balloons was tested several times between 1952 and 1954. Several balloon pilot training courses were held at the RAF airbase in Cardington near Bedford, UK, in 1953. Some ten pilots recruited from the ranks of Czechoslovak couriers could have been trained for British and US intelligence services.

Between four and seven flights to Czechoslovakia took place. The first one to be documented took place in June 1953, the last in August 1954.

The first flight was successful. British intelligence service courier **Miroslav Vaja** (1932-1977) landed near Plzeň during the night of July 8, 1953. On July 13, Vaja successfully crossed the border entrenchment on his way back to Austria. He was sent on another mission by ground in October 1953, but was caught by Czechoslovak border guards while trying to cross the border. He was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment in March 1954, and released in 1964.

The last known case ended tragically. On August 13, 1954, two men's bodies, along with equipment betraying their mission and false documents in the names of František Malec and Karel Blažek, were found on the Kočičák hill near Krásná Hora village in the Sedlčany area. Both died as a consequence of falling from a height. The real surname of "František Malec" was Jakoubě; we do not know "Blažek's" real name.

General František Moravec's intelligence group had sent them on the mission. The State Security Service (StB) gained possession of their full equipment, including a transmitter and instructions for intelligence work. The balloon was found near Vlašim. The cause of the accident is not quite clear; the cloth basket probably loosened by accident or mistake and the crew fell to the ground.

Based on the flight plan and map found on the accident scene, the StB concluded that the balloon had taken off about 1 km west of Hannesried, a village in Bavaria, some 5 km away from the Czechoslovak border, at 1:32 am on August 13, 1954. The couriers crossed the border at an altitude of 2,250 m, and died at 3:50 a.m. while landing near Krásná Hora. The flight measured approximately 120 km.

Some couriers probably landed in Czechoslovakia in 1952 using parachutes.



▲ Courier Miroslav Vaja's photographs from the StB case file.



▲ A photograph of Vaja's balloon, which landed in Slovakia uncontrolled.

◀ A photograph of the British operations balloon used by Miroslav Vaja.



▲ The scene of the tragic incident near Krásná Hora nad Vltavou. The couriers' bodies were found behind a ridge in the land on the left. Viewed from Krásná Hora.



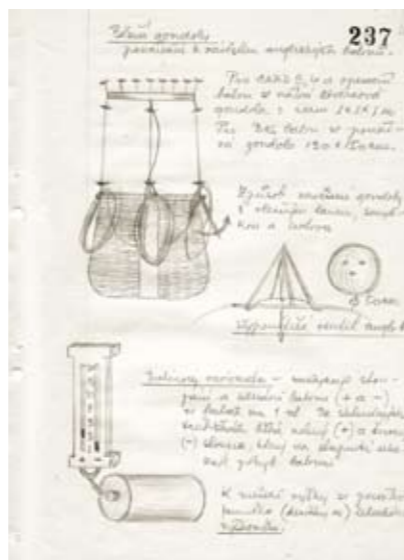
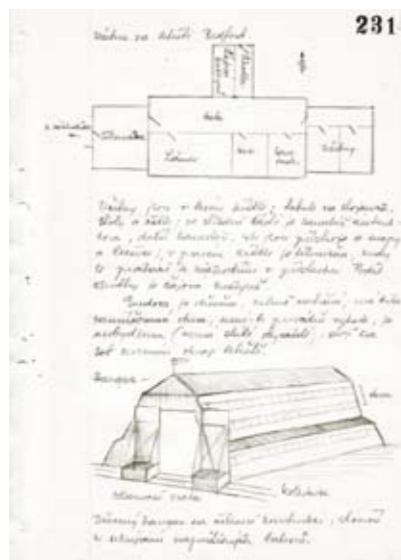
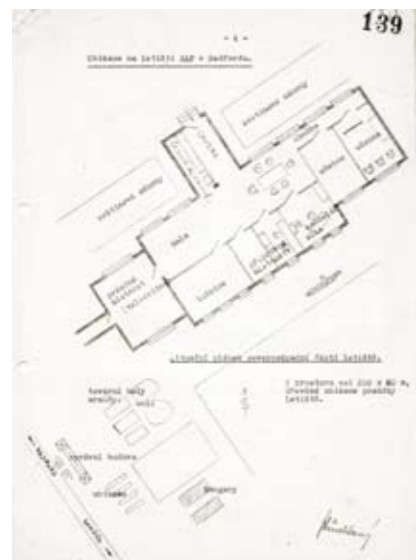
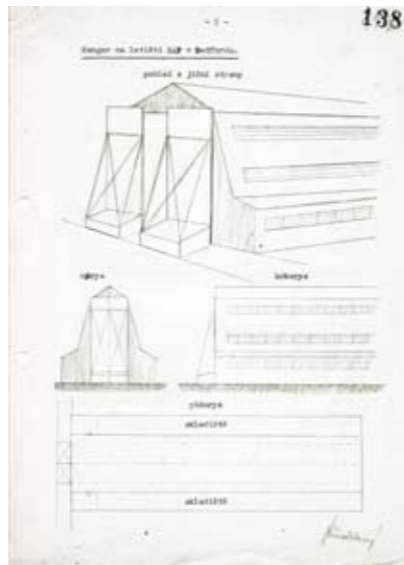
▲ The folding basket of the "invisible" balloon, in which Blažek and Jakoubě crashed.



▲ Center of the shot: the place where the couriers were found. Kočičák hill near Krásná Hora nad Vltavou.



▲ A photograph of the dead couriers' equipment.



▲ Vladislav Křivohlavý's drawings made while in StB detention.

In rare cases, couriers crossed the border via the Dyje, Morava, or Danube rivers.

Karel Brabec (1918–1993) swam across the Danube several times in 1951. He had modified a Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) diving dress, which he used not for diving, but for swimming long distances in cold water. He confessed five trips to the StB; reportedly he made ten. He was arrested in Bratislava on 30 December 1951 while distributing leaflets. Brabec was sentenced to 17 years of imprisonment. His use of the diving suit was just an improvement of his tried and true method for crossing the border.

Several years later, the CIC (Moravec's group) demonstrably trained its agents for crossing borders via water using diving equipment: a diving suit and aqualung. Water training formed a part of the universal training at the DELTA school in Dieburg. Trainees practiced crossing watercourses using rubber boats, swimming, and diving on the Rhine and Main. The agents were trained to swim 50 cm below the surface, staying at the same depth, and laying down on the bottom.



▲ Karel Brabec in the deflated and inflated swimming suit.

Laborer **Jozef Mikuš** (born on 20. April 1931 in Šulekov, District of Hlohovec) was another courier who crossed the border via water. He immigrated to Austria on March 6, 1949, and joined the Slovak Liberation Committee in 1952. Mikuš was willing to enroll in an armed war on Communists, for a federalized Europe. The CIC in Linz recruited him as a guide for crossing the Czechoslovak border in April 1954.

Mikuš was recruited to find a border-crossing channel on the confluence of the rivers Dyje and Schifart (Kyjovka?), where the entrenchment was not installed all the way to the riverbank. He conducted a survey in late May 1953, and set up three dead drops near Kúty in August 1953. In early April 1954, he received a rubber suit to cross the river. The dress was partly inflatable; the courier moved by treading water. The soles of his feet were fitted with special fins with which he propelled himself. On October 9, 1954, he received the assignment to go to Czechoslovakia to set up a dead drop and bring over courier “Ján”. He was equipped with an ID card in the name of Ján Markovič. He was caught about 50 m away from the entrenchment in Slovakia after midnight on October 10, 1954. Mikuš tried to escape from counterintelligence detention in Prague-Bubeneč on October 28, 1954 with no success. He acted bravely during the investigation, attempting to deny.

The regional Court in Nitra sentenced Jozef Mikuš to 20 years for high treason and espionage on March 9, 1955.



▲ Karel Brabec's false ID, in the name of Karel Špaček.



► Cover page of Vladislav Křivohlavý's case file.

COURIERS' ACTIVITY

Couriers, termed “agent-walkers” by the State Security Service (StB), were referred to as subversion agents, murderers, and terrorists on the part of the regime. What was the actual objective with which they were sent to Czechoslovakia?

Couriers were often recruited from refugee camps. They participated in successive perfecting training courses in all necessary proficiencies and faculties. They were equipped with tools and aids for crossing the border and navigating the landscape, and money and false ID documents for operating domestically. Not every courier had a personal weapon.

One of the couriers' most common functions was cross-border guiding. They performed this service occasionally, but were often sent for selected refugees. Some couriers specialized in guiding other couriers.

Couriers brought messages, instructions, transmission sets, and leaflets to Czechoslovakia. They trained radio operators from among selected collaborators in Czechoslovakia. They recruited citizens for cooperation as the primary sources or collectors of information, as radio operators, accommodators, or intermediaries. They set up dead drops for forwarding messages.

Weapons were used virtually only in self-defense.

Couriers were not authorized to organize armed domestic resistance. The murder of three National Committee officials in Babice on 2 July 1951 was a self-willed act of the courier Ladislav Malý. Malý, AKA “Rudolf Laco,” was a courier from Moravec's group under the patronage of the US intelligence service. He left for Czechoslovakia without the knowledge of his superiors.

The capturing of the famed letter “To the Big Street Sweeper” was an operation with exceptional political implications that resulted in the arrest of Rudolf Slánský and extensive purges within the Communist Party, culminating in the trial against the so-called “anti-state conspiracy center”. Courier Rudolf Nevečeřal brought the letter, dated 9 November 1951, from abroad and gave it to the StB, as he was also an StB agent.

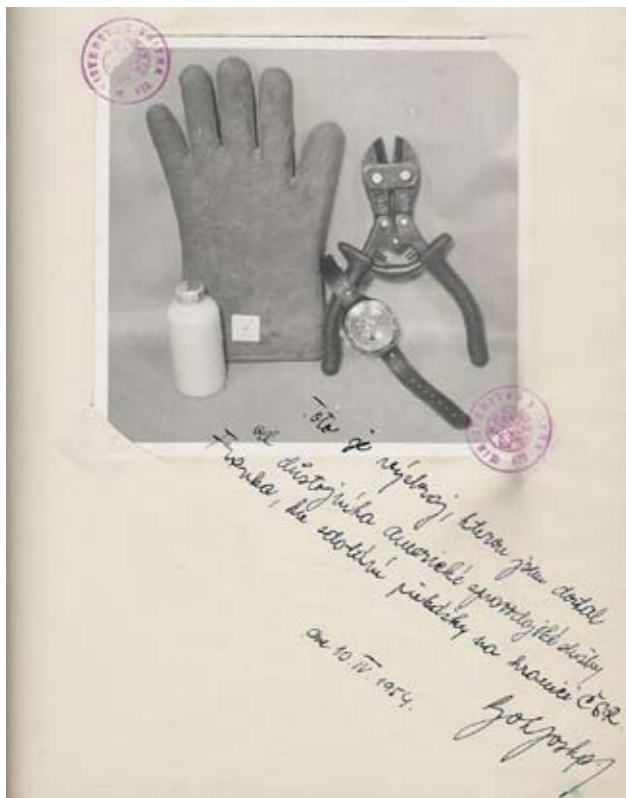
The letter “To the Big Street Sweeper” contained an offer to arrange for immigration. Exiled intelligence staff from František Moravec's group probably expected – unrealistically so – that, faced with problems within the Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSČ), Slánský would be interested in leaving the country. But intermediary Daniela Kaňkovská did not even attempt to deliver the letter, destroying it instead. Slánský had no idea about the offer. Yet the letter “To the Big Street Sweeper” was a chief piece of evidence underlying Slánský's arrest on November 24, 1951.



▲ Couriers Josef Ludvik and Vladimir Palma's equipment



▲ The pistol that belonged to former SNB member and courier Josef Ludvik (1912), executed 1952.



▲ The machine gun that belonged to former Board Guard Private and courier Vladimir Palma (1927), executed 1952.

◀ Courier Bohumil Joska's equipment.



▲ Courier Ladislav Malý's photograph. Malý wilfully murdered three officials in Babice on July 2, 1951.



▲ Karel Brabec distributed leaflets in Bratislava.



▲ A Dikobraz cartoon from 1950.



▲ Photograph from the couriers' training abroad – crossing the border barricade.

Courier **František Kroc** (*1924) was probably sent to Czechoslovakia four times. On his last two trips in October and November 1951, he prepared for the transport of Jana Horáková (Milada Horáková's daughter) and other persons from the country via West Berlin. For this purpose, he was equipped with false DDR ID documents as well as tools for forging documents. He was arrested in mid-November 1951, before ever actually attempting to guide the refugees over the border. Kroc's collaborators in Chabařovice were infiltrated by an StB agent.

The State Court in Prague sentenced František Kroc for life on January 12, 1952. The sentence was amended to 25 years in 1955.

The activities of couriers from the Czechoslovak branch of the British intelligence service in the Brno area resulted in the creation of a network of collaborators in the latter half of 1950. The network obtained information, sent it via couriers or radio transmitters, and guided people over the border. Courier Jan Brejcha, AKA "Tomáš Oliva," was its leading personality. The network was destroyed due to gross security mistakes in Autumn 1950, and its members were disclosed and punished severely. Courier Josef Kolísko, AKA "Kafka," shot himself dead in a hopeless situation during his arrest in Modřice on October 26, 1950. At least 64 people were arrested. Following the ensuing trials, National Security Corps (SNB) member Leopold Doležal was executed and others sentenced to many years of imprisonment. The project continued secretly – one of the actors, radio operator Jaroslav Hajda, was secretly arrested by the StB, re-recruited, and sent on a mission as a provocateur to unveil more British intelligence service collaborators in Northern Moravia. Controlled by the StB, he acted as a radio operator and directed what was allegedly StB's first "radio game," which it called "A Game of Chess." He played the role until March 1952, when he was removed from the case (the StB staged his alleged death). Hajda's helpers were arrested and sentenced to many years' imprisonment after the StB's severe interrogations.

ARREST ON THE BORDER – INFILTRATION

Couriers caught by the border guard on the border or inland were forwarded to the State Security Service (StB). Treatment of arrested couriers was coordinated as of the autumn of 1951.

Minister of National Security (MNS) secret Order No. 90/1952 demanded that border guards "escort all persons who illegally cross the Czechoslovak border from Austria, West Germany, and the DDR to the MNS Prison within 24 hours."

The prison was that of the StB Headquarters (later the II. Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior) on Wintrova Street in Prague 6. It was established in November 1951 for "preliminary or operative investigation into detained persons," mainly for the purposes of "thorough exploitation of intelligence knowledge of the arrested pedestrian agents and collaborators." The main reason for keeping the detention secret was the possibility of re-recruiting arrested couriers as StB agents and sending them abroad. The prison was a top-secret facility, with prisoners kept in complete isolation and under numbers.

Interrogations were led in accordance with the instructions of the Commander of the I. Sector of the StB Headquarters, First Lieutenant Kamil Pixa, aimed at revealing the methods, organization, and focus of intelligence services sending agents to Czechoslovakia. The interrogations were very intense, lasting as long as 24 hours non-stop.

The StB counterintelligence prison on Wintrova Street in Prague 6 was closed in September 1955.

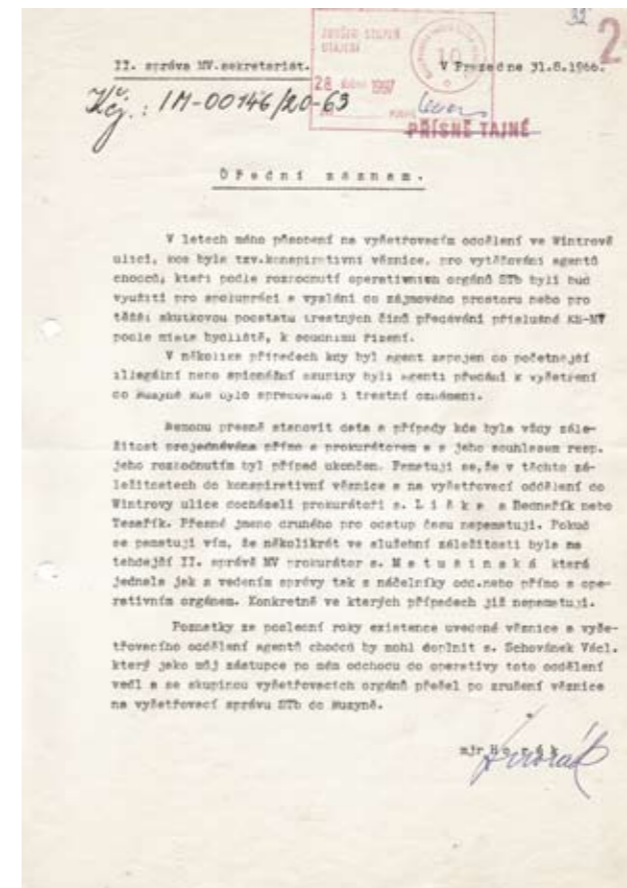
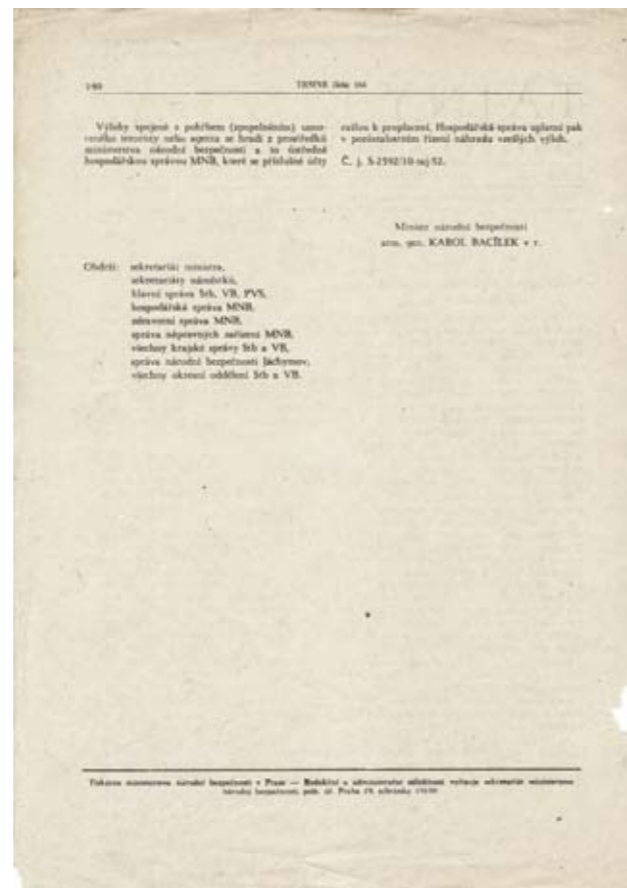
Couriers of no interest to the StB were usually secretly transported to a standard StB prison. Their cases were finalized and referred to court. Couriers were usually sentenced for espionage and high treason to long-term imprisonment or even death (in the event of armed resistance).

Examples of successful infiltration of intelligence groups

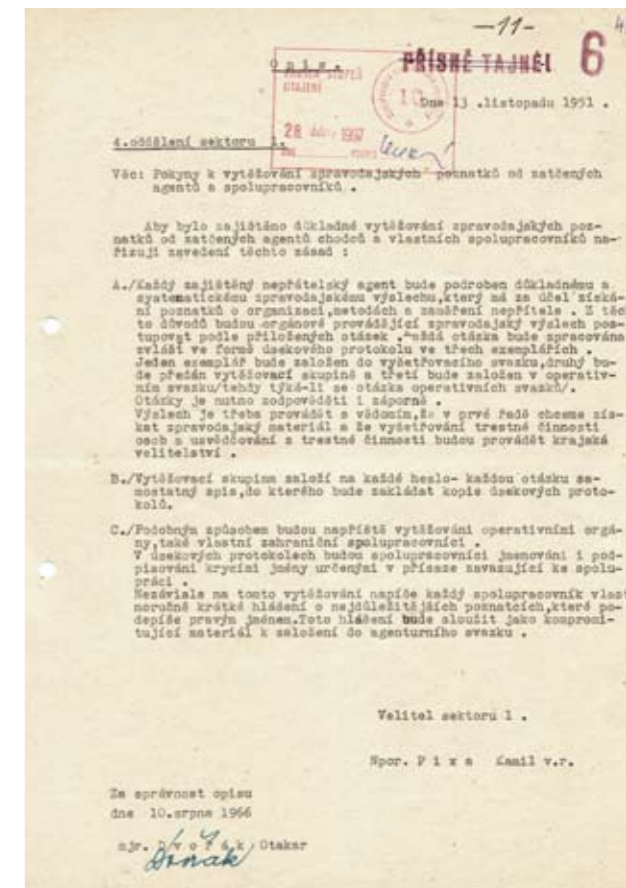
Oldřich Mihola was born on 2 January 1928. He left for the US zone in Germany in November 1948, and started working as a courier for František Bogataj's group in 1949. The StB recruited him and he betrayed many of his co-workers: Štěpán Gavenda was arrested in Prague in October 1949 (executed), Milan Krajčovič (sentenced to 24 years) and Jaroslav Bureš (sentenced for life) in November 1949, and Miroslav Janeček in Prague in December 1949 (sentenced to 22 years). Mihola was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for betrayal in Germany; he returned to Czechoslovakia in 1956 and worked as an engineer for the Danube Sailing Company.



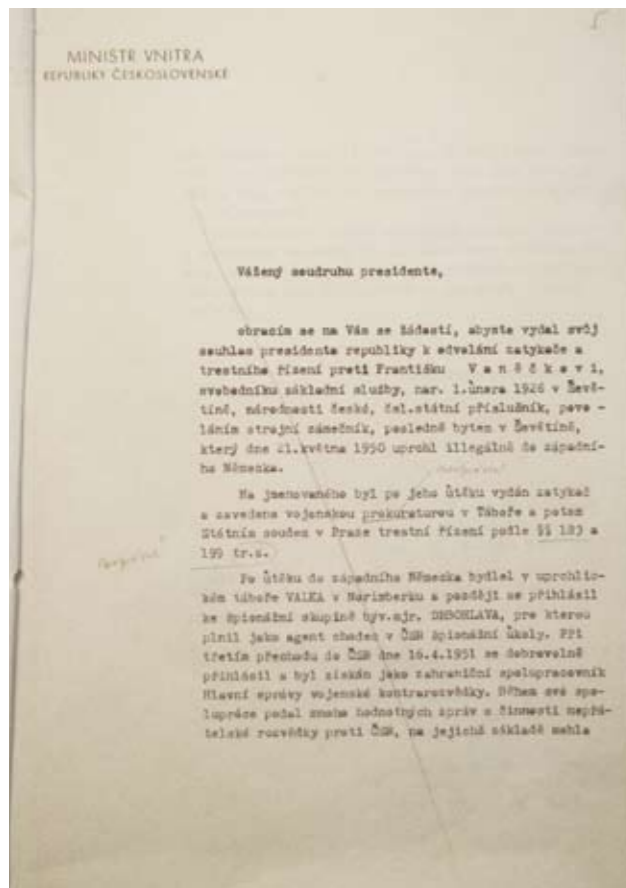
▲ Secret order of the Minister of National Security defining the procedure for handling dead enemies.



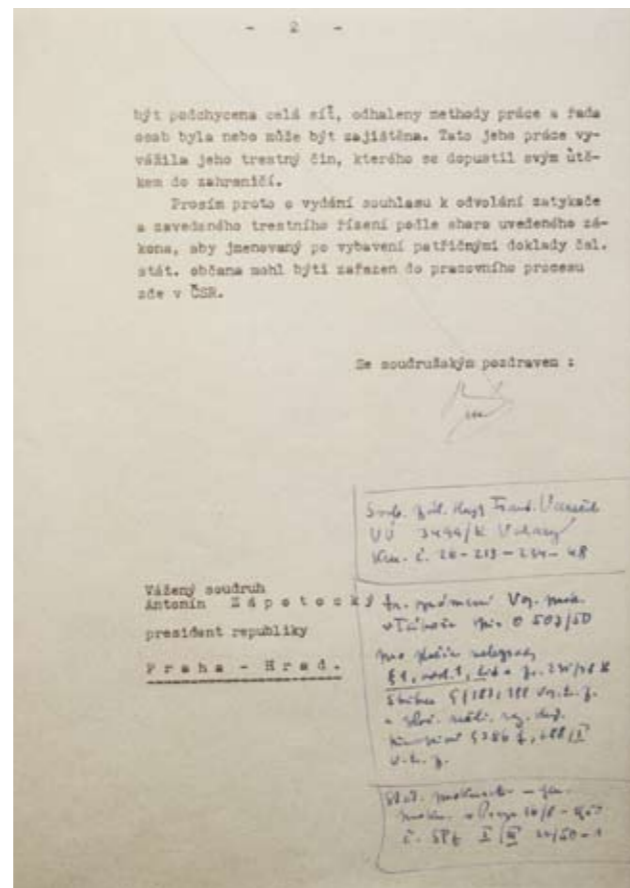
▲ A statement by Dobroslav Horák, chief of the StB counter-intelligence's investigation department.



▲ Instructions for exploiting arrested agents in secret prison.



▲ Draft letter by Minister of Interior Rudolf Barák concerning František Vaněček's amnesty.



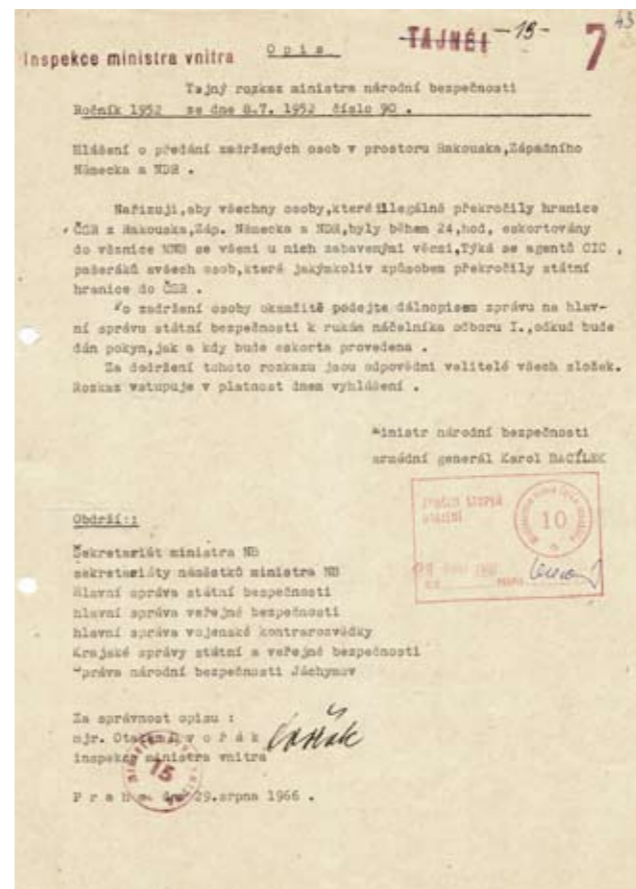
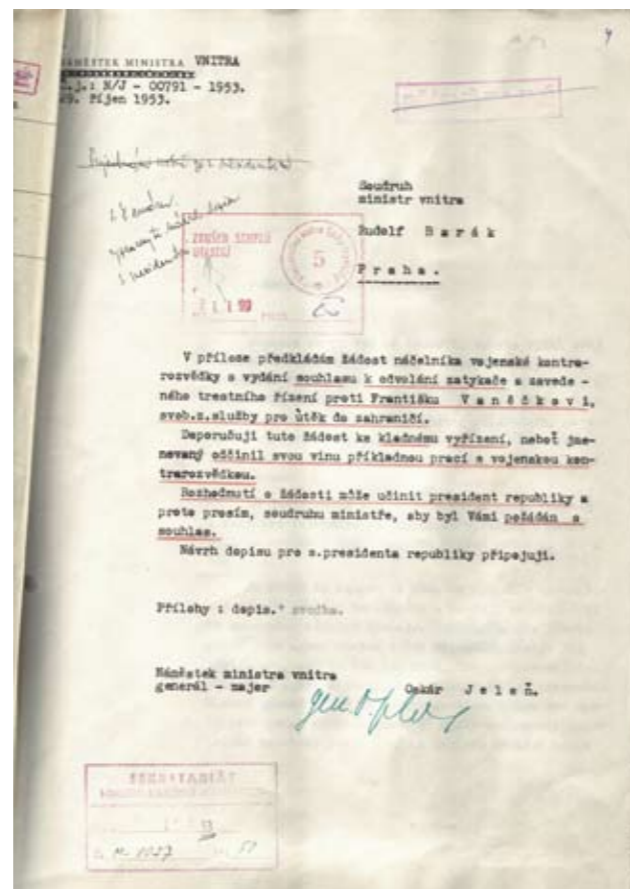
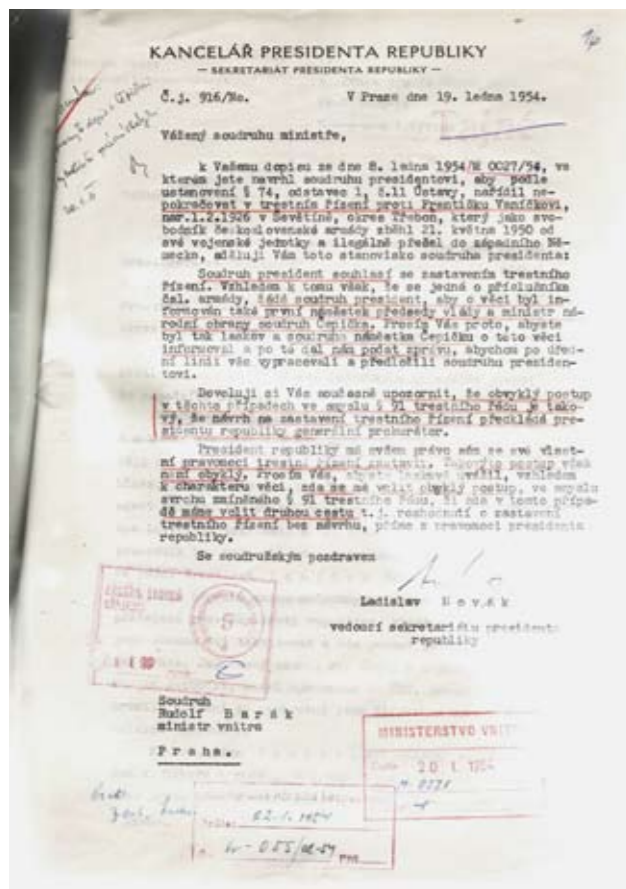
František Vaněček (*1926), AKA “**Viktor**”, destroyed Rudolf Drbohlav’s group.

He deserted Czechoslovak Army military service and fled to Germany in 1950. At the Valka refugee camp, he enrolled for cooperation with the US Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC), and acted as a courier in Bogataj and Drbohlav’s groups. On his third trip to Czechoslovakia, he voluntarily approached the Czechoslovak border guards on May 16, 1951, and was from then on used as a counterintelligence agent under the cover name “Luděk Stránský”. A very prolific agent, he provided more than 100 messages to the StB. He was not suspected in Drbohlav’s group – in fact, he worked his way up the ranks from courier to helper and instructor. After the April 28, 1952 discontinuation of the group that he had disintegrated, he was even called to the staff of General Moravec’s group in Bensheim in May 1952, although the group was discontinued on the grounds of infiltration by Communist agents.

He was uncovered by accident in the autumn of 1952 and returned to Czechoslovakia for good. In appreciation of his merits, he was not prosecuted for his desertion, and the criminal proceedings against him were stopped on the basis of an amnesty of the President.

Vilém Jelínek (*1913), former police officer, was dismissed from the National Security Corps (SNB) in 1948 for political unreliability. Fearing prosecution for fraud, he left for the FRG on October 5, 1951, but returned to Czechoslovakia voluntarily on April 23, 1954. He was recruited for collaboration as agent “Sámo” in the prison of the II. Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. Sent to Germany, he succeeded in infiltrating the Military Intelligence Service (MIS), and operated there for six years. He would come to Czechoslovakia as a courier, and supervised by the StB, he operated a ‘channel’ to the USSR. The closure of this project (under the StB cover name “Východ” – East) resulted in the arrest of 11 people. Based on Jelínek’s information, East Germany’s Stasi arrested 36 guides in May 1956, effectively eliminating an MIS channel from West Berlin through the DDR to Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The MIS finally uncovered “Sámo” in May 1960 and interrogated him. A German court sentenced Vilém Jelínek to one year in prison. He was sent to Czechoslovakia via the Red Cross on 2 May 1962. Intelligence services and the II. Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior arranged for his formal employment as the doorman in Prague’s Flora Hotel. For some time, he collaborated with the StB as a tipster. Following disputes with hotel management, he was dismissed, and worked as a storage worker at Mototechna. The StB discontinued cooperation with him on the grounds of “loss of possibility.”



▲ Documents from the proceedings regarding agent František Vaněček's amnesty.

▲ Secret order of the Minister of National Security defining the procedure for arresting couriers on the border.

INTERIM LIST OF DEAD, EXECUTED, AND IMPRISONED COURIERS.

Surname, Name	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Intelligence Service	Date of Arrest	Convicted to	Imprisoned
Achrer Bohumil	1933		US		22 years	5. 11. 1954
Alena František	1922		US	15. 3. 1952	16 years	5. 12. 1952 – ?
Anderle Josef	1918		US	February 1949	9 years life in prison	February 1949 – ? 18. 4. 1950 – ?
Babík Pavel	1924	1953	US	27. 4. 1951	death sentence	executed 30. 1. 1953
Bachan František	1906		US	December 1950	life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	17. 7. 1952 – ?
Balko Eduard	1927		US	Autumn 1949	10 years	? – 19. 3. 1951 (escaped)
Barák Arpád	1923		US		15 years	? – 5. 8. 1960
Barták Rudolf	1929		UK	10. 9. 1953	17 years	16. 2. 1954 – 10. 5. 1962
Bartalský Ferdinand	1916		US	15. 3. 1952	20 years	5. 12. 1952 – ?
Bártl Jan	1930		US	14. 5. 1950	17 years	18. 1. 1952 – ?
Bartuška Eduard	1932		US		7 years	19. 1. 1954 – 19. 9. 1960
Batyánek Josef	1928		US		7 years	2. 4. 1954 – 19. 10. 1960
Bednář Karel	1922		US	18. 10. 1952	life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	27. 4. 1954 – ?
Bellan Rudolf	1929		US	3. 12. 1951	17 years	18. 7. 1952 – ?
Bělohávek Alexandr	1931		UK		18 years	27. 6. 1952 – ?
Beneš Bohuslav	1919	1951	US		death sentence	executed 8. 6. 1951
Betáš Josef	1930		US		25 years	since October 1952 – ?
Biščo Milan	1928		US		life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	1950 – ?
Blažek Eduard	1933		US	13. 5. 1953	16 years	15. 12. 1953 – ?
Blažek Jiří	1935	1956	US		6 years	12. 1. 1954 – 11. 7. 1956 (died)
Bodlák Jaromír	1913		US		20 years	17. 7. 1952 – ?
Borbuliak Imrich	1928		US		18 years	21. 9. 1951 – ?
Borýsek Jan	1907	1952	US			21. 10. 1952 (died in detention)
Bosser František	1921		US	January 1952	life in prison	26. 3. 1953 – ?
Bosser František	1921		UK		25 years	1952 – ?
Brabec Karel	1918		US		17 years	10. 2. 1952 – 16. 5. 1960
Brabenec Zdeněk	1923		US		17 years 3 years	27. 1. 1954 – ? 6. 6. 1958 (re-tried) – 10. 5. 1962

Surname, Name	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Intelligence Service	Date of Arrest	Convicted to	Imprisoned
Březina Bohuslav	1917		FR		25 years death sentence (reduced to life in prison, 25 years)	3. 11. 1950 – 9. 8. 1962
Bukač František	1915		FR		20 years	2. 6. 1950 – ?
Buliř František	1903		US		17 years	December 1954 – ?
Bursík Josef	1925	1951	US			shot on June 1951
Črhák Josef Emerich	1916		UK		16 years	16. 3. 1956 – ?
Čáp Václav	1926		UK		5 years	15. 9. 1960 – ?
Časta Anton	1932		US	9. 7. 1952	16 years	24. 6. 1953 – ?
Čech Josef	1935		US	10. 7. 1951	8 years (reduced on pardon)	21. 9. 1951 – 15. 6. 1954
Čech Josef	1923		FR		25 years	7. 4. 1949 – ?
Čerešně Vojtěch	1915		US		25 years (reduced by 1 year on amnesty)	17. 9. 1953
Čermák František	1928		US		5 years	? – 27. 5. 1954
Čermák Ján	1927		US		12 years	23. 8. 1949 – 14. 1. 1960
Čermohorský František	1907	1952	US		18 years	? – 25. 5. 1952 (died)
Čermoušek Josef	1919		FR	7. 7. 1949	death sentence (reduced to 25 years)	18. 4. 1950 – ?
Černý František	1932		US	20. 5. 1955	16 years	16. 3. 1956 – ?
Černý Otto	1908		US	27. 8. 1949	25 years	28. 6. 1951 – ?
Čimbora Anton	1920		FR		15 years	1. 4. 1952 – 27. 12. 1960
Čipera Bohuslav	1919		US		18 years	22. 6. 1951 – ?
Čížek Petr	1913 (1914?)	1952	US		death sentence	executed 6. 2. 1952
Čoček Josef	1932		US		life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	13. 11. 1954 – ?
Danita Miloslav	1916		US		20 years	21. 1. 1955 – 10. 5. 1962
Davídek Karel	1924		US	28. 10. 1950	17 years	14. 3. 1951 – ?
Dofek Josef	1927		FR	20. 5. 1951	life in prison	23. 6. 1952 – ?
Doleček Jaroslav	1922		US	21. 9. 1952	18 years	24. 2. 1953 – ?
Dolínek František	1915		US		life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	
Doubrava Jaroslav	1919		US		20 years	20. 7. 1953 – ?
Ducháček Adolf	1918		US		15 years	9. 2. 1951 – ?

Surname, Name	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Intelligence Service	Date of Arrest	Convicted to	Imprisoned
Dújka Jan	1926		US		18 years	17. 7. 1954 – ?
Dunár Ondrej	1931		US		17 years (reduced by 8 years on pardon)	1954 – ?
Dura Josef	1928		US		15 years a 11 months	20. 9. 1949 – ?
Dušek Jiří	1929		US		20 years	28. 3. 1952 – ?
Dušek Oldřich	1919		US		12 years 17 years	25. 6. 1949 – ? re-convicted 28. 9. 1956
Dvořák Jaromír	1925		UK		11 years	27. 12. 1953 – 13. 8. 1962
Dvořák Jaroslav	1930	1952	US	3. 11. 1952	death sentence	executed 6. 2. 1952
Dziadek Rudolf	1924		US		18 years	21. 3. 1952 – ?
Eliáš Bohumil	1928		US		25 years	26. 1. 1952 – ?
Erlach Štefan	1928		US		25 years 18. 2. 1956 additional punishment 2 years	14. 7. 1950 – ?
Fagoš Bruno	1931		US	22. 1. 1950	18 years	? – 7. 8. 1962
Fiala Josef	1931		US		2 and half year	1951 – 21. 9. 1952
Fořt Zdeněk	1927		US		23 years	23. 10. 1952 – ?
Franta Zdeněk	1931		UK	19. 6. 1960	12 years 4 years + remainder of punishment	6. 4. 1959 – July 1960 (escaped) 31. 8. 1960 – ?
František Vítězslav	1922		US	24. 2. 1950	12 years	16. 1. 1951 – 10. 5. 1960
Fuchshuber Josef	1928		UK		25 years	26. 5. 1954 – 7. 1. 1956 (escaped)
Fuksa Rudolf	1930	1952	US		death sentence	executed 9. 8. 1952
Fürbacher Alois	1893		US		6 and half year	12. 7. 1957 – 10. 5. 1960
Fürst Robert	1933		US		15 years	31. 5. 1954 – 29. 7. 1961
Gajdoš Štefan	1932		US	March 1952	8 years	12. 6. 1952 – 13. 9. 1959
Ganišin Jan	1921		US		15 years	14. 7. 1950 – 1960
Gašpar Jan	1925		UK		16 years	20. 10. 1953 – 27. 6. 1963
Gaudl Rudolf	1911		US	May 1949	20 years	15. 6. 1950 – 11. 5. 1960
Gregor Pavel	1919		US	March 1952	death sentence (reduced to life in prison)	20. 7. 1952
Greguš Josef	1926		US		11 years	16. 10. 1953 – ?
Gruber Karel	1927	1954	US		death sentence	executed 29. 5. 1954
Haas Jan	1903		US		6 years	12. 7. 1957 – 12. 5. 1960
Hajduk Aloiz	1919		US	9. 11. 1954	life in prison	9. 6. 1955 – ?

Surname, Name	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Intelligence Service	Date of Arrest	Convicted to	Imprisoned
Hajzl Matěj	1928		US	16. 4. 1952	10 and half year	5. 12. 1952 – ?
Hanák Miloslav	1921		US		20 years	18. 12. 1951 – 15. 10. 1960
Hasil Bohumil	1920	1950	US			shot 13. 9. 1950 (?)
Hasil Josef	1924		US		9 years	about 1948 – 9. 5. 1949 (escaped)
Hauptmann Vilém	1915		US		16 years	
Havelka Jiří	1904		UK		15 years	24. 10. 1958 – ?
Hejna Jiří	1930	1952	US		death sentence	executed 9. 8. 1952
Hladký Ferdinand	1927		US		10 years	5. 2. 1955 – 16. 12. 1959
Hodas Pavel	1927		US		1 year 10 years	15. 5. 1958 – ? 9. 9. 1958 (re-convicted) – ?
Holobrádek Ludvík	1910		US		22 years	22. 5. 1954 – ?
Holotina Jaroslav	1925		US		10 years	23. 11. 1951 – 31. 5. 1956
Homada Jan	1929		US	24. 9. 1951	20 years	31. 5. 1952 – ?
Horník Antonín	1929		FR		16 years	4. 6. 1954
Hostaša Zdeněk	1935		US		20 years	18. 9. 1956 – ?
Hostaša Zdeněk	1935		UK		20 years	18. 9. 1956 – ?
Hrdlička Josef	1914		US		17 years	7. 5. 1956 – 1. 4. 1961
Huták Jakub	1914		UK		20 years 2 years	convicted in absentia 16. 2. 1961 – 11. 5. 1962
Chadima Vladimír	1911		UK		11 years	24. 6. 1954 – 12. 5. 1966
Chalupa Josef	1920		US	1949–1950	death sentence (reduced to life in prison)	escaped 2. 1. 1952
Jaborek Štefan	1927		US	September 1952	20 years	13. 11. 1953 – ?
Jaderný Vít	1932		US		20 years	24. 8. 1953
Jakš Cyril	1916		FR		15 years	15. 12. 1950 – 1957
Jalšovský Štefan	1934		US		3 years	1954 – 11. 11. 1954
Jarmara Věroslav	1927		UK	December 1950	22 years	29. 12. 1950 – ?
Jegerčík Rudolf	1928		US	11. 8. 1954	18 years 4 years	11. 2. 1955 – 1958 (escaped) 1958 – ?
Jelínek Alexandr	1909		US	22. 11. 1951	20 years	29. 9. 1952 – ?
Jeřábek Ladislav	1927		UK		3 years 7 months	14. 12. 1958 – 11. 5. 1960 27. 12. 1960 – ?
Jiřikovicová Marie	1918		UK		25 years	24. 6. 1954 – ?
Jiša Josef	1922		UK		22 years	30. 9. 1954 – 10. 5. 1960

Surname, Name	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Intelligence Service	Date of Arrest	Convicted to	Imprisoned
Jordan Jaroslav	1925		US		life in prison (reduced to 15 years)	23. 5. 1955 – ?
Joska Bohumil	1928		US		22 years	27. 4. 1954 – ?
Jozífek Václav	1928		FR	3. 6. 1952	23 years reduced by 4 years (amnesty 1955 and 1957)	12. 9. 1952 – ?
Jurný Miroslav	1921		US		16 years	30. 5. 1957 – ?
Jůza Lubor	1933		US		8 years	7. 9. 1956 – 12. 5. 1960
Kadeřávek Rudolf	1922		UK		20 years	18. 3. 1955 – 10. 5. 1960
Kadlček Jan	1923		US	24. 11. 1951	16 years	18. 6. 1952 – 20. 5. 1960
Kadlček Ludvík	1928		FR	October 1951	15 years	18. 6. 1952 – 10. 5. 1960
Kamanová Olga	1914		US		18 years	15. 2. 1954 – ?
Kandráč Antonín	1925	1954	US		20 years death sentence	? – 1950 (escaped) executed 29. 5. 1954
Kaska Jaroslav	1925		US		life in prison (reduced to 25 years) 2 years and 6 months	8. 4. 1954 – ? re-convicted 18. 2. 1956
Kessler Adolf	1932		US		life in prison	26. 3. 1956
Kitka František	1922		US	18. 9. 1951	11 years	19. 2. 1952 – ?
Klečka Josef	1906		US		25 years	10. 7. 1953 – ?
Klíma Adolf	1929		US		22 years	17. 6. 1955 – ?
Knesl František	1923		US		25 years	March 1952 – ?
Kobrlé Vladimír	1910		UK		15 years	1957 – ?
Kohout Josef	1922		UK	June 1952	25 years	15. 2. 1953 – ?
Kohutek František	1922		US		22 years	20. 11. 1951 – ?
Kolenatý Ervin	1914		UK		25 years	8. 4. 1949 – ?
Kolísko Josef	1928	1950	UK			suicide on arrest 26. 10. 1950
Komandera Rudolf Ladislav	1921	1953	US		26 years	12. 1. 1950 – 6. 1. 1953 (died)
Kostolný Ondrej	1917		US	15. 5. 1954	3 years	21. 12. 1954 – 1. 9. 1956
Košňovský Rudolf	1917		US		life in prison (reduced to 18 years)	6. 11. 1953
Kotlán Emil	1933		FR		7 years	31. 5. 1955 – 19. 12. 1955
Kouba Leoš	1935		US		18 years	24. 6. 1954 – 10. 5. 1962
Koudelka Jaroslav	1910		US	November 1951	life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	19. 11. 1952 – ?
Koukal Lubomír	1925	1951	US		death sentence	executed 12. 12. 1951

Surname, Name	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Intelligence Service	Date of Arrest	Convicted to	Imprisoned
Koukalová Otilie	1928		US		14 years	5. 2. 1952 – 24. 4. 1958
Koukalová Otilie	1928		UK		14 years	5. 2. 1952 – 24. 4. 1958
Kouřil Ludvík	1938		US		4 years	9. 4. 1955 – 7. 4. 1959
Kovář Jaroslav	1927		US		15 years (reduced by 3 years on amnesty)	16. 1. 1951 – 24. 2. 1962
Kozický Antonín	1913		US	1951	12 years	15. 1. 1952 – 10. 5. 1960
Krajčíř Emil	1928		US	10. 11. 1952	18 years	? – 15. 11. 1960
Krajčovič Milan	1929		US		24 years	7. 7. 1950 – ? (possible suicide)
Krajger Štefan	1923		UK			shot on September 1951
Král Jan	1924	1954	FR			killed by el. current 16. 10. 1954
Král Pavel	1937		UK		10 years	1. 9. 1959 – 12. 5. 1960
Králik František	1924		US	28. 8. 1953	15 years	4. 9. 1954 – 11. 5. 1960
Králik František	1924		FR	28. 8. 1953	15 years	4. 9. 1954 – 11. 5. 1960
Králik Josef	1929		US		16 years	11. 1. 1952 – ?
Kraus Květoslav	1920		US	January 1950	15 years	26. 1.
Kroc František	1924		US	12. 1. 1951	life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	
Krutý Jozef	1934		US	12. 11. 1951	15 years	22. 10. 1952 – ?
Křivánek Jiří	1927		US	arrested for a second time 24. 6. 1951	15 years 25 years	June 1949 – ? (escaped) 1. 6. 1951 – ?
Křivohlavý Vladislav	1931		US	9. 9. 1954	life in prison	escaped 28. 6. 1956
Kubát František	1925		US	15. 5. 1950	11 years 21 years	19. 9. 1950 – ? 21. 3. 1952 – 10. 5. 1962
Kučera František	1933	1959	US		6 years	11. 12. 1951 – 12. 8. 1959 (died)
Kučerňák Miroslav	1918		US		23 years	15. 10. 1953 – ?
Kudela Jaroslav	1931		US		19 years	13. 5. 1954 – 10. 5. 1962
Kulendík Otakar	1931		US	11. 3. 1954	25 years	11. 5. 1960 (amnesty)
Kulhánek Josef	1906		US		life in prison	8. 12. 1953 – 10. 5. 1960
Kulisek František	1904		UK		13 years	3. 9. 1959 – 23. 2. 1960
Kunčík Jindřich	1932		US		10 years	18. 7. 1952 – 10. 5. 1960
Kuntosch Josef	1929		US		15 years	20. 12. 1956 – ?
Kutnohorský Václav	1916		UK		7 years	26. 3. 1957 – ?
Kvasnička Václav	1921		US		18 years	13. 4. 1954 – ?
Kvičera Václav	1906	1957	UK		death sentence	executed 26. 1. 1957

Surname, Name	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Intelligence Service	Date of Arrest	Convicted to	Imprisoned
Kyzlik Květoslav	1925	1957	UK		18 years 4 years	15. 5. 1950 – 17. 6. 1957 (died)
Lang František	1928		US	12. 2. 1951	life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	27. 7. 1951 – ?
Lang Karel	1936		US		6 years	9. 8. 1954 – 4. 8. 1959
Lažanský Josef	1931		US	1953	life in prison	10. 7. 1953 – ?
Lednický Augustin	1924	1950	US	1950	death sentence	executed 10. 10. 1950
Lehotský Alexandr	1920	1955	US		death sentence	executed 29. 3. 1955
Linder Ladislav	1924	1950	US	1949	death sentence	executed 15. 5. 1950
Linhart Miloslav	1923		UK		23 years	19. 2. 1954 – 10. 5. 1962
Lipták Ladislav	1928		UK		25 years	18. 6. 1953 – ?
Liška Josef	1922	1952	US		death sentence	executed 6. 2. 1952
Longauer Viktor	1923		US	15. 12. 1954	22 years (changed to 17 years on appeal)	6. 4. 1955 – ?
Lorenc Bedřich	1923	1955	US			shot on April 1955 ?
Ludvík Josef	1912		US		death sentence	27. 2. 1952 – ?
Ludvík Josef	1912	1952	UK		death sentence	executed 8. 7. 1952
Lýsek Antonín	1926		US		22 years	27. 4. 1954 – ?
Máca Jozef	1920		US		6 years	? – 26. 10. 1954
Macek Blahoslav	1933		US		4 years 10 years 1 year	5. 6. 1951 – ? 18. 1. 1955 (re-tried) – ? 7. 3. 1958 (re-tried) – ?
Macek Bohuš Teofil	1935		US		10 years	1956 – ?
Macek Jozef	1909		US	12. 5. 1955	20 years	? – 10. 5. 1960 6. 3. 1961 – ?
Magula Viliam	1912		US	August 1952	life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	1954 – ?
Mácha Svatopluk	1925		US	14. 10. 1954	18 years	14. 10. 1954 – 10. 5. 1962
Marcal Jaroslav	1929		US		23 years	26. 1. 1952 – May 1960
Marek Zdeněk	1929		US		5 years 2 and half year	17. 10. 1951 re-tried 29. 4. 1952
Martiňák Pavel	1931		US		18 years, 18 months additional punishment 2 years	16. 4. 1952 – ?
Maruniak Stanislav	1934		US		11 years	1953 – ?
Mäsiar Pius	1928		US		25 years	1953 – ?
Mašek Jan	1923		US		25 years	27. 4. 1954 – ?

Surname, Name	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Intelligence Service	Date of Arrest	Convicted to	Imprisoned
Mašek Jan	1923		UK		25 years	27. 4. 1954 – ?
Mašek Jaroslav	?	1950	US			shot 13. 7. 1950
Menšíková Eliška	?		US		18 years	27. 1. 1954 – ?
Mereš František	1920		US		25 years	1954 – ?
Michalička Ignác	1919		US		life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	1949 – ?
Mikuš Jozef	1931		US	1954	20 years	1955 – ?
Minarik Jan	1927		US		25 years	
Mišut Ladislav	1923		US	June 1953	18 years	5. 3. 1954 – ?
Moravčík Pavel	1921		US		18 years 5 years	October 1954 – ? 25. 4. 1957 (re-tried) – ?
Mrázek Jan	1909		UK		5 years	8. 3. 1960 – 10. 5. 1960
Müller Otto	1933		US		16 years	9. 8. 1954 – ?
Mutňanský Ladislav	1913		US		25 years	1952 – ?
Najman Josef	1923		UK		20 years	30. 12. 1949 – 2. 2. 1957
Nejdl Ervin	1927		FR	20. 5. 1951	25 years	July 1952 – ?
Němčický Josef	1922		FR		25 years	27. 3. 1949 – 22. 2. 1963
Nerad Miloslav	1921		US		20 years	28. 8. 1951 – ?
Nettl Robert	1890	1960	UK		7 years	14. 8. 1957 – 18. 1. 1960 (died)
Neuman Eduard	1932		US		15 years	31. 5. 1954 – ?
Nezval Rostislav	1928		FR		15 years	15. 8. 1951 – 12. 5. 1960
Novák Vladimír	1927		US		14 years	14. 8. 1951 – 10. 5. 1960
Novotný Oldřich	1924		FR	June 1949	25 years	
Nýdrle Jaroslav	1919		US		18 years	26. 10. 1954 – 18. 12. 1959
Nyklíček Vilém	1932	1953	UK	12. 6. 1952		
Ociepka Oldřich	1928		US	15. 5. 1951	23 years	20. 12. 1951 – ?
Palma Vladimír	1927	1952	UK		death sentence	executed 8. 7. 1952
Palounek Štěpán	1914	1958	UK			died in prison 3. 4. 1958
Papaj Karel	1921		US	28. 2. 1962	22 years	13. 11. 1952 – 10. 5. 1962
Papala Václav	1922		US		22 years	
Paštěka František	1923		US	31. 12. 1948	life in prison	1. 7. 1949 – ?
Pavlíček František	1902		US	1951	16 years	8. 2. 1952 – 19. 11. 1959
Pavlovič Petr	1922		US		25 years	1953 – ?

Surname, Name	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Intelligence Service	Date of Arrest	Convicted to	Imprisoned
Pavlů Bohuslav	1922	1950	US			shot on arrest 17. 5. 1950
Pešek Jiří	1924		UK		5 years	28. 2. 1957 – 10. 5. 1960
Petrek Anton	1923		US	October 1949	25 years (reduced to 12 years on pardon)	14. 7. 1950 – 8. 7. 1959
Poláček Alois	1916		UK		25 years	8. 6. 1951 – ?
Poláček Václav	1899	1961	UK		25 years	12. 11. 1954 – 23. 12. 1961 (died)
Polák Gustav	1928		US	3. 10. 1953	25 years	27. 4. 1954 – ?
Popelka Antonín	1927		US	2. 1. 1950	15 years	? – ?
Popelka František	1910	1963	US		18 years	2. 11. 1955 – 30. 6. 1963 (died)
Pospišil Jaroslav	1922		FR	11. 6. 1949	20 years	11. 6. 1949 – 13. 9. 1963
Pospišil Vladimír	1913		US		death sentence (reduced 20 years)	19. 12. 1952 – ?
Potoček Josef	1906	1956	UK		death sentence	executed 1956
Potonec Jan	1920		US		15 years	26. 10. 1956 – ?
Požgay Karol	1924		US		4 years	1950 – ?
Princ Josef	1923	1951	UK			shot on December 1951
Procházka Alois	1902	1960	UK		17 years	1959 – 6. 5. 1960 (died)
Prokop Jiří	1933		UK		20 years	8. 10. 1957 – ?
Pščočka Rudolf	1923		FR		life in prison	30. 3. 1951 – ?
Půček Robert	1921	1950	US		death sentence	executed 20. 2. 1950
Ramisch Josef	1928		US		life in prison	8. 4. 1955 – ?
Randák Josef	1919		US, UK	1950	20 years	18. 9. 1951 – 1. 9. 1960
Regec Jan	1919		UK		20 years	18. 9. 1951 – 1. 9. 1960
Rechtík Jan	1924		US	13. 9. 1952	20 years	30. 12. 1953 – ?
Rendl Emanuel	1924		UK		17 years	13. 5. 1950 – 11. 5. 1960
Rokycanská Helena	1923	1952	US		death sentence	executed 6. 2. 1952
Rokycanská-Kulisková Matylda	1909		UK		15 years	3. 9. 1959 – 31. 3. 1960
Rokycanský Josef	1903	1960	UK		16 years	3. 9. 1959 – 10. 5. 1960
Rosůlek Miroslav	1904		UK		11 years	3. 9. 1959 – 10. 5. 1960
Roušar František	1922		US	29. 7. 1950	life in prison	?
Rudle Miroslav	1924		UK		7 years	12. 3. 1957 – 11. 5. 1960
Růžička František	1895		US		5 years	12. 7. 1957 – 12. 5. 1960

Surname, Name	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Intelligence Service	Date of Arrest	Convicted to	Imprisoned
Ryneš Zdeněk	1925		US		20 years	15. 11. 1949 – 24. 12. 1960
Řezníček Rudolf	1931		US		12 years	6. 10. 1953 – ?
Řiha Josef	1910		US		20 years (reduced to 10 years on pardon)	10. 8. 1951 – 21. 12. 1957
Sabol (Sabola) Ján	1925		US		18 years	18. 4. 1953 – ?
Salajka Jaroslav	1928		US	August 1950	22 years	27. 9. 1950 – ?
Salajka Ludvík	1921		UK			1948 – 27. 11. 1949 (escaped)
Sasina Stanislav	1914		UK	17. 2. 1949	7 years	? – 25. 2. 1954
Setunský Karol	1920		US		22 years	19. 12. 1953 – ?
Schmied Alfréd	1926		FR		25 years	1. 8. 1956 – ?
Schneider Karel	1913		US		6 years	July 1954 – May 1960
Sikoň Marian	1922		US		16 years	15. 1. 1954 – ?
Sita Hans	1930		US		15 years	? – 17. 2. 1960
Sita Hanuš	1934		FR		8 years	22. 11. 1952 – 7. 10. 1955
Slavík Juraj	1934		US		8 years	22. 1. 1952 – ?
Sršeň Josef (dříve Schön)	1919		US		18 years (reduced to 12 years)	
Stošek Vilém	1911		UK		22 years	9. 1. 1953 – 10. 3. 1960
Strečanský Ernest	1924		UK	11. 11. 1952	16 years	2. 7. 1954 – 11. 5. 1960
Sünderhauf Robert	1924		US	1952	25 years	1953 – ?
Sutý (Suchý) Alois	1928		US	14. 11. 1951	life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	12. 1. 1952 – ?
Svoboda Jan	1924	1951	US	9. 4. 1950	death sentence	executed 15. 4. 1951
Sýkora Gustav	1897		US	January 1950	20 years	6. 6. 1950 – 10. 5. 1960
Syrovátka Václav	1914		US		20 years	9. 6. 1955 – ?
Šebesta Věroslav	1904		UK		25 years	29. 8. 1950 – ?
Šelais (Šlais?) Miloš	1927		US		25 years	19. 6. 1952 – ?
Šenkyřík Miloslav			US		20 years	22. 12. 1950 – 19. 12. 1962
Šída Petr	1934		UK		4 years 20 years	1954 – 30. 6. 1956 4. 3. 1959 – ?
Šif Václav	1932		US		10 years	12. 6. 1952 – 5. 3. 1954
Šilhart František	1911		US		14 years	3. 5. 1951 – ?
Šilhavý Karel	1901		US		25 years	9. 1. 1953 – ?
Šíma Rudolf	1931	1951	US	1. 10. 1950		suicide 27. 2. 1951

Surname, Name	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Intelligence Service	Date of Arrest	Convicted to	Imprisoned
Šimek František	1921		US		7 years	17. 5. 1949 – ? (escaped)
Šimon Štefan	1926		US		19 years	15. 12. 1953 – ?
Šimůnek Leo	1927	1955	US		10 years	8. 7. 1952 – 1955 (died)
Škeřík František	1923		US		8 years	4. 9. 1953 – 6. 3. 1957
Škrábek Karel	1899		US		8 years	12. 7. 1957 – 11. 5. 1960
Škvára Josef	1919		FR		11 years	
Škvarek Andrej	1915		US		23 years	9. 6. 1955 – ?
Šlajs Václav	1920		US		22 years	4. 10. 1951 – ?
Šonský Ivo	1929		US		23 years	3. 7. 1951 – ?
Špírk Ferdinand	1931		US		22 years	18. 10. 1951 – ?
Štastný Jaroslav	1904		US		22 years	9. 5. 1951 – ?
Štěch Josef	1932		US		22 years 5 years	18. 2. 1955 – ? (escaped) 25. 4. 1957 – ? re-arrested and convicted
Štenc Bohumír	1921		US		life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	27. 1. 1954 – ?
Štěpán Jindřich	1920		US		8 years 25 years	20. 9. 1951 – ? 9. 6. 1955 – ? re-tried
Štípek Karel	1935		US		8 years	11. 11. 1952 – ?
Švihla Květoslav	1926		US	26. 11. 1949	life in prison (reduced to 25 years)	17. 1. 1950 – 11. 5. 1960
Tihlarik Alexandr	1933		US		15 years	29. 8. 1951 – 7. 3. 1963
Tichý Blahoslav	1933		US		16 years	1953 – 1958
Tichý Bohdan	1933		UK		25 years	18. 4. 1956 – ?
Tomášek Václav	1921		UK		14 years 2 years + remainder of punishment	? – 10. 5. 1960 22. 9. 1961 – ?
Totka Ferdinand	1932		US		20 years 4 years	
Toužimský Jaroslav	1923		US		22 years	22. 2. 1952 – ?
Triebe Vilém	1935		US		15 years	12. 9. 1956 – ?
Tschiesche Emil	1923		US		8 years	19. 1. 1954 – ?
Tuček Jaroslav	1923	1959	US		18 years	21. 8. 1952 – 24. 11. 1959 (died)
Udržal Rudolf	1923		UK		15 years	20. 10. 1953 – 10. 5. 1962
Úlehla Jan	1923		US		12 years	4. 7. 1951 – 10. 5. 1960
Urban Václav	1919	1950	FR			shot on escape 1950

Surname, Name	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Intelligence Service	Date of Arrest	Convicted to	Imprisoned
Valášek Václav	1900		US		18 years	17. 6. 1955 – ?
Valenta Bohuslav	1930		US	3. 9. 1954	25 years	
Vaněk Josef	1923		US		20 years	12. 11. 1923 – ?
Vaňha Antonín	1919		US		20 years	5. 12. 1951 – May 1960
Vaniš Jiří	1920		UK		17 years	2. 4. 1959 – ?
Varga Kazimír	1932		US		20 years 7 years	27. 10. 1951, re-tried, 29. 5. 1957 – 15. 10. 1957
Velich Vladimír	1925		US		17 years	31. 5. 1954 – ?
Veselý Jiří	1897		US		3 years	12. 7. 1957 – 10. 4. 1959
Vlček Václav	1929	1958	US		20 years	10. 4. 1952 – 6. 12. 1958 (suicide)
Vodzik Michal	1931		US		24 years	18. 10. 1951 – ?
Voldřich Milan	1933		US		20 years	16. 2. 1955 – ?
Vondráček Eduard	1925		US		23 years	24. 10. 1955 – ?
Vondráček Josef	1921		UK		25 years	8. 3. 1957 – ?
Vršecký Jaroslav	1905		UK		12 years	1948 – 30. 5. 1955
Vůjta Jan	1924		UK		15 years	27. 1. 1956 – 10. 5. 1960
Vurser Vlastimil	1928	1958	US	13. 4. 1953	20 years	10. 9. 1953 – 20. 12. 1958 (died)
Vuršr Vlastimil	1927		FR		25 years	23. 8. 1949 – 12. 5. 1960
Záhora Jan	1927		US		25 years	23. 8. 1949 – 12. 5. 1960
Zahradník Jan	1922		FR		25 years	26. 11. 1954 – ?
Zámečník Bohumil	1906		US		12 years	29. 1. 1953 – 11. 5. 1960
Zbavítel Gustav	1922		UK		22 years	4. 1. 1952 – ?
Zeman Jiří	1926		US	April 1951	life in prison	1. 2. 1952 – ?
Zeman Josef	1931		US		18 years	3. 4. 1952 – ?
Zeman Titus	1921		US		10 years	30. 5. 1957 – 10. 5. 1960
Zemánek Miloš	1915		US		25 years	22. 2. 1952 – ?
Zika Josef	1924		US	1949	life in prison	1949 – ?
Zorvan Jan	1920	1951	UK			shot 17. 3. 1951
Žabka Štefan	1909		US		20 years	26. 8. 1952 – ?
Žáček Ján	1904		US		6 years	16. 3. 1956 – ?
Žucha Imrich	1927	1960	US		4 years	18. 7. 1957 – 12. 5. 1960 suicide



COURT TRIALS

Punishments for participation in the international resistance belonged among the most severe.

Occasionally, the cases of “agent-walkers” were used in public propaganda campaigns aimed against the West and intended to intimidate potential regime opponents. Punishments in such trials were some of the most severe.

A trial with eight couriers took place before the State Court in Prague between January 10-12, 1952. Staff Captain Milan Moučka, Chief of Investigation Sector VI.B, who had previously directed Milada Horáková’s trial, put the group together deliberately and prepared the structure of the trial. Moučka also proposed to publicize the trial.

Those sentenced for high treason and espionage were: former deputy district commander of the National Security Corps (SNB) in Tachov **Jan Hošek** (*1904) - death sentence; **Emanuel Rendl** (*1923) - death sentence; **Jaroslav Dvořák** (*1930) - death sentence; **Josef Liška** (*1922) - death sentence; **Petr Čížek** (*1913) - death sentence; **František Kroc** (*1924) - life sentence; **Robert Sünderhauf** (*1928) - life sentence; and **František Dolínek** (*1915) - life sentence.

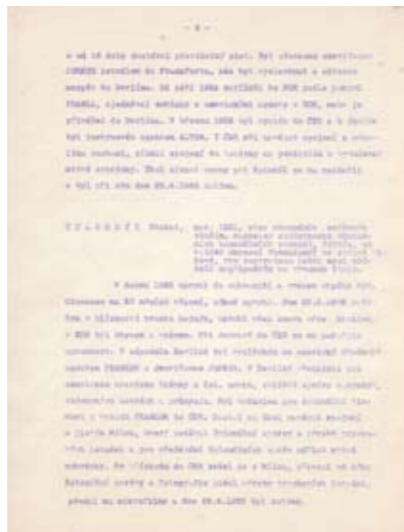
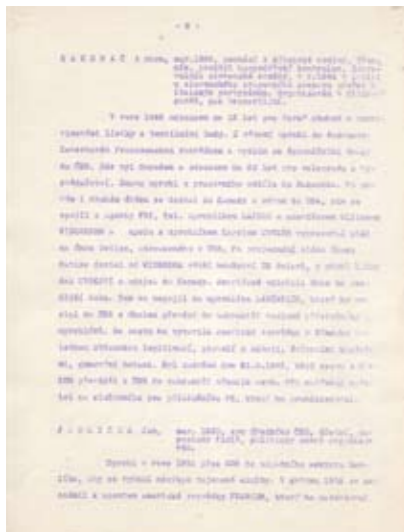
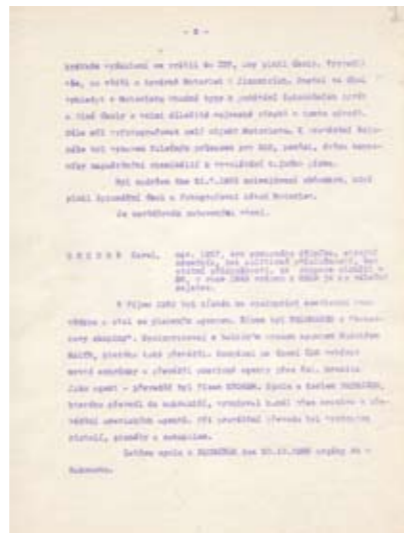
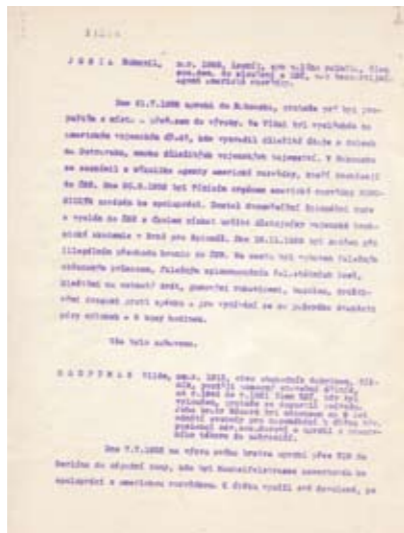
The capital punishment was executed in Prague-Pankrác on February 6, 1952.

SNB Lieutenant Jan Hošek left the country in January 1949 to avoid the consequences of his anti-regime activity. As a US Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) courier, he made at least nine trips to Czechoslovakia. He collected information, guided refugees, and built an intelligence network. He was arrested on the border on his way to Czechoslovakia towards the end of July 1951.

Emanuel Rendl was interrogated by the Gestapo during the Nazi occupation and later served in the Yugoslavian liberation army. He left the country in September 1949, and worked as a courier in František Bogataj’s group. He was arrested on the border while returning from what was likely his very first trip to Czechoslovakia in June 1951. He built an intelligence network on his way.

Laborer Jaroslav Dvořák left Czechoslovakia on his second attempt in August 1950. He was recruited for cooperation, probably by the CIC, took an intelligence course, and was sent to Czechoslovakia with intelligence assignments in November 1951. He was arrested on the border on his first trip, after firing at the border patrol. He lost an eye in the shooting.

Laborer Josef Liška was imprisoned during the Nazi occupation, and then again from 1950, allegedly for fraud. He escaped from a prison camp in the Jáchymov area to Germany in May 1951.



Worker and former SNB member Petr Čížek was sentenced in October 1949, allegedly for fraud. He escaped to Germany with Josef Liška and other prisoners in May 1951. František Bogataj recruited him and Liška for collaboration. After participating in training courses, they were both sent to Czechoslovakia in October 1951. They were arrested on October 4, 1951 while crossing the border.

Five other trials were staged for people who gave the accused help, information, and cooperation, and 32 people were sentenced.

Another fabricated trial was prepared in the spring of 1954. Its purpose was primarily to be preventive and intimidating.

Couriers Bohumil Joska, Vilém Hauptman, Jan Jedlička, and Otakar Kulendík were sentenced for long-term imprisonment in the “Kandrač and company” trial April 26-27, 1954. Anton Kandrač and Karel Gruber were sentenced to death and executed in Prague on May 29, 1954. The fellow convicts mostly did not even know each other - the “group” was fabricated and the trial was biased.

The statistics of victims on the part of couriers and their collaborators are still incomplete. Some 250 couriers were imprisoned; eleven died in prison afterwards. Nineteen couriers were executed, and at least seven died on the border.



▲ Proposal of the Minister of the Interior for the staging of the trial with couriers in April 1954.

▲ Falsified I.D. document of Anton Kandrač in the name of Jožo Medveď.



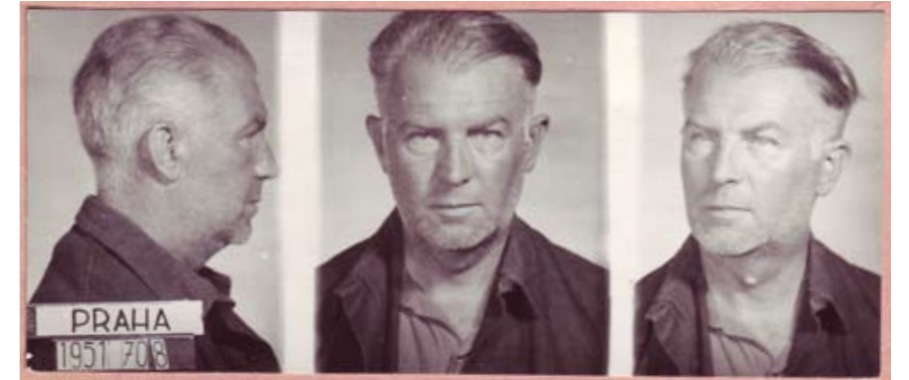
▲ Photographs of the courier František Dolínek from his State Security (StB) investigation file.



▲ Falsified ID card of the courier Jan Hošek.



▲ Photograph of Jan Hošek in his National Security Corps (SNB) uniform.



▲ Photographs of the courier Jan Hošek from his StB investigation file.



▲ Photographs of the courier Jaroslav Dvořák from his StB investigation file. His wound caused by the shooting on the state border is apparent in the picture.



▲ Falsified Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSČ) membership ID card in the name of Jiří Jirásek, the cover name of Jaroslav Dvořák.

▶ Jan Hošek at the head of the SNB unit.



▲ Falsified ID card of Jaroslav Dvořák, in the name of Jiří Jirásek.

▶ Jan Hošek's equipment.





▲ Falsified ID card of the courier Josef Liška.



▲ Photographs of the courier Emanuel Rendl from his StB investigation file.



▲ Falsified ID card of Emanuel Rendl, in the name of Jiří Hron.



▲ Photographs of the courier Josef Liška from his StB investigation file.



▲ Falsified KSČ membership card in the name of Karel Vyžhrálek, the cover name of Josef Liška.



▲ Photographs of the courier Emanuel Rendl from his StB investigation file.



▲ Photographs of the courier Petr Čížek from his StB investigation file.



▲ Photographs of the courier František Kroc from his StB investigation file. Kroc was sent from abroad to guide Jana Horáková out of Czechoslovakia.

ze dne 13. zari 1950 se pokusil o ille
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SELECTED COURIER BIOGRAPHIES



Josef Hasil was born in Zábrdí near Prachatice on 8 February 1924. He joined the Communist Party in 1945, was a National Security Corps (SNB) sergeant, and served with the Zvonková border unit in the District of Český Krumlov. The State Court in Prague sentenced him to 9 years pursuant to Act No. 50/1923 Coll. on February 2, 1949. The reason was that on October 20, 1948, he and Sgt. Zdeněk Výleta deserted to Germany, guiding three refugees for compensation. They were arrested upon return from Germany on October 25, 1948.

Hasil served his time in a labor camp in Dolní Jiřetín near Most. On May 9, 1949, he and a fellow convict fled the site of the Kolumbus Mine and left for Germany. He worked as a courier, crossing the border many times. His success earned him the “King of Šumava” moniker. Many of Hasil’s collaborators in

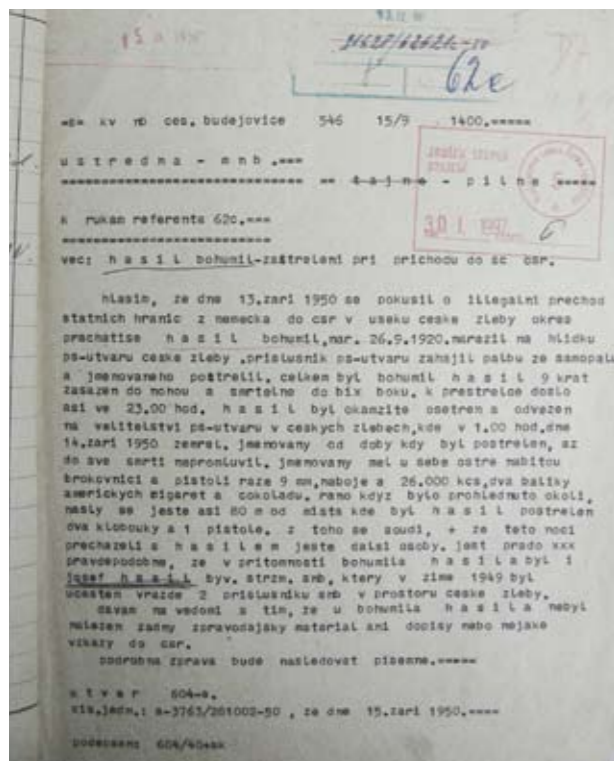
Czechoslovakia were persecuted and sentenced to many years’ imprisonment. On December 7, 1949 he was involved in a shooting against SNB members near České Žleby in the Prachatice District. Junior SNB Sgt. Rudolf Kočí was shot, and Junior Sgt. František Háva seriously injured by gunfire.

Josef Hasil’s older brothers Julius (*1915) and Bohumil (*1920) also crossed the border. A Zábrdí baker, Julius Hasil sheltered his brother and other couriers. He fled to Germany to avoid arrest in December 1949 and became a courier. Butcher Bohumil Hasil also left the country in December 1949. The US Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) recruited him at the Valka camp. A border guard shot him attempting to cross the border on September 13, 1950.

Josef Hasil stopped his activity in 1953 and left for the US, where he lives to date. The President of the Czech Republic awarded him with the Heroism Medal in 2001.



Štěpán Gavenda was born in Vizovice on 25 June 1920. He was a locksmith engineer by vocation; during adolescence he had had several petty collisions with the law and had stayed in a youth detention center. He tried to reach the Czechoslovak army abroad in the spring of 1942 via Slovakia, but was caught on the border and sentenced by a German court to 7 months in prison for attempting to cross the border. He got involved in guerrilla activities towards the end of the war and was injured. The SNB arrested him on April 3, 1948, and interrogated him for crossing the border. Fearing persecution, he left for Germany, helping three friends to escape from prison and bringing them along.



▲ Report on the shooting of Bohumil Hasil.



▲ Štěpán Gavenda as photographed for his StB case file.

He went through several refugee camps, the last being Ludwigsburg, where the CIC recruited him for intelligence work in November 1948. František Bogataj was his case officer. He crossed the border between 25 and 30 times for the CIC, guiding about 65 refugees to Germany.

Štěpán Gavenda was arrested in Prague on October 1, 1949. Following the investigation, he was sentenced to death by the State Court in Prague for high treason and espionage on June 23, 1950; an amnesty of December 10, 1952 changed his sentence to life imprisonment.

On January 2, 1952, he broke through the wall of the feared Leopoldov prison with Josef Heřmanský, Jaroslav Bureš, John Hvasta, Pravomil Reichel, and Josef Chalupa. On the run, Gavenda disarmed and neutralized a gamekeeper who tried to hold the group up. Except for Heřmanský, they all reached Germany safely. American-Slovak John Hvasta was granted asylum at the US Embassy in Prague.

Gavenda testified to the StB that he met his case officer, František Bogataj, AKA “Frank,” in Cham on 1 February 1952. He told him – and RFE later on – everything about the situation in prisons, in Leopoldov, and in Czechoslovakia. Bogataj no longer trusted him, so he contacted Lucian, the head of the Polish intelligence organization. But Lucian probably did not trust him either, so Gavenda contacted the CIC agent Jan Cizík, and was sent on a mission to collect information in Czechoslovakia on October 19, 1952. He crossed the border to the DDR in the Hora Svaté Kateřiny area, and Soviet Army soldiers caught him on the border between East and West Germany on 5 November 5, 1952. After his arrest, Štěpán Gavenda made use of the situation, disarmed his escorts and fled, but was captured again following a short pursuit. He was transported from the DDR to Czechoslovakia on 10 March 1953.

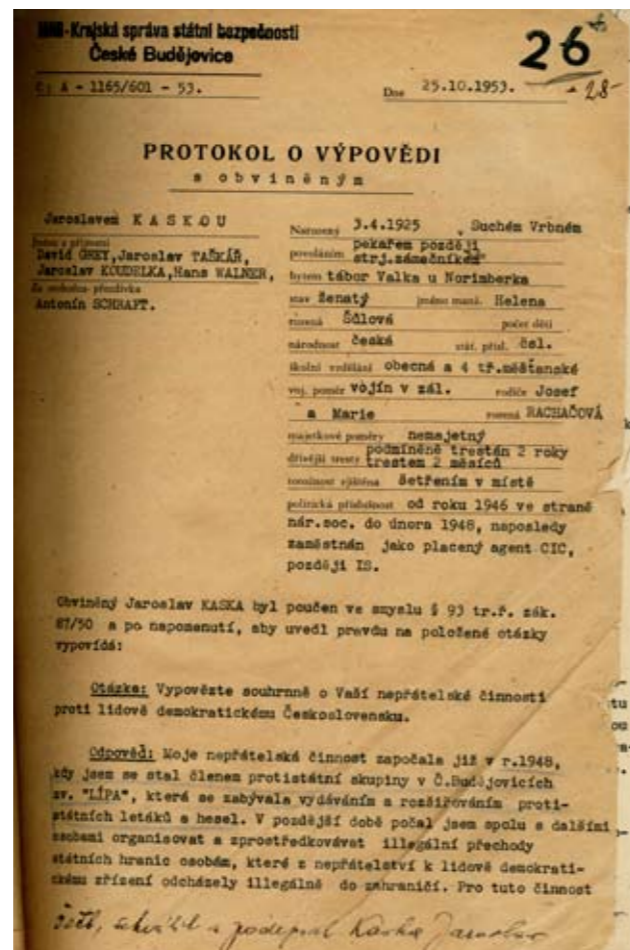
He reportedly said during the investigation: “I have nothing to say in my defense, and I conducted all of my illegal anti-state activity on purpose and with a clear view to damaging the current people’s democratic regime as much as possible.”

Gavenda said during the main hearing before the Regional Court in Uherské Hradiště on 15 April 1954: “I cannot say today if the idea of working in espionage again occurred to me while still hiding in the country following my escape from prison in Leopoldov. But when I succeeded in crossing the border and was in West Germany, I was determined to join the service as an agent again. This is why I called up my boss, František Bogataj. I did not abandon the idea of espionage even having been rejected by František Bogataj first and the Polish espionage service later. For that reason I negotiated with Jan Cizík, the purpose of which was to make him help me get into the country.”

The Regional Court in Uherské Hradiště sentenced Štěpán Gavenda to death on April 15, 1954. He was executed in the Prague-Pankrác prison on June 28, 1954.



▲ Photograph from the StB case file showing courier Jaroslav Kaska demonstrating the hidden potassium cyanide tablet following his arrest.



▲ First page of minutes taken with Jaroslav Kaska.

Jaroslav Kaska was born in Suché Vrbné in 1925. He was a laborer and a member of the SNB briefly in 1945. After February 1948 he was a member of the Lípa illegal resistance group in České Budějovice, printing and distributing anti-Communist leaflets and guiding refugees. Kaska faced the threat of arrest, so he deserted to West Germany from his army service in 1949. Col Alois Šeda recruited him for the CIC at the Lechfeld refugee camp in March 1949. Kaska would walk to Czechoslovakia with his friend Jan Mašek. They set up a network of about 60 people in the České Budějovice and Prague regions; it collected relatively valuable economic and military information. He made nine cross-border trips for the CIC. In the latter half of 1950, Kaska joined the UK's IS service, under the direction of case officer Václav Cukr. Kaska initially recruited new collaborators at the Valka refugee camp. After a long hiatus, he left for Czechoslovakia again in August 1951. Upon his return on August 17, 1951, he and Mašek were arrested by Red Army soldiers in Austria. Following a nine-month imprisonment in the USSR, he was transferred to the StB in Čop on 14 May 1952.

Kaska had a separate trial, and the Higher Military Court in Prague sentenced him to life for high treason and espionage on 8 April 1954. The Regional Court in České Budějovice sentenced Jan Mašek for life on 27 April 1954, and seven of their domestic collaborators were sentenced to two to fourteen years. The StB's attempts to exploit him in prison as a collaborator for an intelligence game with the British intelligence service were to no avail. Kaska's motivation for contacting the StB was an attempt to help his imprisoned mother and sister.

Jaroslav Kaska held a consciously anti-regime position. The number of his cross-border trips and intelligence achievements make him a major courier personality.

Vladimír Lutovský, AKA "Láďa Lukeš", was born in 1923. A farmer in Libějice near Tábor, he joined the resistance as a guide for refugees and couriers after February 1948. He shot an StB member attempting to arrest him in 1950 and left the country. He would then cross the border until 1952 as a CIC courier for Moravec's group. He shot a border guard member during one incident. He lived in the US after the group discontinued its activities, and returned to Czechoslovakia after 1989.



CONCLUSION

The last detected occurrences of couriers crossing the border date to the latter half of the 1950's. The fateful year 1956 demonstrated with finality that there would be no war. The West did not respond to the uprising in Hungary. The border was impenetrable. Conversely, legal trips between the East and the West were becoming more frequent, and intelligence services therefore started focusing on utilizing these legal channels, or "white lines."

Jaroslav Huml emigrated to the FRG on May 24, 1956. He was recruited by the Military Intelligence Service (MIS), which sent him to Czechoslovakia nineteen times between 1956 and 1960. His task was to obtain information of a military nature. He would travel from West Berlin via the DDR to the Czechoslovak border, which he would cross. He used the same path on his way back.

In reality, StB agent Jaroslav Huml had been secretly slipped into the US intelligence service thanks to Vilém Jelínek, another StB agent at MIS headquarters. The StB recorded - and later publicized - his case as "Action East" ("Východ").

Summary of intelligence operations, 1948-1956

What meaning did the couriers' dangerous trips have? Involvement in the resistance undoubtedly contributed to the liberation of Czechoslovakia and renewal of democracy and freedom, especially in the first few years after February 1948. Given the era in which they took place, we can only guess what importance the information obtained held within the confused Cold War environment. In the event of a war between East and West, the operations would probably be appreciated as good preparation. There would be an established network of radio transmitters and informers on enemy territory.

However, the huge loss of life and thousands of lives affected forever by imprisonment force the question of how well and responsibly were those intelligence projects prepared and planned. Courier training was insufficient, especially in the initial period.

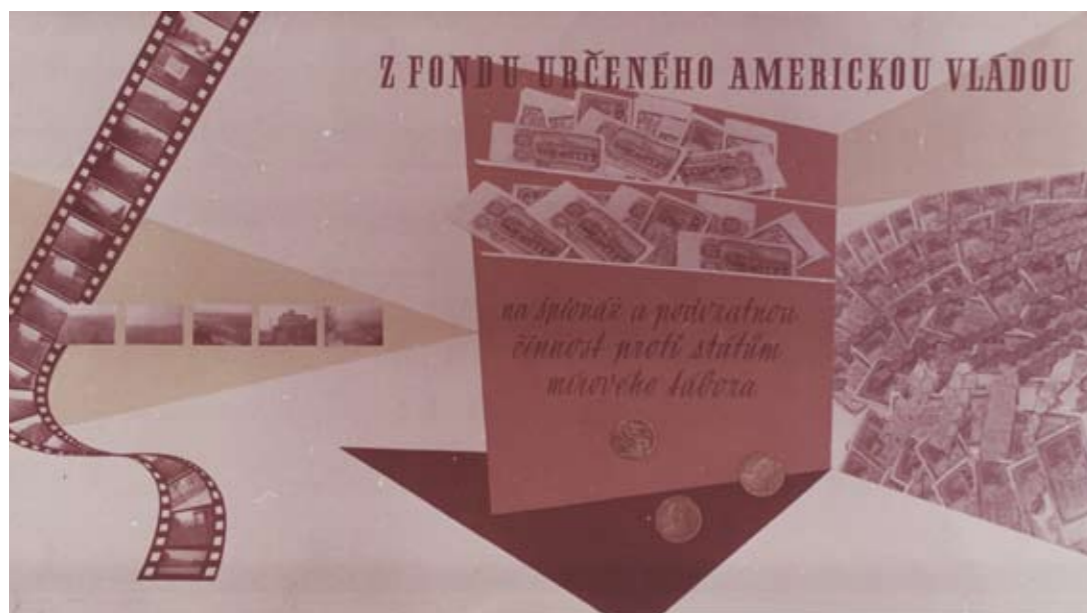
The couriers' trips across the borders of Czechoslovakia remain a challenge for us.

„The analysis of the covered cases of pedestrian agents brings up the question of whether American espionage could really obtain through them any information capable of disrupting the pursuit of socialism in our country. If we assess the agents' personal capabilities, their age, social position, and the possibilities for setting up relations with persons whose information could materially affect the interests of our economy, we reach the conclusion that the pedestrian agents were not the premier agents of American espionage - they

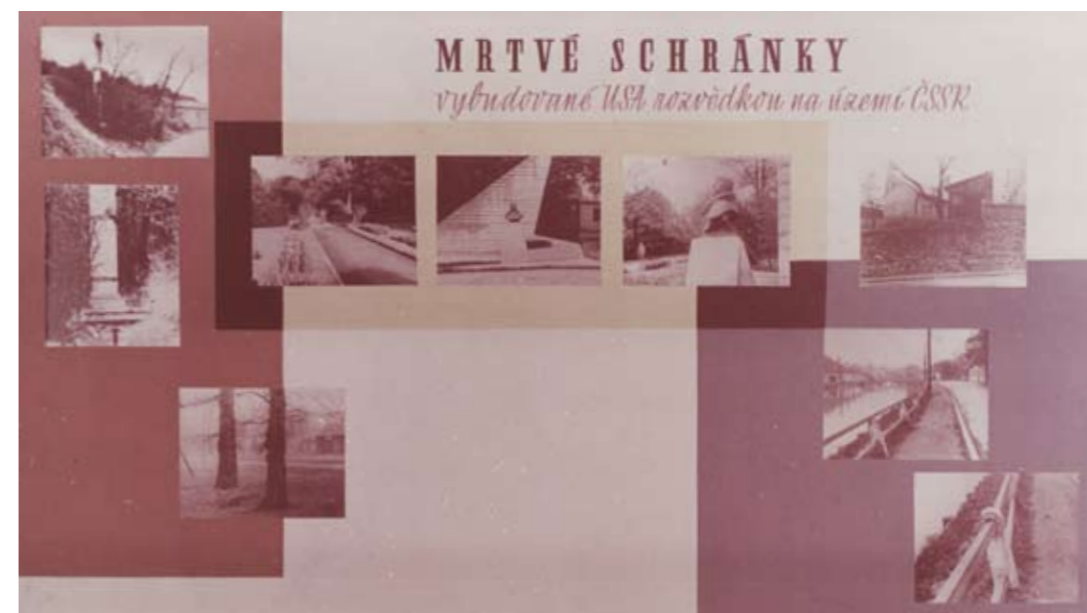


served merely to detract Czechoslovak security's attention from the chief American agency. This notion is supported by the fact that many agents were sent out without any training, without any particular tasks - just to try and see if they could cross the border and deliver on the assignments of their own will."

Report entitled the "American Espionage Agency", Study Institute of the Ministry of Interior, 12 November 1962.

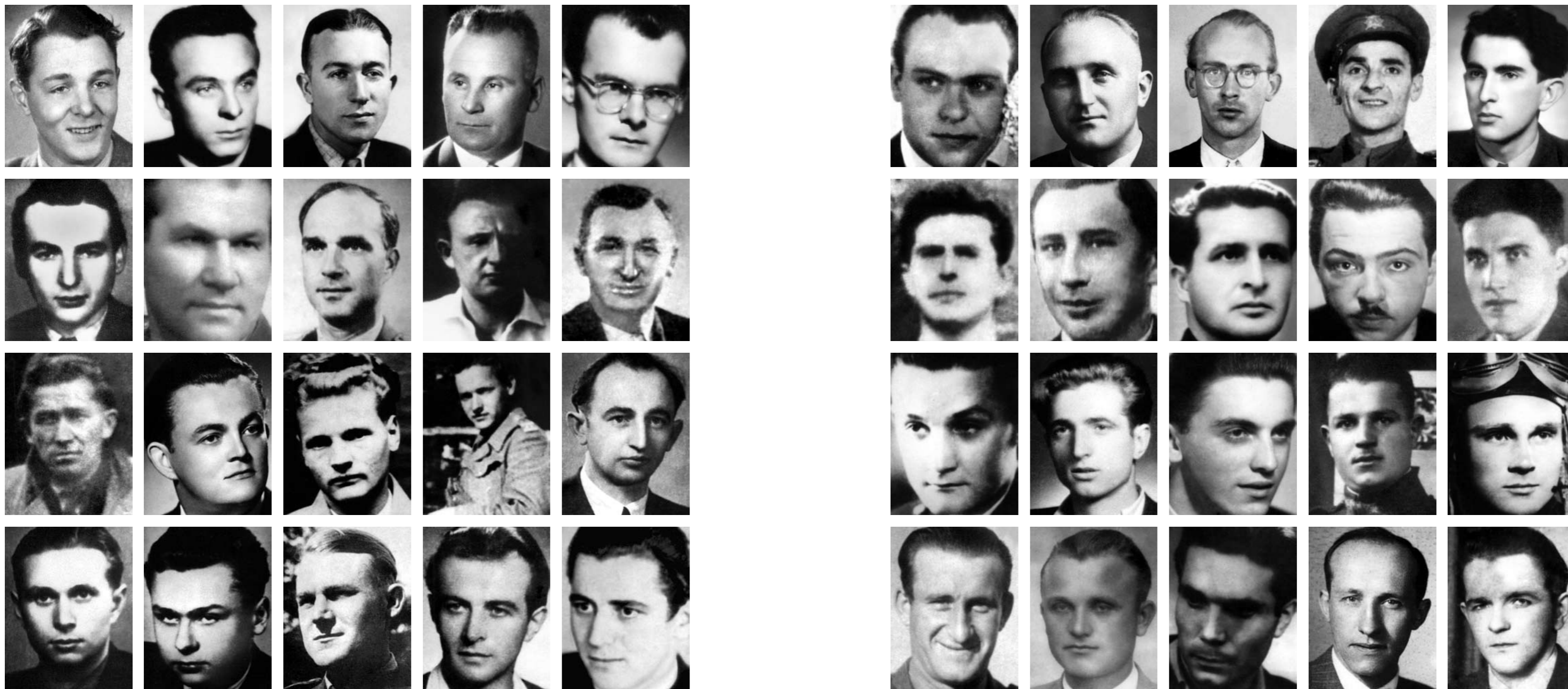


▲ Photographs of panels from the 1960s StB exhibition on Operation „East“.



▲ Photographs of panels from the 1960s StB exhibition on Operation „East“.

▲ Photographs of panels from the 1960s StB exhibition on Operation „East“.

















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- 1 Ing. Petr Alt - 1918
- 2 Bedřich Aust - 1926
- 3 Jan Bača - 1915
- 4 Karel Bádal - 1908
- 5 Zdeněk Bárta - 1918
- 6 Oldřich Bartošek - 1920
- 7 Otto Beitl - 1906
- 8 Rudolf Běleš - 1911
- 9 Štefan Betinský - 1930
- 10 František Bezděk - 1907
- 11 Josef Bicek - 1909
- 12 Vlastimil Bílek - 1921
- 13 Stanislav Bílý - 1928
- 14 Ladislav Bitala - 1925
- 15 Josef Bláha - 1921
- 16 Jaroslav Blažek - 1921
- 17 Miroslav Bodský - 1932
- 18 František Bogataj - 1913
- 19 Bedřich Böhm - 1921
- 20 František Braniš - 1922

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- 21 Jan Brychta - 1922
- 22 Alois Publík - 1916
- 23 Jaroslav Bureš - 1922
- 24 Josef Buršík - 1911
- 25 Václav Ceplecha - 1924
- 26 JUDr. Ladislav Comorek - 1918
- 27 Ladislav Čáky - 1921
- 28 Josef Čambalík - 1911
- 29 Zbyněk Čerych - 1925
- 30 Anton Čermák - 1907
- 31 Karel Černý - 1914
- 32 Oldřich Černý - 1923
- 33 Oldřich Černý - 1926
- 34 Jan Červenák - 1900
- 35 Josef Dado - 1926
- 36 Jan Daněch - 1928

- 37 František Daněk - 1917
- 38 Viktor Dernesch - 1924
- 39 Antonín Dolejš - 1915
- 40 Jan Done - 1930

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- 41 Karel Douba - 1919
- 42 Rudolf Drbohlav - 1914
- 43 Václav Duda - 1922
- 44 Karel Dufek - 1912
- 45 Josef Dvořák - 1913
- 46 Jan Džubák - 1924
- 47 Imrich Eröš - 1918
- 48 Štefan Fabera - 1909
- 49 Miroslav Fajkoš - 1926
- 50 Velen Fanderlík - 1907
- 51 Daniel Faško - 1919
- 52 Martin Ferenčič - 1932
- 53 Jiří Fiala - 1921
- 54 Jan Filip - 1914
- 55 Viktor Filípek - 1925
- 56 Štefan Fojtík - 1928
- 57 Leopold Foltýn - 1912
- 58 Jan Formánek - 1908
- 59 Ing. Evžen Francouz - 1919
- 60 Dr. Rudolf Fraštacký - 1912

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- 61 František Gajda - 1933
- 62 Jaroslav Gajdoš - 1921
- 63 Andrej Garžík - 1913
- 64 Josef Garžík - 1911
- 65 Josef Gottwald - 1902
- 66 Otto Gráf - 1907
- 67 Josef Had - 1927
- 68 Leopold Hájiček - 1927
- 69 František Hainz - 1922
- 70 František Hašek - 1916
- 71 Josef Hasil - 1924

- 72 Julius Hasil - 1915
- 73 František Hason - 1916
- 74 Zoltán, Josef Hawasch (Havas) - 1920
- 75 František Hesík - 1913
- 76 František Hykš - 1927
- 77 Otto Hüttl 1904
- 78 Oldřich Haldík - 1899
- 79 Stanislav Hucháň (Alino) - 1930

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- 80 Naděžda Hodrová - 1925
- 81 Jaroslav Holan - 1919
- 82 Bohuslav Holý - 1925
- 83 Ing. Jaromír Holman - 1902
- 84 Rudolf Honek - 1924
- 85 Leopold Horecký - 1911
- 86 Miroslav Horňák - 1926
- 87 Emil Horvath - 1906
- 88 Josef Horvát - 1908
- 89 Josef Hošek - 1926
- 90 Josef Hrabáček - 1925
- 91 Dr. Zdenko Hradský - 1903
- 92 Miroslav Hrnčíř - 1910
- 93 Václav Hrneček - 1904
- 94 Rudolf Hrubý - 1928
- 95 Ignác Huck - 1923
- 96 Eduard Husár - 1927
- 97 Ondrej Hušek - 1929
- 98 Štefan Húšek - 1925
- 99 Miroslav Chaloupka - 1928
- 100 Josef Chalupa - 1920

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- 101 Alois Chlebana - Turak - 1927
- 102 Josef Chudý - 1920
- 103 Dr. Emil Jamrich - 1919
- 104 Břetislav Jandásek - 1922
- 105 Stanislav Janeček - 1922
- 106 Stanislav Jánský - 1928

107 Pavel Jáša - 1934
108 Miroslav Jelínek - 1923
109 Karel Jentscher 1912
110 Jiří Jílek - 1906
111 Alois Jiroušek - 1908
112 Karel Juriček - 1914
113 Miroslav Kabela - 1938
114 Stanislav Kábrt - 1922
115 Jan Kantor - 1934
116 Dr. Vojtěch Karas - 1917
117 Josef Kerak - 1914
118 Jindřich Kettner - 1932
119 Václav Klabík - 1901

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120 Jan Klán - 1911
121 Adolf Klimek - 1897
122 Arnold Klinček - 1908
123 Miloš Knor - 1918
124 František Kocián - 1923
125 Vlastimil Kocian 1928
126 František Koldinský - 1928
127 Antonín Kolíšek - 1920
128 Jaroslav Konvalinka - 1911
129 Ladislav Kopal - 1930
130 Florián Kopiar - 1930
131 Josef Kopic - 1931
132 Ladislav Kordík - 1922
133 František Kostolány - 1915
134 František Kotlík - 1928
135 Amand Koukola - 1933
136 Vojtěch Kováč - 1925
137 Jaroslav Kovanda - 1913
138 Pavel Kratochvíl - 1911
139 Robert Kreisl - 1903
140 Anton Krivda - 1920

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141 Vladislav Křivohlavý - 1931
142 Rodolf Kršniak - 1910
143 Ludvík Krucký - 1922
144 Jan Kruntorád - 1901
145 Dr. Ing. Rudolf Krupička - 1911
146 Antonín Kuňák - 1912
147 Štefan Kurcin - 1921
148 Julius Kuropata - 1923
149 Josef Kvašay - 1926
150 Juraj Lacek - 1909
151 Václav Lacina - 1932
152 Dr. Branislav Lajda - 1917
153 JUDr. Oskar Landa - Kobr - 1896
154 Otto Lang - 1922
155 Jan Limberg - 1906
156 Michal Lokšík - 1897
157 Michal Lošonský - 1925
158 Jan Lukač - 1925
159 Vojtěch Lukáš - 1921
160 Leopold Lukašik - 1913

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161 Dr. Štefan Lukáč (Lukátš) - 1921
162 Vladimír Lutovský 1923
163 Ludovít Macák - 1921
164 Ludovít Macek - 1926
165 Robert Machač - 1926
166 Ladislav Malota - 1923
167 Josef Marek - 1912
168 Luděk Mařík - 1931
169 Vladislav Martínek - 1910
170 Jan Mazák - 1911
171 JUDr. Josef Majner - 1893
172 Josef Mičudík - 1920
173 Jaromír Michal - 1928
174 Karel Mikeš - 1917
175 Dr. Josef Mikula - 1915
176 Josef Mistrík - 1918

177 Luděk Molnár - 1927
178 Michal Molnár - 1924
179 František Moravec - 1895
180 Josef Mrázek - 1910

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181 Eervín Müller - 1929
182 Miroslav Murgaš
183 Cyril Musil - 1907
184 Emil Nástraha - 1907
185 Herbert Němec - 1916
186 František Novák - 1920
187 Jan Nový - 1919
188 František Nusko - 1920
189 Wiliam Oatis - 1914
190 Ján Oborčok - 1897
191 Josef Obselka - 1920
192 Ing. Jan Ohera - 1921
193 František Omasta - 1919
194 Dr. László Orban - 1918
195 Helga Orbanová, roz. Mimrová - 1923
196 Antonín Orlita - 1931
197 František Orlita - 1927
198 Václav Orlita - 1934
199 Pavel Orth - 1917
200 Josef Ostružka - 1923

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201 Rudolf Pačes - 1909
202 Andrej Parimucha - 1924
203 Antonín Paška - 1913
204 Adolf Paulík - 1923
205 Alois Paulovič - 1922
206 Lumír Pavlík - 1930
207 Marie Pekelská-Blaschtowitschová,
roz. Tomšů - 1920
208 František Petrjánoš - 1923
209 Miroslav Plaňava - 1909
210 Josef Planý - 1927

211 František Podlešák - 1924
212 Antonín Postupa - 1898
213 Josef Prekop - 1922
214 Jaroslav, Slavomil Příplata - 1928
215 Karel Procházka - 1905
216 Milan Prokop - 1926
217 Zdeněk Psota - 1930
218 Jan Puškáč - 1920
219 Jaroslav Rabinský - 1921
220 Josef Rampak - 1926

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221 Emil Ransdorf - 1920
222 Miloslav Rechciegel - 1904
223 Ivan Renner - 1923
224 Jiří Rener (Kohn - 1924
225 František Revesz - 1911
226 Ladislav Richter - 1912
227 Václav Roflík - 1921
228 Jiří Roubal - 1922
229 Karel Roudnický - 1897
230 František Runza - 1908
231 Miloslav Růt - 1924
232 Vladislav Saba - 1926
233 Václav Sedláček - 1919
234 JUDr. Jaroslav Schenk - 1906
235 Emanuel Schvamberger - 1920
236 Ernst Singer - 1924
237 Ladislav, Pavel Singer - 1922
238 Václav Skypala - 1922
239 Jan Slavík - 1912
240 Karel Slavík - 1921

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241 Ladislav Slavík - 1934
242 Zdeňka Smrčinová - 1931
243 Miroslav Snopek - 1933
244 Jiří Srnec - 1926
245 Oliver Stankovský - 1930

246 Josef Strečanský - 1910
247 Dr. Jaroslav Strnad - 1918
248 Jaroslav Stuchlý - 1913
249 Ludvík Světinský - 1921
250 Josef Šafus - 1895
251 Alois Šeda - 1908
252 Jan Ševčík - 1928
253 Josef Ševčík - 1906
254 Ing. Josef Šiftař - 1907
255 Rudolf Šíma - 1921
256 Josef Škobránek - 1929
257 Antonín Škubňa - 1922
258 Oldřich Škvor - 1920
259 Jan Šrotýř - 1915
260 Jiří Štokman - 1920

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261 František Štovíček - 1914
262 Miroslav Šulc - 1921
263 Karol Šumichrast - 1911
264 Juraj Šupol - 1920
265 František Šváb - 1927
266 Jaroslav Táborek - 1895
267 Vojtěch Tichý - 1920
268 Richard Tlach - 1927
269 Josef Trmal - 1927
270 Josef Trnka - 1932
271 Slavoj Trojan - 1924
272 Karel Truska - 1922
273 Bohumil Tůma - 1933
274 František Turek - 1913
275 Bohuslav Úlehla - 1927
276 František Ulrych - 1906
277 Miroslav Umlauf - 1926
278 Jan Urban - 1931
279 Julius Váca - 1913

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280 Jaroslav Václavík - 1910
281 Bohumil Valtr - 1912
282 Robert Valuch - 1920
283 Tomáš Vávra - 1913
284 František Včelka - 1909
285 František Weber - 1919
286 Miloš Vebr - 1919
287 Václav Vejsada - 1934
288 Mirko Vesel - 1903
289 Jiří Vincura - 1934
290 Václav Vinš - 1910
291 Jan Vrabel - 1926
292 Vojtěch Zaboř - 1922
293 Rudolf Zahradka - 1930
294 František Zelenka - 1914
295 Jindřich Zika - 1933
296 František Zimmel - 1920
297 Miloslav Zlámal - 1922
298 Anton Žáček - 1926
299 Antonín Žalio - 1918
300 Ing. Jan Žemla - 1900

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