COOPERATION BETWEEN THE HV A AND THE KGB, 1951–1989

Paul Maddrell

This chapter examines the relationship between the foreign intelligence service of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the Hauptverwaltung A (Main Directorate A, or HV A) and the First Chief Directorate (FCD) of the Soviet Union's Committee of State Security (Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti, KGB) and how it changed over time from the early 1950s until the GDR's collapse in 1989–90.[1] It analyzes cooperation in intelligence collection and in influence operations ("active measures," as both communist services called them), and considers the sense of identity of the intelligence officers on both sides that underpinned this cooperation.

Both the HV A and FCD were foreign intelligence services that collected clandestinely obtained information (human intelligence, known as Humint) from networks of agents abroad. They also sought to influence the politics of the states they targeted. They were relatively small divisions of large security agencies — the KGB, in the FCD's case, and the Ministry of State Security (Stasi, standing for Ministerium für Staatssicherheit), in the HV A's case. The Stasi was a security and intelligence service built on the Soviet model: domestic security and foreign intelligence collection were inseparable from one another. The objectives of the state security service were the maintenance of communist rule at home and destabilization of the "class enemy" abroad. In the GDR's case, the main "class enemy" was the Federal Republic of Germany (or West Germany), which was far and away the HV A's main area of operation.[2]

The basic aim of HV A-FCD relations was the communization of Germany. The FCD collaborated with the HV A to infiltrate and subvert the Federal Republic. The FCD's policy towards the Federal Republic was no different from its policy towards any other Western or non-aligned state: infiltration and subversion. However, the FCD did not have to operate alone against the Federal Republic; the GDR was a natural bridgehead. West Germany could most easily be infiltrated and subverted by East Germans. This led to the creation of the HV A in 1951. Thereafter, the FCD cooperated closely with it.

In short, like the other satellite services, the HV A played a role in the geographical division of the labor of undertaking intelligence

1   The HV A bore the letter "A" in emulation of the FCD's status within the KGB as the *First* Chief Directorate: see Helmut Müller-Enbergs, *Hauptverwaltung A (HV A). Aufgaben — Strukturen — Quellen* (Berlin, 2011), 41.

2   Peter Siebenmorgen, *"Staatssicherheit" der DDR. Der Westen im Fadenkreuz der Stasi* (Bonn, 1993), 98–100.

collection and subversion. The HV A was the most important satellite intelligence service, partly because it was the most successful of them and partly because it operated against the most important Western European state, the Federal Republic. The HV A's areas of operation were the Federal Republic and West Berlin, certain regions of Third World and, to some extent, the USA. It was successful in collecting in West Germany a huge amount of valuable political, economic, military, scientific, and technological information. The consumers of this information in the GDR proved less able to make good use of it. The HV A also had some limited success in influencing West German politics.

The HV A was more than a foreign intelligence service. It was a secret instrument by which the GDR's communist regime sought to interfere in and influence politics in West Germany. Its intelligence collection was meant to alter the balance of power between East and West in favor of the former. Intelligence collection from spies was its main task. What it chiefly sought from them were classified documents. At its peak, in the 1970s and early 1980s, its intelligence collection focused above all on obtaining political information on the Federal Republic's government and political parties; political and military information on alliances of which the Federal Republic was a member, chiefly the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Economic Community (EEC); and scientific and technological intelligence (S&TI), above all scientific research and data relating to advanced weaponry. By this time, it was collecting much valuable information on American targets in West Germany and West Berlin, although the Federal Republic always remained its principal target. As this tasking shows, it was very much a Soviet vehicle for strengthening the Warsaw Pact and its weaponry against the NATO threat. The S&TI collected was used in Soviet and East German weapons development. The military intelligence collected was passed to the GDR's armed forces and the Soviet Ministry of Defense. In practice, the HV A collected intelligence for the Soviet Union's General Staff, Ministry of Defense and military-industrial complex, via the KGB residency in Karlshorst.[3]

The HV A also engaged in counterintelligence, seeking to penetrate hostile intelligence services — those of West Germany, the United States and other NATO states — to gain intelligence on their operations and capabilities. It was very successful in penetrating West Germany's foreign intelligence service, the Bundesnachrichtendienst

3   Jens Gieseke, *Der Mielke-Konzern. Die Geschichte der Stasi, 1945–1990* (Munich, 2006), 218.

(Federal Intelligence Service, BND), and security service, the Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, BfV), and severely impaired their ability to operate effectively against the GDR. Above all, the HV A's counter-intelligence successes protected its own spies in West Germany: its agents in the counter-intelligence units of the BND and BfV revealed to it any developing security risk. The HV A also conducted extensive subversion and disinformation, particularly in West Germany. It was active outside Europe, sending advisers and instructors to selected Third World countries and national liberation movements.[4]

The Forms Cooperation Took

The relationship between the HV A and the FCD developed over time. A relationship of dependence and subordination had, by the late 1950s, given way to a more equal relationship, which was maintained until the HV A was dissolved in 1990 and KGB officers were allowed by the government of the Federal Republic to destroy most of the HV A's archive.

Most cooperation between the FCD and the foreign intelligence services of the Soviet Union's satellite states took place bilaterally. There were also multilateral conferences every four years, involving all the Eastern European services and the Cubans as well. The last was in East Berlin in 1988.[5] Multilateral conferences on the subject of active measures took place every year; there were many bilateral meetings as well.

Bilateral cooperation ensured that the Russians dominated the relationship and cooperation served principally their interests. For this reason, cooperation in all fields between the Soviet Union and its satellites tended to be bilateral. There was no alliance organization which united the intelligence services of all the satellites, serving as a counterpart to the Warsaw Pact Organization.[6] Nor was there one type of bilateral relationship between the KGB and the satellite services. Relations between them varied in closeness. The KGB's relationship with the Bulgarian Interior Ministry was even closer than its relationship with the Stasi and was one of complete subordination; the ministry was a dependency of the KGB. The Stasi was not only responsible to the KGB, of course; the leadership of the GDR's ruling communist party, the SED, also had a large say in intelligence matters.[7]

4   Siebenmorgen, *"Staatssicherheit" der DDR*, 120–21.

5   Werner Großmann, *Bonn im Blick* (Berlin, 2001), 160. The states whose intelligence services met there were the USSR, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Cuba, Vietnam, and Mongolia (Romania was not invited).

6   Siebenmorgen, *"Staatssicherheit" der DDR*, 107.

7   See the chapter by Walter Süß in this volume.

The FCD's superiority over the HV A was both intellectual and practical. The East German officers were from the origins of their service steeped in the intelligence tradition of the Soviet Union. The sense of identity which Soviet intelligence officers had was passed on to them. Since the GDR was a communist state, they were committed to serving the cause of communism. Soviet intelligence officers regarded themselves as the Communist Party's élite special fighters, or "Chekists" (after the first Soviet security and intelligence service, the Cheka, which was founded just after the Russian Revolution took place in November 1917). It was their job to spread the revolution.[8]

The HV A's subordination to the FCD was also practical. Plans for intelligence collection and active measures were drawn up by the leaderships of the HV A and FCD in Moscow. The FCD, as the senior partner, had the larger say in them. Above all, they served the interests of the USSR.

Cooperation took many forms. Firstly, annual plans were prepared in Moscow, for influence operations ("active measures") as well as foreign intelligence collection. This reflected communist practice in both the USSR and the GDR; everything was planned. The HV A leadership liaised with the FCD leadership and then passed on instructions to the various divisions of the service. Each department in the HV A dealt with its FCD counterpart and agreed on operations. Each also reported on operations and their success. Naturally, the FCD reported this success on to its leadership as its own, which created resentment among HV A officers. The FCD was a very bureaucratically minded partner: every operation planned by the HV A had to be made known to it by a proposal or at least by letter. Nevertheless, cooperation was genuine. The FCD laid down the general character of operations, and the HV A devised operations that fit this bill.[9]

Cooperation extended beyond the planning stage. There were joint operations, both in Humint collection and active measures. There were also operations running in parallel. Each side, in time, learned from the other. In the 1950s, the HV A, like the rest of the Stasi, learned its trade from the KGB, but the FCD proved willing to learn from its East German partners as well. The HV A and the rest of the Stasi also gave much valuable assistance to FCD operations to penetrate the Federal Republic. For example, they supplied the Karlshorst residency with East German "illegals" and agents.[10]

8   Jens Gieseke, *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit: Personalstruktur und Lebenswelt, 1950–1989/90* (Berlin, 2000), 127–28.

9   On the nature of this cooperation, see David Childs and Richard Popplewell, *The Stasi: The East German Intelligence and Security Service* (Basingstoke, 1996), 124–26; Hubertus Knabe, *Die unterwanderte Republik. Stasi im Westen* (Berlin, 1999), 113–16; Müller-Enbergs, *Hauptverwaltung A*, 108. See also Markus Wolf, *Spionagechef im geheimen Krieg: Erinnerungen* (Munich, 1997), 332.

10 Dirk Dörrenberg, "Erkenntnisse des Verfassungsschutzes zur Westarbeit des MfS," in *Das Gesicht dem Westen zu ...: DDR-Spionage gegen die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. Georg Herbstritt and Helmut Müller-Enbergs (Bremen, 2003), 88. "Illegal" was the Soviet intelligence term for an agent with a false identity in a targeted country who thus had no apparent connection to the Soviet government.

The HV A also handed over huge quantities of intelligence, much of it high-grade, to the FCD. This was a one-sided arrangement; the Russians gave little in return.[11] Almost all important information was sent to the FCD directly by the collection and analysis departments of the HV A.[12] Indeed, the Federal Republic was the only Western state on which the FCD received more high-grade intelligence from a partner service than it collected itself. The identities of the HV A's intelligence sources or agents of influence were all that it concealed from the Russians.[13] However, the KGB had its own network of sources in both the GDR and the Stasi and learned much that was not officially reported to it.[14]

Liaison and visits to one another were important to cooperation. An indication of how valuable the FCD considered liaison with the HV A to be is that its liaison officers were posted to East Berlin for long periods of time (usually about five years). Liaison was as one-sided as the transfer of intelligence. The FCD officers had HV A identity cards and could therefore visit the HV A department for which they were responsible whenever they wanted to. However, the HV A's officers could not visit the KGB headquarters in Berlin-Karlshorst whenever they wanted to. The KGB leadership also discouraged its staff from having private dealings with HV A officers. "German-Soviet friendship" was more propaganda than reality. Communication between the FCD and HV A was very frequent, however. The latter received correspondence about operations from Moscow every day.

The Development over Time of Cooperative Work between the HV A and FCD

Although the HV A's relationship with the FCD became a more equal relationship at the end of the 1950s, it never became one of full equality or partnership; the East Germans remained junior partners of the Russians.

There were no partner intelligence services in the USSR's satellite states in the years immediately after 1945. Neither satellite regimes nor satellite intelligence agencies had come into being, and the USSR's intelligence agencies operated alone. Soviet intelligence policy was then far-sighted and long-term. As Moscow saw it, the Second World War was over, but the international class struggle was not. From the Soviet zone of Germany, the KGB's forerunner, the MGB, pursued a policy of mass infiltration of agents into the

11 There are examples of information flow in the other direction. From the late 1960s to the late 1980s, the FCD supplied the HV A every month with intelligence assessments: see Müller-Enbergs, *Hauptverwaltung A*, 145. The FCD also provided intelligence obtained from its penetration agents in Western secret services to the counterintelligence services of the Soviet bloc, including the Stasi, so that they could arrest Western spies. Intelligence obtained from Kim Philby and George Blake, the FCD's agents in Britain's Secret Intelligence Service, and Heinz Felfe, its agent in the BND's forerunner, the Gehlen Organization, was used in 1953-55 to do severe damage to those services' spy networks in the GDR: see Paul Maddrell, *Spying on Science: Western Intelligence in Divided Germany, 1945–1961* (Oxford, 2006), 145.

12 Gieseke, *Der Mielke-Konzern*, 218; Günter Bohnsack, *Hauptverwaltung Aufklärung. Die Legende stirbt* (Berlin, 1997), 65-67.

13 Bohnsack, *Hauptverwaltung Aufklärung*, 35. There seem to have been exceptions to this rule. The Russians were very impressed by the intelligence provided by a parliamentary whip of West Germany's Social Democratic Party, Karl Wienand, and made an unsuccessful attempt to recruit him: see Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Mitrokhin Archive: The KGB in Europe and the West* (London, 1999), 589-90.

14 Günter Bohnsack and Herbert Brehmer, *Auftrag: Irreführung. Wie die Stasi Politik im Westen machte* (Hamburg, 1992), 41.

Western Occupation Zones. The USSR's military intelligence service, the GRU (Glavnoye Razvedivatelnoye Upravleniye: Main Intelligence Directorate), which was subordinate to the Ministry of Defense, was also very active in infiltrating agents into Western Europe. American military intelligence interrogators in West Germany concluded in 1947 that the GRU was trying to create a large network of agents in Western Europe operating under commercial cover. One of the interrogators involved, Arnold Silver, has described this network as "a model of long-range, meticulous operational planning by the GRU."[15]

The East German communist regime founded a foreign intelligence service in 1951. It was called the Außenpolitischer Nachrichtendienst (Foreign Political Intelligence Service, APN) and was directed by the Politburo member and Deputy Foreign Minister Anton Ackermann. Placing the APN under his leadership followed Soviet practice: then the Soviet Union's foreign intelligence services were all under the control of the Committee of Information (Komitet Informatsii, KI), which was chaired by the USSR's Foreign Minister (then Andrei Vyshinsky).

The APN's task was to assist Soviet espionage. To begin with, it was little more than a local branch of the FCD. Until the late 1950s, Russian "advisers" largely ran the Stasi and the other GDR intelligence services.[16] Though called "advisers," they were in reality directors and instructors. In 1953, the APN was incorporated into the Stasi as its Hauptabteilung XV (HA XV: Main Department XV). After the popular uprising of June 1953 in the GDR, the Stasi was itself made subordinate to the Interior Ministry. This, again, followed the example of the USSR, where intelligence and security were again merged in one ministry, the MGB, which had itself, like the Interior Ministry, been brought under the control of one man, Lavrenti Beria. There was a further reorganization of the Stasi in the mid-1950s, as a result of which the HA XV was in 1956 renamed the HV A.

The APN used the cover name Institut für Wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Forschung (Institute for Economic Research, IWF). Its tasking was to gather economic and political information, mainly by penetrating ministries, political parties, and trade unions in Bonn. This intelligence collection was meant to give knowledge of the class enemy's plans for the GDR and of the Federal Republic's domestic politics and its relations with its allies.[17]

15 Arnold Silver, "Questions, Questions, Questions: Memories of Oberursel," *Intelligence and National Security* 8, no. 2 (1993): 199–213, 210.

16 In addition to the Stasi and APN, there was also a military intelligence service in the GDR. This was the Verwaltung Aufklärung (Intelligence Directorate) of the Nationale Volksarmee (NVA), the intelligence department of the GDR's armed forces (VA/NVA). In other words, it was the counterpart to the Soviet armed forces' GRU.

17 Siebenmorgen, *"Staatssicherheit" der DDR*, 112–13, 124.

This tasking changed with the creation of the Warsaw Pact in 1956 and the onset of the thermonuclear revolution. In 1955, the Soviet Union tested its first true thermonuclear weapon, its counterpart to the hydrogen bomb tested by the United States in 1952. The FCD and GRU were under strong pressure from the Soviet General Staff to obtain military and scientific and technological intelligence (S&TI) in the West. The HV A was required to play a role in this intelligence collection. In fact, military intelligence was more important to the USSR — as a military superpower that would bear the brunt of any war with the United States and its allies — than it was to the GDR. The GDR's need for such intelligence was smaller: it wanted it to prevent war and to stir up opinion against the armed forces based in West Germany.[18] Nor, in the mid-1950s, did the GDR have much of a defense industry that could exploit the S&TI gathered in West Germany and other Western countries.

An era of genuine liaison began in the late 1950s. The HV A's officers were partners rather than subordinates. Soviet "advisers" were now called "liaison officers." This was a reward for the success the HV A had begun to achieve. The HV A officers' self-confidence grew. The Russians saw this and gave the service more freedom of action. In the wake of the uprisings in East Germany and Hungary, Soviet policy was to treat the satellites more as equals.[19] However, the FCD always received more from the HV A than it gave. It was always a condescending and mean senior partner. The HV A, like the rest of the Stasi, operated independently, but under close Russian supervision. The Russians had to be informed of whatever was being done. Cooperation was close and served chiefly the interests of the Soviet Union. For example, the FCD was very secretive in its dealings with the HV A's S&TI collection division, the Sektor Wissenschaft und Technik (SWT). It was very interested in the information the division collected but provided none itself. It did make prospective agents available to it to assist its work (from which the FCD, of course, expected to benefit).[20] In the 1980s, the HV A's intelligence reporting department, Abteilung VII, provided the FCD with nine times as many assessments as it received in return.[21]

The HV A's success in obtaining valuable intelligence grew considerably in the 1960s and 1970s. By this time, the high-level penetration by the Soviet Bloc's intelligence services of foreign governments, civil services, intelligence communities, and armed forces was more successful in the Third World than in Western countries. Thanks

18 Ibid., 127-28.

19 Roger Engelmann, "Diener zweier Herren. Das Verhältnis der Staatssicherheit zur SED und den sowjetischen Beratern 1950–1959," in *Staatspartei und Staatssicherheit. Zum Verhältnis von SED und MfS*, ed. Siegfried Suckut and Walter Süß (Berlin, 1997), 51-72, 71-72.

20 Werner Stiller, *Beyond the Wall* (McLean, Virginia, 1992), 103-105.

21 Müller-Enbergs, *Hauptverwaltung A*, 145.

to the HV A, the Federal Republic was the main exception to this rule. The HV A had unique opportunities of penetrating it.[22] This was the severest security problem any Western state faced during the Cold War. West Germany's intelligence and security services were comprehensively defeated. They were progressively penetrated by HV A agents and, by the late Cold War, their effectiveness against the HV A and the rest of the Stasi had been severely reduced.[23]

The United States also had a security problem. This was caused less by the ideological attraction of communism than by mercenary motives; some Americans proved willing to betray secrets for money. So the FCD did achieve successes against it and particularly against its intelligence community, armed forces, and defense contractors. Indeed, its penetration of the US intelligence community was most successful at the very end of the Cold War, when the success of the HV A was in decline. It was then that the devastating American traitors Aldrich Ames and Robert Hanssen were recruited.

However, on present evidence, after the very early Cold War, the FCD proved unable to achieve the HV A's success in collecting high-grade political intelligence on its "Main Adversary" ("Glavnyi Protivnik"), the United States. The KGB's residencies in the USA (and Britain) depended on recruiting low- to middle-ranking penetration agents with access to high-grade secrets. Its most valuable such agents worked, as a rule, for intelligence agencies or defense contractors and had no access to political information.

In the late 1960s, West Germany, like the United States and other Western states, decided to seek a less confrontational relationship with the Soviet Union and its bloc. The USSR decided that negotiations were worth pursuing. It therefore had greater need of political intelligence to guide it in its policy. The HV A's deepening penetration of the Federal Republic's government and political parties was valuable to it. Spies like Karl Wienand and Günter Guillaume, an assistant to the new Social Democratic Chancellor Willy Brandt, provided information demonstrating that Brandt's Eastern policy (*Ostpolitik*) was a genuine change in West German foreign policy. Wienand's intelligence on the SPD was much valued. The chairman of the SPD parliamentary party, Herbert Wehner (once a leader of the German Communist Party), spoke regularly to Stasi sources; a copy of the report on each conversation with him, edited and censored, was sent on to Moscow.[24]

22 Christopher Andrew and Oleg Gordievsky, *KGB: The Inside Story of Its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Gorbachev* (London, 1990), 427.

23 Maddrell, *Spying on Science*, 269; cf. Dörrenberg, "Erkenntnisse des Verfassungsschutzes zur Westarbeit des MfS," 85–88, 92–93, and 109.

24 Karl Wilhelm Fricke, "Ein 'Tschekist' als Zeitzeuge," *Deutschland Archiv* 5 (1997): 821; cf. Wolf, *Spionagechef im geheimen Krieg*, 195–96, 209. Wehner was not betraying the Federal Republic, and the Stasi did not regard him as its agent. Indeed, it considered him a dangerous enemy and tried to discredit him: see Knabe, *Die unterwanderte Republik*, 153–81.

The superpowers' move towards détente was, in part, a result of the ever-greater burden of the arms race.[25] The progress of science and technology was speeding up and rising in cost. Most advances took place in Western countries. The HV A was again valuable to the FCD since, by giving the Russians secret access to one of the world's most developed states, it made available to them a wide range of advanced science and technology. The Federal Republic rose steadily in importance as a target of S&TI collection. Consequently, the HV A's importance rose steadily as well. The expansion of its operations to collect S&TI served Soviet interests. The FCD was itself very active in collecting S&TI in West Germany (this was the job of its Line X, at the head of which stood FCD Directorate T). Line X sent agents recruited in East Germany into the Federal Republic to penetrate companies there. It was very successful in penetrating them. However, much S&TI was obtained from partner services: in 1980, just over half of the intelligence obtained by FCD Directorate T came from its partners, chief among them the HV A and Czechoslovakia's StB. In that year, 10 percent of the S&TI supplied by Soviet intelligence agencies to the USSR's Military-Industrial Commission was obtained in the Federal Republic.[26]

The collection of military intelligence was another important HV A task whose priority shifted consistently in accordance with Soviet strategic fears. In 1959 and 1968, intelligence collection requirements placed military targets in the Federal Republic, NATO, and the United States second in priority to political intelligence collection on the West. Most of the intelligence actually collected in this period concerned the Federal Republic.[27]

In the mid-1970s, the collection of military intelligence became the HV A's first priority. The Soviet regime and the KGB were alarmed at the rapid development of military electronics and the danger this created, as they saw it, of NATO attempting a surprise nuclear first strike. The rising popularity in American, West German, and Japanese politics of fierce critics of détente, such as Ronald Reagan and Franz Josef Strauß, also disturbed them. Consequently, it became the HV A's overriding priority to collect intelligence on American and NATO military strategy and weapons research, development, and production in the NATO states, including the USA. The priority of these states was now greater than that of the Federal Republic. In the 1970s and 1980s, military intelligence consistently represented about 30 percent of the intelligence collected by the HV A.[28]

25 For other causes, see Raymond Garthoff, *Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan* (Washington, DC, 1985), 5–17.

26 Andrew and Mitrokhin, *Mitrokhin Archive*, 597.

27 Gieseke, *Der Mielke-Konzern*, 217–18.

28 Ibid., 219–21.

In the early 1980s, fear in Moscow of an American first strike went up another notch with the rise to political pre-eminence of the KGB's fearful chairman, Yuri Andropov. The KGB and GRU were in 1981 ordered to engage in a worldwide intelligence collection operation to obtain warning of any nuclear attack (the operation was code-named "RYaN," the Russian acronym for "Nuclear Missile Attack").[29]

The HV A was less afraid of an American first strike than the KGB but played its full part in "RYaN," intensifying its efforts to recruit West German and American military personnel and collect intelligence on targets in NATO and West Germany. Markus Wolf considered the operation "a burdensome waste of time."[30] Both he and his successor as chief of the HV A, Werner Großmann, claim to have persuaded Moscow by the mid-1980s that there was no immediate danger of a nuclear attack by NATO.[31] Whether this is true is uncertain; the intelligence collected by the HV A could have been interpreted in the opposite way, namely, as showing that the USA was trying to achieve a first-strike capability. This was the interpretation of the HV A's top spy in NATO, Rainer Rupp, and of Klaus Eichner, one of the HV A's experts on the US intelligence community.[32] The allocation of greater priority to military intelligence collection was not in the interests of the GDR; indeed, it conflicted with the state's interests. The SED regime fell owing to political unrest, not military attack. Nor did the HV A's greater efforts to obtain S&TI benefit the GDR significantly; this intelligence failed to stop the GDR's economic decline.[33]

Political intelligence supplied by the HV A remained valuable to the Russians in the late Cold War. Gabriele Gast, a BND analyst with responsibility for the Soviet bloc, provided it with BND analyses of the Solidarity resistance movement in Poland. This information demonstrated how much the West knew about Solidarity and what its view of the movement was. Wolf has commented that the information proved valuable to the Russians and East Germans in coping with Solidarity's emergence.[34] In the early 1980s, as the GDR's economic crisis deepened, its leadership showed more interest in intelligence on economic matters. The HV A duly collected more.[35] The service's main priority at this time was "RYaN" — that is, a task performed on behalf of the Soviet Union.

Intelligence Methods

The methods of the HV A and FCD were largely consistent through-out the Cold War and were those of the FCD, the HV A's parent and

29 On "RYaN," see Christopher Andrew and Oleg Gordievsky, eds., *Instructions from the Centre: Top Secret Files from the KGB's Foreign Operations, 1975–1985* (London, 1991), ch. 4.

30 Quoted in Andrew and Mitrokhin, *Mitrokhin Archive*, 596.

31 Wolf, *Spionagechef im geheimen Krieg*, 331–32.

32 Klaus Eichner and Andreas Dobbert, *Headquarters Germany. Die USA-Geheimdienste in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1997), 243–45.

33 Gieseke, *Der Mielke-Konzern*, 244–46.

34 Andrew and Mitrokhin, *Mitrokhin Archive*, 588–89.

35 Siebenmorgen, *"Staatssicherheit" der DDR*, 121.

teacher. Over time, they learned from one another, but the HV A inevitably learned more from the FCD than vice versa.

The HV A's most successful method was its exploitation of the migration of Germans and of cross-border connections between them, both of which required exploiting its own population. Though a foreign intelligence service, the HV A had domestic branches, called Abteilungen XV (Departments XV), in each district of the GDR that made thorough use of the numerous connections between East and West Germans.[36] The HV A was an all-German institution; it had informer networks both at home and abroad. The purposes of both were to secure and win advantages for the GDR.[37] Its approach towards West Germany was exactly the same as the FCD's approach towards Israel. Soviet Jews were, like Germans during the Cold War, a migrant and cross-border population. Both they and ethnic Germans living outside the Federal Republic represented a migrant and transnational community that Soviet and Russian intelligence agencies could exploit. They still do.

The USSR's intelligence agencies started exploiting the migration of Germans and Jews as soon as the Second World War ended. US military intelligence in West Germany concluded in the late 1940s from its interrogations of defectors from Soviet intelligence and of agents that the MGB was recruiting thousands of Germans in what was then the Soviet Zone of Occupation to migrate to West Germany, settle there, and pursue careers in politics, science, the press, academic life, business, banking, trade unions, the police, security services, and so on. The MGB's aim was the penetration of every sector of West German life over the long term.[38] The HV A continued this policy as soon as it was established in 1951.[39] Most of the MGB's agents signed recruitment statements and were told that they would be contacted when they had established themselves in their careers. The Russians' attitude towards the agents was practical; they knew that, once in the West, few would honor their promises to spy. Their rule of thumb was that 10 percent of them might in future become useful agents.

Among the records that dissident FCD archivist, Vasili Mitrokhin, smuggled out of Russia to the West in 1992 were ones relating to just such spies. A spy code-named "Mark" was recruited in East Germany in 1946 by exploiting "compromising circumstances" arising from his service in the Wehrmacht. He fled to West Germany a few years later and pursued a political career. The FCD resumed contact with him in

36 See Müller-Enbergs, *Hauptverwaltung A*, 269–316.

37 Georg Herbstritt, *Bundesbürger im Dienst der DDR-Spionage: eine analytische Studie* (Göttingen, 2007), 99–103; Müller-Enbergs, *Hauptverwaltung A*, 21. See also Manfred Bols, *Ende der Schweigepflicht: Aus dem Leben eines Geheimdienstlers* (Berlin, 2002).

38 Silver, "Questions, Questions, Questions," *INS* 8, no. 2 (1993): 199–213, 206–207.

39 Dörrenberg, "Erkenntnisse des Verfassungsschutzes zur Westarbeit des MfS," 76.

1956 and maintained contact with him for the next 24 years. But, like many KGB agents in Israel, he seems to have provided no intelligence of significance; he clearly did not want to spy for the Russians.[40]

Soviet intelligence was at that time pursuing exactly the same policy with regard to Israel. In 1947, the Committee of Information, which then directed all the USSR's intelligence agencies, instructed its Middle and Far Eastern Department to ensure that the new state of Israel became an ally of the Soviet Union. Agent controllers duly recruited many agents among the Soviet Jews then emigrating to Israel. Many were scientists. The KGB continued to exploit Soviet-Jewish migration to Israel throughout the Cold War. However, its efforts seem to have been less successful than the HV A's exploitation of East German migrants to West Germany; many of the KGB's Jewish migrants did not honor their promises to betray their new country.[41] Israel seems to have established a stronger hold over them than did the Federal Republic over the HV A's spies; the HV A also seems to have selected and managed its agents well.

The HV A adopted the FCD's method of mass penetration via migration. Effective security was impossible in West Germany in the face of such a large inflow of migrants (some 3.25 million between 1949 and 1961). Several thousand spies could not be identified among them. Consequently, it is still impossible to say how many agents of the FCD, HV A, and other Eastern services there were in West Germany. The Law on the Stasi Records[42] has enabled only the spies of the HV A and the rest of the Stasi to be revealed. Those of the other Soviet Bloc services remain, for the most part, unidentified. The FCD's operations went beyond dispatching migrants into West Germany, of course. Its Karlshorst residency also supplied well-trained East German and Soviet "illegals" with false identities; these people were infiltrated into the Federal Republic via third countries.

Pursuant to the Law on the Stasi Records, the Stasi's informer network in the Federal Republic has been uncovered. Both the number of spies and their identities have been established. The spies reported to the HV A, to counterintelligence and security departments of the Stasi, and to the intelligence service of the Nationale Volksarmee (NVA, National People's Army). These services had forty years and a wealth of opportunities to build up their informer networks in the Federal Republic, which could maintain only a weak security regime to protect itself.[43] Between their creation in the early 1950s and dissolution in 1989-90, the East German intelligence agencies ran informer

40 Andrew and Mitrokhin, *Mitrokhin Archive*, 593.

41 Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Mitrokhin Archive II: The KGB and the World* (London, 2005), 222–23, 231, and 233–34.

42 See http://www.bund.bstu.de

43 Dörrenberg, "Erkenntnisse des Verfassungsschutzes zur Westarbeit des MfS," 91–93.

networks among West Germans comprised of some 12,000 people, approximately 6,000 of whom reported to the HV A. A further 6,000 reported to other departments of the Stasi and to the Intelligence Directorate of the NVA.[44] However, the HV A owed its success not to the number of its spies, but to its skillful, well-planned recruitment of agents and their adroit infiltration into suitable targets.[45]

A further method of both the HV A and FCD was the exploitation of cross-border connections between East and West Germans. This did not involve migration; instead, an East German was used to recruit a West German as a spy. The HV A called these East Germans "the basis for operations provided by the GDR." A fundamental principle of the HV A was that the foreign connections of GDR citizens should be thoroughly exploited.[46] The GDR provided ideal conditions for exploiting such connections since it was not a country: it was only part of one.

The HV A exploited these cross-border connections more thoroughly after 1961, when the border in Berlin was closed. Thereafter, it was much harder for East Germans to migrate to the West. Moreover, those who did flee, being much fewer in number, were subjected to stringent security examination. Its Department XV in every GDR district liaised with the Stasi's security divisions and passed useful information to the HV A. Informers identified relatives in West Germany who might be valuable sources. The HV A was informed when promising people were going to visit the GDR.[47] Recruitments were made. However, as a rule the West Germans concerned did not prove to be successful spies. The reason was their very connection with citizens of the GDR: this made them security risks in the eyes of West German institutions, which meant that the spies had difficulty gaining access to secrets. There were exceptions to this rule, though. In a recent study, the cases of 499 West German spies were researched. Of these, 51 were considered to be "Spitzen-IM" (high-grade sources). Ten of these 51 were recruited in the GDR owing to their family connections there.[48]

A celebrated method of the HV A was romantic compromise by "Romeo" spies. Agents were sent into West Germany to seduce lonely women, often secretaries working for important ministries like the Defense Ministry or for the President's Office. The agents' instructions were to obtain information over the long term by developing romantic relationships with these women. The originality of this method should not be exaggerated. Sexual compromise had long

44 Herbstritt, *Bundesbürger im Dienst der DDR-Spionage*, 84.

45 Siebenmorgen, *"Staatssicherheit" der DDR*, 130–31.

46 Bohnsack, *Hauptverwaltung Aufklärung*, 97.

47 Siebenmorgen, *"Staatssicherheit" der DDR*, 100.

48 Herbstritt, *Bundesbürger im Dienst der DDR-Spionage*, 220.

been a favorite Soviet method of blackmailing a targeted person into becoming a spy. Its limitation was that it yielded an unstable relationship with the spy, who often provided intelligence for only a short time. Markus Wolf preferred romantic compromise because it promised intelligence over the long term. This is, in fact, the only example of the HV A developing and improving on Soviet intelligence tradecraft. It was so obviously a promising method that the FCD copied it: from the late 1950s, the Russians initiated a "secretaries' offensive" of their own, using East German illegals. They successfully penetrated West German ministries and intelligence agencies.[49]

Joint Soviet-East German "Active Measures"

In the field of influence operations ("active measures," in Soviet parlance), the HV A's practice was, again, that of the FCD. Indeed, the active measures units of all the satellite services used the same methods as the Russians. News agencies were established to send information to opinion-makers; suitable documents were passed to confidential contacts; leaflets were distributed; books published; letters written; and propaganda press conferences staged. For instance, HV A agent William Borm, a member of the Bundestag, ran a news agency that published political news, including information supplied by the HV A. The FCD's disinformation department, Service A, supplied materials for use in these operations. Examples are parts of the diaries of Joseph Goebbels, which Service A handed over in the 1970s in the hope that they would help the HV A revive the fading memory of Nazism. The HV A's Abteilung X (Department X), created in 1966, also prepared its own materials. It was established to enable the HV A to assume responsibility for active measures campaigns from other Stasi departments, especially the Agitation Department (Abteilung Agitation). The FCD was behind this change.[50] The two units, whose operations were closely coordinated, worked according to bilateral annual plans for joint operations.

The Federal Republic was, of course, the HV A's main target, just as the USA was the FCD's main target. Both Western states were important disinformation targets. The FCD's disinformation effort against the United States was huge, conducted worldwide, and started as soon as World War II ended.

The HV A's very good agents and contacts in West German politics, government, and the media were its greatest strength. It utilized these people in influence operations, just as it exploited them to

49 Andrew and Mitrokhin, *Mitrokhin Archive*, 581.

50 Müller-Enbergs, *Hauptverwaltung A*, 131.

obtain intelligence. It sought people well suited to influencing West German public opinion ("multipliers," as it called them), using them to infiltrate a very wide range of Stasi-created propaganda materials into West German public life.

These joint campaigns against the USA and West Germany focused on their role in the West's alliance systems; their relations with the Third World; and their relations with one another. The two services sought consistently to exacerbate differences between the United States and the Federal Republic, thus damaging their cooperation in all major fields. The HV A carried out varied active measures against NATO, especially against the least committed NATO members (countries such as Portugal, Greece, and Denmark). In the 1970s, it made considerable efforts to destabilize Greece and Portugal as they made their way out of military dictatorships.[51] While joint FCD-HV A operations largely concerned matters of foreign policy, operations conducted by the HV A alone concerned the internal politics of the Federal Republic.[52]

Being inherently political, the HV A's active measures followed political trends. In the 1950s and 1960s, East German propaganda campaigns (like those of the FCD) concentrated heavily on damaging the reputations of West German politicians by presenting them as neo-Nazis, revanchists, and lackeys of American capitalism. As fuel for its campaigns, the Stasi used Wehrmacht, SS, and Nazi Party records seized by the Soviet army in 1945. Its standard method was to mix authentic archival information with falsehoods to damn the pasts of leading figures in West German politics, business, and the armed forces. Typical publications of this kind were the so-called *Braunbuch* (Brown Book) and *Graubuch* (Grey Book) made public, officially, by the GDR's National Front.[53]

By the mid-1960s, the Soviet Union was moving towards détente with the United States and its allies. The Soviet leaders saw the international political situation as less tense. Therefore, the active measures of the FCD and HV A became more constructive. They were aimed at encouraging support for Willy Brandt's new *Ostpolitik*. The HV A sought above all to undermine the political position of the West German conservative parties, the CDU/CSU, which opposed détente, and thus to ensure that the Soviet Union got the best terms possible in the Eastern treaties. One operation of the period was OV "Schwarz" ("Black"), a package of active-measure campaigns against leading right-wing politicians in West Germany, such as Franz Josef Strauß, Rainer Barzel, Kurt Kiesinger, and the Federal President, Heinrich Lübke.[54]

51 Knabe, *Die unterwanderte Republik*, 110–16; Müller-Enbergs, *Hauptverwaltung A*, 170–79.

52 Andrew and Mitrokhin, *The Mitrokhin Archive*, 577.

53 Nationalrat der Nationalen Front des Demokratischen Deutschland, *Braunbuch. Kriegs- und Naziverbrecher in der Bundesrepublik* (Berlin, 1965); idem, *Graubuch. Expansionspolitik und Neonazismus in Westdeutschland* (Berlin, 1967).

54 Knabe, *Die unterwanderte Republik*, pp. 118–20. This was a big, long-lasting operation against varied targets. Black is the color of the CDU/CSU.

According to the 1967 plan agreed between the two services, a dozen joint operations were to be carried out that year, designed above all to discredit the Federal Republic internationally. Leading politicians and civil servants were to be discredited with information about their Nazi pasts (Operation "Nazi Camarilla"). SPD politicians on the moderate wing of their party were to be discredited. The Federal Republic's relations with the United States were to be worsened. American involvement in the Vietnam War (and West Germany's support for it) were to be condemned.[55]

From the mid-1960s, active measures were also more subtle. Instead of putting across a crude anti-fascist message, they were concerned with encouraging disarmament (Operation "Mars") or weakening NATO (Operation "Flank"). The communists' long-term objective was to encourage Western European states to leave NATO. Much effort also went into aggravating differences between the two great Western European partners, West Germany and France (Operation "Discord"). Another strong strand in influence operations was the mobilization of Third World and non-aligned countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America against the United States (Operation "Forward"). These operations continued until the end of the Cold War. The FCD and HV A made consistent efforts to influence the conferences of the Non-Aligned Movement, to incite Third World countries to resist "the rich USA," and to discredit the International Monetary Fund (IMF).[56]

The HV A carried out influence operations across the political spectrum. It had many agents and contacts in the SPD whose job was to encourage the party down the road to détente. Left-wingers in the party were encouraged to push the party towards confrontation with the CDU/CSU. The HV A also sought to discredit media outlets and figures hostile to the GDR. Increasingly, it carried out influence operations to hamper the work of the Western secret services, such as OV "Dschungel" (Jungle), which was launched in the late 1960s.[57] It was later expanded so that all the satellite intelligence services contributed to it, which signaled its importance to the FCD. Over time, the HV A's efforts to harm the BND were successful in sowing mistrust and concern about its reliability among the latter's foreign partners.[58]

The mid-1970s represented the peak of détente in Europe. Its centerpiece was the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Stasi feared the subversive influence that greater contact with West Germany might have on East Germans.[59] Consequently, détente led to no decline in active measures; only their

55 Knabe, *Die unterwanderte Republik*, 110–16.

56 Bohnsack, *Hauptverwaltung Aufklärung*, 35–40.

57 Bohnsack, *Auftrag: Irreführung*, 34.

58 Ibid., 80–81.

59 Gieseke, *Der Mielke-Konzern*, 88–92.

targets changed. The human rights provisions of "Basket Three" of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 stimulated human rights activists in the Soviet Bloc and unsettled the Communist rulers. Accordingly, the FCD and HV A directed their active measures against human rights organizations and activists. The HV A's greater focus on the GDR opposition continued into the 1980s, when it undertook active measures to intimidate dissidents who had been expelled to West Germany and to discredit dissidents and peace activists in the GDR itself. The HV A was also then heavily involved in supporting the West German peace movement and damning NATO and its missile deployments in Western Europe.

The HV A and FCD made joint efforts in the 1980s to encourage the peace movement in West Germany and other Western states. Likewise, efforts to discredit the United States by planting stories about American planning for a nuclear war in Europe (Operation "Tsunami") in the media were conducted together. This operation lasted almost ten years. The two services released many secret American documents (some genuine, others forged) purporting to show that the United States was planning a nuclear first strike. This was a brother operation to "RYaN."[60] There was a joint operation in 1979-80 to discredit Franz Josef Strauß as the CDU/CSU's candidate for Chancellor (Operation "Cobra-2"). It had no effect on the result of the federal elections of 1980 (which Strauß and the CDU/CSU lost), though the FCD claimed that it had.[61] However, the main targets of active measures in the 1980s were the secret services of the West; OV "Dschungel" continued. In this respect, influence operations very much pursued an objective of secondary importance, not a major political aim.[62]

The FCD consistently exaggerated the success its active measures had achieved. In the early 1980s, its most important influence operation was to stir up opposition among West Germans to the deployment of American medium-range (MRBM) and intermediate-range (IRBM) ballistic missiles in the Federal Republic. The SPD did vote in 1983 to oppose this deployment. The FCD claimed credit for this in its reports to the Soviet leadership. However, the claim is an implausible one.

The HV A was successful in causing scandals in West German politics and aggravating differences within and between West German political parties.[63] However, there is no adequate evidence that its influence operations changed the political course of the Federal Republic. For example, the peace movement failed to prevent the

60 Bohnsack, *Auftrag: Irreführung*, 220.

61 Andrew and Mitrokhin, *Mitrokhin Archive*, 595.

62 Ibid., 876n113.

63 For further examples of such scandals, see Dörrenberg, "Erkenntnisse des Verfassungsschutzes zur Westarbeit des MfS," 80-82.

deployment of MRBMs and IRBMs. A possible exception to this rule is the failed CDU/CSU vote of no confidence in Brandt's coalition government in April 1972. The motion (which failed by two votes) might have succeeded in toppling Brandt if the HV A had not bribed a CDU deputy, Julius Steiner, to vote with the government. However, public support for Brandt's policy was strong enough for him to have stood a good chance of winning any election that might then have ensued. His coalition government did indeed win a larger parliamentary majority in the federal elections of November 1972.[64]

The Chekist Identity

Cooperation between the HV A and FCD rested not only on joint plans and methods but also on a shared communist identity. This was a special form of proletarian internationalism: the HV A officers saw themselves as members of a transnational élite of communist security officials, the brotherhood of Chekists. This identity was an idealized self-image, made up of two parts: one Russian and one German. The first part was that a Stasi officer was a defender of the great communist transformation of the world that had begun with the Russian Revolution in 1917. Stasi officers identified with the Soviet Union as the home of the communist revolution and the leader of the international working class. They saw themselves as part of the élite of that working class. The HV A officers therefore accepted subordination to the FCD.

Added to this was the second part of their identity: an anti-fascism encouraged by the Second World War, the disastrous defeat of Nazism, and the construction of a socialist society in the GDR. Communism had particular significance for some Germans after 1945: Stasi officers were taught that it had redeemed Germany from its horrific past and ensured that Germany would not start another war. Consequently, their self-image required them to be furiously hostile toward the Western capitalist states, or "imperialists," as they called them. "Imperialism" was seen as a malevolent and permanently conspiratorial force seeking to undermine communism, the true faith. The HV A's task, as a foreign intelligence service, was to uncover these malevolent and illicit activities. Like FCD (and other KGB) officers, HV A officers tended to exaggerate the importance of the Western intelligence services in their governments' policy-making towards the Soviet Bloc, even though they had plenty of information about the Western intelligence communities.[65]

64 Andrew and Mitrokhin, *Mitrokhin Archive*, 579–80; Knabe, *Die unterwanderte Republik*, 15–17.

65 Gieseke, *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit*, 127–28; Silke Schumann, "Die Parteiorganisation der SED im MfS 1950–1957," in *Staatspartei und Staatssicherheit*, ed. Suckut and Süß, 105–28, 115–16.

At the very top of the HV A, there was a sense of being Russian as well. Markus Wolf regarded himself as part Russian (having been a Soviet citizen as a young man). The HV A officer Hans Knaust (formerly a diplomat with Wolf in the GDR's embassy in Moscow) once aptly called Wolf "a Russian" and "Moscow's station chief in Western Europe."[66] An affinity with Russia prevailed among the senior officials of the entire Stasi in the first half of its existence. Many of the men who led it then had lived in exile in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 1940s or had at least received "military-political" training there. The Stasi was then quite small and easy for them to dominate. Among such people, in addition to Wolf, were the minister himself, Erich Mielke, and senior officers like Richard Stahlmann (the first deputy head of the APN), Gustav Szinda (another senior foreign intelligence officer), and the APN's first head, Anton Ackermann.

However, this Russian identity grew weaker over time. The Stasi developed into a huge, elaborately structured bureaucracy staffed by people who had been born and raised in the GDR. Of the Stasi's ruling group at the end of the 1970s — Mielke, Bruno Beater, Rudi Mittig, Günter Kratsch, and others — only Mielke had lived in Russia.[67] Often the Stasi's staff were children of existing or former officers, which increasingly strengthened a German identity in the organization. Indeed, Mielke, with his love of discipline, uniforms, and weapons, gave it a very military and almost Prussian character. Consequently, Stasi officers suffered a dismal fate after 1990: culturally, they were entirely German but were rejected by their own country. Some tried to cultivate a Jewish identity to replace the communist one, so as to exchange the status of a perpetrator of crime for that of a victim. An HV A officer I interviewed, Herbert Brehmer, emphasized his Jewishness to me. He went out of his way to tell me that his grandfather, a Polish Jew by birth, had been murdered by the SS in Sachsenhausen camp in 1940. Both Brehmer and Markus Wolf visited Israel after the GDR's collapse.[68]

In reality, the HV A was more committed to proletarian internationalism than the KGB. The KGB was anti-Semitic and nationalist. The HV A subordinated national pride to loyalty to the Soviet Union. Its hostility toward Zionism concealed some anti-Semitism, though it was not as conspicuous as in the KGB's case.[69] From the late 1930s, the KGB was deeply anti-Semitic; for most of the Cold War, it was the most anti-Semitic section of the Soviet government. Until the end of the Cold War, there was a total ban on Jewish entrants to it; not

66 Bohnsack, *Hauptverwaltung Aufklärung*, 64.

67 Siebenmorgen, *"Staatssicherheit" der DDR*, 104.

68 Interview with the late Herbert Brehmer, formerly of the HV A Abteilung X, 5 July 2008.

69 See Gieseke, *Der Mielke-Konzern*, 55.

even half-Jews were allowed to join.[70] (Markus Wolf, whose father was Jewish, would not have been allowed to join when he was a Soviet citizen. Bizarrely, Wolf was utterly loyal to it throughout his life, which reflects his devotion to Marxism-Leninism.) The national minorities deported to Siberia during World War II (Chechens, Crimean Tartars, and others) were not permitted to join it, either.[71]

The KGB's anti-Semitism was clear to those who knew it. After the Six-Day War of 1967, Wolf found it "fixated on Israel as an enemy."[72] Its anti-Semitism colored its view of everything. During the Prague Spring of 1968, the KGB regarded the Czechoslovak reform movement as the result of a Western conspiracy directed by Western intelligence services using Zionist agents. During the Polish crisis of 1980-81, the FCD interpreted the prominence of Jews in the Solidarity trade union's leadership as evidence of a Zionist conspiracy.[73] In the 1970s and 1980s, the KGB considered international Zionism to be one of the main (perhaps *the* main) vehicle for ideological subversion in the USSR. Many KGB officers believed that Western capitalism was controlled and directed by Jews. Zionism was second only to the United States as a target for KGB active measures.[74]

Conclusions

The HV A's success in creating a large agent network in the Federal Republic that provided intelligence from every major part of West German society was exceptional among the performances of communist intelligence services against Western states. Western states maintained a high level of security for most of the Cold War, so the communists' efforts to collect Humint and Comint (intelligence from electronic communications) achieved less against them than against Third World states.

Western states also had educated populations, freedom of speech, and wary media, so communist active measures were less effective in them.[75] The KGB achieved many of its successes in active measures targeting Third World states. The HV A's success against West Germany was similar to the KGB's against India (thanks to rife corruption there): numerous agents provided information from within government ministries, intelligence agencies, and the police; and there were agents also in the press who channeled FCD propaganda into Indian public life. India in the 1970s was probably the arena for more FCD active measures than any other country in the world. By contrast, in some important NATO countries (Italy, for example), the

70 Andrew and Gordievsky, *KGB*, 5, 348.

71 Ibid., 514.

72 Markus Wolf, *Man Without a Face* (London, 1997), 257.

73 Ibid., 484–85.

74 Andrew and Mitrokhin, *Mitrokhin Archive II*, 237.

75 Gieseke, *Der Mielke-Konzern*, 245.

FCD was able to plant little more than 1 percent as many articles as it placed in the Indian press.[76]

The main intelligence successes of the HV A and the rest of the Stasi were as follows. First, their counterintelligence collection was effective. They deeply penetrated the West German intelligence services and frustrated their operations against the GDR. Western intelligence services collected no significant Humint in the GDR in the 1980s. They relied heavily on technical intelligence collection. The West German government did not realize in the late 1980s that the GDR was on the point of collapse; the disappointing performance of its intelligence services was one reason for this.[77] Secondly, the HV A's military intelligence collection was successful, at least up to a point. Within its region of responsibility, the HV A was capable, at more or less any time, of providing prompt, reliable, and substantial information on NATO's military-political plans and how great the danger of war was. However, this did not affect the Warsaw Pact's military strategy, which was based on Soviet ideological concepts and the historical legacy of the Great Patriotic War.[78] Moreover, the HV A did not succeed in obtaining intelligence on NATO's nuclear targeting.[79] However, thanks to the HV A's penetration of NATO, the Soviet General Staff did know well how much NATO knew about the Warsaw Pact. It was able to establish how deeply the pact had been penetrated by Western intelligence operations and how effective Soviet disinformation was. The HV A obtained a large volume of S&TI, but it could not save the GDR's economy from deterioration and collapse. The HV A gathered a wealth of excellent political information, but much of it was not accepted by the GDR's political leadership.

Unlike the Western mass media, which did undermine East Germans' loyalty to the GDR, the communists' active measures proved to be better at small things than big. They could start or aggravate political scandals and differences, but they could not change the political course of a state. Indeed, when it came to the big things, active measures actually exposed the GDR to danger; psychological warfare created tension and did not promote peace.[80] The FCD's active measures were probably more successful than those of the HV A because they were conducted in a more favorable environment: the Third World, where the media were very credulous and the regimes often anti-American and unstable.[81] It is clear that the FCD's active measures encouraged the Soviet leadership's delusions about the state of world politics. The service reported more success than it actually

76 Ibid., 321–24.

77 See Paul Maddrell, "The Economic Dimension of Cold War Intelligence-Gathering: The West's Spies in the GDR's Economy," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15, no. 3 (2013): 76–107.

78 Siebenmorgen, *"Staats-sicherheit" der DDR*, 129–34.

79 Ibid., 132.

80 See Bohnsack, *Auftrag: Irreführung*, 46–47.

81 Ibid., 217.

82 Ibid., 37.

achieved. Boris Tumanov of the Soviet news magazine *Ogonyok* once aptly called communist propaganda "an official surrogate for reality."[82] The HV A's active measures could be similarly described and probably also encouraged the SED's leaders' delusions about world events.

The HV A's officers were the better Chekists, in the proper sense of that word, than the officers of the FCD or KGB. The KGB of the Cold War period was very much a product of the Stalin era: it was fiercely Russian-nationalist, anti-Semitic, and racist-imperialist; its commitment to proletarian internationalism was superficial. It treated its partners as dependencies (even, to some extent, the HV A). However, the HV A was genuinely committed to proletarian internationalism.

The FCD exploited the HV A. Their alliance was the most one-sided intelligence partnership in history. Its only rival is the Gehlen Organization's alliance with US intelligence. There was a comprehensive transfer of intelligence (both raw intelligence and analyses) from the HV A to the FCD without much for the HV A in return. The Russians were not attached to the Germans; they abandoned them in 1989-90. Mikhail Gorbachev did not even insist on an amnesty for the Stasi's officers as a precondition of Soviet agreement to German reunification (even though Markus Wolf requested this of him). The relationship was one of subordination: the HV A took on much of the mentality of the Soviet Union and served its interests in a very one-sided way.

Paul Maddrell is an assistant lecturer in modern history at Loughborough University in Great Britain. His core interests are the history of the Cold War, international relations after 1945, and the history of the security and intelligence services of the former Eastern bloc, namely, the Stasi and the KGB. The best known among his many publications is the monograph *Spying on Science: Western Intelligence in Divided Germany, 1945-1961* (2006).