

The Instruction Films of the GDR Ministry for State Security and for the *Állambiztonság* of the People's Republic of Hungary, 1959-1989

by Sophie Meyer

Submitted to the History Department of the
Central European University, Budapest

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Supervisor:	Marsha Siefert
Second Reader:	Thomas Lindenberger

Budapest, Hungary, 2011

Statement of Copyright

Copyright in the text of this thesis rests with the author. Copies by any process, either in full or part, may be made only in accordance with the instructions given by the author and lodged in the Central European Library. Details may be obtained from the librarian. This page must form a part of any such copies made. Further copies made in accordance with such instructions may not be made without the written permission of the author.

Abstract

This thesis deals with a special source for the history of the State Securities of the GDR and the People's Republic of Hungary: the instruction films for the secret police forces, produced in Hungary from the late 1950s and in the GDR from the 1970s until 1989. These films served the purpose of teaching the secret service-students during the Kádár- and the Honecker-era about work sequences and concrete cases of "enemies of the state." In this thesis, they will be considered normal by-products of the work processes of the secret services, as a species of utility film. Methodologically, a comparative approach is taken towards the two film corpora which makes it possible to reveal the differences not only of the instruction films in their aesthetics and purposes, but also of the structure and organization of the State Securities of two socialist states in Central Europe.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	4
1. Reconstructing the Question.....	10
2. The State Securities as Film Producers.....	19
Ideas for New Films.....	21
Directors and Actors.....	30
Funding and Technical Equipment.....	36
3. The Counterintelligence Instruction Films.....	42
Teamwork in the State Securities.....	45
The Image of the 'Enemies'	54
Conclusion.....	65
Bibliography.....	68
Appendix.....	76
List of Abbreviations.....	78

Introduction

The most commonly present picture of State Security instruction is probably the beginning of Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck's fiction film *The Lives of Others* from 2007. In this sequence, the protagonist, captain Gerd Wiesler from the GDR Ministry for State Security (MfS) holds a lecture on how to interrogate an arrested person in order to make him confess. The explanatory note on the blackboard behind him says "Operative Process" (*Operativer Vorgang*). The scene takes place at the State Security college for legal studies (*Juristische Hochschule*) at Potsdam-Eiche. The captain plays to his students the audio recordings of an interrogation with a young man who was convicted for helping his neighbour to flee to West Berlin. He comments on the length that an interrogation should have and on the behaviour and choice of words of the interrogated person.

Not only audio recordings like the one shown in *The Lives of Others* were used for the instruction of the secret police students, but instruction films were employed as well. These films illustrate "operative processes" and demonstrate how an "enemy" makes him/herself conspicuous in the first place, and how the whole "operative process" gets under way – at least in the instruction films produced by the GDR Ministry for State Security (MfS) between 1973 and 1989.

But this thesis looks at yet another corpus of State Security instruction films, the ones for the *Állambiztonság* (State Security) of the People's Republic of

Hungary, produced between 1959 and 1978 mostly.¹ In these films, the focus does not lie on showing the "enemies," but on demonstrating the work processes of the secret police. They describe and illustrate how to carry out a secret house search or how to follow a person in public space without being noticed oneself. The proper use of material mailboxes is explained as well as the pros and cons of different meeting points with informal collaborators.

In this work, I am taking a comparative approach to the State Security instruction films of the GDR MfS and the Hungarian *Állambiztonság*. This is not an easy task since the sources are very different as for their time of production, their style and purpose. In order to explain my research interest, I will start with a short description of the material basis for this thesis in order to present the different films I dealt with in my research and the questions that emerged from them.

The instruction films that I am talking about are stored in the archives of the Federal Commissioner for the Documents of the Ministry for State Security (MfS) of the former GDR (BStU)² and in the Open Society Archive in Budapest³ as well as in the Historical Archive of the State Security (ÁBTL) in Budapest. The lists of films and the archival descriptions of these film corpora are available on the archives'

1 The film production went on still until the 1990s, but the main corpus of instruction films for the Hungarian State Security was produced during these years.

2 BStU = der Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen der Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR, see the also the List of Abbreviations.

3 They were found in 2000 in the Hungarian Police Academy from where they were transported into the OSA. HU OSA Fonds 394: *Records of the Film Studio of the Hungarian Ministry of Interior*, described by Miklós Tamási, 2006.

homepages.⁴

All in all, around 320 films are left in Hungary today (out of which 26 were produced for the instruction of State Security students),⁵ and 2055 in Eastern Germany (out of which only about 1000 are in-house productions of the MfS, the rest are made up of recordings from Western German TV broadcasts that the Stasi taped in order to evaluate them).⁶ In the case of the MfS, it is more difficult to tell how many of the in-house productions were actually designed to be instruction films, because in most cases the MfS did not label its films, unlike the Hungarian Ministry of Interior that produced the films for the *Állambiztonság*.⁷ For the main department II (HA II), the GDR counterintelligence, I counted 118 instruction films.⁸ Out of the HA II film production, I watched 22 films for my research.

It is necessary to briefly explain the other two main film genres of the GDR and the Hungarian State Securities as well, because it is not always possible nor useful to strictly separate the instruction films from the other types of State Security

4 *Verzeichnis der Filme und Videos des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der DDR*, ed. Renate Hedli, introduction by Katrin Rübenstrunk (Berlin: BStU, 2009); HU OSA Fonds 394: *Records of the Film Studio of the Hungarian Ministry of Interior*, described by Miklós Tamási, 2006; and Erzsébet Baracsi, "Állambiztonsági oktatófilmek a Történeti Levéltárban," *Trezor*, no. 3 (2003): 329-338.

5 See the list of the 26 Hungarian *Állambiztonság* instruction films in the Appendix.

6 *Kino der Geheimdienste* (Booklet of the film festival in Berlin, 2009), 31.

7 An additional obstacle is that the documents in the BStU archive that are related to the instruction films are very scarce. In order to find out about the original film purpose, the researcher has to draw on related documents such as file-cards, and, where no other documents are available, make a guess whether this might have been an instruction film or not from the its content.

8 *Verzeichnis der Filme und Videos des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der DDR*.

film production. Especially in the second chapter of this work, I include the other film-types into my analysis. Only in chapter three do I narrow the comparison down to the instruction films, and, even more specific, to the instruction films by/for the counterintelligences of the GDR and the People's Republic of Hungary.

The MfS, besides the instruction films, produced films for the cultivation of MfS tradition (*Traditionspflege*) for internal use, and public relations productions (*Öffentlichkeitsarbeit*) that were supposed to demonstrate the work of the secret police to an external public.⁹ In Hungary, too, different genres of films are preserved: "instruction films," "propaganda-films," and "documentaries" or "report-films" (as they were originally labelled by the film studio of the MI). Some of those documentaries/reports clearly address an external public,¹⁰ as in the case of the MfS PR productions. The instruction films were reserved for internal use only, some of them just for the State Security staff; others, like the film *Secret House Search*, because of overlapping competences, for both, the normal and the secret police, again others for the border guards, the armed forces, for the dog squad or the fire brigade.¹¹

How known are these films today? They were shown to the public in both countries first around 2002. Two filmmakers became aware of them and made

9 *Das Wörterbuch der Staatssicherheit: Definitionen des MfS zur "politisch-operativen Arbeit,"* ed. BStU (Berlin: BStU, 1993) keyword "Öffentlichkeitsarbeit" (public relations) 274-275.

10 Like the films HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 17: *A Kerényi ügy*, directed by Zoltán Bendiner, ca. 1971, and HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 11: *Fedőszáma 639*, Hungarian television, 1966. See also: Baracsi, "Állambiztonsági oktatófilmek a Történeti Levéltárban," *Trezor*, 329-338.

11 Baracsi, "Állambiztonsági oktatófilmek a Történeti Levéltárban," *Trezor*, 336.

documentaries on them. Gábor Zsigmond Papp is the director of *Life of An Agent* (2004), and Holger Kulick made *Images of the Enemies (Feindbilder)* in 2006. These documentaries reached a broader public, but on two film festivals on the occasion of the fall of the Berlin wall in November/December 2009 in Berlin, again a lot of people saw them for the first time.¹²

No academic thesis has yet been published on these films, let alone papers with a comparative approach, so that my thesis owes much to the two post-socialist documentaries by Gábor Zsigmond Papp and Holger Kulick on the State Security films to which I am referring throughout the work.

My thesis consists of three parts. In the first chapter, the films are embedded into different film genres (non-fiction film, industrial- or utility film, instruction film) in order to establish a basis for their comparison on a formal level. The label "instruction film" by itself does not yet explain everything about the film's purpose, content, producer etc. Therefore I considered it useful to start the argument with the contextualization of the films as films, i.e. a special type of media that requires a special approach by the historian.

The second chapter broadens the material basis again, including also non-instructional films of the two State Securities, because it talks about the State

¹² *Zehnter Tätigkeitsbericht der Bundesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 2010* (Berlin: BStU, 2010), 67-68. About the filmfestival in 2009 in Berlin see: *Kino der Geheimdienste*. Projekt von Katrin Fritzsche im Zeughauskino Berlin, in Zusammenarbeit mit der BStU, dem Collegium Hungaricum Berlin und dem Slowakischen Institut Berlin, 24. November – 17. Dezember 2009. URL http://www.dhm.de/kino/kino_der_geheimdienste.html (accessed 2011-06-02). See also *Kino der Geheimdienste* (Booklet of the film festival in Berlin, 2009).

Securities as film producers. Here, I focus on the structure of the institutions that made the films, on the underlying ideas, the film purposes, and technical as well as financial aspects of film production.

Finally, in the third chapter the instruction films are being compared. In order to create a manageable basis for this comparison, I chose the instruction films of just one branch of the State Securities, however a very important one, the counterintelligence.

1. Reconstructing the Question

How do the instruction films enter the picture of the State Securities' history, and on what basis can they be compared? Carlo Ginzburg said that one always starts with the answer and later reconstructs the question.¹³ Something similar was experienced by Graham Roberts, a filmscholar who worked on the documentaries of the early Soviet Union and who describes his "initial stimulus for [his] study of Soviet non-fiction film" as a "feeling of regret at the continued lack of access to this 'hidden history of documentary film' and a belief that any information to be discovered would be of historical interest."¹⁴

Writing this thesis in 2011, I was in the privileged situation of having had access to almost all the films in the archives of the former State Securities of the GDR and Hungary.¹⁵ In 2004 and in 2006, two filmmakers already made documentaries about these State Security films from 1959 to 1989, so that my own

13 Gudrun Gersmann, "Zwischen den Zeilen, gegen den Strich," *zeitenblicke* 1, no. 1 (2002): 1-13, here: 11, URL: <http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2002/01/ginzburg/ginzburg.pdf> (accessed 2011-05-05)

14 Graham Roberts, *Forward Soviet! History and Non-fiction Film in the USSR* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999), 1.

15 Not all of them, because the film BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 80: *Sirene, BND* from 1984 that would have actually been very interesting to include into this thesis, because it talks about the cooperation between the Eastern German and the Hungarian State Securities, especially of their counterintelligences, is being stored separately according to the law on the documents of the GDR State Security (StUG § 37, Abs. 1 Nr. 3c). Only a short version of 8 minutes length is available for research, because the movie concerns "members of intelligence services of the federal state, the federal states or its allies," *Gesetz über die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Stasi-Unterlagen-Gesetz – StUG)* (Berlin: BStU, 2008), 40.

approach does not fully match the ones described by Ginzburg and Roberts to their sources. However, dealing with visual and audio-material, there have to be questions constructed by the historian around the media which only seemingly gives answers by its inherent expressiveness.¹⁶ My initial stimulus for writing about these films was the astonishment about their diversity – the difference between the style and even the content of the Eastern German and the Hungarian instruction films. What Graham Roberts uses to describe the difference between fiction film and non-fiction film is useful for me to describe the difference between two film corpora of the same genre, i.e. instruction film. While the MfS instruction films are usually "non-played," their Hungarian equivalents are "played" films.¹⁷ This fact broadens the definition of non-fiction film as a common roof for instruction films and shall therefore be explored a bit further in this chapter.

I will place the GDR and the Hungarian instruction films in the context of utility film (or industrial film) which has only recently become interesting for film scholars whose approaches can be useful for historians dealing with this film-genre as well. Then, I lead over to a second film-layer, the post-socialist documentaries about the State Security films, *Life of An Agent* by Gábor Zsigmond Papp from 2004,¹⁸ and *Images of the Enemies* by Holger Kulick from 2006.¹⁹ They are the only

¹⁶ Film scholar Bill Nichols, who states that "[e]very film is a documentary" makes clear what I want to say by claiming that "films call on us to believe them." Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), 1.

¹⁷ Roberts, *Forward Soviet!*, 1-2.

¹⁸ *Az ügynök élete*, directed by Gábor Zsigmond Papp (Budapest: Budapest Film, 2004).

¹⁹ *Feindbilder: Die Fotos und Videos der Stasi*, directed by Holger Kulick (Berlin: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2nd ed. 2009).

works that deal with the instruction films directly and will thus be my main points of reference in this thesis.

The *Encyclopedia of the Documentary Film* gives a definition of instructional films with which I will start, even though it is based on the US and UK only. Kathleen Collins, the author of the article, defines instructional films all films that "teach audiences how to execute some action, perform a set of skills, or, in some cases, adopt particular attitudes." According to her, "such a goal does not exclude the possibility of persuasion."²⁰ Comprised in the group of instructional films are industrial films and government-sponsored films.²¹

Here arises the important question for my thesis: shall we consider the State Securities "companies," as the CIA, the US intelligence used to be referred to?²² Then they could be considered statal companies that share all the features with business companies except for the profit-motivation. In this case, at least some of the questions that film scholars Thomas Elsaesser, Vinzenz Hediger, and Patrick Vonderau apply to industrial films can be transferred to the instruction films that I am dealing with, the more so since they make a clear distinction between the purpose of a film (dealing with utility film) and its style or aesthetics. In their set-up for a new approach to film scholarly involvement with industrial film, they bring up

²⁰ Kathleen Collins, "Instructional Films (US and UK)," *Encyclopedia of the Documentary Film*, vol. 2, ed. Ian Aitken (New York/London: Routledge, 2006): 624-626, here: 624.

²¹ Collins, "Instructional Films (US and UK)," *Encyclopedia of the Documentary Film*, 624-626.

²² About this topic, too, there is a film in the BStU archive in Berlin, entitled *On Company Business*, from 1980, which was actually produced by two American documentary filmmakers and broadcasted in the GDR as well, because of its critical view on the CIA. BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 57 T1/2: *Im Auftrag der Firma*, parts 1-3, VHS, 165 min, black and white, sound, 1980.

two groups of keywords: "the three A's" (*Auftraggeber*, *Anlass*, and *Anwendung*), and the three "R's," "Record, Rhetoric, Rationalization."²³

Auftraggeber means "who commissioned the film," *der Anlass* asks for "the occasion for which it was made," and *die Anwendung* or *der Adressat* want to find out "to what use [it] was put or to whom [it] was addressed."²⁴ By applying these questions, Thomas Elsaesser tries to get more information about the films beyond their style or aesthetics, according to which films are labelled "propaganda films," "avant-garde," or "experimental," as Elsaesser points out. The non-fiction films "especially during the 1920s and 1930s, but possibly at other times as well, functioned as part of a *Medienverbund*," which he understands as a "network of competing, but also mutually interdependent and complementary media or media practices, focused on a specific location, a professional association, or even a national or state initiative."²⁵

This is a useful approach for my thesis, by means of which one can actually combine the two groups of film that Kathleen Collins talks about (industrial film and government-sponsored film) since a sort of *Medienverbund* was working in the socialist states as well, here meaning the Party-control over the entire media. The interaction between the Party, the GDR TV and the MfS led to the production of –

²³ Vinzenz Hediger, and Patrick Vonderau, eds., *Films that Work: Industrial film and the productivity of media* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 19-34 (the article by Thomas Elsaesser), and 35-50 (the article by the two editors).

²⁴ Elsaesser, "Archives and Archaeologies," Hediger/Vonderau, eds., *Films that Work*, 19-34, here: 23.

²⁵ Ibid., 22.

to just give one example which is relevant for the State Securities – the TV-series *The Invisible Sight* (1973-1977) with Arnim Müller-Stahl playing a member of the GDR State Security who spies on the re-emerging Federal German army that, according to the series, consists mostly of former Nazis.²⁶ Further, it led to the control of the State Security over permissions for the GDR TV studio to film in public spaces,²⁷ and it surely embraced the MfS in-house film production as well.

In Hungary, the film studio of the Ministry of Interior produced films for the public as well, such as the police-series that preceded the Hungarian TV series *Blue Light* (late 1960s to 1980s) on criminal investigation, and self-labelled "documentaries" about different cases of espionage and counter-espionage.²⁸ Here, we can even trace the career of single film directors, such as János Lestár who will appear in chapter two, thus applying another attribute of Thomas Elsaesser's definition of the *Medienverbund*: the network of filmmakers.²⁹

The second row of keywords, "record, rhetoric, rationalization" refers to film as part of the industrial organization, film as a by-product of work processes. Hediger and Vonderau, too, refer to Thomas Elsaesser's *Medienverbund*-idea which they apply to industrial production. "Record" for industrial film means for them the

26 *Das unsichtbare Visier*, directed by Peter Hagen, 9 parts, 35 mm, colour, sound, DEFA Studio für Spielfilme, 1973-1977.

27 BStU ZAIG Nr. 26128, 103.

28 HU OSA Fonds 394: *Records of the Film Studio of the Hungarian Ministry of Interior*, described by Miklós Tamási, 2006. The films are: HU OSA 394-0-1, DVD 75: *Ítélet kémügyben*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year; HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 17: *A Kerényi ügy*, directed by Zoltán Bendiner. ca. 1971, and, produced by the Hungarian TV for PR purposes for the State Security, HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 11: *Fedőszáma 639*, Hungarian television, 1966.

29 Elsaesser, "Archives and Archaeologies," Hediger/Vonderau, eds., *Films that Work*, 22.

establishment of an "institutional memory" by means of film; "rhetoric" is used in industrial films "to project a certain image and create what is usually known as a corporate identity," whereas "[r]ationalization is a term for a key principle of industrial organization and designates all practices aimed at improving performance."³⁰

When applying the three "R's" to my film corpora, I have to add a diachronic aspect to the concepts of record, rhetoric and rationalization. The film production of the two State Securities that I am analysing did probably emerge right with their creation or rather with the incorporation into an institution of the secret police in 1946 in Hungary, and with the institutionalization of the State Security in 1950 in Eastern Germany, but the instruction films as a special genre developed later.³¹ Judging by the raw film material that there is in the BStU archive in Berlin, the earliest from 1945,³² I argue that the "record" was the earliest part of using film in work processes. But recording with a camera did not necessarily go along with rhetoric and rationalization which occurred only in the finished films, making up the underlayed purpose, i.e. they do not yet appear in the raw film material.

Instruction films as Kathleen Collins defines them include all three concepts, record, rationalization as well as rhetoric. However, there are different shadings of

³⁰ Hediger/Vonderau, "Record, Rhetoric, Rationalization: Industrial organization and film," Hediger/Vonderau, eds., *Films that Work*, 35-49.

³¹ As far as we can tell from the leftover films in the archives today, the Hungarian instruction films emerged in the late 1950s, whereas the GDR instruction films for the State Security started to be produced in the early 1970s only.

³² BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 81, and BStU MfS HA IX, Fi, Nr. 155.

rhetoric among the State Securities' film production. In the MfS we have three kinds of in-house productions: the instruction films, the films for the cultivation of MfS tradition, and the public relations productions that are supposed to advertise the institution to an external public. The middle genre, the films for the cultivation of institutional tradition are missing in Hungary. There, we only have instruction films and "propaganda-films" (that have the same function as the MfS PR films). The rhetoric in those two respectively three genres of State Security films differs according to the film purpose. And to make it even more complicated: chapter three of this thesis demonstrates that even the purposes within one film genre – the instruction film for the State Security – could differ from country to country, inevitably changing the rhetorics as well.

Rationalization, too, as a concept for industrial film underlies diachronic as well as synchronic changes, because it is bound to the development of the institution which it depicts at the same time in the films (diachronic changes) and because different institutions may experience different rationalization processes at a time (synchronic changes). This concept is, however, not being elaborated in this thesis, mainly because of a lack of source material.

Now what about documentary? Film scholar Bill Nichols in his *Introduction to Documentary* states that

[e]very film is a documentary. Even the most whimsical of fictions gives evidence of the culture that produced it and reproduces the likenesses of the people who perform within it. In fact, we could say that there are two kinds of film: (1) documentaries of wish-fulfillment and (2)

documentaries of social representation. Each type tells a story, but the stories, or narratives, are of different sorts.³³

I will discuss the genre of documentary film only with regard to the post-socialist documentaries on the State Security films and not try to fit the instruction films themselves into a definition of documentary, because this would lead too far for this thesis. To be sure, both film corpora will be treated as documentaries in the definition of Bill Nichols. As for the differences in the making of the instruction films ("played" in Hungary versus "non-played" in the GDR),³⁴ they will be explained in chapter two and three.

For the viewers of today, the State Security instruction films are documentaries of the internal work flows in the secret police of Hungary as well as of the GDR which, however, does not necessarily make them fit the label "documentary" during the period of their production. Depending on the age of the viewers and their personal involvement in the socialist systems, the films may seem more or less comical to them/us from the post-socialist perspective.³⁵ But they nevertheless give us an image of how the secret police worked.

33 Nichols, *Introduction*, 1.

34 Roberts, *Forward Soviet!*, 1-2.

35 In an interview in 2005, Tamás Zubor asked Gábor Zsigmond Papp, the filmmaker of *Life of an Agent*, why he inserted the humorous "illustration" parts into his documentary. Here, the filmmakers Gábor Zsigmond Papp and Miklós Tamási reconstruct how a filming of a suspicious person could have taken place and what kind of feelings and thoughts the secret police men that had to carry out the observation could have exchanged via radio communication. Papp refers to the famous satire *The Witness*, from 1969 on the Stalinist era in Hungary by Péter Bacsó and underlines the ridiculousness of the instruction film narrations themselves. I received the transcript of the interview by Gábor Zsigmond Papp.

In 2004, Gábor Zsigmond Papp was the first to make a documentary about the instruction films that were produced by the Hungarian MI filmstudio between 1959 and 1989. He called his film *Life of An Agent*, because he found that the "normal" work of a secret police employee was the major topic of these films.³⁶ He was soon followed by Holger Kulick, a German journalist who released a documentary in 2006 about the *Images of the Enemies* that he found the Stasi illustrated in their films, produced from 1945 to 1989.³⁷ Other than Papp, he did not focus just on the instruction films, but tried to give a profile of all the film genres that are preserved in the BStU-archive today, including raw film material with not verifiable purpose, films for the cultivation of MfS tradition and PR productions like *Cool Head, Hot Heart, Clean Hands* from 1967 that was supposed to 'sell' the State Security to a broader public.³⁸

The approach of the source material from a film scholarly and filmmaker's perspective in this first chapter is supposed to clarify a first set of questions that will be elaborated in the following two chapters: In what kind of *Medienverbund*-environment were the films produced? What purposes did they serve, and how do they actually look like, or, to phrase it differently, how is the message conveyed (picture-sound-combination)?

³⁶ *Az ügynök élete.*

³⁷ Even though the Ministry for State Security was only built in 1950, the BStU archive holds film material from 1945 already. See footnote 31, and *Feindbilder*.

³⁸ BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 98: *Kühler Kopf, heißes Herz, saubere Hände*, 100 min, 16 mm, 1140 metres, sound, black and white, 1967

2. The State Securities as Film Producers

Which unit of the ministries that housed the State Securities produced what kind of films, and how were they produced? Where did the ideas for the films come from, who directed the movies, and who played in them? How were they funded, and with what technical equipment were they made? These are the questions that shall be answered in this chapter.

While posing these questions for a comparison between the Hungarian and the GDR State Security films, it turns out that even the questions have to be asked differently because of the different premises: in Hungary, the instruction films were produced *for*, and in the GDR *by* the State Security. In the GDR every main department of the MfS produced its own movies with the devices it had at hand. This is how the "found-footage-films"³⁹ especially of the main department II, the counterintelligence came about; whereas in Hungary the film producing unit of the MI was a central film studio in Budapest where all the films were made with screenplays and actors.

I argue that the films as by-products of the institutions that made them can give an insight into the work process of this institution. In addition, the fact that the State Security in the GDR had its own ministry from 1950, while in Hungary it was

³⁹ *Kino der Geheimdienste*, 34. Here, a general "found-footage-method" is attributed to the entire MfS film production. But I argue that especially the main department II used this method to make its films, while other departments, mainly the Central Evaluation and Information Group (ZAIG) were more professional in this sense.

housed by the Ministry of Interior from 1946⁴⁰ has an influence on the style, the kind, and the making of the films. Additionally to public relations movies for an external public and instruction films for internal use only that existed both in the GDR and in Hungary, the MfS produced a whole range of films for the cultivation of traditions (*Traditionspflege*) in order to establish a "functional memory" of the MfS, as BStU archivist Katrin Rübenstrunk points out.⁴¹ While in Hungary the film production was organised according to five-year-plans on ministerial orders,⁴² in the GDR different procedures can be traced.

Since in this thesis I am going to focus on the Honecker-era in the GDR and the Kádár-era in Hungary, it is the structure of the two ministries in the time period of the late 1950s to 1989 that underlies my comparison. I will therefore give a short outline of the basic structure of both State Securities before coming to the questions of film production in the sub-chapters.

In the GDR, the Ministry for State Security was led by Erich Mielke from 1957 until 1989. All main departments, sections, working groups etc. of the MfS were directly subordinated to him and his five representatives. The GDR Intelligence Service (*Hauptverwaltung Aufklärung* or HVA) was an extra branch of the ministry that was led by the representative of the Minister, Markus Wolf, until

40 Gábor Tabajdi, and Krisztián Ungváry, "Ungarn," Lukasz Kaminski, Krzysztof Persak, and Jens Gieseke, eds., *Handbuch der kommunistischen Geheimdienste in Osteuropa 1944-1991* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 485.

41 *Verzeichnis der Filme und Videos des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der DDR*, IV.

42 HU OSA Fonds 394: *Records of the Film Studio of the Hungarian Ministry of Interior*, described by Miklós Tamási, 2006.

1986. Also the Socialist Unity Party (SUP) had a seat in the MfS, but did not underlie its hierarchical structure. It organised the Party work among the State Security staff.⁴³ Most of these departments, working groups, and even the district committee of the SUP produced films or were in some way involved in the film production of the MfS.

In Kádár's Hungary, the State Security was the central administration III of the Ministry of Interior. It consisted of five administrations and six branches.⁴⁴ Here, the films were not produced by, but for the State Security in a central film studio in Budapest, at 66 Izabella utca. Whether these films upon their production were attributed to a certain administration of the central administration III is difficult to tell and is only clear in a few cases that I am going to talk about in chapter three.

Ideas for New Films

Where did the ideas for new films for the State Securities come from? First of all, there is a major difference between public relations films and the instruction movies, both in the Hungarian and in the GDR case. The ideas for the PR productions can in many cases be traced back to their political background, to

⁴³ Its main task was the conduct of the Party work at the MfS. For this purpose, there was also a department for agitation and propaganda with a branch for cultural activities: *Anatomie der Staatssicherheit: Geschichte, Struktur, Methoden (MfS-Handbuch)*, eds. Klaus-Dietmar Henke, Siegfried Suckut, Clemens Vollnhals, et al. (Berlin: BSTU, 1996), 372.

⁴⁴ Tabajdi/Ungváry, "Ungarn," *Handbuch der kommunistischen Geheimdienste in Osteuropa*, 493-494.

ministerial orders or political events that the films reacted to, whereas this is more difficult to tell in the case of the instruction films. The third chapter will deal with the instruction films and also try to find out something about their origins, i.e. the occasions from which they were made. In the present sub-chapter, I will talk more generally about the film production in the two ministries. This means that I will not focus only on the instruction films here, but take into consideration the PR movies and the films for an internal cultivation of traditions of the MfS as well.

The MI film production in Hungary was organised according to three-year plans until 1980,⁴⁵ and thereafter according to five-year-plans "which was disregarded only in extraordinary cases, such as serious firearm accidents, successful illegal border crossings, or major fires."⁴⁶ The ideas for the films came from "the specific organs and the educational institutions" and had to be approved by the representative of the Minister of Interior on yearly meetings.⁴⁷

The regular film production for the State Security embraced the visualization of orders and regulations from the Minister of Interior, such as the so-called

45 ÁBTL 4.1. A-4333: *A belügyi oktató- és propagandafilmek gyártásának elvei, feladatai (1978-1980 között)*, 1977

46 HU OSA Fonds 394: *Records of the Film Studio of the Hungarian Ministry of Interior*, described by Miklós Tamási, 2006. For the period from 1978-1980, the booklet about the guidelines and tasks of the MI film factory states the failure of two unscheduled films. ÁBTL 4.1. A-4333: *A belügyi oktató- és propagandafilmek gyártásának elvei, feladatai (1978-1980 között)*, 1977, 3.

47 "A szakmai szervek és a tanintézetek filmtémajavaslatai alapján összeállított hároméves filmgyártási terv évenkénti részterveit a személyügyi miniszterhelyettes hagyta jóvá." ÁBTL 4.1. A-4333: *A belügyi oktató- és propagandafilmek gyártásának elvei, feladatai (1978-1980 között)*, 1977, 3.

regulations 3/r (installing of bugging devices) or 3/z (copying of keys),⁴⁸ the installation of material mailboxes⁴⁹ or the recruiting of new 'agents' for their services⁵⁰ – all topics of permanent interest in the State Security. In the trailers of the Hungarian instruction films, usually only quite general statements are made about the necessity of the movie. In *File B – Recruiting of An Intelligence Agent* from 1975, the beginning of the film contains cuts from other State Security instruction films. The narration ranges from the aggressivity of the enemy to the tasks of the State Security and its technical equipment to finally come to the point that technology can not substitute for the work of the human being. This is the justification for the recruitment of informers for the State Security, and the feature-length film (86 min) continues to show the proceedings of such a case. Who wrote the screenplay? What was the occasion for making this film at this time? We do not know. No evidence is left or has so far been discovered in the archives.

In the Eastern German case some of the films can be traced back to their origins, i.e. the underlying ideas and where they came from. In *Operative Psychology*, one of the instruction films for the GDR border troops from 1974, the Party District Committee is explicitly named as provider of the film idea in the trailer: "The stimulus for this film was given by the district delegates-conference of

48 HU OSA 394-0-1, DVD 42: *Az operatív technikai rendszerek és módszerek alkalmazása*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year.

49 HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 5: *Tárgyi postaládák telepítése*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1975.

50 HU OSA 394-0-1, DVD 61: *"B" ügydosszié – egy hírszerző ügynök beszerzése*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1975 (long version)

the Socialist Unity Party – the Party Committee in the Ministry for State Security – on February 15th, 1974." The film was a coproduction of the main department VI,⁵¹ the Department for Agitation and the Juridical College of the MfS. The preceding motto, displayed together with a photograph of the Russian cosmonaut Wladimir Shatalov, is: "I bow to the people who even in peace live according to the laws of war."⁵²

The film introduces the daily routine of the border troops (passport control etc.). We see smiling travellers from West Berlin and friendly border guards from East Berlin on a sunny day, the scenes being accompanied by dance music. The mood changes when a border guard is interviewed about a special incident that took place at one of the border checkpoints from East- to West Berlin. The story that unveils from the following interviews with four young border guards is that one of their colleagues, whom they refer to as "the terrorist," wanted to escape to West Berlin. He took one of his colleagues hostage, having his machine gun at the ready, and ordered the others to let him pass the border. After a moment of confusion, they set off the alarm and shot him while the hostage could be released.

This case is presented in the film as an ideological victory over a "terrorist" which had only been possible thanks to the cooperation of the team and the (ideological) instructions they had received in advance. One of the interviewed young men, asked for the thoughts that crossed his mind in the moment this

51 The HA VI was mainly responsible for passport control and other related tasks. *Anatomie der Staatssicherheit*, 234-251.

52 BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 139.

incident happened, says:

Thoughts? Many. Um, the most important thought maybe that in service meetings they talked a lot about terroristic acts, about, um, what measures could be taken, how we had to behave in order to, um, to defeat those terroristic acts. [...] the only thing was that the terrorist had to be defanged, with what measures that was unimportant, only that none of the travellers and of our own people would be endangered.⁵³

The film was produced in a professional manner, with the technical equipment of the "filmstudio agitation" of the then Department for Agitation (later the Central Evaluation and Information Group of the MfS, or ZAIG)⁵⁴. The ZAIG was directly subordinated to the Minister himself. It was the central film producing unit of the MfS where also the film archive was accommodated.⁵⁵

All new film ideas had to be directed to the ZAIG, as for example in the case of a film that the main department VIII (observation and investigation) wanted to make about the "hostile activities" (*Feindtätigkeit*) of the three western Military Liaison Missions (MLM) on GDR territory in August 1985. The MLM consisted of a limited number of militaries from the three western allies on GDR territory, and of Soviet military on FRG (Federal Republic of Germany) territory.⁵⁶ Their legal status was based on reciprocal agreements between the western allies and the Soviet

53 BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 139 (my translation)

54 BStU MfS BdL Dok 8057, 1.

55 The catalogue of the ZAIG film archive is partly preserved in BStU MfS SED KL Nr. 2956. Two types of films were listed here: fiction films and documentaries, each structured into 12 or 13 topic-groups. The documentary-section also contained in-house productions of the MfS.

56 Every side was allowed to station up to 63 officers on the territory of the enemy. Kristie Macrakis, *Die Stasi-Geheimnisse. Methoden und Techniken der DDR-Spionage*, German transl. Frank M. von Berger, and Dirk Oetzmann (München: F. A. Herbig, 2009), 320-321.

Union that had been formed immediately after the Second World War. With their quasi diplomatic status, the MLM were known to carry out espionage, but due to the agreements they remained untouchable which was a constant *bête noire* for the Stasi. However, incidents occurred, a politically sensitive one was the death of major Arthur D. Nicholson of the US MLM in the GDR, who was shot by a Soviet soldier in March 1985.⁵⁷

This might have been a reason for the Stasi to hand in yet another film concept in 1985 on the MLM for public relations.⁵⁸ In this case, a PR production was planned that aimed at warning the public of establishing contact to the western MLM. On the contrary should the GDR population be motivated to report them. In order to achieve this goal by the movie, "the function of espionage as immediate preparation for the war should be demonstrated more clearly," according to the ZAIG who examined the film proposal and sent back its opinion of the screenplay in September 1986 after having consulted four other departments of the MfS as well (the HA I, II, HVA and the office of Mielke-representative Neiber).⁵⁹

The head of the ZAIG also gave films in commission, for example after a film

⁵⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_Liaison_Missions (accessed 2011-05-20)

⁵⁸ BStU MfS HA VIII Nr. 8005, 1-2. It would not have been the first time that the Stasi reacted to such an incident. This topic has been worked on over several years by the MfS film makers. There are many different film versions of this topic in the archive. One of them is entitled "*Memorial Stone Mariotti: About the fatal accident of the member of the French Military Liaison Mission Philippe Mariotti in the GDR*". HA VIII, Fi, Nr. 2, without date. But the Stasi was powerless against the MLM. See: *Kino der Geheimdienste*, 35. All they could do was to occasionally confiscate their optical equipment. See: MfS HA VIII, Fi, Nr. 63: *Die subversive Tätigkeit der drei westlichen MVM auf dem Gebiet der DDR*, 34 min, 16 mm, 225 m, sound, black and white, 1970.

⁵⁹ BStU MfS HA VIII Nr. 8005, 9-10.

topic had already been successful. In May 1987, the branch no. 6 (for public relations and the cultivation of MfS tradition) of the ZAIG got the task to work out a concept for another film on the topic "Attacks of Western Intelligence Services Against Our Travelling Cadres."⁶⁰ There had already been a movie on these issues in which some GDR scientists who were allowed to travel to congresses in foreign countries talked about attempts to recruit them for western intelligence services.⁶¹ PR productions like this became frequent during the 1980s, when the MfS had troubles to keep its image of the enemies alive even in their own lines, especially after Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union in 1985.⁶² Two PR productions by the ZAIG that illustrate the desperate attempt to keep up the old enemy-image were two films from 1986 and 1989 in which GDR citizens were interviewed that had left the country (legally, via a request to the state, the so-called *Ausreiseantrag*), but had come back to the GDR disillusioned by the FRG dog-eat-dog society.⁶³

For the continuation and deepening of the film *Good morning, passport*

60 BStU MfS ZAIG Nr. 26198, 1-2.

61 BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 105: *Vertrauensbeweis – DDR Wissenschaftler im Visier imperialistischer Geheimdienste*, 16 mm, 494 Meter, sound, colour, 1987.

62 Jens Gieseke, *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit: Personalstruktur und Lebenswelt 1950-1989/90* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2000), 449-450.

63 BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 89: *Zurückgekehrt – Interview mit Enttäuschten*, 16 mm, 617 m, sound, colour, 1986. And still in August 1989 the ZAIG produced interviews of this kind: BStU MfS ZAIG, Vi, Nr. 228: *Interview im August 1989 mit Rückkehrern über ihre Erfahrungen in der BRD und ihre Beweggründe zur Rückkehr*, VHS, 55 min, sound, 1989. The main department XVIII, too, made a film about this topic: BStU MfS HA XVIII, Vi, Nr. 2: *Illusionen*, VHS, 25 min, sound, 1989.

control, produced by the main department VI (passport control) in 1981,⁶⁴ another film was planned in 1986. It was supposed to give a "concrete illustration and explanation of the content, basic tasks and basic processes of passport control and its placement into the context of control processes during border passage."⁶⁵ The archival documents on this second film, entitled *Border Passage*⁶⁶ are already quite complete and contain the whole screenplay of the movie, a declaration of purpose, and suggestions about how to employ it and comment on it during the instruction sessions.⁶⁷

Another stimulus for film ideas came from anniversaries of which there were always plenty to celebrate in the GDR and even more so in the MfS. A list from the SUP District Committee names ten anniversaries of particular importance just for the year 1985.⁶⁸ Additionally to the single main departments and working groups of the MfS, the SUP District Committee that organised the Party work of the State Security staff obliged them to join leisure groups for cultural activities, among which also the "Circle of Filming Chekists." The "Filming Chekists" as well as the other leisure groups (a singing group, a "professional group" for numismatics, a group for painting and graphics, the working group "Writing Chekists", groups for

64 BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 142.

65 BStU MfS HA VI Nr. 16761, 1-2 (my translation)

66 BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 140: *Grenzpassage*, 16 mm, 493 m, mute, colour, around 1986.

67 BStU MfS HA VI Nr. 16761, 1-66.

68 BStU MfS SED KL Nr. 4814, 40-41: the 40th anniversary of Ernst Thälmann's murder in the Buchenwald concentration camp, the 35th anniversary of the GDR; the 40th anniversary of the death of Richard Sorge; the 35th anniversary of the MfS; the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Buchenwald concentration camp; the 40th anniversary of the liberation from Hitler-fascism, to just name a few of them.

dance tunes, discotheques, cabarett, and – new in the programm since 1985 – the group "Magic Art for Amateurs")⁶⁹ had to come up with ideas on how to observe the festivities.⁷⁰ The "Circle of Filming Chekists" planned a film about the life of Karl Kleinjung, a former member of the MfS, originally for the XI Party congress of the SUP and the 100th birthday of Ernst Thälmann. But the draft of the film holds a pencil note at the end, reading: "not manageable in time."⁷¹

Connected to the anniversaries are film ideas that followed the opportunity to make the film in a certain moment, i.e. documentations of MfS internal events. These recordings also belong to the genre of movies on the cultivation of traditions of the MfS. When the GDR Intelligence Service, the HVA invited two female Soviet chekists, Natasha and Maria, in June 1984, this event was recorded, and the recording was commented by the narrator, giving interesting insights into his understanding of the film's purpose:

Strictly in confidence, they [the two chekists] do not like it at all that we are now making a video recording here, but I told them, you see, we are at the school of the Reconnaissance, and from here films do not get out. We are staying among us [laughter in the audience], and additionally we want to give you the chance to watch the movie, um, because we want to record

69 All of those groups had to contribute to the "further development of the peoples' cultural and artistic creativity." (my translation) BStU MfS SED KL Nr. 5035, 13. The District Working Group "Magic Art for Amateurs" justified its importance like this: "Their aim consists particularly in contributing with their leisure activity politically responsibly and usefully for the society to critically grapple with superstition, belief in miracles, mysticism and occultism on a scientific and materialistic ideological basis." (my translation) BStU MfS SED KL Nr. 5035, 112.

70 BStU MfS SED KL Nr. 4814, 103-106.

71 BStU MfS SED KL Nr. 4814, 111.

your presence at our school and we want to use it [the film] later.⁷²

The high self confidence of the inner security of the MfS as well as a certain vagueness about the exact purpose of the film material can be read into these lines. The main point was obviously to gather the material in order to have it at hand for whatever later usage. This gatherer-attitude of the MfS personnel is visible also in many other films whose original purpose can not be clearly reconstructed today.

In Hungary, the order to destroy any recorded video- as well as audio material within 60 days of its evaluation⁷³ was obviously obeyed, since there are no raw film stripes left, no observation films and no recordings of interrogations, which makes it difficult to get behind the development of the underlying ideas for the films as well.

Directors and Actors

To start with the Hungarian case again: Only very few names of film directors are left, usually for the documentaries and report films and for the fiction films that were produced by the film studio of the MI, but also in some of the early instruction films from the late 1950s to the early 1970s.

One of the directors of State Security instruction films in the 1960s and early 1970s was János Lestár (1931-2011). He made *Secrets and People* and *Secrecy*.⁷⁴

⁷² BStU MfS HV A, Vi, Nr. 98: *Veranstaltung an der HV A-Schule am 28.6.1984 mit zwei russischen Tschekistinnen, Natascha und Maria*, 1984, colour, sound.

⁷³ *Az ügynök élete*.

⁷⁴ HU OSA 394-O-1: Tape 1, 2: *Titkok és emberek*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1970, and

Both deal with the national defense in the military and show the serious consequences it can have if young soldiers reveal state secrets to strangers. For the instruction film *Keeping the Secret* the director was Tamás Rényi.⁷⁵ This film demonstrates the dangers of babbling in the military forces in an almost comic way, animated with cartoons, tables, and using theatre-like performative sequences. In those films, professional actors play. In the movie *Secret Collaborator* from 1962, the well-known Hungarian actor István Avar plays the protagonist, a State Security officer who blackmails a man in order to recruit him as an informant.⁷⁶

But things changed within the Hungarian State Security instruction films in the first half of the 1970s. About half of them were produced during the period from 1973 to 1978.⁷⁷ For these films no directors are named, nor are any actor's names listed in the trailer. Some of them feature normal policemen. For others, however, professional and well-known actors were hired as in the case of the already mentioned *File B – Recruiting of An Intelligence Agent* from 1975.

HU OSA 394-O-1: Tape 2: *Titokvédelem*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year. Also in ÁBTL 4.9.-F-18, and ÁBTL 4.9.-F-1. See also Baracsi, "Állambiztonsági oktatófilmek a Történeti Levéltárban," *Trezor*, 329-338.

75 ÁBTL 4.9.-F-2, *Titoktartás*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, directed by Tamás Rényi, without year.

76 HU OSA 394-O-1: Tape 4: *Titkos munkatárs*, without year, and ÁBTL 4.9.-F-11, *Titkos munkatárs*, MI branch for education and methods, Policefilm, 1962. According to the OSA film catalogue, this is a fiction film, whereas the ÁBTL describes it as an instruction film: Baracsi, "Állambiztonsági oktatófilmek a Történeti Levéltárban," *Trezor*, 329-338.

77 In the period from 1975-1979, 25 films were produced for the State Security, according to the booklet about the tasks of the MI film factory during the 5-year-period from 1986-1990. ÁBTL 4.1. A-4332: *A Belügyminisztériumi filmgyártás feladatai a VII. ötéves tervben és a Belügyminisztérium ötéves (1986-1990) könyvkiadói terve*, Budapest: BM Könyvkiadó, 1986.

In this movie, the Hungarian girlfriend of the French diplomat who is to be recruited as an informant is played by Angela Császár, who said in an interview in 2004 that she had never been part of any legal or illegal organisation and that she had considered her roles in these movies normal roles, since she worked according to a contract and got paid for her work. But she could only remember having acted in two films for the Ministry of Interior.⁷⁸ The one in which I recognised her was apparently not one of them, since in the newspaper article she stated to have played a police woman which is not the case in *File B*.⁷⁹ The male role of the French diplomat Pascale Darié in this film is played by Jácint Juhász (1943-1999), who had been an actor in the Budapest Madách Theatre from 1967.⁸⁰

The reason why the film studio chose to engage professional actors for this movie and for the film *Secret Collaborator* from 1962 might be that in both films the focus is on the psychological side of the story which actors could express in a much more professional way. In his article on "State Security and Psychology" Béla Révész lists the points that the Soviet KGB considered important for recruiting new collaborators and that the Hungarian State Security took over. To psychologically estimate the candidate for becoming an informant was held to be very important. In this context, 'legend'-building played a significant role as well, since it connected "in a logical way plausible events with real stories, taking into consideration the

78 Klára Varga, "Szakszerűen beszervezett ügynökök: Képdokumentumok a félmúltból – BM-oktatófilmek tanítottak a másik legősbibb mesterség fogásaira," *Magyar Nemzet*, 2004-12-06, 15.

79 Ibid.

80 http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juhász_Jácint (accessed 2011-05-20)

individual's features, for example the character of the agent, special events of his life, his social contacts and his life's journey."⁸¹

In *File B – Recruiting of An Intelligence Agent*, an operative group from the Hungarian State Security, specialised in psychology, comes together to find out a suitable 'legend' for the French diplomat, how to get him to work for them. They make use of his Hungarian girlfriend by offering both of them a way to get over the obstacles that seem to prevent them from getting married, everything supported by operative methods such as wiretapping them in the girl's summer house, and finally convince the Frenchman in a long talk to work for them.⁸² The topic must have been important enough as to hire professional actors for this film.⁸³

Most of the time lay actors were employed for playing in the Hungarian instruction films. Instead of playing a certain character, they were rather representing figures in a work process. This estimation can be illustrated with an example from the film *Self-control and Counter-surveillance* from 1974.⁸⁴ In this film, the students are instructed how one follows a person without being noticed

81 Béla Révész, "Állambiztonság és pszichológia," *Beszélő* 5 (May 2005) URL:

<http://beszelo.c3.hu/cikkek/allambiztonsag-es-pszichologia> (accessed 2010-11-15) (my translation)

82 HU OSA 394-O-1, DVD 61: *"B" ügydosszié – egy hírszerző ügynök beszerzése*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1975.

83 As for the question why they accepted the role, there are many possible answers (they had to, because they were state employees; they were afraid to not get any other role if they rejected the offer; they found the roles actually interesting etc.), but this does not primarily interest me in this thesis.

84 HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 3: *Önellenőrzés és ellenfigyelés*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1974.

oneself. The followed man is played by a normal policeman⁸⁵ who acts in most of the instruction films that were made during the period from 1973-1978. He is well recognisable by his laterally protruding ears and his calm and sober appearance.

But looking at his appearance in the other films from the 1970s one notices that there is no consistency in the roles the policeman gets in the instruction films. Notwithstanding his potentials as a carrier of sympathy, he sometimes takes the role of the "subject person,"⁸⁶ but occasionally also plays a State Security staff member.⁸⁷ This inconsistency with the actor – role identification also suggests that the main message was not the portrayal of the "enemy" as in the Eastern German equivalents, but of the work processes of an "agent" of the State Security.

In the GDR, information about directors and actors for the films is not to be found. Most likely, there were no single directors for each film, and for the kind of "found-footage-movies"⁸⁸ they made they usually did not need any actors. As a matter of fact, the in-house productions of the MfS raise the question what an actor is in the first place. An actor simply defined as a person who is playing a role (leaving aside the professional and financial part of the activity) would inevitably bring up the question of evidence, of authenticity. When a man who was caught by

85 This information was given to me by Miklós Tamási in the Open Society Archive in Budapest, who had talked to the man a few years earlier.

86 As also in the movies *Installing Material Mailboxes*: HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 5: *Tárgyi postaládák telepítése*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1975 and *Surveillance Operation*: HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 9: *Figyelési akció*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1978.

87 As in *Delivery of Intelligence Material*: HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 3: *Anyagátadási találkozó*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1973, or HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 2: *A kémelhárítás csapdája*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1973.

88 *Kino der Geheimdienste*, 34.

the border troops when he tried to escape from the GDR through the Baltic Sea is forced to demonstrate in an instruction film for the executive organ of the MfS how his escape was to be carried out,⁸⁹ is he not an actor of his own (past) role?

What did the Stasi believe to be authentic? Why did they make these films in the first place? Everything points to the fact that they did not put their camera- and audio recordings into question. This question will be explored in the third chapter when I talk about the counterintelligence instruction films in the GDR and in Hungary. For this sub-chapter, I will just give one more example for the second, limited definition of what an actor is in the MfS films.

In the instruction film *Combat and Unmasking of Travel Espionage by Citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany*⁹⁰ from 1973-1977, the actor of the reconstructed scenes is a member of the district administration of Frankfurt/Oder. His playing the role of the female accused western German spy is justified by the narrator in the film by his (the district administration member's) personal observation of the woman. Having seen her behaviour in front of the military object in operative mission, he was probably chosen to play her, because he for that reason was believed to give her actions the most exact equivalence.

The question of the director, too, for the MfS films has to be slightly transformed in order to give information. What is traceable are the departments or

89 HA IX, Fi, Nr. 168: *Untersuchungsexperiment der geheimdienstlichen Unterwasserausbildung im Ermittlungsverfahren gegen [Name]*, 1977, 16 mm, 250 m, sound, black and white.

90 BStU MfS HA II, Fi, Nr. 19-21: *Bekämpfung und Entlarvung der Reisespionage durch BRD-Bürger*, 1973-1977, 16 mm, 740 m (40 min), black and white, sound.

MfS district administrations that were involved in the film making. For the instruction films, there were file cards set up that contained the title of the film, the departments involved in its production, and the content of the film in notes. The file cards also contain the dates and places that the film had been rented. Within the main departments, the films, once ready, had to be accepted by their heads. For example the file card for the film "*Antwort II*"⁹¹ from 1989 has a remark on it saying that it has not been released, because the head of the main department II has not yet accepted it.⁹² Maybe in 1989, if it was later in the year, he did not have the chance to do so anymore, because he was overwhelmed by the events, but this is just speculation.

The definition of what a director and especially what an actor is in this kind of films is difficult to answer. As I have shown in this sub-chapter, there are big differences between the Hungarian and the Eastern German State Security instruction films. The next sub-chapter will address the issue of the film funding and their technical equipment.

Funding and Technical Equipment

Again, I have to start with a warning of the fragmentary nature of this sub-chapter since there is not much evidence left on these technical issues of the State Securites' film production, even though in the case of the MfS, a former member of the HVA

⁹¹ BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 59: "*Antwort II*," VHS, 39 min, colour, sound, 1989.

⁹² BStU MfS HA II, Nr. 41956, 77.

remembered that he had never seen such a meticulous billing as in the MfS.⁹³ There is no reason to doubt that his claim was not limited only to the Intelligence Service of the Stasi. It was probably also true for the film production in all its departments.

In Hungary, where the film production was more centralised than in the MfS of the GDR, there must have been a budget for the films to be produced during the three- and five-year-periods. Here, too, all the expenses had to be billed. There is one single document left about the prices for 62 copies of the State Security instruction film *Self-control and Counter-surveillance* from 1974, made, however, in 1990, that counts a total sum of 2,915,000 Hungarian Forints.⁹⁴ Other leftover documents from the film studio in Budapest contain bills for single tasks in connection with the films, such as text-writing and microphone-work.⁹⁵ The booklet about the guidelines and tasks of the MI film factory from 1977 states the consumption of the entire 19.6 million Forints that were provided for it.⁹⁶

All the Hungarian instruction films were made on 16 mm or 35 mm film

93 Ariane Riecker, Annett Schwarz, and Dirk Schneider, eds., *Stasi intim: Gespräche mit ehemaligen MfS-Mitarbeitern* (Leipzig: Forum Verlag, 1990), 72.

94 "Kimutatás az 1990. évben elkészült filmekről." HU OSA 394-O-2: *Records of the Film Studio of the MI*, Documents, box 1. Taking into consideration that at that time a bread cost 3.60 Forint, the amount would equal 100 times as much a sum today.

95 They fall out of the time frame a bit, since they are all from 1991 and concern a film with the title *Global Passport (Világútlevel)* that is not in the archive among the other MI films. However, in 1991 the microphone work was paid with 12,000 Forint, the sound-engineer (hangmérnök) as well as the cameraman received 20,000 Forint, and the organizer of statisticians (statisztaszervezői) 12,500 Forint. HU OSA 394-O-2: *Records of the Filmstudio of the MI*, Documents, box 1.

96 ÁBTL 4.1. A-4333: *A belügyi oktató- és propagandafilmek gyártásának elvei, feladatai (1978-1980 között)*, 1977, 4.

rolls,⁹⁷ whereas the BStU archive in Berlin-Lichtenberg is proud to own the devices to play all known sorts of films: from 8 mm, Super 8 to 16 mm, 35 mm, and video tapes. They need this equipment, because in the MfS every department made films with the equipment they had. This could lead to difficulties in the MfS for the availability of the instruction films especially, since the department or branch that wanted to rent the film might not have been able to play it with the devices they had, as a diploma thesis of a member of the main department for personal security (of the GDR representatives) in the MfS suggests. He pointed to the difficulties he met when he tried to make films of his department's own production available to the other branches: out of six different branches, only one had the same technical requisites for playing video tapes, the others used different systems that were or completely incompatible (in three cases) or had to use an adapter for playing the films (in two cases).⁹⁸

This does not mean that the Stasi did not know what it was doing. The many different types of technical devices might have had a purpose for the protection of the inner conspiracy as well, so that not all films would be available to all the branches.⁹⁹ The professional film producing unit of the MfS, however, was the

97 "BM Filmstúdió selejtezési jegyzőkönyv" (Budapest, 1986-02-25) HU OSA 394-O-2: *Records of the Film Studio of the MI*, Documents, box 1.

98 BStU MfS HA PS Nr. 832, 23.

99 In Hungary, the conspiracy in the film factory was maintained by the rule that the there working staff did not know the title of the film it was working on, but just a number instead. Additionally, in the laboratory there was always a member of the State Security present who watched over the laboratory employees. ÁBTL 4.1. A-4333: *A belügyi oktató- és propagandafilmek gyártásának elvei, feladatai (1978-1980 között)*, 1977, 6-7.

ZAIG. Since all films had to be made in cooperation with this group, a certain consistency and professionalism could be safeguarded when a film was produced out of different types of raw material.

These types of raw material could be: recordings from surveillance cameras that observed public spaces,¹⁰⁰ rooms that were used for interrogations as well as hotel rooms and -bars,¹⁰¹ material from 8 mm filmcameras,¹⁰² and from all sorts of other filmcameras that were available in the ZAIG and the main departments, audio material mainly from interrogations,¹⁰³ and recordings from TV broadcasts that the main department II used frequently especially in their later productions from 1985/86 onwards.¹⁰⁴

In Hungary, there is one single exception to the film studio-produced instruction movies. In the film *Diplomat* from around 1963-1965, original film material seems to be inserted. The film is about an Italian military attaché who takes photographs of a large field maneuver of the Warsaw Pact States in Hungary, southwest of Budapest, as a result of which he is being arrested for espionage.¹⁰⁵

Renting films from other places also cost the State Securities money. The MfS obviously rented instruction films from the National Peoples' Army of the GDR on a

100BStU MfS Sekr. Schwanitz Nr. 451, 2-4.

101 See also Macrakis, *Die Stasi-Geheimnisse*, 324-328.

102 BStU MfS SED KL Nr. 5035, 33.

103 Macrakis, *Die Stasi-Geheimnisse*, 335-370.

104 The best examples for this "found-footage-method" of the main department II are the films *Lucifer's Ordinance* from 1986, and *Who is Who?* from 1987: BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 76, and BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 119.

105 HU OSA 394-O-1: DVD 77, *Diplomata*. Miklós Tamási from the OSA hinted at this rare case of original observation film material.

regular basis, so that in 1980 they agreed upon a fixed yearly rate for film renting, an amount of 250,000 Mark.¹⁰⁶ In Hungary, this procedure might not have been necessary, even though besides the film studio of the MI there existed another one, the MAFILM Military Studio (*MAFILM Katonai Studio*) that also produced instruction films.¹⁰⁷ It probably belonged to the Ministry of Defense. But there is no evidence that the State Security had to buy or rent the films produced in the MAFILM studio for money. It is more likely that the ministries worked together or that the Ministry of Interior occasionally had its movies made in the other film studio, too. This argument could be supported by two films in the Open Society Archive in Budapest that were made in the MAFILM studio by János Lestár, of which one was produced by the Ministry for Health,¹⁰⁸ the other one by the National Defense Commandant of Hungary.¹⁰⁹

The Hungarian Ministry of Interior seems to have been very generous with renting its films for free. Between 1968 and 1977, they sent 153 film copies to other

106 BStU MfS HA KuSch Nr. 22530, 3-7. This equals about 0.008% of the total expenses of the MfS in 1980. Gieseke, *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit*, 555.

107 The director of State Security instruction films, János Lestár, was working for this MAFILM studio from 1963 to 1974, according to <http://inforadio.hu/hir/kultura/hir-415886> (accessed 2011-05-20).

108 The film is entitled *The Organization and Running of First Aid Centers*, directed by János Lestár, without year: http://www.osaarchivum.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=318:orvosi-segelynyujto-helyek-megszervezese-es-mkoedese&catid=51:paranoia-recycling&Itemid=362 (accessed 2011-05-21)

109 This one is called *The Tasks of Regimental and Battalion Commanders In Organizing and Executing Rescue and Decontamination Operations*, directed by János Lestár, 1971. http://www.osaarchivum.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=339:ezred--zaszloalj-parancsnokok-tevekenysege-a-ment-mentesit-munkak-megszervezese-es-vegrehajtasasoran&catid=51:paranoia-recycling&Itemid=362 (accessed 2011-05-21)

socialist countries who requested them. The GDR was probably one of them, since the booklet that I am quoting here also mentions a travel of members of the Hungarian film factory to the GDR and two meetings of film factories from other socialist countries in Budapest.¹¹⁰

Fragmentary as it is, this sub-chapter offers a first approach to possible issues connected to the technical side of the film production by the State Securities of the GDR and for the People's Republic of Hungary.

¹¹⁰ ÁBTL 4.1. A-4333: *A belügyi oktató- és propagandafilmek gyártásának elvei, feladatai (1978-1980 között)*, 1977, 10.

3. The Counterintelligence Instruction Films

In this chapter I will focus on the instruction films only. To have a comparable basis, I chose the instruction films for the counterintelligences of both State Securities, which was in the GDR the main department II (or HA II) of the MfS, and in Hungary the administration III/II of the MI. The task of the counterintelligence was to "ensure the inner security" of their ministries, and to detect cases of espionage on their own national territory.¹¹¹

Not quite as notorious as their colleagues from the main department VIII for observation and investigation in the MfS¹¹² and its Hungarian equivalent, the administration III/III, responsible for the fight against the "inner reactionists,"¹¹³ the counterintelligence was still one of the largest departments of the State Securities. In the GDR, it had 1432 staff members in 1989.¹¹⁴ In Hungary, the number of personnel of the counterintelligence was higher than for the administration III/III, however, Tabajdi and Ungváry only give the number of informal collaborators working for the counterintelligence.¹¹⁵ This number does not

111 *Anatomie der Staatssicherheit*, 102. For Hungary: the regulation for the Central Administration III of the Ministry of Interior (1967): *Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára* (DVD ROM) (Budapest: Arcanum, 2007).

112 Macrakis, *Die Stasi-Geheimnisse*, 304.

113 Organization of the Central Administration III of the Ministry of Interior (1967): *Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára* (DVD ROM) (Budapest: Arcanum, 2007).

114 *Anatomie der Staatssicherheit*, 102.

115 According to the authors, the counterintelligence had more personnel than the administration III/III. Tabajdi/Ungváry, "Ungarn," *Handbuch der kommunistischen Geheimdienste in Osteuropa*, table 12, 540 and 534.

correspond to the number of its full time staff members as in the GDR case. In Hungary, so far no study equivalent to the dissertation of Jens Gieseke about the cadres of the State Security has been made.¹¹⁶

But Tabajdi and Ungváry do point out another important fact about the counterintelligence in their article: the overlapping competences with the administration III/III against its own population by means of classifying types of "ideological diversion or 'maceration.'"¹¹⁷ Looking through the Hungarian instruction films in order to find the ones that were made for the counterintelligence, this concept broadens the picture of their tasks and also brings in the films in which, for example, *Documenting Moving Targets With Disguised Devices* is demonstrated.¹¹⁸

In the MfS, more than ten percent of the in-house productions (in total 118 films) were produced by the main department II.¹¹⁹ And it was probably involved in the making of even more of the MfS films.¹²⁰ So here, a major part of the in-house productions was found, most of the instruction movies, and the most interesting films, too. Besides the classification of the enemies, the MfS officers' own work always had to be justified in these movies.

¹¹⁶With the definition of Jens Gieseke meaning "all in Party-business acting full-time staff members." Gieseke, *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit*, 35.

¹¹⁷Tabajdi/Ungváry, "Ungarn," *Handbuch der kommunistischen Geheimdienste in Osteuropa*, 535.

¹¹⁸HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 2: *Mozgó személyek dokumentálása álcázóba épített eszközökkel*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1975.

¹¹⁹*Verzeichnis der Filme und Videos des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der DDR*

¹²⁰As shown in chapter two, the HA II was also asked for comments on the film script about the MLM. BStU MfS HA VIII Nr. 8005, 9-10.

Again in this chapter, as in chapter two, I will have to ask different questions for the Hungarian and the GDR case, because the major part of the films in both countries was not produced during the same time. There is only one MfS counterintelligence instruction film, the first one, from the 1970s (the rest being from the 1980s) and, vice versa, only one State Security instruction film from the 1980s (the rest being from the late 1950s to the 1970s).

I will therefore follow the approach of Gábor Zsigmond Papp, the director of the documentary about the Hungarian instruction films, and ask for the tasks of the secret 'agents' of the counterintelligence. And with Holger Kulick, the journalist that made the documentary about the Stasi films, I will analyse the "images of the enemies" (*Feindbilder*) that are being mediated by the MfS counterintelligence instruction films. In addition to this, there is one more question that I extracted from Jens Gieseke's dissertation which can be applied to the MfS films: How did the counterintelligence of the GDR cope with the fact that the image of the enemies was dissolving towards the middle of the 1980s?¹²¹ Is the change visible in the instruction films of the HA II?

The answer to these question is always going to lean mainly onto one country's filmcorpus, but will, if possible, be nurtured with examples from the other state as well. I will start chronologically with the question for the Hungarian instruction films, and then go on to the questions for the MfS counterintelligence movies.

¹²¹ Gieseke, *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit*, 456-461.

Teamwork in the State Securities

As already pointed out, the tasks of the Hungarian counterintelligence, the administration III/II, overlapped with the competences of the administration III/III, the fight against the "inner reactionists," but not only with this. The "Organization of the Central Administration III" from 1967 lists the areas in which the administrations and branches of the State Security of the Ministry of Interior were supposed to collaborate. The administration III/I (the Intelligence Service) was held to work closely together with the counterintelligence for obvious reasons of information exchange on vice versa espionage in Hungary and the "capitalist" countries. The administration III/III had to report cases of "criminal actions" that would "endanger" the national economy or the armed forces to the counterintelligence. The administration III/IV (military defense) should collaborate with the counterintelligence in cases of espionage in the military, against military objects or in cases of prison breaks; and branch III/6 (observation and analysis of the environment) should have a regular exchange with the counterintelligence about the identifications (of persons) and about their (general) experiences.¹²²

In addition to the regulated cooperations in this document, the instruction films give yet another hint to the internal communication of the State Security's administrations. Administration III/V (the operative-technical sector), too, carried

¹²²This last one is not formulated very clearly: "Megállapításairól, tapasztalatairól időszakonként tájékoztatja a III/II. Csoportfőnökséget." "BM III. Főcsoportfőnökségének szervezete 1967-ben, no. 10-1837/1967," *Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára* (DVD ROM) (Budapest: Arcanum, 2007).

out work for the counterintelligence as shown in the films *Guest* and *Using Operational Technical Systems and Methods*, both without year, but probably from the mid- to the late 1970s.¹²³ Their commitment is demonstrated in cases of observation measures against presumed spies. In both films, weekend-houses that are going to be used by Austrian citizens (in the films described as spies that are about to meet their Hungarian informants) are prepared for the observation by the counterintelligence members' colleagues from the operative-technical sector. Especially in *Using Operational Technical Systems and Methods*, the work of the administration III/V is meticulously portrayed. Seeing the staff of the operative-technical sector build in a hidden camera and record the meeting between the Austrian and his informant on the roof of the house where this meeting takes place, all underlaid with lively music and technical comments of the narrator, almost persuades the viewer of the normality of the men's work. This illusion is highlighted by the fact that they are eating while watching the recordings. They are portrayed as normal mechanics who are righteously satisfied with their work, the functioning of the installed bugging devices that are delivering criminologically evaluable information.

The whole concept of producing instruction films for the State Security that embrace different branches give the viewer the feeling of just a small, but very well functioning as well as cooperative institution. What the booklet for the film festival

123 HU OSA 394-0-1, DVD 42: *Az operatív technikai rendszerek és módszerek alkalmazása*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year, and HU OSA 394-0-1: DVD 74: *Vendég*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year.

Cinema of the Secret Services in Berlin suggests for the Hungarian instruction film *Secret House Search* from 1962 is applicable to these films from the 1970s as well: "Its feature-film dramaturgy associates 'cinema' and thus non reality. It makes it easy for the student to forget that here it is all about a state-sanctioned intrusion into the private sphere of real persons."¹²⁴

The interwovenness of the Hungarian State Security branches and their close cooperation also relieved the film producers of the task to explain the exact occasion for its making. In the movie *Self-control and Counter-surveillance* from 1974,¹²⁵ for example, different methods of how to follow a person without being noticed oneself are demonstrated.¹²⁶ But the viewers are not told for what reason the person is followed. The fact that the observed person is named "subject person" was obviously considered enough information as for carrying out the task according to the rules shown in the movie. The same case is present in the film *Documenting Moving Targets With Disguised Devices* from 1975.¹²⁷ The students are shown different camera types and their features for hidden photography, and typical mistakes are pointed out when taking hidden pictures of "moving targets" i.e. persons. What makes those persons "targets", however, is not explained. Despite the fact that the Hungarian instruction films use a feature-film-like dramaturgy, no explaining plot

¹²⁴ *Kino der Geheimdienste*, 42 (my translation).

¹²⁵ HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 3: *Önellenőrzés és ellenfigyelés*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1974.

¹²⁶ The single 'chapters' of the film are divided by the types of public transportation and cars: following a person by tram, by metro, by bus etc.

¹²⁷ HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 2: *Mozgó személyek dokumentálása álcázóba épített eszközökkel*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1975.

is provided, no story or individual case.

There are two films in which the counterintelligence's work is portrayed more closely: *Trapped By Counterintelligence*, from 1973,¹²⁸ and *Unmasking of American Agent Árpád Papp*, from around 1978.¹²⁹ In the first film, the measure 3/e (radio communication) is introduced to show the well-coordinated cooperation of four different groups of the counterintelligence, all involved in the observation, identification and persecution of one man that has stolen secret documents. The case is not specific. The emphasis lies again on the demonstration of operational sequences. Animations are used to indicate the positions of the four groups, their communication via radio and their preparation for the observation beforehand.

In the film about the American spy, again professional actors are used. At the beginning and end of the movie, a photograph of Árpád Papp and his wife in court after being sentenced to 12 years of prison is shown, then the reconstruction of the case is played, with Jácint Juhász in the role of Árpád Papp. The inconsistency of using the same actors for the 'good' and the 'bad' guys that I have pointed out in chapter two is visible here as well, since Jácint Juhász played the French diplomat who then agreed to cooperate with the Hungarian State Security in *File B – Recruiting of An Intelligence Agent*¹³⁰ (i.e. the 'good guy'), whereas here he plays the morally corrupt spy for the CIA (i.e. the 'bad guy').¹³¹

128 HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 2: *A kémelhárítás csapdája*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1973.

129 HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 17: *Papp Árpád amerikai ügynök leleplezése*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year (ca. 1978).

130 HU OSA 394-0-1, DVD 61: *"B" ügydosszié – egy hírszerző ügynök beszerzése*, 1975

131 Árpád Papp is portrayed as an alcoholic with a strong interest in money. In one scene, Jácint

Making instruction films about concrete cases of espionage was not common in Hungary. This film is the only such case, but there are more films on single cases in the genre of documentaries for public relations, released not for internal use of the State Security, but for the Hungarian public.¹³² This is a major difference between the MfS counterintelligence films and the ones for the Hungarian *Állambiztonság*. In the MfS counterintelligence, basically all the instruction films dealt with concrete cases, but those were not released for the general public of the GDR. In Hungary, "the 'principle of prevention' as a concept appeared for the first time in an announcement of the Central Committee" in 1969.¹³³ It may well be that the appearance of two documentary films around that time on concrete cases of espionage by Hungarian citizens was in line with this new principle of the Party.

Coming back to the instruction film on the work of the Hungarian counterintelligence in the case of Árpád Papp, though, it differs from the other Hungarian instruction films made in the period from 1973-1978 in yet another detail: The narrator does not comment in the sober neutral style as in the other movies, but uses the pronoun "we" to describe the single steps that have been taken

Juhász plays Papp coming out of one pub, already drunk, and stumbling right into the neighbouring pub. Other than in the film *File B*, here he does not talk at all, so the playing scenes have to be even more expressive, almost pantomimic. HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 17: *Papp Árpád amerikai ügynök leleplezése*, (ca. 1978).

¹³² The films *The Kerényi Case* and *Sentence in a Case of Espionage*. HU OSA 394-0-1, Tape 17: *A Kerényi ügy*, directed by Zoltán Bendiner. ca. 1971 and HU OSA 394-0-1, DVD 75: *Ítélet kémügyben*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year.

¹³³ Tabajdi/Ungváry, "Ungarn," *Handbuch der kommunistischen Geheimdienste in Osteuropa*, 517.

by the administration III/I-1-A:¹³⁴ "We set up a personal file of him,"¹³⁵ or later in the film "we talked about the situation."¹³⁶ This language reinforces the impression of a strong team. Here, too, the cooperation with the other branches of the State Security is demonstrated. The film actually shows a laboratory where cryptographs are made visible. Besides the counterintelligence, the operative-technical sector and the branch III/5 for post-control¹³⁷ star in this film. The narrator's "we," however, does not include all branches of the State Security, but just actions that the counterintelligence carries out.¹³⁸

An MfS instruction film of the main department II in which the teamwork and especially the protection of the inner conspiracy is thematised is "*Antwort II*" from 1989.¹³⁹ This film deals with a probe that the US military intelligence hid in the woods of Eberswalde, in the surroundings of Berlin, to collect and transmit data about Soviet military movements. The probe that had the size of a shoe box was called "conus" (*Kege*) and contained two seismic sensors, a round metal housing, a

134 The first branch of the counterintelligence was responsible for the defense against spies for the United States and Latin American countries. "A Belügyminisztérium III/II. Csoportfőnökség ügyrendje, no. 38-28/5/1972," *Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára* (DVD ROM) (Budapest: Arcanum, 2007).

135 This file really does exist in the Historical Archive of the State Security in Budapest, as I could find out in a talk with Balázs Orbán who works there. Out of a lack of time though I was unable to have a look at it for this work.

136 HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 17: *Papp Árpád amerikai ügynök leleplezése* (ca. 1978) (my translation).

137 "BM III. Főcsoportfőnökségének szervezete 1967-ben, no. 10-1837/1967," *Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára* (DVD ROM) (Budapest: Arcanum, 2007).

138 HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 17: *Papp Árpád amerikai ügynök leleplezése*, Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year (ca. 1978).

139 BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 59: "*Antwort II*," VHS, 39 min, colour, sound, 1989.

powerful battery, and an antenna system. Kristie Macrakis suggests a connection between the surprising finding of "conus"¹⁴⁰ and an INSCOM analysis about measures of attacking the Soviet high frequency radio communication. The aim was to interrupt all strategic radio communication in order to weaken the security of the Soviet military units.¹⁴¹

Even though the probe was more interesting for the HA III (reconnaissance of radio communication), it was the HA II that made an instruction film about it. The American probe was discovered and observed by the GDR counterintelligence over the years 1984 to 1986.¹⁴² What makes the film interesting for a comparison with the Hungarian instruction films is the detailed description of the counterintelligence's work and their understanding of their task that it contains.

The first step of the operation was to find the probe. For this purpose, the counterintelligence staff created the 'legend' of being instructed by the GDR State Railway to repair the railwaytracks that ran through the woods. This lasted for three weeks. The narrator comments on the success of the measure: throughout the whole time period the conspiracy was maintained; the action was positively welcomed by

¹⁴⁰ Horst Männchen, the head of the main department III for reconnaissance of radio communication in the MfS was surprised by the finding of the probe, because it took place in a period of peace and it was the first sensor-system of this kind found on GDR territory. Macrakis, *Die Stasi-Geheimnisse*, 366.

¹⁴¹ INSCOM stands for the United States Army Intelligence and Security Command. Macrakis, *Die Stasi-Geheimnisse*, 365-366.

¹⁴² CIA officials who were active during that time claimed that a German double agent had betrayed them by telling the MfS about the location of the probe. But Horst Männchen stuck to the version that a hint from the Cubans about irregularities in the satellite communication had put the MfS on the right track. Macrakis, *Die Stasi-Geheimnisse*, 366.

the population who frequently visited the construction site, but also "brought the special knowledge of the MfS personnel to its limits."¹⁴³

After finding the probe in the woods of Eberswalde with the help of Russian specialists, in a second step its surroundings were constantly observed. In order to do this without being noticed, the Stasi men dug a hole in the soil where they installed their observation equipment. The cave was big enough to host two people. The problems with this "fox's burrow" as they call it in the film, was the low temperature, the distance to power connection (the batteries had to be carried through the wood) and the lack of fresh air. This is why they thought of another 'legend' – the State-Owned Enterprise Geodesy and Cartography – in order to set up a construction trailer and to get access to the power station of the post.

For the observation of the "conus," the GDR State Security had to employ a relatively high number of personnel while at the same time having to stick to conspiracy. The men sitting in the "fox's burrow" and later in the construction trailer were not told that they were actually guarding the territory around an American probe. For them, the 'legend' was watching a material mailbox. They had to record and identify all people who were getting close to where the "conus" was. The narrator explains the background of this task:

During the over one-year-lasting operation, the operation personnel noted the most diverse and curious ways of human behaviour. Consequently, they considered to be hostile behaviour when for example persons after carefully checking their surroundings walked directly over the conus, sat on it or reached into the soil above it. The control system

¹⁴³ BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 59 (my translation)

that had been established primarily for "conus" was generally also used to identify persons who were suspect to espionage.¹⁴⁴

Even though the teamwork is part of the instruction film *"Antwort II,"* the hierarchy among the involved personnel in this case is still maintained, as the film makes clear. We do not know whether the helping units were also members of the counterintelligence, and the fact that the film does not point out what administration or branch they actually belonged to makes the difference to the Hungarian instruction films clear: not so much the teamwork in the State Security structure, but the safeguarding of the conspiracy is emphasised in the MfS film.

To conclude, the tasks of the counterintelligence in the Hungarian instruction films are never shown purely, but are always interwoven with the other branches of the State Security, thus emphasising the cooperation and teamwork of the secret police and consequently their common aim to fight against "subject persons" or "targets" whose crimes are not defined in the films. The only exception is the film about the Árpád Papp case that comes closest to the type of instruction films that the HA II of the Eastern German MfS made, without, however, using original observation material except for the photographs at the beginning and in the end of the film. In the MfS instruction films, the importance of the inner MfS hierarchy is accentuated.

144 BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 59 (my translation)

The Image of the 'Enemies'

In this sub-chapter I will show how the counterintelligence of Eastern Germany portrayed the 'enemies' throughout the 1970s and 1980s. During this period, the films changed their aesthetics quite obviously. This change may be connected to the fading image of the 'enemy' from 1985 onwards.¹⁴⁵ Consequently, so my hypothesis, the MfS film producers tried to reinforce this image by using techniques of montage and by strengthening the role of the narrator and his/her freedom of interpretation.

To give an anticipated conclusion to this sub-chapter: it turns out that rather than showing an image of the 'enemy', the films recorded the voice of the 'enemy', since the quality of the surveillance camera recordings that are inserted into these films are so bad that the 'enemies' are barely recognisable.

An introductory example will illustrate the Stasi's concerns with the authenticity of evidence that becomes an ambiguous relationship when applied to the needs of an instruction film. After that, two series of films with similar features will be presented with one example from each: the slide show-type of films from 1982/1983, and what I call the 'new wave' of instruction movies from the second half of the 1980s in which cases of counterintelligence are presented in an upbeat way, using sequences from western soap operas and pop songs to underline the message.

The earliest instruction film of the HA II was produced during the years

¹⁴⁵ Gieseke, *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit*, 456-461.

1973-1977,¹⁴⁶ and it is at the same time one of the most curious films that the MfS has to offer, for several reasons. In *Combat and Unmasking of Travel Espionage by Citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany*,¹⁴⁷ a case of presumed espionage by a woman from Western Germany in the GDR is reconstructed. After a longer slide show-like part of the film (photographs of "Ecke" – the woman's code name – and maps are shown, accompanied by the explaining words of a narrator about how often she travelled to the GDR, whom she visited, where she went for walks, in what direction she looked on those walks, how often and for how long she paused etc.), the reconstruction, i.e. the film-part begins.

Its authenticity is presumably asserted by the fact that the same staff members of the MfS district administration of Frankfurt/Oder who had been observing "Ecke," were in charge of the filmic reconstruction as well. This might explain that "Ecke" in the film is played by a male Stasi-official who dressed up as a woman. The narrator comments: "Now begins the reconstruction of the behaviour of object 'Ecke' in 'Frieda'¹⁴⁸ in 1976." His further illustrations of what the viewer sees all use the pronoun "she," thus taking the reconstruction with the obviously not real "Ecke"¹⁴⁹ for the real event: "She starts to surround the military object. It is

¹⁴⁶ Meaning the earliest HA II instruction film that there is to be found in the BStU archive today.

¹⁴⁷ BStU MfS HA II, Fi, Nr. 19-21: *Bekämpfung und Entlarvung der Reisespionage durch BRD-Bürger*, 1973-1977, 16 mm, 740 m (40 min), black and white, sound.

¹⁴⁸ "Frieda" was the code name for the military object in Frankfurt/Oder.

¹⁴⁹ The camera even records the reactions of some school students that turn around laughing several times to the dressed-up Stasi-man when he comes back to the main street from his first reconstruction-tour around the military objects. BStU MfS HA II, Fi, Nr. 19-21.

clearly visible that her eyes are constantly directed towards the object."¹⁵⁰

Even when the real observation of "Ecke," i.e. the written documentation of the original surveillance action collides at one point with the filmic reconstruction, the narrator keeps correcting the picture on the screen by the information obtained from the observation. Towards the end of the movie, when the Stasi-officer who plays "Ecke" walks around another military object, the narrator comments: "Here, she changes her outer appearance by taking off her cardigan. 'Ecke' was wearing a black dress underneath the cardigan, at the time of the observation" – while the actor on the screen is wearing a white sweater and a dark skirt.¹⁵¹

In the end of the film, the narrator summarises the conclusions from this case and justifies what makes "Ecke" fit into the category of an 'enemy':

Criminologically relevant is first that her route purposefully went past all military objects and that she went by foot even though she could have taken public transport. She walked from one final tram-stop to another tram-line to which a bus-connection existed. This distance is ca. 4 kilometers long. Second: while walking past the military objects she did not enter any store, any restaurant, no touristic pleasure-area nor did she meet any contact persons. Third: Evaluating her behaviour at the military objects it was found that while passing it, she looked several times or rather constantly directly into the object. It is estimated that "Ecke's" behaviour while carrying out her actions of espionage is selfconscious, and that several types of her behaviour do not correspond to the informations we have about the intelligence-instructions of the BND [Federal Intelligence Service].¹⁵²

This conclusion is based on the filmic reconstruction of the case and the

¹⁵⁰ BStU MfS HA II, Fi, Nr. 19-21 (my translation)

¹⁵¹ BStU MfS HA II, Fi, Nr. 19-21 (my translation)

¹⁵² BStU MfS HA II, Fi, Nr. 19-21 (my translation)

explaining and at times correcting comments of the narrator. It thus seems to be a proper piece of criminal investigation, based on facts that are presented to the students in a neutral way.

However, this impression changes drastically when we take into consideration that there was original observation film material on "Ecke" surrounding the military objects in Frankfurt/Oder¹⁵³ – only that the Stasi decided to reconstruct the action instead, maybe, as Holger Kulick suggests, because the raw material from the observation was not convincing enough.¹⁵⁴ This fact puts the whole careful commentary of the narrator into doubt, for if there was an 'authentic' film about "Ecke," showing her doing what the narrator pretends she was doing while commenting the reconstruction, then why was the reconstruction needed in the first place?

This film, as far as we can tell from the source-tradition, marked the beginning of a filmic processing of espionage-cases in the main department II that was extended during the following years. This is not a coincidence. In 1972, the Basic Treaty or *Treaty Concerning the Basis of Relations Between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic* marked the beginning of a policy of approximation. For the MfS and minister Erich Mielke this meant increased alertness, since the entry of more western Germans into the GDR was to be expected. Since the MfS could not observe every single traveller, Mielke pleaded

¹⁵³ To be found under the same signature, on the third filmrole, i.e. BStU HA II, Fi, Nr. 21

¹⁵⁴ *Feindbilder*, chapter 5.

for the "principle of focal points" (*Schwerpunktprinzip*) according to which "operative important persons" (such as journalists and members of the diplomatic corps) and "concentration points" (meaning especially popular touristic destinations) should be kept an eye on.¹⁵⁵ A drastic change that occurred during the time period between 1968 and 1982 is the increase in the number of personnel for the whole Ministry of State Security, but especially for the main department II: from 214 to 988 full-time staff members.¹⁵⁶

This again means that many new cadres had to be instructed about the new tasks of the counterintelligence. Instruction films were needed that clearly named who "operative important persons" were. By showing cases of espionage in moving images, the working morale of the HA II members was increased. The importance of feeling a sense of achievement was emphasised in a study on the education of political-operative staff members of the MfS from 1975. The authors of this study therefore advised to compensate the lack of practical experience with the enemy by giving them emotional experiences, especially through lively and thrilling presentations by their teachers.¹⁵⁷ Even though in the quoted analysis films are not mentioned, the increase of their production in the 1980s especially in the HA II might stand in connection to these insights.

¹⁵⁵ Gieseke, *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit*, 306-307.

¹⁵⁶ Gieseke, *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit*, 316.

¹⁵⁷ Rolf Bauer, Wolfgang Härtling: „Einige Gesichtspunkte für die klassenmäßige Erziehung politisch-operativer Mitarbeiter des MfS, insbesondere der Linie II unter den neuen politisch-operativen Lagebedingungen“, Diplomarbeit JHS Potsdam-Eiche 1975; BStU, ZA, GVS JHS MF 74/75, 74 and 91-92. Quoted in Gieseke, *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit*, 371-372.

In the years 1982/1983, the HA II produced a series of instruction movies, some of whose film-rental cards are also preserved. These films carry the titles of several "operative processes" that were terminated in those years, all of them dealing with US military intelligence in the GDR: "*Alk*," "*Assel*," "*Anker*," and "*Auge*," to just name a few of them.¹⁵⁸ They all follow basically the same pattern: after the display of the title, a male narrator tells briefly about the incident and when the involved persons were arrested. The soundtrack is accompanied by photographs of the persons, taken by MfS-staff in the course of the surveillance. The films thus resemble more slide shows than real movies. The style of film, the content and the final conclusions as well as the time and place of production characterise those films as a series.

What is new in these movies as compared to the one from 1973-1977 that I discussed before is the insertion of audio material from the interrogations with the arrested persons. All these films witness the questions by the MfS interrogators and the answers that the accused 'spies' give and thus the films do not only portray the 'enemies', but the Stasi itself.

This interaction makes up an important part of the film, since the students can judge about the 'enemy' only by his/her voice, not by his/her appearance since there are, apart from a few exceptions, no surveillance films of the accused persons inserted into the films. Only in the film "*Auge II*" from around 1983 is there a part

¹⁵⁸ BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 61, BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 65, BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 63, and BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 97.

from a surveillance camera that filmed the suspected man in his hotel room. But here the narrator has to explain to the viewer what the viewer can not see because of the bad quality of the moving images.¹⁵⁹ Another influencing factor in these instruction films is the audible sympathy or aversion of the interrogator towards the accused person.¹⁶⁰

In the film "*Alk*" from 1982,¹⁶¹ parts of an interrogation with an Austrian citizen are audible. Here, clear aversion of the interrogator towards the interrogated is audible. The Austrian has been arrested together with his Eastern German cousin whom he had recruited to spy for the US intelligence as well, according to the MfS. In the film, however, it was decided to only portray the Austrian with the audio material from the interrogation, and not his cousin. When he is asked how he had been enlisted, he tells it, and adds rather unexpectedly: "I want to do everything in order to get free as soon as possible." His MfS interrogator reacts impatiently to this phrase: "Would you stop this nonsense!"¹⁶² Later when it comes to the devices that the Austrian brought his cousin in order to cipher messages (a special notepad and pen), the interrogator wants to hear from him: "What is this called?" "I believe

159 BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 97: "*Auge II*," 38 min, sound, black and white, ca. 1983.

160 Cases of presumed sympathy did occur, but not very often. They might also stand in connection to the interrogation methods of the Stasi. According to Jürgen Fuchs who had been arrested and interrogated by the Stasi in 1976, there were different types of interrogators that tried to get the wished-for confessions by different means. Jürgen Fuchs, *Vernehmungsprotokolle November '76 – September '77* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1978), 48-49.

161 BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 61: *Alk – Militärspionage. US-Geheimdienst*, VHS, 32 min, black and white, sound, 1982.

162 In the original: "Ach hören Sie doch auf mit dem Gewäsch!" BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 61.

ciphering," answers the Austrian.¹⁶³

In this film, the comments of the narrator in between the interrogation parts are sober and neutral, unlike in the later instruction films of the HA II from 1986 onwards. The atmosphere during the interrogation in "*Alk*" is tangible by the audio parts, but the narrator does not interpret as much as in the later movies. The choice of cases, however, already implies a judgement of how an 'enemy' should look like or rather sound.

In 1986, the film *Lucifer's Ordinance: A not ordinary story for Chekists*¹⁶⁴ continues the categorization series of the HA II instruction films, but the style of the film already corresponds to a more modern and lively way of reporting, compared to the slide show-type of films. Additionally, a moralising overtone is frequent in these movies.

Already the beginning of those new instruction movies is surprising when compared the the sober films from the 1970s and early 1980s. *Lucifer's Ordinance* starts with a pop song that accompanies the picture of a red devil's mask on a black screen. Then, shots from Alexanderplatz in the center of East Berlin are shown. A female narrator with a rather cheeky way of speaking introduces the "not ordinary story for Chekists:"

In our capital occurred in 1984/85 among other events quite strange things. As turned out later, Lucifer had temporally left his heavenly and infernal habitat, had slipped into the uniform of an officer of the GDR

¹⁶³ BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 61.

¹⁶⁴ BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 76: *Luzifers Ordonnanz. Eine nicht alltägliche Geschichte für Tschekisten*, 1986, VHS, 30 min, colour, sound.

customs administration, had conquered the heart of a female customs member, duffed another customs officer up quite hellishly, and increased the number of processes we had to work on.¹⁶⁵

Elements from the interrogation of the customs officer, recorded with a hidden camera and of bad quality, as well as parts from western soap operas accompanied by pop songs alternate with the comments of the narrator.

To summarise the story shortly: the customs officer had fallen in love with the wife of his colleague, but they both decided to not get divorced from their partners and to just stay friends. But a third man appeared on the scene whom the customs officer believed to be interested in his colleague's wife as well. At this point, he became jealous and active. He wanted to discredit the third man and to draw the State Security's attention on him. For this purpose, he wrote letters to the embassies of the US, Great Britain, France and the Federal Republic of Germany as well as to some church organizations. He also called two western German TV-stations and gave them name and address of the third colleague's, indicating that he would be willing to give them information i.e. to spy for them. However, the Stasi was not stupid. It caught him and interrogated him while already being in possession of all the evidence against him. In the interrogation, they still wanted his confession.

This conceit of the MfS is clearly reflected in the film. When the customs officer's motives are revealed, the narrator's comments ("Since 1973 married for the second time, in 1984 he discovered with the wife of a member of his department

¹⁶⁵ BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 76 (my translation)

other qualities that with his own wife"¹⁶⁶) are underlined by sugary pictures of a married couple that enters a taxi (taken from some movie), while the soundtrack plays Roland Kaiser's hit *Dich zu lieben...* (To love you) from 1981. Later on, when it comes to illustrating the customs officer's jealousy, the cut-in parts from cheap soap operas become even cruder in their message (showing a teenager couple that is about to get undressed, accompanied by another German pop song about jealousy of a rival).

Obviously, the MfS interrogator, while already knowing what he wants to know from the man, has difficulties to ask precise questions. When he wants the man's confession about falsifying his handwriting, he asks: "How did you write the letters?" The man is confused and asks back: "Pardon?" Instead of defining what he aims at more precisely, the interrogator simply falls into a more aggressive tone: "How you have written the letters!" The man, still confused, answers: "Well, I sat down and started writing." Then, however, follows the wished-for confession about falsified handwritings, gloves in order to prevent finger prints; one letter was even written in old German handwriting to distract the scent from him, and about the motives for doing so he claims: "I was conscious of the fact that I am carrying out a criminal act."¹⁶⁷

I conclude with an impression from Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck's movie *The Lives of Others* from 2007. Thomas Lindenberger identified a research

¹⁶⁶ BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 76 (my translation)

¹⁶⁷ BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 76 (my translation)

gap in MfS-historiography that he illustrated with the following scene from the movie. The protagonist's neighbour witnesses the intrusion of the Stasi officers into his (the protagonist's) apartment. When she meets him later alone on the floor which would give her the perfect opportunity to warn him, she still keeps silent, because she has been intimidated by the Stasi officer. Lindenberger feels a lack of MfS social history about the influence of the Stasi on the everyday life and on everyday decisions of the GDR population.¹⁶⁸

As I see it, *Lucifer's Ordinance* is telling such a story. In this context of GDR/MfS social history, maybe the case of the customs officer – an attempt to get personal revenge with the help of the Stasi – after all, was not as unusual as the 'Chekists' believed it to be. Or else, the film could indicate a shift in the traditional image of the 'enemy' (the spy for the US intelligence from the early 1980s) towards a type of GDR citizen that acts not out of political or financial, but out of personal motives. The belief in the almost almighty Stasi was most probably underlying his actions.

¹⁶⁸ Thomas Lindenberger, "Stasiploitation – Why Not? The scriptwriter's historical creativity in *The Lives of Others*," *German Studies Review*, vol. 31, no. 3 (2008): 557-566, here: 564-565.

Conclusion

In the three chapters of my thesis I offered three different approaches to a comparison of the instruction films of two Eastern bloc State Securities, the MfS of the GDR, and the *Állambiztonság* of the People's Republic of Hungary. One dealt with the character of the films and explored possible points of connection of the historian's approach to the films with the approach that scholars of film studies take towards them, especially their only recently awakening interest in industrial- or utility film. Another approach took a look at some practical aspects of film production in the institutions that the State Securities belonged to, and the third one measured the content and style of some film examples for the instruction of counterintelligence students. I offer these approaches as an initial groundwork for further research on this topic, since no historian has yet occupied extensively with this specific source material.

The main obstacles with this comparative approach that turned out to be a quite unequal comparison lay a) in the different production-time of the films (1959-1978 for the main film corpus in Hungary, and 1973-1989 for the MfS instruction films), b) in the diversity of the kind of films ("played" films in Hungary versus "non-played" films in the GDR),¹⁶⁹ c) in the different producers of the films (the film studio of the Ministry of Interior in Hungary, and the Ministry for State Security in the GDR), and d) in the different purposes of the films.

Even though one might think that instruction films for the secret police have

¹⁶⁹ This definition was taken from Roberts, *Forward Soviet!*, 1-2.

basically the same aims in every country, the more so in two socialist countries, it turned out that the Hungarian *Állambiztonság* employees learned more about practical skills and the importance of teamwork throughout the entire State Security, whereas the students of the GDR State Security were taught by concrete examples how the "enemy" of their state looks and sounds like, how he/she behaves, and how important the inner conspiracy is.

Throughout the film analysis, I observed two main changes in the period of their production. The Hungarian instruction films intensified their secrecy proceedings during the period of détente, so that from the 1970s onwards no director is traceable any more for the films (whereas there are trailers with names in the films produced from 1959 to ca. 1970). In the GDR, the first MfS instruction film that the archive stores is from 1973. If the Eastern German State Security only just started its production of instruction films during the same period of détente, this, together with the increase of secrecy in the Hungarian film studio of the Ministry of Interior, means that the work of the secret police forces was actually increased or intensified against the background of a politics of approximation.

Most of the differences between the two film corpora were based in the organization of the secret services in Kádár's Hungary and Honecker's GDR, as demonstrated in chapter two. The most obvious difference is the aesthetics of the *Állambiztonsági* and MfS instruction films which is directly reflecting the organisational structures of the Hungarian MI and the Eastern German MfS. While in Hungary the MI film production was located at a central film studio in Budapest,

the equivalent central film producing unit of the MfS, the ZAIG, had a controlling function only. As shown for the films of the GDR counterintelligence, this department of the MfS produced its own instruction films, often using "found footage," as well as most of the other branches and sectors made their own films with the devices they had at hand.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Films

ÁBTL 4.9-F-1: *A titokvédelem* (Secrecy). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior. directed by János Lestár, without year.

ÁBTL 4.9.-F-2: *Titoktartás* (Keeping the Secret). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior. directed by Tamás Rényi, without year.

ÁBTL 4.9.-F-11: *Titkos munkatárs* (Secret Collaborator). Ministry of Interior, Branch for Education and Methods. Policefilm, 1962.

ÁBTL 4.9.-F-16: *Titkos házkutatás* (Secret House Search). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1962.

ÁBTL 4.9.-F-18: *Titkok és emberek* (Secrets and People). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior. directed by János Lestár, 1970.

BStU MfS HA II, Fi, Nr. 19-21

BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 57, part 1

BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 59

BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 61

BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 63

BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 65

BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 76

BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 80

BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 97

BStU MfS HA II, Vi, Nr. 119

BStU MfS HA IX, Fi, Nr. 168

BStU MfS HA VIII, Fi, Nr. 2

BStU MfS HA VIII, Fi, Nr. 63

BStU MfS HA IX, Fi, Nr. 155

BStU MfS HA XVIII, Vi, Nr. 2

BStU MfS HV A, Vi, Nr. 98

BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 81

BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 89

BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 98

BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 105

BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 139

BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 140

BStU MfS ZAIG, Fi, Nr. 142

Das unsichtbare Visier (The Invisible Sight). directed by Peter Hagen. 9 parts, 35 mm, colour, sound. DEFA Studio für Spielfilme, 1973-1977.

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 1, 2: *Titkok és emberek* (Secrets and People). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1970.

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 2: *Titokvédelem* (Secrecy). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year.

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 2: *A kémelhárítás csapdája* (Trapped By Counterintelligence). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1973.

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 2: *Kapcsolattartás nyilvános helyeken* (Contact Meetings in Public Spaces). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1975.

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 2: *Mozgó személyek dokumentálása álcázóba épített eszközökkel* (Documenting Moving Targets With Disguised Devices). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1975.

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 3: *Anyagátadási találkozó* (Delivery of Intelligence Material). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1973.

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 3: *Önellenzés és ellenfigyelés* (Self-control and Counter-surveillance). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1974.

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 4: *Titkos munkatárs* (Secret Collaborator). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year.

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 5: *Tárgyi postaládák telepítése* (Installing Material Mailboxes). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1975.

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 9: *Figyelési akció* (Surveillance Operation). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1978.

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 11: *Fedőszáma 639* (Cover Number 639). Hungarian Television, 1966.

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 17: *A Kerényi ügy* (The Kerényi Case). directed by Zoltán Bendiner, without year (ca. 1971).

HU OSA 394-O-1, Tape 17: *Papp Árpád amerikai ügynök leleplezése* (Unmasking of American Agent Árpád Papp). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year (ca. 1978).

HU OSA 394-O-1, DVD 42: *Az operatív technikai rendszerek és módszerek alkalmazása* (Using Operational Technical Systems and Methods). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year.

HU OSA 394-o-1, DVD 61: *"B" ügydosszié – egy hírszerző ügynök beszerzése* (File B – Recruiting of An Intelligence Agent). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, 1975.

HU OSA 394-o-1, DVD 68: *Anyagátadási találkozó* (Delivery of Intelligence Material). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year.

HU OSA 394-o-1, DVD 77: *Diplomata* (Diplomat). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year.

HU OSA 394-o-1, DVD 74: *Vendég* (Guest). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year.

HU OSA 394-o-1, DVD 75: *Ítélet kémügyben* (Sentence in a Case of Espionage). Filmstudio of the Ministry of Interior, without year.

Documents

Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára (The Historical Archive of the State Security) DVD-ROM. Budapest: Arcanum, 2007.

ÁBTL 4.1. A-4332: *A Belügyminisztériumi filmgyártás feladatai a VII. ötéves tervben és a Belügyminisztérium ötéves (1986-1990) könyvkiadói terve* (The Tasks of the MI film factory for the VII Five-Year-Plan and the Five-Year-Plan (1986-1990) of the MI Publishing House). Budapest: BM Könyvkiadó, 1986.

ÁBTL 4.1. A-4333: *A belügyi oktató- és propagandafilmek gyártásának elvei, feladatai (1978-1980 között)* (The Principles and Tasks of the Film Factory for the Interior Instruction- and Propaganda Films between 1978 and 1980), 1977.

BStU MfS BdL Dok 8057

BStU MfS HA II Nr. 41956

BStU MfS HA KuSch Nr. 22530

BStU MfS HA PS Nr. 832

BStU MfS HA VI Nr. 16761

BStU MfS HA VIII Nr. 8005

BStU MfS SED KL Nr. 2956

BStU MfS SED KL Nr. 4814

BStU MfS SED KL Nr. 5035

BStU MfS Sekr. Schwanitz Nr. 451

BStU MfS ZAIG Nr. 26128

BStU MfS ZAIG Nr. 26198

Das Wörterbuch der Staatssicherheit: Definitionen des MfS zur "politisch-operativen Arbeit" (Dictionary of the State Security: Definitions of the MfS on 'political-operative work'). Berlin: BSTU, 1993.

HU OSA 394-O-2, *BM Filmstúdió iratai és filmjei* (Records of the Film Studio of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior). Series 2: *Iratok* (Documents) 1970-1989, box 1.

http://www.osaarchivum.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=318:orvosi-segelynyujto-helyek-megszervezese-es-mkoedese&catid=51:paranoia-recycling&Itemid=362 (accessed 2011-05-21)

http://www.osaarchivum.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=339:ezred--zaszloalj-parancsnokok-tevekenysege-a-ment-mentesit-munkak-megszevezese-es-vegrehajtasasoran&catid=51:paranoia-recycling&Itemid=362 (accessed 2011-05-21)

Secondary Sources

Gesetz über die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Stasi-Unterlagen-Gesetz – StUG) (Law on the Documents of the Secret Service of the Former German Democratic Republic). Berlin: BStU, 2008.

Fuchs, Jürgen. *Vernehmungsprotokolle November '76 – September '77* (Interrogation protocols, November '76 – September '77). Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1978.

Secondary Literature/Media

Anatomie der Staatssicherheit: Geschichte, Struktur, Methoden (MfS-Handbuch) (Anatomy of the State Security: History, structure, methods). eds. Klaus-Dietmar Henke, Siegfried Suckut et al. Berlin: BStU, 2nd ed. 1996.

Az ügynök élete (Life of an Agent). directed by Gábor Zsigmond Papp. Budapest: Budapest Film, 2004.

Baracsi, Erzsébet. "Állambiztonsági oktatófilmek a Történeti Levéltárban." (The State Security-Films in the Historical Archive). *Trezor*, no. 3 (2003): 329-338.

Collins, Kathleen. "Instructional Films (US and UK)." *Encyclopedia of the Documentary Film*, vol. 2, ed. Ian Aitken. New York/London: Routledge, 2006: 624-626.

Feindbilder: Die Fotos und Videos der Stasi (Images of the Enemies: The photographs and videos of the State Security). directed by Holger Kulick. Berlin: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2nd ed. 2009.

Gersmann, Gudrun. "Zwischen den Zeilen, gegen den Strich." (Between the Lines, Against the Grain) *zeitenblicke* 1, no. 1 (2002), 1-13, URL: <http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2002/01/ginzburg/ginzburg.pdf> (accessed 2011-05-05)

Gieseke, Jens. *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit: Personalstruktur und Lebenswelt 1950-1989/90* (The Full-Time Staff of the State Security: Personnel-structure and living-world, 1950-1989/90). Berlin: Ch. Links, 2000.

Hediger, Vinzenz, and Patrick Vonderau, eds. *Films that Work: Industrial film and the productivity of media*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009.

HU OSA Fonds 394: *Records of the Film Studio of the Hungarian Ministry of Interior*, described by Miklós Tamási, 2006.

Kino der Geheimdienste: Projekt von Katrin Fritzsche im Zeughauskino Berlin, in Zusammenarbeit mit der BStU, dem Collegium Hungaricum Berlin und dem Slowakischen Institut Berlin, 24. November – 17. Dezember 2009 (Cinema of the Secret Services: projekt of Katrin Fritzsche in the Zeughaus-Cinema in Berlin, in collaboration with the BStU, the Collegium Hungaricum Berlin, and the Slovakian Institute in Berlin). URL: http://www.dhm.de/kino/kino_der_geheimdienste.html (accessed 2011-06-02)

Kino der Geheimdienste (Cinema of the Secret Services) (Booklet of the film festival in Berlin, 2009).

Lindenberger, Thomas. "Stasiploitation – Why Not? The scriptwriter's historical creativity in *The Lives of Others*." *German Studies Review*, vol. 31, no. 3 (2008): 557-566.

Macrakis, Kristie. *Die Stasi-Geheimnisse. Methoden und Techniken der DDR-Spionage* (Seduced by Secrets: Inside the Stasi spy-tech worlds). German transl. Frank M. von Berger, and Dirk Oetzmann. München: F. A. Herbig, 2009.

Nichols, Bill. *Introduction to Documentary*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Révész, Béla. "Állambiztonság és pszichológia" (State Security and Psychology). *Beszélő* 5 (May 2005), URL: <http://beszelo.c3.hu/cikkek/allambiztonsag-es-pszichologia> (accessed 15. November 2010)

Riecker, Ariane; Annett Schwarz, and Dirk Schneider, eds. *Stasi intim: Gespräche mit ehemaligen MfS-Mitarbeitern* (State Security Intimately: Interviews with former State Security employees). Leipzig: Forum Verlag, 1990.

Roberts, Graham. *Forward Soviet! History and Non-fiction Film in the USSR*. London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999.

Tabajdi, Gábor, and Krisztián Ungváry. "Ungarn" (Hungary). Lukasz Kaminski, Krzysztof Persak, and Jens Gieseke, eds. *Handbuch der kommunistischen Geheimdienste in Osteuropa 1944-1991* (Handbook of the Communist Secret Services in Eastern Europe, 1944-1991). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009: 481-553.

URL:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_Liaison_Missions (accessed 2011-05-20)

http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juhász_Jácint (accessed 2011-05-20)

<http://inforadio.hu/hir/kultura/hir-415886> (accessed 2011-05-20)

Varga, Klára. "Szakszerűen beszervezett ügynökök: Képdokumentumok a félműltből – BM-oktatófilmek tanítottak a másik legősibb mesterség fogásaira" (Professionally Recruited Agents: Picture documents about the recent past – MI instruction films taught the concepts of the second oldest profession). *Magyar Nemzet*, 2004-12-06, 15.

Verzeichnis der Filme und Videos des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der DDR (List of the Films and Videos of the Ministry for State Security of the GDR). ed. Renate Hedli, introduction by Katrin Rübenstrunk. Berlin: BStU, 2009.

Zehnter Tätigkeitsbericht der Bundesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 2010 (Tenth Activities Report of the Commissioner of the German Confederation for the Documents of the State Security Service of the Former German Democratic Republic, 2010). Berlin: BStU, 2010.

Appendix

Table 1: The (preserved) instruction films for the Hungarian State Security, produced by the film studio of the Ministry of Interior, 1959-ca. 1987

FILM TITLE	PRODUCED IN	RELEASED FOR
<i>Harc a belső ellenség ellen</i> <i>Fight Against the Inner Enemy</i>	1959	inner personnel of the MI
<i>Titkos (ház)kutatás</i> <i>Secret (House) Search</i>	1962	State Security and criminal investigation
<i>Titkos munkatárs</i> <i>Secret Collaborator</i> (fiction film according to OSA, instruction film according to ÁBTL)	1962	inner personnel of the MI (according to ÁBTL)
<i>Diplomata</i> <i>Diplomat</i>	without year (ca. 1963-65)	State Security
<i>Röpcédulák</i> <i>Handbills</i>	1965	State Security and Criminal Investigation
<i>Ne fecsegj</i> <i>Do Not Babble</i>	without year (ca. 1960s)	State Security
<i>Titoktartás</i> <i>Secrecy</i>	without year (ca. 1960s)	State Security
<i>Kémkedés mozgó gépkocsiból</i> <i>Spying from Moving Cars</i>	1968	State Security and Criminal Investigation
<i>Konspirált és találkozási lakások szervezése és használata</i> <i>Using and Organising Apartments for Conspiracy and Secret Meetings</i>	without year (ca. 1970s)	State Security
<i>Anyagátadási találkozó</i> <i>Delivery of Intelligence Material</i>	1973	State Security
<i>Titokvédelem</i> <i>Secrecy</i>	1973	State Security
<i>Titkos őrizetbevétel</i> <i>Secret Arrest</i>	1973	State Security and Criminal Investigation
<i>A kémelhárítás csapdája</i> <i>Trapped by Counterintelligence</i>	1973	State Security, especially for the counterintelligence

Önellenőrzés és ellenfigyelés <i>Self-control and Counter-surveillance</i>	1974	State Security and Criminal Investigation
Mozgó személyek dokumentálása álcázóba épített eszközökkel <i>Documenting Moving Targets With Disguised Devices</i>	1975	State Security
"B" ügydosszié – egy hírszerző ügynök beszerzése <i>File B – Recruiting of An Intelligence Agent</i>	1975	State Security
Kapcsolattartás nyilvános helyeken <i>Contact Meetings in Public Spaces</i>	1975	State Security and Criminal Investigation
Tárgyi postaláda telepítése <i>Installing of Material Mailboxes</i>	1975	State Security
Papp Árpád amerikai ügynök leleplezése <i>Unmasking of American Agent Árpád Papp</i>	ca. 1978	State Security, especially for the counterintelligence
Figyelési akció <i>Surveillance Operation</i>	1978	State Security and Criminal Investigation
Az operatív technikai rendszerek és módszerek alkalmazása <i>Using Operational Technical Systems and Methods</i>	without year (ca. 1979 or later)	State Security
Anyagátadási találkozó <i>Delivery of Intelligence Material</i>	ca. 1987	State Security
Házkutatás <i>House Search</i>	without year	State Security and Criminal Investigation
Operatív helyzet <i>Operational Situation</i>	without year	State Security and Criminal Investigation
Operatív csapda <i>Operational Trap</i>	without year	State Security and Criminal Investigation
A Vendég <i>The Guest</i>	without year	State Security

List of Abbreviations

ÁBTL	Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára (Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security)
BND	Bundesnachrichtendienst (Federal Intelligence Service)
BStU	Der Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen der Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (The Commissioner for the Documents of the State Security of the Former German Democratic Republic)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	German Democratic Republic
HA	Hauptabteilung (Main Department)
HVA	Hauptverwaltung Aufklärung (Central Administration for Reconnaissance, the Eastern German Intelligence Service)
KGB	Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security)
MfS	Ministry for State Security
MI	Ministry of Interior
MLM	Military Liaison Mission
OSA	Open Society Archive
Stasi	Staatssicherheit (State Security)
SUP	Socialist Unity Party (of the GDR)
ZAIG	Zentrale Auswertungs- und Informations-Gruppe (Central Evaluation and Information Group)