

LUDOVIKA UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Doctoral School of Law Enforcement

THESIS BOOKLET

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The counter-intelligence activities of the Hungarian state between 1975 and 1985

for doctoral (PhD) thesis

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1. Formulation of the scientific problem

Intelligence gathering (reconnaissance), that is, the activity aimed at learning the secrets of the other party in a hidden way, appeared several thousand years ago, primarily for the purpose of learning about the other party's military capabilities and plans. Efforts to learn the secrets almost immediately highlighted the necessity of introducing measures against it and the indispensability of preventing it.

In the 20th century, as a result of the two world wars and the subsequent Cold War, the secret services underwent a significant transformation, becoming indispensable players providing decisive assistance to governments. Their main task was to secretly support the achievement of the political, economic and military goals of the government. Their activities in this direction included the acquisition of the necessary information, the implementation of interest enforcement operations, as well as the protection of highly important own data, and the detection and prevention of hidden efforts. In order to preserve secrecy and increase efficiency, special (secret service) tools and methods were used.

During the Cold War decades, the opposing sides made serious efforts to weaken the other, to gain clear military superiority, to increase their sphere of influence, and to hinder their opponents' efforts in this direction, in which the secret services played a prominent role. These also affected the working methods and work style of the state security and, more closely, the Hungarian countermeasures.

At the same time, in view of the devastating consequences of the two world wars, European countries also sought to establish cooperation for security purposes in order to prevent new conflicts. One such initiative was the creation of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in 1973.

Hungary participated in the work of the CSCE from the beginning. The final declaration was signed by János Kádár himself, who, in his speech, spoke positively about the results of the meeting and the future of cooperation between the signatories. This, as well as the fact that the declaration was signed by the leading powers of the two Cold War blocs and the leaders of the European socialist countries, held the possibility of easing international relations.

Taking into account the above, the dissertation examined what changes occurred to the unit responsible for counterintelligence of the then Hungarian civilian state security organization, the Directorate III/II. of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, after the signing of the Helsinki

Declaration. This was achieved through the analysis and evaluation of the most important operative tool of the state security in the given period, the network, as well as the most important stages of the operative work, preliminary checks and confidential investigations.

The duration of the study is 11 years. It began in 1975, the year of the signing of the final declaration, when the possibility of substantial positive changes in the relationship between the opposing parties in the Cold War opened up. And it ended in 1985, when Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev was elected first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The reforms he introduced (glasnost - publicity, perestroika - restructuring) eventually led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1990/91, democratic elections in Hungary and the end of the Cold War.

2. The formulated hypotheses

In the examined period, the system of relations between the two opposing blocs has been essentially unchanged for several decades, and the positions have become rigid. Despite the fact that both sides took steps to preserve peace, they also sought to spread their own ideology and weaken the other side.

Based on these, the first hypothesis is that the spirit of Helsinki brought about such substantial substantive changes in the relations between the two world systems, which were previously characterized by opposition, then peaceful coexistence, but from 1975, mutual rapprochement based on trust (capital, people and ideas free flow), can be characterized by convergence, which can also be seen in action in state security work.

The intelligence-gathering and prevention direction of the Hungarian People's Republic's state security agencies was clearly determined by belonging to the community of socialist countries, international treaties concluded with these countries, primarily the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Pact. These contracts were alive after 1975, until the system change, and the Hungarian People's Republic did not withdraw from them.

Also based on these, the second assumption is that there was no significant change in the prevention directions previously defined for the counterintelligence group leadership in the period immediately following the signing of the final declaration of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. If the hoped-for turn in world politics takes place, this should also be reflected in the strategy of the secret services, which could have been demonstrated in the changed operation of counterintelligence.

The third assumption, related to the previous one, is that there was no reduction in the work intensity of the counterintelligence group leadership in the few years after 1975.

During the examined period, the European socialist countries, including the Hungarian People's Republic, struggled with significant economic difficulties, which they relied heavily on and counted on Western loans to solve. In 1985, Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev was elected as the secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, who subsequently implemented a significant change in the policy of the Soviet Union up to that point, which was an acknowledgment of the mistakes of the socialist economic policy and the serious economic problems.

Based on this, the fourth hypothesis is that in the 1980s changes had to occur in the work of Hungarian counter-intelligence in order to prevent their activities affecting Western diplomats from disrupting the government's economically motivated efforts to develop relations with Western European countries and the United States of America.

3. The research objectives

The primary goal was to carry out the analysis and evaluation of the network employed by counter-espionage and the operational cases in order to reveal the discrepancies between the open policy of the government and the covert activities of the secret services.

Nowadays, the "network" as the most important secret tool of the state security agency is surrounded by constant interest, but with regard to the counterintelligence group leadership, it has not yet been comprehensively investigated. The goal was to present the system of secret helpers as fully as possible by analyzing and evaluating the data of the "network", thereby helping to satisfy professional, research and civilian interest in the topic.

During the examined period, the most important stages of the operative work were the preliminary inspections and confidential investigations, in the framework of which suspicions pointing to state security risks and persons who came into view were investigated. Within the framework of these procedures, the state security bodies clarified, checked and supplemented the information that indicated the commission of crimes under their jurisdiction. Analyzing the data of the operational cases, it becomes possible to clearly determine the prevention directions of the state security agencies, the intensity of the work carried out in each direction, and based on this, the hierarchy between the individual areas. The operational affairs of the counter-intelligence group leadership have not yet been analyzed or evaluated according to such aspects or in depth, despite the fact that it is a relevant sub-field from the point of view of learning about factors that threaten the security of the nation as a whole. In most cases, the publications so far have concentrated on the political presentation of the topic, the field has not been explored much in terms of professional historical processing. The aim of the work in this context was that, on the one hand, by presenting the data and summarizing the results of the investigation, basic knowledge would be made public, and on the other hand, this would encourage and help the professional historical and scientific exploration of this field.

Exploring the activities of counterintelligence with scientific rigor is a less researched area. No one has yet worked on the examined sub-areas from this point of view in the framework of a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, therefore the aim of preparing the thesis was to present in a comprehensive and complex work the structure, the scope of the tasks, the operation and the most important elements of the tool system of the group and the related relevant internal

regulations and legislation. In order to illustrate the complexity and diversity of the challenges, the essential elements of each case, according to a given line of thought, were also presented.

The state security past is being explored. Civilian counter-espionage is not yet at the fore, but there have already been successes in researching this segment of the period before the regime change and in the public communication of the results. The presentation of the processed literature through publications - not only within the framework of these dissertations - the exploration of the past and the analysis of the state security activities of the recent past also contribute to the results achieved so far in the research of the national past.

4. The research methods

In the thesis, primarily orders found in the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security in connection with the topic; instructions; provisions; reports; books published for educational purposes in connection with state security work; as well as the relevant domestic literature; and laws affecting the operation of state security were processed.

The knowledge that can be used from these documents has been analysed, the connections found between them have been explored, the partial knowledge obtained in this way has been synthesized into new units, general laws have been formulated from the partial data, and individual conclusions have been drawn from general findings.

In the case of the network and operational matters, the data extracted from its annual reports were recorded in Excel tables, and then these databases were processed using mathematical and statistical methods. The length of the investigation provided the opportunity to present the changes of essential characteristics in both areas, their relationship to each other and to the whole during the 11 years. The investigation and analysis of this new knowledge took place, and the partial data were compared within the chapters, as well as with the knowledge recorded in the first two chapters. Both inductive and deductive methods played a role in drawing the conclusions.

It is important to mention a few circumstances regarding the archival materials in the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security. Negotiations have taken place between the legal successor organizations of the state security services and the archive on the transfer of documents created during the period of state security, but at the moment not all relevant documents have been transferred to the management of the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security. It may also happen that the range of existing materials available for a particular period or sub-area is not complete, some of them may have been destroyed or scrapped. Because of this, the range of available resources may be incomplete.

In connection with the interpretation of the materials, the question may also arise as to from what point of view its content is examined. A single case may even have several interpretations, depending on the purpose of the learning process. The investigation primarily focused on the history of the organization and the functioning of the organization, although some elements of the analysis were also evaluated from a political science point of view.

In relation to the archival sources of the state security period, a professional discourse has emerged regarding the extent to which their contents correspond to reality and their real value, primarily in relation to the documents concerning the members of the network. Documents were also found during the investigation, in connection with which it emerged that their content might not fully correspond to reality. However, the investigation carried out within the framework of the dissertation primarily involved a quantitative and qualitative analysis and evaluation of the network and operational cases, rather than the content analysis and evaluation of the files connected to them, so the results were not influenced by the problem of source value arising in connection with state security documents.

In the press of the time - due to the confidential nature of the topic - an extremely small number of articles could be found that contained only secondary or background information.

The period examined in the framework of the thesis begins fifty years ago. Oral history was part of the information gathering in order to make the evaluation of the discovered knowledge as effective as possible. Interviews were conducted with several people who worked in the field of counterintelligence as employees of counterintelligence during the period under investigation and had sufficient insight into the operation of the organization. Even though these interviews did not appear in the thesis as independent interviews, they provided serious help during the work.

The situation regarding the elaborations is already more favorable, however, in this field mainly the writings presenting topics with tangential content proved to be the most useful, since a comprehensive written work specifically dealing with the examined topic has not yet been published.

5. Brief description of the performed examination per chapter

The dissertation consists of four chapters. The first two chapters summarize the basic knowledge essential for interpreting the results of the study. The first chapter deals with the most important external circumstances affecting the activities of the counterintelligence. It presents the most important sub-areas of international and domestic relations from the point of view of state security in the examined period. The legislative environment defining the framework of counterintelligence, as well as the relationship between the state party and state security, because this was a special feature of the period and significantly influenced the performance of the tasks of the Hungarian state security organization.

In the examined period, the international relations directly affecting Hungary showed a situation that had existed for almost 30 years, which was determined by the opposition between the socialist and capitalist blocks. In the first part of the period, a softening of relations was observed, while in the second half the relationship between the United States of America and the Soviet Union grew cold again, which also affected the allies of the two countries. These changes clearly illustrated the deep-rooted nature of the tension between the two parties, which could not be substantially alleviated even despite the signing of the final statement of the CSCE. These effects were, of course, evident in the secret service activities of the opposing parties.

In the shadow of the confrontation between the two great powers, the Hungary - while maintaining its political, military and economic commitment to the Soviet Union - similarly to other European socialist countries, took steps to develop the existing relationship with the West, since in order to maintain the functionality of its economy during this period, it absolutely needed the help of the West for loans. Because of its economy, Hungary has become vulnerable to the West to a certain extent.

Looking at the domestic conditions, the international relations - diplomatic, economic, scientific, cultural - that were widened due to the handling of economic problems, posed a serious challenge to counter-espionage. In connection with this and in parallel, the internal opposition also strengthened. Based on the assessment of state security and political leadership, the presence of foreign intelligence services could be observed behind this. In addition, close party supervision and party management of state security continued during the period under review.

Overall, foreign and domestic political factors created a complex and complicated situation for counterintelligence. On the one hand, the estrangement of international relations increased the activities of the secret service, and its main directions were already clearly defined by the country's socialist system and international treaties. On the other hand, the leadership of Hungary also wanted to develop relations with these same countries, especially the United States of America, in order to obtain vital loans for the economy - thus also for maintaining power - which, on the other hand, could have been disturbed by the intense secret service activity. On top of this, in the field of domestic politics, the "relaxation" carried out by foreign secret services and the cooperation with the opposition, against which active secret service action could have once again worsened relations with the West. Consider President Reagan's statements regarding the Polish situation. Counter-espionage therefore had to cope in this dual situation, in which, according to its own assessment, the United States of America was already burning with the fever of "spy hysteria" and further intensified it with its opinion that there are connections between the official bodies of the socialist countries and terrorist organizations.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that the development of political, economic and cultural relations with the West, as well as the promotion of the expansion of tourism from the economic side, in other words, the widening relations with the enemy clearly required a new professional approach. In addition to this, the continuous development of the technical tools used by foreign services in secret service activities, as well as Hungary's lagging behind in this field, posed a serious challenge to counterintelligence.

The frameworks necessary for the effective implementation of counter-espionage were recorded in public and internal regulations during the period under review. In addition, it can be criticized that the rules for the use of secret service tools that violate the basic rights of citizens were contained in non-public legislation. This was also highlighted as a serious shortcoming by the commission investigating the secret service scandal known as "Duna-gate", which broke out during the regime change. However, it should also be noted that these essential issues already appeared in internal instructions in the 1970s, although it is also true that their compliance was not checked by an external organization.

The second chapter presents the organizational structure of the group leadership, the responsibilities of its subordinate organizations and the challenges perceived in the examined period to a depth that is necessary to understand the investigation described in the second part of the dissertation and to interpret the facts established there.

The changes in international relations made it necessary to renew the organization of state security, but primarily the professional thinking. In terms of anti-espionage, due to the significant increase in the number of people entering the country from the 1960s, total prevention was no longer an alternative in connection with the control of persons.

For counter-espionage, the counter-espionage directions previously designated by the framework of the Cold War were reflected in the internal regulations, which did not change until the end of the examined period. The organizational structure of the counter-espionage group leadership met the expected tasks, which is better demonstrated by the fact that no substantive reorganization took place during the examined period, only the newly emerging state security risk, counter-espionage, induced substantive organizational adjustment. The activities of foreign, hostile intelligence services in the direction of Hungary were concentrated in two areas. On the one hand, to the Hungary, and on the other hand, through it, to the defining international cooperation of the European socialist countries and to the socialist countries themselves, especially the Soviet Union.

The risks identified by the counterintelligence group leadership and the knowledge acquired in connection with foreign secret service efforts show that enemy intelligence organizations were present in all areas relevant to the effective operation of the country and continued their activities using a wide range of tools and methods. In addition, it happened that in some cases they increased the challenges in cooperation with their allies. It must be taken into account that all the services located in the priority defense direction were in a better financial and technical situation than the Hungarian one, which differences only increased over time, so it can be stated that this defense activity meant an unequal struggle from the beginning.

The possibility of mitigation by the CSCE, which was initially encouraged by the Hungarian leadership, was against the wind from the beginning based on the political and state security action plans drawn up in connection with it. It became clear that the Hungarian political and state-party leadership was afraid that the relaxation would be used by their Western opponents to weaken their systems.

The third chapter contains the first part of the actual investigation, the analysis and evaluation of the secret agents of state security, the network. In order for the State Security Main Group Chief to function effectively and fulfill its duties, it was essential to establish secret, organizational relationships with persons who could provide substantial assistance in the

prevention work. This circle of personnel was the "agency", and from 1972 the "network", which was regarded as the most important operational tool.

In this chapter, in addition to the presentation of the network, I also searched for the answer to whether there was a perceptible change in the activity of the counterintelligence group leadership in the period between 1975 and 1985 after the signing of the final statement of the CSCE, based on the analysis and evaluation of the data of the network work.

After 1975, the staff numbers of the network employed by the counterintelligence group headquarters clearly and significantly increased. The group leadership began intensive relationship building, as a result of which the number of newly recruited secret collaborators increased by 38.66% in two years. It is important to highlight that as part of this, the number of citizens of the newly incorporated capitalist countries also increased. Among them, the target countries defined in Moscow in 1955, such as Austria, Germany and the United States of America, were in the first place, so the directions of counterintelligence did not change during the examined period. It is an essential circumstance that uniformity was observed in relation to recruitments involving the citizens of these countries during the examined period, the building of relations in such directions was present throughout the examined period.

Regarding the line of employment, there was a significant increase in the number of employees in the fields of counterintelligence from a foreign base and detection of risks arising from international contacts. In the years after 1975, the share of people with higher education and those who speak three or more foreign languages in the network as a whole increased continuously. Overall, the anti-espionage network has developed both in terms of quantity and quality, so that the directions of counter-espionage have not changed.

It should also be mentioned that the number of persons linked to communist social organizations in the network also increased continuously, which was of particular importance from the point of view of loyalty to the party and the state security agency and their goals.

During the examination of the network work of the counter-espionage group leadership according to the main research questions, data was generated indicating that a clearly demonstrable change in the activities of the state security agency took place in 1983. Since the individual years showed the conditions on December 31, it can be assumed that the decision behind the change was made in 1982.

Examining the total number of people in the network from this point of view, we can see that it reached its maximum in 1982, and then began a downward trend. In 1983, there were the largest number of persons, 32.1% of the newly recruited, whose studies were completed, but their recruitment was no longer carried out. Also, after 1982, the number of new recruitments of the group leadership also went into a decreasing phase. The negative trend observed in outsourcing was also evident in the quality characteristics essential to the network's basic task. Thus, in the reduction of the number of network persons with a diploma or those who speak three or more foreign languages. After 1982, the number of citizens of capitalist countries among the members of the network began to decline. The most foreclosures also occurred in 1983, affecting more than twice as many people as in 1975.

These changes clearly indicate a decrease in the intensity of the activities of the counterintelligence group chief. During my research, however, I did not find any relevant party, state or professional instructions until the manuscript was closed.

The tasks of the group chief primarily included detecting and eliminating risks from abroad, including from capitalist countries, threatening the security of the state. Due to the organization's strong party and state control, it is difficult to imagine that such a decision could have been made by the leadership of the counterintelligence agency independently. Based on these, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the changes perceived in 1983 could have been due to an international event related to the capitalist countries, in view of which the party and the state leadership decided that a modification in this direction should be implemented in the performance of counterintelligence tasks.

Examining the significant international events of the period that also affected the Hungary, the second oil crisis of 1979 should be mentioned, as well as the economic difficulties that increased as a result of it in the European socialist countries, including the Hungary. In the current situation, Moscow said 'no' to helping the European socialist countries, so Hungary, as it was already in a situation of near bankruptcy in 1982, had to find another solution. It became a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in May 1982, with the support of the United States of America and Moscow's subsequent information, at the cost of significant efforts.

Based on the above, it is conceivable that the goal of the reduction in the intensity of the work of state security was to minimize and avoid clashes with the capitalist states relevant to the economy of the Hungary at the level of the secret services. Perhaps they did not want to weaken

the international negotiations, which are vital for the country's economy, primarily for obtaining loans from Western sources. This can be confirmed by the fact that the state party regarded the maintenance of the citizens' standard of living as one of the important foundations for retaining power, which in this period could no longer be solved without foreign loans.

The fourth chapter details the examination results of the preliminary checks and confidential investigations of the most important stages of the operative work. On the basis of the examination of personnel checks, it can be established that the targets of counterintelligence throughout the examined period were primarily capitalist countries, particularly their diplomats and persons with service passports.

After the participation of the Hungary in the CSCE, there was no positive substantive change in the direction of relaxation in international relations in the area of counter-espionage. The audit headcount data showed that the activities of the counterintelligence group leadership and the content of the final document of the CSCE, as well as the speech of János Kádár, were not consistent with each other. However, the data series supported what was included in the task plans prepared by the state security agencies in connection with the CSCE, that is, that the prevention work had to be intensified.

The priority counter-espionage directions were and remained the United States of America, Bundesrepublik Deutschland, France, England and Austria throughout the entire period under review. Among them, based on the figures, the United States of America represented the biggest challenge. In terms of the intensity of the prevention, it appeared that the number of persons brought under control in cases with American ties clearly increased in the period between 1975 and 1980 following the CSCE.

The significant drop associated with the year 1983, revealed during the investigation of the network, was also observed in the area of personal checks. The annual total number of inspected persons began to decrease in 1981, but from 1982 it fell sharply, reaching 70% by 1985. The decrease clearly affected diplomats from foreign capitalist countries. This change further strengthens the ideas already formulated regarding the 1983 recession.

It is not relevant from the point of view of the aim of the dissertation, but it is certainly important from the point of view of national security that the emergence of an organized, operative counter-terrorist action within the remit of the counter-intelligence group chief can be made for this period. The initially formed group developed into a subdivision and then a department organization. Since 1981, the field has already carried out personnel checks under this chapter.

6. Summary conclusions

Over the past six thousand years, the secret service work and the organization providing it have changed in many ways, but the basic task has not. In the second half of the 20th century, the task of the secret services, which were already functioning as government agencies, was still the same as at the beginning, to support the leadership of the given state with information that helps to preserve the security of the state and achieve its goals, and to carry out operations that promotes the enforcement of the state's interests.

In addition to this, however, the role of secret services has increased as a result of the changed security challenges. Their importance to the government was clearly indicated by several circumstances, for example, that their control was fixed at the highest level of the executive power.

The Cold War, including the examined period, was defined by the confrontation between the two great powers. This, belonging to the socialist bloc and the international treaties concluded with socialist countries clearly marked the boundaries of the Hungary's international scope, as well as the intelligence gathering and countermeasures of the state security agencies. Domestic politics was dominated by the dominance of the state party, the maintenance of the communist system, and increasing economic difficulties. State security, with direct party control, played a decisive role in maintaining the party's rule, in addition to the classic secret service tasks. By the 1970s, the national economy was struggling with significant difficulties, which by the 1980s already had a serious impact on foreign policy.

Created as part of the efforts aimed at maintaining European security, the CSCE carried the possibility of easing and normalizing the tension between the two blocs. However, since neither side gave up on spreading their own ideology or weakening the other side, the efforts did not bring any meaningful progress after the signing of the final declaration. In line with the expectations of the party and state leadership, the Hungarian state security agency did not reduce its anti-espionage activities at all after the CSCE, and even increased it. A clear sign of this was the quantitative and qualitative development of the network, the most important secret service tool of the given era. Similarly, the increased activity experienced in operational matters - albeit with a lower intensity - had an effect in this direction. The year 1983 brought significant changes in both areas, when both the network's staff and the number of persons subject to inspection decreased significantly. This may have been caused by domestic economic

difficulties and efforts to obtain Western loans, compared to foreign policy changes and the domestic situation.

Based on this, it seems that the provision of Western capital necessary for the operation of the economy had a more significant impact on the country's leadership, the party and, through them, the work of state security than the political, military, and economic relations that have existed for decades within the alliance of European socialist countries. It seems that the Western partners stipulated the reduction of the intensity and actual efficiency of the secret service work as a condition of the loan. It is clear that this could not be given in writing, so it could not appear in the sources. In other words, the Helsinki process was about the peaceful coexistence of the two world orders, and the joining of the World Bank and the Monetary Fund was about defeating the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, its intention, and from a historical perspective, its success.

7. A The new scientific results

Taking the hypotheses and research objectives into account, the following new scientific results were generated:

1. The first hypothesis, according to which the spirit of Helsinki brings such substantial content changes in the relations of the two world systems that it will also be detected in the work of counterintelligence, was not confirmed as a result of the research.
2. Since Helsinki did not bring about a substantive change in the division of the world, counter-espionage remained a dedicated servant of the party-state dictatorship, and there was no substantial change in the previously defined counter-espionage directions. In other words, the second hypothesis was confirmed.
3. The third assumption, related to the previous one, was that there was no decrease in the work intensity of the counterintelligence group leadership in the few years after 1975. This hypothesis was also confirmed. The reason for this is, on the one hand, that the countries belonging to the bourgeois democracies lived with an unchanging need for publicity against the socialist camp, and thus also against Hungary. On the other hand, the country's increasingly difficult economic situation and indebtedness presented the counterintelligence service with new tasks, and the protection of the "people's economy" meant an ever greater task for intelligence.
4. The fourth hypothesis referred to the changes that characterized Hungary's economic and diplomatic foreign relations in the 1980s, in addition to the change. The economic exposure of the Hungarian People's Republic required increased cooperation with open market economies - at that time the country joined the World Bank and the Monetary Fund - therefore the secret service was expected not to make these efforts difficult. Based on the change detected in the work intensity and direction of counterintelligence in 1983, this hypothesis can also be considered proven.
5. Was carried out in the framework of the thesis resertation, analysis and evaluation of the personnel data, employment functions, directions, essential characteristics of the most important operational tool of group management, the "network", as well as their changes in the period 1975-1985.

6. In the framework of the thesis, the preliminary control conducted by the counter-espionage and the personnel data, main characteristics, the way the cases were concluded, as well as the changes in these factors in the period 1975-1985 were presented, analyzed and evaluated.
7. In the course of the research - by analyzing and evaluating the essential characteristics of the external circumstances and the operation of the state security agency - it was verified that the secret service agency of a country can provide the political leadership of that country with the opportunity to carry out activities that are completely contrary to its open communication in the international space continue. It has been proven that the work of counterintelligence in the few years after 1975 was not in accordance with the content of the Helsinki Declaration signed by János Kádár, and with the positive tone of the speech given by János Kádár there. The research proved – by analyzing and evaluating the network and operational matters – that the change of behavior concerning international relations, as openly undertaken by the Hungarian political leadership in the declaration of intent, did not take place after the CSCE.
8. The research - by analyzing and evaluating the network and operational matters - proved that the "system change" in the field of state security had already started in 1983, which could have been forced by the state of the Hungarian economy.
9. Finally, the scientific result of the thesis is the collection, organization and publication of the data related to the network and operational matters, as the data series can serve as a starting point for further research and as a meaningful additional database.

8. Recommendations for the further utilization of new research results

The results of the research can be utilized in all higher education institutions, especially at the Ludovika-University of Public Service, where the activities of secret services are present among the topics of education.

Knowledge related to the operation of the organization, networks and operational matters can be useful for the employees of professional organizations who currently deal with counter-espionage.

The main area of utilization of the dissertation may be its use in further scientific research. Considering the examined period and the areas:

- can form a starting point during work aimed at investigating the counter-espionage activities of the counter-espionage for the entire 28 years;

- by comparing the data of the network and/or operational cases with other data sets, the effectiveness of the work carried out by the group leadership and its changes can be further investigated;

- can be used for further investigation of cooperation between European socialist countries aimed at uncovering and obstructing the activities of counter-interested intelligence agencies;

- the results of the thesis can provide additional knowledge and represent a counterpoint to the investigation of the activities of the secret services of the capitalist countries of the era concerning the Hungary;

- provides the lay reader with comprehensive knowledge of the general content of counterintelligence work.

9. The doctoral student's list of publications on the topic

József Mezei: The activities of the Hungarian Royal Ministry of the Interior in 1910-1911 in preparing the peacetime instructions of the intelligence agency of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, National Security Review (online) (2064-3756): 6 special issues pp 112-129 (2018)

Catherine the Great; József Mezei: The emergence of security awareness in the field of counter-terrorism, National Security Review (2064-3756): 7 4 pp 105-118 (2019)

József Mezei: The growing role of security awareness, In: Péter Ruzsonyi (ed.), Public security: Sustainable security and social environment studies III., Budapest: Ludovika Egyetemi Kiadó, pp 1041-1049 (2020)

József Mezei: System-level responses and processes, In: Péter Ruzsonyi (ed.) Public security: Sustainable security and social environment studies III., Budapest: Ludovika Egyetemi Kiadó, pp 983-995 (2020)

Imre Dobák; József Mezei; Regényi Kund: The emergence of aspects of conspiracy in the areas of state security information collection from contact sources, Hungarian Police (1586-2895 1787-050X): 20 2 pp 35-48 (2020)

György Fialka; Imre Dobák; József Mezei: The framework of state security higher education before the system change and its closure, National Security Review (online) (2064-3756): 8 3 pp 33-43 (2020),

József Deák; József Mezei: Russian and Hungarian law enforcement systems as sources and tombstones of power, In: Gyula Gaál; Zoltán Hautzinger (ed.): From Military Science to Law Enforcement - Social challenges in the year of national unity. Pécs: Hungarian Military Science Society Border Guard Department Pécs Department, pp 127-133 (2020) (Pécs Border Guard Scientific Bulletins 1589-1674 ; 22),

József Mezei; Katalin Nagy: International perspective on security awareness programs in the field of counter-terrorism, National Security Review (online) (2064-3756): 8 2 pp 50-65 (2020)

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10. Professional-scientific CV

He has been serving in a professional service relationship since 1997. For ten years, he worked as a trainer and instructor in the Hungarian Armed Forces. During this period, he served as a peacekeeper in the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus mission for one year. Since 2007, he has been an employee of the Constitutional Protection Office (until 2010, the National Security Office). From 2018, he performs teaching duties at the National Security Institute of the National Public Service University. From 2019, the Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Public and Legal Studies, offers classes.

In 2004, he graduated from the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering of the Szent István University in Gödöllő with a degree in agricultural mechanical engineering, in 2008 he was a certified engineering teacher at the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences of the Budapest University of Technology and Economics, and in 2018 he obtained a degree in economic informatics from the Milton Friedman University in Budapest. He started his doctoral studies of his own accord in 2016, on a correspondence course at the Doctoral School of Law Enforcement of the National Public Service University. He speaks English at an intermediate level and German at a basic level.

Since 2018, the Hungarian Law Society; the Hungarian Military Science Society; the Szemere Bertalan Hungarian Law Enforcement Historical Scientific Society; the Society of Scouts Association; and a member of the National Association of Doctoral Students. Founding member of the Forensic Science Department of the National Association of Doctoral Students, secretary in 2018, president in 2019; Vice President in 2020. From 2018, editorial member and editorial secretary of the National Security Review published online by the National University of Public Service. From 2020, he is the leading teacher of the National Security Research Cell of the National Security College of the National Public Service University.

His research areas are general theoretical issues of national security; the Ministry of the Interior III. Anti-espionage activities of the Main Group Headquarters; the collection of secret information; national security aspects of civilian crisis management and foreign intelligence and security services.

He is author or co-author of a total of 13 publications in MTMT. So far, 12 publications in Hungarian and 1 in English have appeared in professional journals (Hungarian Police Review;

Professional Review; National Security Review), and he is the author of 2 book excerpts. Another 3 publications in Hungarian and 2 book excerpts are expected to be published in 2023.