
Demons, or the pie of socialism? The changing role of ideology in communist totalitarianism

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The study focuses on the role of ideology in totalitarian communist regimes. It examines the extent to which ideology can be regarded as a static or dynamic element and raises the question of to what extent ideology restricts political leaders and to what extent political leaders of communist states can use ideology arbitrarily, primarily doing so through the example of V. I. Lenin and his relation to the viability of the socialist revolution. The study also points out the contradiction between the declared goals of communism and the political practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It deals with the surprising proximity between the vision of communism and the genre of science fiction. The study also focuses on the pseudo-religious character of communist totalitarianism and its implications for the nature of totalitarian communist regimes and their policy of mass repression.

Criminal law and the judiciary in the framework of the SS and the German Police in 1939–1945

Petr Kaňák – Jan Vajskebr

Following the launch of WWII, the Reichsfuehrer of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, significantly reinforced his position within the power hierarchy of Nazi Germany. One of his most important measures was the introduction of an independent criminal code and judiciary for the SS and the police on 17 October 1939. The result was that the Wehrmacht and the Reich's Ministry of Justice could no longer prosecute crimes committed by SS or police officers. In addition, the SS leadership planned to draw up a special code that would acquire general validity as the basis for the Nazi rule of law. Himmler deliberately built up absolute power over the exercise of the SS and police criminal code, enabling him to do as he pleased. He turned the court apparatus into a means of maintaining internal discipline, stripping it of all the attributes of a justice system. In practice the SS criminal code was conceived in such a way that it was not derived from general legal principles; rather it was guided by ideological requirements and was to serve as an instrument for maintaining discipline in the ranks of the SS. The introduction of the SS and police's own judicial system was one of the most striking signs of the emancipation of the Third Reich's repressive apparatus from the state administration, party organs and the army. With the growth of Himmler's power, numerous other organisations began gradually falling under the judicial jurisdiction of the SS and the police; by the end of the war, millions were governed by it. The SS criminal code was aimed at achieving a total Nazi vision with precedence over civilian and military judicial authorities, which also became more radical in the course of the war.

The Case of Karel Löbl: Minister of the government of the Czech Socialist Republic and StB secret collaborator

Jiří Pernes

An important figure in the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Karel Löbl (born 1925) became minister of construction and technology in the government of the Czech Socialist Republic and a deputy of the Parliament of Nations of the Federal Assembly in 1968. He remained in important political posts until the fall of the Communist regime in 1989. After WWII Löbl became a member of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party (ČSNS). He soon took a leadership role in the National Socialist youth organisation, actively standing up against Communist efforts to acquire a monopoly in the youth movement and supporting the policies of the then National Socialist Party leadership. However, after the Communists seized power in the state in February 1948 he joined a group acquiescent to the transformation of the party into an organisation serving the Communists under the name Czechoslovak Socialist Party (ČSS). He began actively cooperating with KSČ apparatchiks and even became a covert party member. While he left political life in 1949 he stayed in contact with former National Socialists, a fact that prompted the State Security (StB) to decide to acquire him as a collaborator. In 1954 it forced him to become an agent, an activity in which Löbl continued until 1968. When it became too much for the secret police to receive reports from a government minister, the StB itself brought the cooperation to an end.

Kramář's abandoned children: The Czechoslovak National Democracy Party in exile

Martin Nekola

The Czechoslovak National Democratic Party (ČSND) helped shape the new state during the years of the First Republic. It included many prominent figures and took part in coalition governments. Unfulfilled expectations and the inclination of some members towards the radical right resulted in a merger with other groupings under the name National Unification (NS). The glorious history of Kramář's movement came to a definitive end with its entry into the Party of National Unity (SNJ) in November 1938. The National Democrats were not included in plans for a new post-WWII party system drawn up by exile circles surrounding Edvard Beneš in London. The establishment of the National Front and the elimination of the entire First Republic Right in Czechoslovakia sparked a debate over whether the National Democrats' traditions and principles should not be preserved abroad at least. The Communist putsch and the mass wave of refugees after February 1948 paved the way for the establishment of an exile party. It was forced to defend its right to exist and explain some of its past positions but above all defined itself in opposition to the socialist parties which had assumed political leadership in the exile community. Attempts to

build significant structures in individual countries were also hampered by the fact that disputes broke out between senior functionaries almost as soon as the party was officially established in London in June 1948. The constant factional rivalry was so off-putting to those involved that there was little enthusiasm for further cooperation. Lacking responsible management, the party's activities ground to a halt in the mid-1950s. It became another of a long line of ephemeral exile groups for which internal disputes, a lack of funds and a membership scattered around the world proved fatal.

1989 at the Department Against Rightist Opportunism at the Counter-Intelligence Directorate of the National Security Corps in Bratislava

Jerguš Sivoš

After the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact troops and the halting of the process of renewal in August 1968 there were extensive purges within the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC). The new supreme party leadership dubbed the reform process revisionism and its representatives rightist opportunists. After those in question were expelled from the KSC they became of interest to the State Security (StB). In Slovakia leading "rightist opportunists" were handled by the Counter-Intelligence Directorate in Bratislava (12th Directorate of the National Security Corps). By the end of the Communist regime it had subdivided them into five groups: Alexander Dubček; the political right (Kusý, Šimečka, Strinka and others); the economic right (Kočtúch, Pavlenda and others); a group of young anti-Communist oriented persons surrounding the samizdat *Fragment-K* (Šimečka Jr., Pastier, Hoffman and others); and a group of young environmentalists (Budaj, Huba). In order to stamp out their activities and influence their actions the StB employed agents, wiretapping, surveillance and the screening of correspondence. It carried out agent-operative preventative and disruptive activities against them even after mass demonstrations erupted on 17 November 1989. At the beginning of December 1989 it ceased operations in individual cases and destroyed the relevant files. In addition, some agents attempted to cover up interference in the registration records of agent and operative files.

The fall of the Communist regime in Slovakia (1989 – 1990)

Peter Jašek

The author explores the subject of the fall of the Communist regime in Slovakia in 1989 and 1990 in the study. He lays out chronologically the main events of the period in question, including the growth of the opposition movement in the second half of the 1980s and the main streams within it, the emergence of the leading anti-regime movement Public Against Violence (VPN) and its political strategy, and the free elections of 1990. Particular attention is paid to the difference between the VPN and its Czech partner Civic Forum (OF), in particular the former's efforts to achieve the

quickest possible penetration of the media in the form of *Štúdio dialóg* (*Studio Dialogue*) and the organisation of the march *Hi Europe!*, symbolising the fall of the Iron Curtain. It also explores political talks between representatives of the VPN and the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS), as well as the method of reconstructing the Slovak government, which after lengthy negotiations was appointed on 12 December 1989. In conclusion the study lays out the political parties and their election results in the first free elections in 1990, which legitimised the revolutionary changes of November and December 1989.

Report of Lieut. Col. Antonín Zeman (Barovský) on events in Carpathian Ruthenia in March 1939

Jiří Plachý

This is an annotated edition of a report by then Lieut. Col. Antonín Zeman (1891–1956), codename Barovský, on events in Carpathian Ruthenia in March 1939. One of the first descriptions of those events, the report was prepared in 1942 for the Ministry of National Defence of the Czechoslovak Government in Exile on the direct orders of President Edvard Beneš. Zeman/Barovský became commander of the Khust battalion of the State Defence Guard (SOS) in 1936. From 1938 its units fought against Polish and Hungarian terrorists, took part in the suppression of an attempt by the radical wing “the Carpathian Sich” to mount a coup on the night of 13 to 14 March 1939, engaged in fighting against the invading Hungarian Army (14–18 March), and subsequently evacuated to Romania. Zeman/Barovský gives due attention to all of these circumstances in the report. In view of the fact that he was very well oriented in the local political scene thanks to his rank he also included descriptions of individual figures in the Carpathian autonomy movement. The edition contains footnotes, a general introduction and a short biography of Antonín Zeman.