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## Crossing borders and emigration in Czechoslovakia and Eastern Europe in the 20th century

Jan Rychlík

The study describes the possibilities of both legal and illegal emigration from Czechoslovakia and other Eastern European countries in the 20th century, with special focus on the period after the Second World War. With regard to illegal emigration, it also deals with the issue of criminal penalties for illegal border crossing and illegal stay abroad in individual countries. Until the Second World War, opportunities to travel abroad was essentially freely available, and illegal border crossing was considered misdemeanour, which also applied to departure abroad and stay abroad without permission from the authorities. An exception was the USSR, where illegal immigration was considered a criminal offence. After the Second World War, the Soviet model was gradually extended to all the countries of Eastern Europe except Yugoslavia, although penalties for illegal border crossing and illegal stay in a foreign country were not the same everywhere. From 1965, Yugoslavia did not prevent its citizens from travelling to any foreign country, nor from residing there for long periods of time or permanently. As a result of the gradual disintegration of the communist regimes in the late 1980s in Poland, Hungary and later in Bulgaria, freedom of travel and emigration was restored; in other states of the former Soviet bloc and in Albania, this only happened after the collapse of the respective communist regimes.

## The education system of the Ministry of the Interior at the beginning of normalization

Petr Dvořáček

In the early 1970s, the Ministry's education, as well as the entire Ministry of the Interior, had to deal with a number of fundamental changes related to the federalization of the state (from 1 January 1969) and the emergence of the republic's ministries, a large number of forced departures of "reformists" as a result of the defeat of the Prague Spring, as well as voluntary retirement of the staff and members of the National Security Corps (SNB). At that time, numerous legislative changes also led to the reorganization of the existing education system from the mid-1960s and the creation of a new system with a university-like school as the highest grade – the University of the National Security Corps. Although management mechanisms were created and the Ministry's regulations governing education were completed, the system failed to fulfil the tasks of the communist party resolutions concerning cadre work and education, as shown by statistics. This was associated with a low level of education of the newly recruited members of the National Security Corps. In the mid-1970s, however, the foundations of an education system were laid that was able to produce ideologically "solid" graduates with narrow security specialization for the future, for the Interior Ministry's own needs.

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## Student associations at Brno University in 1968–1969. A contribution on selected issues

Luděk Navrátil

This study focuses on the process of democratization and the subsequent onset of “normalization” at Jan Evangelista Purkyně University (Masaryk University) in 1968–1969. It focuses on the student associations which originated at the University in the spring of 1968 in the context of the collapse of the Czechoslovak Union of Youth. The development and operation of student associations are dealt with in the context of renewal of the original name of the University, renewal of the Faculty of Law, and the rehabilitation of the students and teachers excluded for political reasons after 1948. The discussion about these issues was only made possible after removing pressure caused by the political situation in Czechoslovakia, and student associations were among the first to participate in this initiation. The occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact troops in August 1968 was followed by a gradual turnover. After the unsuccessful nationwide student strike in November 1968 and Jan Palach’s death, the student associations at the University backed off. The subsequent “consolidation” measures in 1969 had a significant impact on the rehabilitation process and adjusted the character of the renewed Faculty of Law according to the needs of the regime. Another consequence was the abolition of student associations. The study examines how students and members of student associations were punished for their previous activity and how these events were evaluated from the perspective of “normalization”.

## Cardinal Trochta’s last journey. The funeral under the direction of the “normalization” power?

Barbora Řeřichová

The study deals with the last days of life, as well as the death and funeral of the 17th Bishop of Litoměřice, Cardinal Štěpán Trochta (1905–1974). It is divided into four parts, but its core describes the circumstances of the death, preparation of the last goodbye and the funeral itself, both from the perspective of archival documents and the direct participants’ memories. Organization of the funeral was very complicated, mainly because of the state officials’ unjustified fears of the ceremony turning into a manifestation of power of the Catholic Church. Despite the strict security measures and efforts for secrecy, the funeral was attended by more than 4,000 people from across the republic. The service was celebrated by Mons. František Tomášek, Bishop of Prague; foreign metropolitans were not allowed to concelebrate. Yet the funeral was attended, for example, by Cardinal Bengsch (Bishop of Berlin), Cardinal König (Archbishop of Vienna) and Cardinal Wojtyła (Archbishop of Krakow, who later became Pope John Paul II). The Polish Primate, Cardinal Wiszinski, was not allowed into the republic. The aim of the study is primarily to discuss in detail the strained

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relations between the state and the Church in the period of “normalization”, by placing the events of regional significance in a broader historical context.

**Can you see that, you red loon, who is walking on your Moon!  
On the issue of so-called subversive writings in Czechoslovakia  
from 1969 to 1971**

Tomáš Vilímek

Throughout its existence, the communist regime in Czechoslovakia faced the emergence of various leaflets, signs and anonymous letters whose authors used the forms to show not only their opposition to the monopoly on power of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, but also to cope with their feelings of hurt, anger and disappointment of the societal development. The present study focuses on the extremely tense period of 1969–1971, in which a variety of so-called subversive writings represented one of the key manifestations of civil resistance, acquiring a mass character. Although it was a relatively short period of time, it allows us to observe a fundamental change in the social atmosphere, which was manifested in the quantity, form and content of the anti-regime writings, as well as in the motivation and objectives of their authors. The study is primarily based on state-security and party materials, but it also takes into account the available literature on this issue. It discusses in detail the records of the security authorities, offering a number of specific stories of the authors of leaflets, signs and anonymous letters, and showing the politicization of criminal law in the period in question.

**Case “Rino”: our man in the CIA.  
Control of the Czechoslovak top agency by the Soviet Intelligence  
Service, 1973–1976**

Pavel Žáček

The mid-1970s saw the culmination of the collaboration of the Main Intelligence Service Directorate (Directorate I) of the Federal Ministry of the Interior with Karel Köcher (code names “Pedro”, “Petr”, “Rino”) and his wife Hana (“Hanka”, “Adrid”), agents sent by the Czechoslovak State Security Service abroad in September 1965 with a mission to infiltrate into the US intelligence apparatus. In July 1973, nearly two years after the suspension of the collaboration, Directorate I renewed contacts with him. After finding that he was working in the CIA office specializing in wiretapping the foreign offices of the Communist bloc, case “Rino” was joined by the headquarters of the 1st Main Directorate of the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the USSR. During his two-year contract with the Transcriber’s Unit, Köcher handed over information on dozens of his colleagues to the Czechoslovak and Soviet Intelligence

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Services in meetings held in Zurich, Geneva, Vienna, on two occasions when he was taken behind the Iron Curtain to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and through his wife, based on which the Main Directorate of the KGB attempted to recruit several CIA employees. He also provided information on the eavesdropping operations of the CIA in Latin America, Middle East, Africa and Asia, especially in Bogota, Beirut, Kabul, Tunisia and elsewhere. His information was valued at USD 20,000 by KGB Chairman J. V. Andropov. The analysis of the documentation of case “Rino” and case “Adrid” made it possible to reconstruct the collaboration of the Czechoslovak and Soviet Intelligence Services, both at the central level, through the Deputy of Chief Representative of the KGB at the Federal Ministry of the Interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Col. P. J. Nyedosekin, and in the US territory, at the level of the residencies in New York. What was also confirmed was the inequality of the relationship between the two intelligence bodies, Soviet control and tasking of the management of Directorate I, its headquarters, residencies in the country of the main enemy, and even individual agents. The collaboration of the controversial couple did not end in September 1976, but continued at a lower level in the 1980s, until they were arrested by the FBI in late November 1984.

### Special reports of the State Security Service on responses to Professor Jan Patočka’s death and funeral (documents)

Petr Blažek

The edition of archival documents releases special information of the State Security Service on responses to the death and funeral of Professor Jan Patočka (1907–1977), a Charter 77 spokesman who died on 13 March 1977 at the hospital where he was taken just several hours after exhaustive questioning by the members of the StB who were interested in his meeting with Dutch Foreign Minister Max van der Stoel. Professor Patočka’s death ended the founding period of Charter 77, on which he impressed a significant moral and civic character. The published reports illustrate the extensive measures taken by the secret police in connection with his funeral, which was held on 16 March 1977 at the Břevnov cemetery. All the documents are published for the first time. The editor has prepared them as part of an extensive book edition of StB documents about Professor Jan Patočka that will be released in 2017, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of Charter 77.