

Ulrich Ferdinand Kinsky: A Nobleman, Aviator, Racing Driver and Sportsman in the 20th Century

Michal Plavec

Ulrich Ferdinand Kinsky (15 August 1893 – 19 December 1938) came from a noble Czech family but, unlike many of his relatives, sided with the Nazis and played a key role during Lord Runciman's mission to Czechoslovakia in 1938. He embraced the Munich Agreement and was happy to see his farm near Česká Kamenice becoming part of Nazi Germany. He died in Vienna before World War II started. It is a lesser known fact that he served in the Austro-Hungarian Air Force during the Great War, first as an observer and later as a pilot. Flying was his great passion; he owned three airplanes and often flew them all over Europe between the two wars. He had private airports built near the manors on his property – in Klešice near Heřmanův Městec and in Dolní Kamenice near Česká Kamenice. He also served as the President of Austria Aero Club. He was even a successful race car driver in the 1920s and remained a passionate polo player until death. Although he was the progeny of the youngest son of the 7th Prince Kinsky, he became the 10th Prince Kinsky after the death of his two uncles and father. In addition to a palace in Vienna and the two aforementioned farming estates, he also owned large farms in Choceň, Rosice and Zlonice. Kinsky divorced his first wife Katalina née Szechényi likely because he believed she was guilty of the premature death of their son Ulrich at age eleven. The Roman Catholic Church did not recognise the divorce. Despite opposition among the nobility, Kinsky married Mathilda von dem Busch-Haddenshausen. Two daughters and the coveted male heir came of this marriage. Widow Princess Kinsky with the son and daughters left for her native Argentina during the war. Their son František Ulrich tried to reclaim the family property from the Czech Republic in court until his death in 2009. The Constitutional Court rejected his claims in 2005 but individual court cases were pending until his death. He claimed his parents had never been Nazi sympathizers, although the opposite is true. While his father's membership in the NSDAP has not been proven, his mother joined the party immediately after the annexation of German-speaking parts of Czechoslovakia by Nazi Germany. According to Austrian Police reports of 1949, she was an avid national socialist in Argentina even after the end of World War II.

Key words: Czechoslovakia, nobility, Ulrich Ferdinand Kinsky, Lord Runciman's mission in Czechoslovakia, Munich crisis, the Great War, aviation, motoring, horse riding (polo)

Czechoslovak Military Intelligence after the Munich Events of 1938. Intelligence Centre for Carpathian Ruthenia

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Prepared primarily on the basis of documents from the Military History Archive and the Security Services Archive in Prague, the study focuses on the restructuring of the Czechoslovak military intelligence service during the Second Republic as the curtailed Czechoslovakia was forced to respond to changes in geopolitical situation. Intelligence activities aimed at Nazi Germany were officially prohibited and intelligence activity moved to the east, in the direction of Poland and Hungary. Headquartered in Carpathian Ruthenia's Svalyava, the Intelligence Centre for Carpathian Ruthenia became a new element in the intelligence service restructuring, tasked with both offensive and defensive intelligence activity targeting Poland and Hungary while monitoring the internal political situation in Carpathian Ruthenia. The Centre was taken from the usual structures and was fully subject to the 2nd (Intelligence) Department of the Head Staff in Prague. Sr. Capt. Jan Krček chaired the Intelligence Centre throughout its existence (December 1938 – March 1939). In addition to him, Sr. Capt. Jindřich Krátký, Sr. Capt. Oldřich Vomáčka, Capt. in retirement Stanislav Vondřich and First Lt. Štěpán Kareš were also stationed in Svalyava. Rating the group's activity comprehensively is rather difficult due to a lack of sources. It is however certain that its work suffered from a lack of time where it could not fully develop its intelligence activity. It is important to note that many members of the Svalyava intelligence centre joined anti-Nazi resistance movement after the occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939.

Key words: Czechoslovak army, military intelligence, Second Republic, March 1939, Nazi resistance, Svalyava, Intelligence Centre for Carpathian Ruthenia, Jan Krček, Nazi Germany, Poland, Hungary

I Am Leaving But My Heart Stays in My Mother Diocese. Persecution of German Catholic Clergy in the Litoměřice Diocese after World War II

Zlatuše Kukánová

The study focuses on the eviction and persecution of Roman Catholic clergymen of German ethnicity in the Litoměřice diocese during the first wave of uncontrolled massive transfer following World War II. It is based on a list of missing, interned, evicted and otherwise persecuted Roman Catholic clergymen, compiled by the newly appointed Czech Vicar General Josef Kuška in the summer of 1945 based on the correspondence and various reports sent to Litoměřice. The list contains over 60 names of parsons, administrators, chaplains, religion teachers, catechists and other clergymen. The author cites examples of clergymen deployed on labour (mitigating

war damage or harvesting crops in farms) who were held in detention for months. Most of them were later released without a court procedure because their detention was often groundless and there was no evidence for proper complaints to be lodged. The study focuses on the various forms of persecution of the clergymen and on the church's attempts at preventing experienced German clergymen from leaving for Saxony, Bavaria, Rhineland and other regions of Germany and Austria. Some clergymen were evicted and transported across the border without being given the time to pack for the trip or hand their parishes and offices over to their successors or authorities. The exodus of Roman Catholic clergymen from the borderland part of the diocese caused many problems, personnel turnover and expansion of benefices, which made conducting masses and securing the vital statistics agenda more difficult. Parsons' arrests were often followed by destruction and theft of both church and private property. Parish houses were often used as lodging for the army or confiscated for other purposes; some were even used for storing crops and farming production.

Key words: ecclesiastic history, Czechoslovakia, 20th century, Roman Catholic Church, Litoměřice diocese, religious persecution, eviction of German clergymen after 1945

Retribution Justice Judging the Revolution: Conflicts between the Extraordinary People's Court in Prague and the District State Security Office in Prague in 1946–1947

Jakub Šlouf

Tension between the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of the Interior escalated from 1945 to 1948, stemming from the different social structures of their employees and different mechanisms of official practice. These conflicts on an official level grew into politics and formed the soil for an escalation of the disputes on a government level. Particularly strong aversion arose between the Extraordinary People's Court (MLS) in Prague, the most influential retribution institution on a national scale, and the strongly political District State Security (StB) Office in Prague. The controversy stemmed from the fact that the Court investigated retribution cases independently of the police. Doing so, it found out that StB officers used illegal practices in certain cases. The Court also criticised the common practice of retaining persons in detention in excess of statutory periods. The controversy between the two authorities culminated in January 1947 with the decision of the Chair of the penal jury of the Extraordinary People's Court Dr. Karel Černík to arrest two StB officers, Ladislav Čadek and Josef Volf. They were suspect of beating witnesses and tampering with case files. During the main hearing, the court publicly discussed police violence on the premises of the police section of the Regional Penal Court Prison in Prague in 1945. The employees of the District StB Office tried to cover up their colleagues' deeds and sent a false witness, Jaroslava Ledererová to court. She was exposed and she confessed

that her testimony was false. Still, media siding with the communist party accused the Court of trying to discredit the Ministry of the Interior and condemning the May 1945 uprising instead of Nazi collaborators.

Key words: retribution, justice, Extraordinary People's Court (MLS) in Prague, State Security (StB), District StB Office in Prague, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of the Interior, Czechoslovakia, 1945–1948

Banderites in Czechoslovakia in 1945–1947. Political and Military Aspects

Tomáš Řepa

This work focuses on the phenomenon of Banderites (Banderovtsy, also known as OUN – Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and UPA – Ukrainian Rebellious Army) in Czechoslovakia in 1945–1947. The actual threat they posed to the Czechoslovak state was exaggerated and propagandistically misused by the communists in their fight against other political entities in Czechoslovakia long before February 1948. In the countries where the Banderites were active, their activity is still perceived controversially and tendentiously. The perceptions are influenced by the nature of the communist regime that ultimately ruled and by how this issue was handled. What was initially an unambiguous conflict stemming from the problematic coexistence of some Eastern European nations was eventually misused to create a fake legend and a targeted campaign. With more than 70 years of perspective, the topic of Banderites is still viewed through this prism in many cases, and it is probably a matter of time when the issue can finally be viewed free of distorting clichés.

Key words: Banderites, Ukrainian Rebellious Army (UPA), Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Ukrainian nationalism, Czechoslovak army, National Security Corps (SNB), Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSČ), propaganda

Prague Spring 1968 reflected by the Belarusian Soviet Society

Alaksandr Hužalouski

The study focuses on one of the most difficult episodes of Czech/Czechoslovak and, more broadly, modern European history, commonly known as the Prague Spring, as it was reflected in the Belarusian Soviet society. It shows how the official media reacted to the election of Alexander Dubček as the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee (ÚV KSČ), to the reforms aimed at expanding the rights and freedoms of citizens and decentralizing power in the country, as well as to the deployment of Warsaw Pact troops on the territory of Czechoslovakia.

After the invasion of Soviet troops and the suppression of protests in Czechoslovakia, the Belarusian leadership sought to preserve the political and economic values that had prevailed in the USSR until the beginning of the Prague Spring. In the face of a strong official ideological campaign that unfolded in the Soviet Union to condemn Czechoslovak reformers as “agents of imperialism”, a small number of Soviet Belarusians openly supported democratic changes in the “fraternal socialist country”. Some reservists refused to be sent to Czechoslovakia, some representatives of the working class and intelligentsia expressed their open protest against the deployment of the Soviet troops in a verbal form, and unknown persons secretly pasted leaflets that supported the Czechoslovak reforms. A much larger number of the Soviet Belarus residents expressed a hidden protest against the entry of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia.

Key words: Czechoslovakia, Soviet Belarus, Prague Spring, Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSC), Warsaw Pact, ideology, propaganda, protests, media, 1968

In Anticipation of Fading: Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in the Initial Months of the Normalisation Era

Jan Pelikán – Ondřej Vojtěchovský

The study maps the period from the spring of 1969 to the early 1970 as Husák’s suite established itself at the helm of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) and the state. Its stance towards Yugoslavia was ambiguous. The conservative and dogmatist members of the new regime considered the Yugoslav “revisionists” to be the inspiration for and the supporters of the Prague Spring. A part of the normalisation suite including Gustáv Husák himself wished to renew good relations with Belgrade and obtain a gesture of recognition from it to boost its own legitimacy. The Yugoslav leaders insisted on condemning the Soviet invasion in August 1968 while accepting the new status quo. They tried to avoid accusations of actively interfering with Czechoslovakia’s internal matters since Yugoslavia’s own foreign policy strategy was based on the principle of non-interference. Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations were influenced by the Soviet Union, which normalised its relations with Yugoslavia for pragmatic reasons again after a brief period of deterioration. However, both Soviets and Yugoslavs used the Czechoslovak platform to present more critical and offensive stances than they would show to each other. In effect, Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations remained markedly more reserved than Soviet-Yugoslav relations of the period. The arrival of new power structures in Prague did not affect the practical level of the relations, in particular in economic terms, since both sides were extremely interested in cooperation. The study also analyses the Slovak aspect of relations to Yugoslavia and the impact of political matters on social phenomena such as tourism and travel.

Key words: Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, normalisation, Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations, Soviet-Yugoslav relations, late socialism, national issue, passport and visa policy, travelling during socialism, trafficking and black market

Adored by Some, Condemned by Others. Foreign Trade Enterprise Tuzex and its Role in Socialist Czechoslovakia

Adam Havlík

This paper describes a special case of so-called Tuzex trades in socialist Czechoslovakia. Tuzex stores were opened to sell luxury foreign and selected domestic “export” products. Only hard currency or special vouchers (Tuzex Crowns – TK, “bon/bony”) were accepted as means of payment. Tuzex stores were originally intended for customers such as foreigners or Czechoslovak citizens, who had official access to foreign currency (specialists working abroad, etc.). Eventually, however, a huge black market with foreign currency and Tuzex vouchers was emerged, allowing “ordinary people” to buy the desired foreign electronics, clothes, food, cars, etc. at Tuzex stores. The aim of the study is to analyse the causes of the establishment Tuzex in the late 1950s and its development and significance for the Czechoslovak centrally planned economy. From humble beginnings, the number of Tuzex stores, as well as foreign money revenues, grew until the late 1980s. In addition to the economic principles of Tuzex, the range of goods sold or its structure and staff, the text also focuses on undesirable but partially tolerated forms of crime that are related to the existence of Tuzex.

Key words: Czechoslovakia, Foreign Trade Enterprise Tuzex, black market, luxury, consumerism, late socialism

Unauthorised Desertion of the Republic in the Context of Security Law

Stanislav Polnar

The communist coup in 1948 brought a pivotal change in Czechoslovakia’s legal policy related to the possibility of leaving the country freely. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ) did not understand this option as a matter of a free citizen’s choice – in contrast, it considered the maximum possible restriction of this principal human right to be a principal interest of the society. The reasons stemmed from ideological, security and economic considerations. Without a doubt, the political stance of the Soviet Union – which took a resolutely negative stance to the option of leaving one’s home country – played a role as well. All of the factors eventually showed in the legal policy, legislation and the application of law by Czechoslovak authorities. First, it was the matter of passport and emigration agenda, with the unusual involvement of security authorities including the State Security (StB). This

institutional measure opened up the opportunity for transferring cases from administrative to penal law. After 1948, penal regulations treated unauthorised desertion of the republic as a crime against the country, rather than as an administrative offence. Logically, investigation was on the agenda of StB. The socialist security law also defined the *modus operandi* of the Czechoslovak national border. It gave broad authorisations to the Border Guard including the use of firearms on citizens leaving the country without authorisation. By the same token, the border was “secured” using equipment that actually killed hundreds of people. Not all of the successful émigrés stayed abroad permanently. Some of them came back to Czechoslovakia for various reasons, exposing themselves to penal repression and permanent police surveillance. The state tried to attract émigrés back using periodical campaigns promising them no punishment under amnesty. The great majority of the people who left in 1948 and 1968 did not avail themselves of this apparent act of good will, staying abroad permanently. Then, the regime at least seized the property they left behind. In effect, attempts at leaving the socialist Czechoslovakia were acts of civic courage that involved many severe consequences, and as such they deserve admiration.

Key words: socialist Czechoslovakia, unauthorised desertion of the republic, emigration, legal policy, security law, penal law, national border, amnesty, State Security (StB)

Revanchists or Pioneers of Reconciliation? Ackermann-Gemeinde and its Support for the Roman Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia during the Communist Era

Eva Vybíralová

The study discusses the various forms of material and other assistance that the members and friends of the Ackermann-Gemeinde civic association extended to Czechoslovak Roman Catholics for decades. They would mostly send hundreds of parcels with targeted help (selected books, dried fruits, medications, money, etc.), cars for priests, finance for refurbishing church buildings in the borderland, gifts for ordinees, etc. The study also focuses on the attention that State Security (StB) paid to the organisation, in particular to its representatives, Adolf Kunzmann (operation “Revanš/Revenge”) and Franz Olbert (operation “Náhradník/Substitute”). As part of the operation, StB interrogated dozens of priests and active laypeople in the 1970s. Among other sources, the study draws on documents from the Ackermann-Gemeinde archive in Munich and selected StB files deposited in the Security Services Archive in Prague. In addition, several persons on both sides were interviewed for the study.

Key words: Roman Catholic Church, communism, 20th century, Ackermann-Gemeinde, Sozialwerk, State Security (StB), Adolf Kunzmann, Franz Olbert, operation “Revanš/Revenge”, operation “Náhradník/Substitute”

Literature on Cigarette and Carbon Paper: A History of Czechoslovak Samizdat through the Example of Karel Pecka

Petra Loučová

The life story of writer Karel Pecka (1928–1997) offers a unique glimpse into the history of unofficial literary and book culture in Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1989 as well as into the life of a writer in a totalitarian regime. Pecka's samizdat "Odyssey" started by printing the illegal leaflet magazine *Za pravdu* in 1949. Back then, he could hardly anticipate how much publishing in unofficial, "parallel" book circulation will define his work in the decades to follow. As a prisoner in the Jáchymov and Příbram labour camps in the 1950s, he continued secretly writing collections of poems, followed by short stories. He was a member of prison samizdat, the most beautiful items of which were reportedly written on cigarette paper. From the early 1960s on, some of his handwritten works were first distributed among selected readers in mimeographed copies due to delays in publication. His brief official writer career was cut short by the invasion of the Warsaw Pact armies to Czechoslovakia in August 1968. This opened the second twenty-year period of Pecka's life marked by the impossibility to publish and attempts at overcoming the barrier. His novel, *Štěpení*, delivered to Škvorecký in Toronto in handwritten form and subsequently issued by their '68 Publishers publishing house, made Pecka a bona fide samizdat pioneer. The normalisation of 1970s and 1980s spent in the alternative culture environment brought several more publications in exile and samizdat editions (including *Motáky nezvěstnému*) and a series of texts in the *Obsah* periodical. Pecka's samizdat life ended with the post-samizdat publication of his prison poems, *Rekonstrukce*, self-released in 1995, two years before his death.

Key words: Karel Pecka, communism, political prisoners, censorship, prison literature, samizdat, tamizdat, '68 Publishers publishing house