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Migration: traumatic Odyssey of collective memory

Ladies and Gentlemen

I am honoured to open the session of Eurojess Congress concerning "Memories" of migration. To begin with the scientific data: the whole of nature has memory of migration. Let us begin with inanimate nature. Continental drift began about 300 million years ago; the splitting of continents from the original compact block left indelible geological and biological traces investigated by many scientific disciplines. The animals know migration as well. The peaks of food production in some regions would be unexploited without the periodic presence of migratory populations. Migration enables fast-moving animals (such as birds) to exploit fluctuating resources and to settle in areas where life would not be tenable for animals incapable of rapid travel. Man as migrating animal is part of nature as well. The human species began its conquest of the world in Africa, about one million years ago. The last 40 thousand years of globetrotting is a miracle of fast moving in a biological perspective. The memories of biological migration are a part of natural sciences, biology or anthropology.

What interests the philosopher is the capacity of man to surpass nature by freedom, consciousness, symbolical expression, and religion. In one word: the human nature is a cultural. That is why the record of migration makes sense not only in relationship to the time of nature, but in relation to the time of history: history of nations, history of civilizations, history of salvation, story of individual life. For philosophy, time is neither the neutral movement of an atomic clock marking the geological periods; nor a biological change traced in molecules of DNA. The relation to history establishes the cultural dimension of humanity. We do not live in time in the way as other creatures do; we are the time-constituting being – according to such philosophers as Saint Augustine, Husserl and Heidegger. The periodic time of nature becomes the meaningful time of *homo sapiens*. He is on the move to create his own history. Migration founded new nations and new cultures. It forms a part of collective

memory. Our European consciousness exists thanks to the fact that the Indo-European tribes migrated into the Mediterranean space 5000 years ago. The Jews, Christian and Muslims came to their religious faith thanks to the invasion of Palestine by Semitic tribes about 1200 B.C. The Europe of the early Middle ages (from the 4th - 10th century) was founded by the invasion of nomadic tribes: Goths, Slavonic people and Hungarians. The settling of nomadic cultures in post-roman Europe founded the Holy Roman Empire, the basis of the modern European states. The European history must also take into account the abortive Hun and Islamic invasion of the 5th and 8th centuries. The European colonisation of the whole world in the 16th and 17th century accomplished the destiny of mobile western civilisation. It has grown out of migration. The move of nations established the important differences, which make rich all cultures round the world. Without migration, there would be no culture at all.

The philosopher should not treat migration as historians do. They pay attention to the time of objective history. The philosopher investigates another time that constitutes the consciousness of history. Without the life of the individual historic subject, there is no history at all. The time of personal existence has its own representation of time. Immanuel Kant already noticed that there is no objective time in nature and thus no objective laws outside of human consciousness. We are the source of the objectivity and thus the universal validity of natural laws. The German philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey († 1911) discovered another fact in relation to time. He opposed the *Geschichtlichkeit* (historicity) to the *Historie* (history). Since we *are* historical beings, that is why we *have* history. It means that history is not something external to us, as the objective historiography pretends to say. On the basis of historicity (*Geschichtlichkeit*) as fundamental fact of human existence, we can write the objective account of history (*Historie*). The lived time is the source of historical time.

Let us try to have a look on the time of life. We are the only creatures on the Earth that have consciousness of approaching death. We have to make sense of our lives facing the inevitable end. The human being articulates its existence by approaching his or her own death. The death of somebody else I can objectively observe; my own death means something very different to me. The understanding of my future death goes together with the recollection of the past – both done in the living present of actual existence. That is the original temporality of human existence according to Martin Heidegger.

This short sketch of a phenomenology of time gives a new look to migration. The existentialist philosopher cannot define migration by the objective enumeration of

causes that drive the people from of their homes onto the road. The contingencies of nature and history such as crop failures, famine, natural disasters, wars, border closures and ethnic atrocities are incorporated in the temporality of living body, that lives not only on bread alone, but from the sense of life. The time and space incorporated into the individual history of the body provides certain moments in time and certain places with the symbolical meaning. Human life would make no sense without that symbolic language of time and space. Facing the end of my own life, I must here and now give the sense to my limited existence in my own body. Then, objective flow of time receives the unique meaning. Symbolic gestures and rituals express that existential meaning of time. Everybody knows the importance of certain moments and spaces by celebrating birthdays, marriages, funerals, the New Year, by going to cemeteries, praying in the church and so on. The so called "*rites de passage*" or "*rites d'initiation*" mark the time and space with the seal of personal or collective sense. Without the symbolic structuring of time and space, there would be no sacred space, no church and no liturgical celebration at all. Phenomenology and hermeneutics investigate the fundamental conditions that make it possible for time and space to have a symbolical meaning. Afterwards come history, anthropology and another human sciences that work with the concepts of objective time and space.

Now, we have found the starting point of philosophical inquiry into the question of migration. Being a specific expression of human behaviour, migration is incorporated into the objective time of history. Nevertheless, the capacity of the human subject to interpret personal existence as the space of "my" body that separates me from "my" death constitutes the base of lived-time, which means something important to us. This bi-polarity of time – as source of personal Self and as a source of collectively experienced history – assures the personal and social integrity of every individual. The individual time and space of my body makes me what I am – person XY in my own Self. I know the importance of certain places and periods of my life. Similarly, historical time is attached to certain periods and to certain places. Their importance is interpreted through social und political institutions and apprehended though national symbols and mother-language. Such symbolically understood times and places build up the historical consciousness of a national or ethnic community. We know that they are meaningful to us. For the phenomenology, to have memories means to describe fragile human existence lived with others, all of us exposed to oncoming death. We try to give meaning to own life though the system of representations and symbolical expressions that map this or that concrete body onto coordinates of symbolically and collectively apprehended time and space. Such a meaningful time

and space gives meaning not only to my own existence; it builds up the life of a national community. Such a symbolically structured time differs from the objective flow of astronomical time. The ancient Greeks knew the difference between the time called *chronos* and the time called *kairos*. We face the bi-polarity of time in the sense of Dilthey or Heidegger. There is existence-time as historicity of my or of collective *kairos*. And there is time *chronos* as a objective history written in a chronicle. This twofold meaning of time helps us to understand the proposed subject – the memories of migration. We would place migration in the collectively apprehended time as *kairos* – as the meaningful time situated in the chronologically reported history of some historical community. Such a temporality represents the constitutive movement, which creates the basic meaning of mortal and therefore fragile human existence.

The philosopher Paul Ricoeur stresses in his latest book about historical memory, that both memories are fragile: the personal as well as collective history (RICOEUR,2000:98). Their source is the living body. Since historical time presupposes the identity of Self in existence-time, individual as well as collective history can be obliterated, ideologically deformed or pathologically influenced by suppression of certain experiences into individual or collective unconsciousness. On the other hand, we can have history, since we are the only beings of the planet capable of having it. What constitutes human dignity is our capability to set free actions out of natural determination. The freedom gives sense to life. Human life needs to be set into a meaningful continuity of experiences. But, humans are free and they can resist it. Man is capable of destroying his own life and the lives of others. We can condemn others to total oblivion as the Romans did with the penalty of *damnatio memoriae*, when the memory of individuals or of a city was erased from the official records. The destructive potency of trying to erase memory challenges the positive wish to have a memory. We are a historical being capable of remembering and thus we can tell or write history (YATES, 1966; CASEY, 1987). Or, this phenomenon of the capability and the fragility lived in "my" mortal body represents the fundamental human condition. *Kairos*-time makes sense me as a mortal being going to "my" death. We have mentioned another *kairos*-time related to national community, which is inserted into the flow of chronological history. The existence-time of individuals makes sense in relation to collective memory. There is an inevitable plurality of meanings attached to symbolically structured time and place. The plurality of individual existence meets the plurality of collective memories. In such a melting pot of symbolising, the conflict among various modalities of existentially apprehended time and place is inevitable.

I would like to expose such a conflict using the example of Czech-German cohabitation in the 20th century. After the Second World War came the greatest forced migration in Central Europe. More than 4 million Germans had to leave their homes in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. They were deported to Germany and to Austria. Such an exodus gives a tragic sense to the symbolical space marked by frontiers of state. The time of individual and collective memory as victims and as executioners manifests its contradictory meaning, too. We try to articulate the philosophical meaning of migration as specific human action, which transforms the vision of time and space we live in as individual and social beings – that is, as citizens of a state. The personal meaning of time and space as expression of individual existence is embedded in the symbolic time and space of a specific historical group – such as nation or state. The symbolical meaning of time meets the symbolical meaning of space. Every migration takes place in specific time, which represents the *kairos*-time for a specific community. At a certain moment, the migrants cross the frontier, which marks the symbolic place. The time of exodus and the frontier between two states bear the highest importance for migration. The arbitrarily imposed borderline has nothing to do with natural determination. The borderline is based on a symbolic convention of humans.

The historic boundary between Slavonic and Germanic world dates back to 12th century, when the independent dynasty of Czech kings (Premyslids) was founded. In the 13th century, they invited German craftsmen and farmers to colonise the boundary land between the Czech kingdom and the German Reich. Another German colonisation cultivated the border territory between Czech kingdom and Poland. Both territories are known by the German name "Sudeten". The First World War interrupted more than a thousand years of peaceful coexistence. The Sudeten from being the historical land of the Bohemian kingdom, became after the Paris Peace Conference (St. Germain, 1918) an integral part of the newly independent Czechoslovak republic. The national interest of Germans and of Czechs overestimated the importance of the frontier. The German population did not take the democratic state as their own country. They felt themselves to be second-class citizens, partly because of more or less manifest Czech nationalism. The rise of Nazism in Germany under Adolf Hitler encouraged nationalist ideology in Sudeten. The Nazi-oriented *Sudetendeutsche Partei* under leadership of Konrad Henlein represented about 70% of nearly 4 millions Germans living in the Sudeten. They demanded the cession of Sudeten to Germany. The Munich-agreement concluded in September 1939 close the first part of the story. The Government of Italy, France and Great Britain forced Czechoslovakia to give

Hitler the whole of Sudeten. It initiated the first exodus of Czech people from the territories occupied by the Nazi regime. The map shows the loss of territory and of Czech population (see *Appendix*). The boundaries between Czechoslovakia and Germany received a tragic meaning.

Not only the frontiers had to change. The official record of the Tribunal of Nürnberg shows the *damnatio memoriae* practised by Nazis (see *Appendix*). In the third paragraph of a related document, Hitler ordered the total germanisation of the Czech people and the destruction of racially or politically unsuitable citizens. Three sentences condemned a whole nation to death. The number of 250 000 Czech war victims confirms the tragic meaning of the German idea of *Lebensraum*. It is not only the term of geography. As a symbolical space connected to the collective memory of the Germanic nation bears the idea of the *Lebensraum* a highly relevant meaning for the history of central and east Europe. It is good to remember, that the Sudeten Nazis had already made the first plans for the destruction of the Czech population in the May 1938. It differed only in details from the strategy of Hitler. The extinction of the Czech nation was reported to be a necessary condition for German settlement in Central Europe (LUŽA,1964:156). The document was found in the headquarters of the Henlein-Party and served as a piece of evidence against the *Reichsprotektor* K. H. Frank, executed as a war-criminal in 1945.

After the War came the second act. The Czech government wanted to expell the whole German population from their territories. The nations of Central Europe believed no more in peaceful cohabitation with the German minority. The Allies agreed to it at the Potsdam Agreement in August 1945. Paragraph 13 sanctioned the transfer of the German population from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary with the important note: "The three governments agree ... that any transfers that take place should be effected in an orderly and humane manner". Hitler wanted to destroy the Czech people; he was not successful. The Czechs wanted to get rid of Germans living in post-war Czechoslovakia; they succeeded. In accord with the Potsdam Agreement, the Czechoslovak authorities organized the mass exodus of three million Germans from Sudeten in the years 1945-1947. Only 200.000 Germans remained in post-war Czechoslovakia. The private property of expelled Germans was confiscated as compensation for war-damages. The Czech population came from inland and colonized the devastated country.

The word "*Vertreibung*" in German or "*odsun*" in Czech stands for the greatest organized migration in contemporary European history. It is evident that both terms have no common meaning for expelled Germans and for expelling Czechs. The neutral

chronology of historical record contrasts with the collective memory of two very different national communities. The contradictory meaning of *kairos*-time reminds us of the two hour hands on the famous astronomical clock in Prague. The needle of the face with Hebrew numerals runs in the opposite way to the needle on the face with Roman numerals. The time of exodus and the meaning of the land (Sudeten) have been split into two opposite collective memories until now. In the book about the history of the expulsion that I borrowed from the State library in Munich, all Czech names of the towns in the Sudeten were deleted and replaced by German names. It is the proof, that man lives in his own time and space marked by symbolic meaning and not by astronomical or geographical measurement.

The *kairos*-time can be wiped out and obliterated since it is the expression of fragile temporality attached to mortal being. It has hardly anything to do with the neutral chronology of astronomically measured time. What kind of oblivion marks both sides? The Sudeten Germans want to forget their involvement in the destruction of the Czechoslovak democratic state. The most paradoxical form of oblivion can be found in the Sudeten groups counting the number of German victims who died during the *Vertreibung*. They do it statistically, by comparing the pre-war demographic development with the number of Germans settled in the West after expulsion. This way of counting includes, for example, all German soldiers born in the Sudeten and killed in the war. Many of them died after the war in captivity, especially in the Siberian camps. The most ironical way of oblivion presents the history of 6.000 German Jews. They lived in the Sudeten and they shared the tragic destiny of 90.000 Czech and Slovak Jews exterminated in the death camps. Dr. Walter Becher, leading Ideologist of the Sudeten German Council, included them in the general statistics of Czech brutality (LUŽA, 1964:299). Born in the Sudeten, they were killed Sudeten Germans – *nicht wahr?*

The loss of historic memory is followed by an opposite phenomenon: by the excess of memory. The leaflets of many groups of expelled Germans show "their" country as an integral part of Hitler's Third Reich. You can see one typical example in the *Appendix*. This official leaflet was published 3 years ago. The members of *Landsmannschaft* recognise only the frontiers of Nazi-Germany after the Munich agreement in September 1939. That was surely the glorious past of Sudeten Germans, faithful allies of Hitler in those days. They became members of a Thousand-year-Reich that lasted 6 years. They paid a high price for their nationalist dream. Tens of thousands of Sudeten Germans died during the war, especially on the Russian front. Nobody knows the exact number. They were second-class citizens even in their own

Nazi-state, good enough to be *Kanonenfutr* for the Russian winter and Soviet *katjuschas*. The official ideology of *Landsmannschaft* does not want to remember those years. In the English-language official documents about the Sudeten expulsion there is only one page dealing with the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1939-45. The authors repeat the arguments of Nazi-propaganda about the relatively good life of Czechs under the Nazi-regime.

"During the war the Czech population neither offered any considerable resistance nor practised any effective sabotage against the German war-industry. The Czechs were exempted from military service. The food was not worse, perhaps even better than in Germany." (DOCUMENTS, p. XIX)

Neither the number of Czech war-victims is mentioned, nor the actions of organised home resistance - as the Prague uprising for example or Slovak national uprising. The Sudeten Germans wiped out the Nazi-past from their collective memory. They officially consoled themselves with a good feeling of being a careful protector of an immature Czech nation during the war-years. The historical clock of Sudeten memory started to run after the 8th May 1945, when the *kairos*-time of collective Sudeten recollection officially began.

That was precisely the time when the Czech memory stopped. The Czech clocks were running till the 8th May 1945. After that day came the black-out. What is wrong with oblivion of the Czech people? First, we must mention the Law of 8th May 1946. The first Paragraph assured impunity to the perpetrators of all atrocities committed on German population:

"Any act committed between September 30th 1938 and *October 28th*, 1945, the object of which was to aid the struggle for liberty of the Czech and Slovaks or which represented just reprisals for action of the occupation forces and their accomplices, *is not illegal, even when such actions may otherwise be punishable by law.*"

The Czech government arbitrarily prolonged the state of war for another six months. The robbing, torturing, raping and killing of Germans went on with impunity for half a year. These six months represent the nightmare of expelled Germans, according to their official records. The president of the republic Edward Beneš publicly condemned these atrocities (in Plzeň, June 1945) and some of the worst criminals were sent to prison. It was not a collective pogrom organised by the state (as it was in Nazi Germany) but an outbreak of individual brutality, triggered by uncontrolled hate against the occupying nation. You can find an example of Czech historical black-out on the last page of the *Appendix*. I want to let you see an example of the symbolical meaning of place related to the time of memory. The mass graves in Pohořelice were

obliterated from collective Czech memory for 50 years. The buried victims of Czech brutality became non-persons: as if the expelled Germans had never lived in the town of Brno. They were expelled from their homes, they were robbed, raped, killed. Their identity papers were destroyed and they finished in the mass grave, which was officially forgotten. A German sister of the Red Cross, who was repeatedly raped in the same camp, reports from the place of horror as follows:

"60 or 70 persons died daily in the camp, the bodies being robbed of their shoes and frequently also of their garments; the corpses were piled in a heap and lay in the sun for hours covered with blow-flies. In front of the huts men and women on the point of death or dying from starvation lay on the grass, where they were likewise blown by the flies. These unfortunates were given no food at all." (DOCUMENTS, p. 43)

The burial ground was not even symbolically marked as a grave, since the field was cultivated for another half a century. You can see that these places have not the same symbolical meaning for collective memory of Czechs and Germans.

There is also an excess of Czech overburdened memory. The ideology of communism presented only the atrocities of Nazi-regime to cover its own misdeeds. It was not difficult to find examples of Nazi-genocide committed on the Czech population. I will present neither a statistical number of killed prisoners in the concentration camps; nor the names of villages, the inhabitants of which – children and women – were burnt alive in their homes. Hermeneutics points out the importance of story-telling (*récit* in the terminology of P. Ricoeur). We have heard the story of Czech brutality after the war reported by the Germans. *Audiat altera pars*. At the very end of the war some German troops committed inhuman atrocities without any motive. Here is the story of atrocity committed in Prague at 8th May 1945 by young SS-men between 17-20 years of age:

"A great many dead bodies of Czech civilians were later found in the little church. They included men, women and even children from one to three years of age, all killed of terrible way. Their head and ears had been cut off, their eyes gouged out and their bodies run through and through with bayonets. They were some pregnant women among them whose bodies had been ripped open. Twenty three men from an estate were shot in the courtyard after being tortured for a long time." (LUŽA, 1964:260).

The cruelties committed by the German army on civilians at the end of the war intensified the hate of Czech population toward anybody of German origin. As usual, the innocent German civilians living in the Sudeten paid the price of Czech wrath. Communist propaganda exploited the capital of ethnic repulsion for half a century.

The Czech memory overburdened by suffering during the war easily forgot the inhuman maltreatment of expelled Sudeten Germans after the war.

What kind of remedy can be found for the traumatised collective memory of two nations? We can see that the gap of memory behaves in the same way as that of a neurotic (RICOEUR,2000:83,581-583). The Czech and German collective memory runs according to the pattern discovered by a certain Jewish German born in Sudeten, named Sigmund Freud. We try to apply his discovery to the traumatic memory of Czech-German migration. Here is the anatomy of traumatic memory in three steps.

1. The neurotics tries to chase the traumatic moments out of his conscious memory (*Verdrängung*). We have shown the suppressed contents of Czech and German history. When one clock of one national memory stopped, than the other one started to run. The *kairos*-time of both memories relates to the chronological date of the end of the Second world war.
2. The harmful feelings related to the traumatic contents are unconsciously bound to conscious contents, with no apparent connection to the original, suppressed conflict (*Verschiebung*). That phenomenon reminds us of overburdened memory of Czech or Germans. They refuse to see the dark sides of their history by stressing the opposite ones (so called *Verschiebung ins Gegenteil*). The unconscious lack of memory is compensated by conscious excess of memory. Both sides write objective historic studies about their suffering. It was real, so they are right to do so. The committed injustice of Germans or Czechs is forgotten.
3. The expelled unconscious contents come back in the form of compulsive pattern of behaviour (*Wiederholungszwang*). On the level of suppressed collective memory comes to creation of official ideology that glorifies the "sacred past" of Czech or German suffering. Such an ideology repeats *ad infinitum* that the claim of one or other side is fully justified. The compulsive pattern of frozen ideology calls for the "expulsion of traitors" or proclaims the "right to the country". The vicious circle of neurotic memory is completed.

What kind of remedy can be applied to neurotic memory? I would like to stress with P. Ricoeur the work of Platonic *anamnésis* (*op. cit*, p. 67-68). The wise Socrates moves the memory of the slave Menon in such a way that he was able to remember the Euclidean theorem. The Platonic and Freudian concept of "working through" (*Durcharbeiten*) of traumatised memory is realised in friendly dialog. That is the way of Czech-German *anamnésis*, too. The official dialog dates back to the first treaty of

good accord in 1973. The Munich agreement was recognised as invalid, but the document avoided speaking about the traumatic past. This step was made in the common Czech-German declaration of 1997. The both countries tried to evaluate the past by proclaiming "*mea culpa*" over Nazi-occupation and over the expulsion of Sudeten Germans. According to the treaty, the Czech and German government will not burden the mutual relation with reparation-claims relating to the traumatic past. It means no war-reparation paid by Germans and no expulsion-reparation paid by Czechs. There were some important non-governmental activities, too. The official report of a commission of Czech and German historians tried to evaluate the last 50 years of traumatic memory, especially the number of victims died during the expulsion (about 20.000 victims). The Czech and German bishops published two letters about the reconciliation in the years 1990 and 1995. There is the excellent document made by the reformed Church of Czech brothers. They present an impartial historic review of Czech-German cohabitation grounded in the biblical wisdom of neighbour-love (PITHART-PŘÍHODA,1999:330-338).

At the end let me mention the life-story of extraordinary personality. His name is Přemysl Pitter (1895-1976), member of the Reformed Church of Czech Brothers. He is called the "Czech Albert Schweitzer". He consecrated his entire live to neglected children. The history of his care goes hand in hand with the traumatic history of my country. In year 1938, he cared for the Czech children expelled from Sudeten; then he saved many Jewish children from death, whose parents died in the camps. After the war, he took care of the German children from the Sudeten, whose parents were reported missing or were killed by the Czechs. Přemysl Pitter was an active dissident against the communist regime. He had to leave the Czechoslovakia and he died in exile. Hardly anybody knows his name in my country, but he is well known in Israel, and in Germany. His name commemorates the tree planted at the Mountain of memory in Jerusalem. The German President Gustav Heinemann awarded him the highest distinction of German republic (*Bundesverdienstkreuz*, I. Klasse). The example of such a person shows us, that there is not only the suffering of migration, but also the common horizon of caring love, sympathy for the victims and engaged struggle for political justice based on the inviolability of human rights. That is the only remedy for the healing of wounded collective memory.

Thank You for your attention.

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APPENDIX

Territories separated from the Czechoslovak Republic after the Pact of Munich in September 1938. The loss of territory was 33% and 1.200 000 Czech and Slovak were left in the Third Reich with 3.800 000 Sudeten Germans.



LUŽA, R., *The Transfer of the Sudeten Germans*, Routledge, London, 1964, p. 325

The leaflet of "Witikobundes" distributed at the *Sudetendeutschen Tag* in Nürnberg, 1998. The extremists of so called "Heimatsrecht" ask for the revision of post-war geopolitics.



HOCHBERGER, B. - HRUŠKA, E., *Der deutsche Hegemonialanspruch: Gefahr für Mitteleuropa*, GNN Verlag, Stuttgart, 1998 (Backpage)

THE ACTS OF TRIBUNAL OF NÜRNBERG, *Facsimile No. 739-D*, p. 80. The *Reichsprotektor* of occupied Czechoslovakia, K. H. Frank handed this three-point proposal to A. Hitler in August 1940. The Nazi victory would bring about the destruction of the Czech nation.

Zur Frage der Zukunft des Protektorats streifte der Führer folgende drei Möglichkeiten:

1.) Belassung einer tschechischen Autonomie, wobei die Deutschen im Protektorat als gleichberechtigte Mitbürger lebten. Diese Möglichkeit scheidet aber aus, da immer mit tschechischen Umtrieben gerechnet werden müsse.

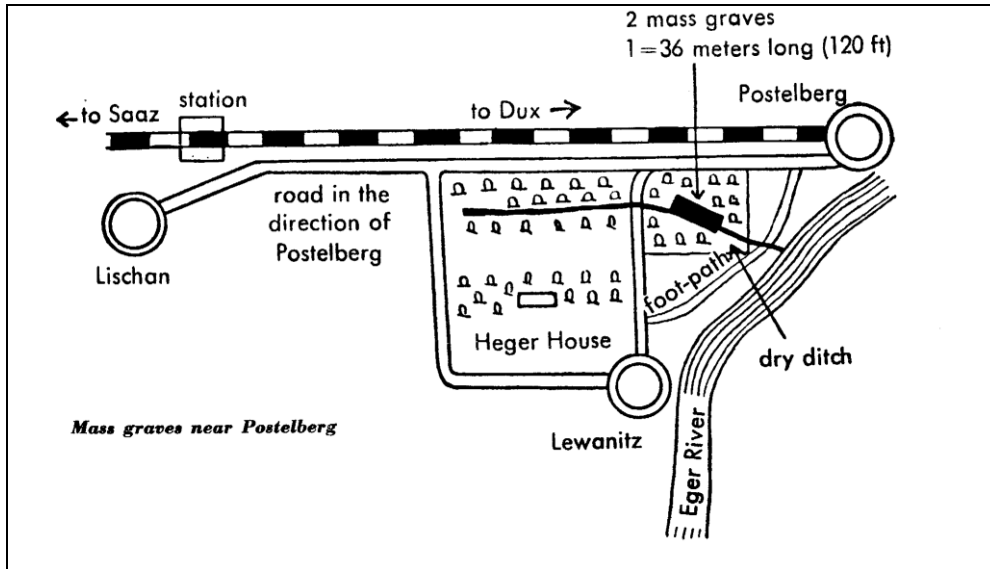
2.) Die Aussiedlung der Tschechen und die Verdeutschung des böhmisch-mährischen Raumes durch deutsche Siedler. Auch diese Möglichkeit käme nicht in Frage, da ihre Durchführung 100 Jahre beanspruchte.

3.) Die Verdeutschung des böhmisch-mährischen Raumes durch Germanisierung der Tschechen, d. h. durch ihre Assimilierung. Letztere wäre für den größeren Teil des tschechischen Volkes möglich. Von der Assimilierung seien auszunehmen diejenigen Tschechen, gegen welche rassische Bedenken beständen oder welche reichsfeindlich eingestellt seien. Diese Kategorie sei auszumerzen.

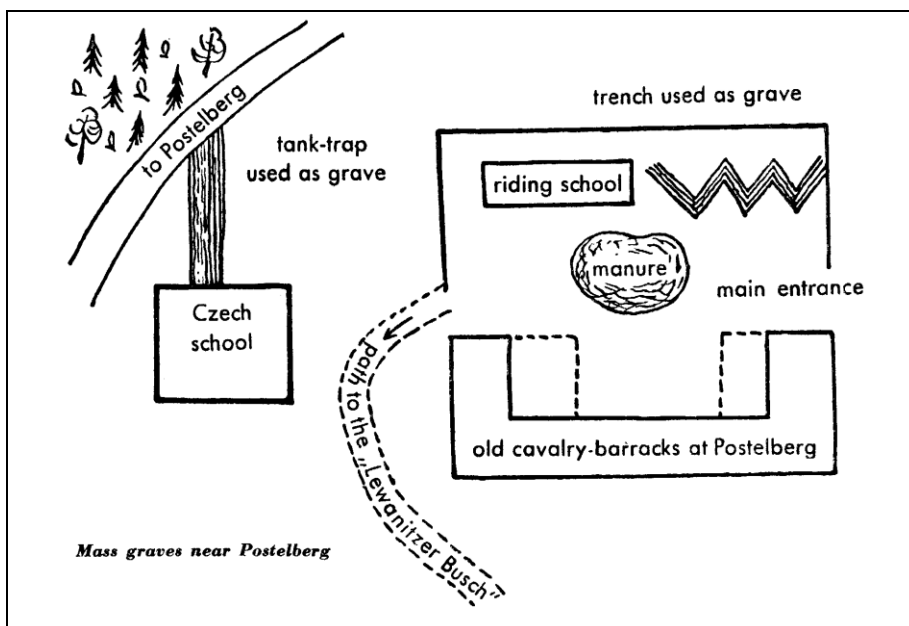
Der Führer entschied sich für die dritte Möglichkeit; er ordnete über Reichsminister Lammers an, daß der Vielheit der Pläne über die Aufteilung des Protektorats Einhalt geboten werde. Der Führer entschied ferner, daß im Interesse einer einheitlichen Tschechen-Politik eine zentrale Reichsgewalt in Prag für den gesamten böhmisch-mährischen Raum verbleibt.

Two mass graves near Postelberg

The mass graves such as in Postoloprty (near Brno) were "officially" forgotten, the field was exploited as agricultural land for 50 years. The Czech press began to discuss the existence of graves after 1990. According to the agreement with Austrian authorities, a small monument has recently been erected at the place.



The group of 20 000 expelled Germans from Brno (mostly children and women) reached this place after three days of marching in the most infamous Czech death-transport (June 1945). They lived one month in inhuman conditions, partly because of the Soviet occupation authorities that refused them permission to cross the Austrian border. About 650 victims were killed by the Czech and Soviets jailers or died of exhaustion and of diseases at the place. About 1000 survivors died afterwards, when they reached Austria. All refugees were robbed of their private possessions; the Czech jailers and soviet soldiers raped most of the women and girls in the camp.



Source: ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF SUDETEN GERMAN INTERESTS, *Documents on the Expulsion of the Sudeten Germans*, University Press, Munich, 1953, p. 71, 73.