

The emigration of the czechoslovak inhabitants in the language of the communist propaganda

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Recibido: 18 de marzo de 2015

Aceptado: 7 de mayo de 2015

Abstract

The contribution is explaining the methods and the forms of the undemocratic regime on the example of the communist propaganda in the field of the emigration. The task of the article is to find out how the communist political elite was looking at the people who illegally left the territory of Czechoslovakia, which means of expression it was taking advantage of the characterizing of the political refugees, which types of the emigrants were standing in the centre of attention of the negative propaganda and in which intensity, the emigrants were presented in the communist press. We assume from the hypothesis that the propaganda language of the communists directed against the emigrants did not change in dependence of the rigidity of the communist regime. So, the emigrants were considered to be the mortal enemies of the regime both in the totalitarian condition in the fifties and in the authoritarian period of the eighties. The text is processed in the form of the contents analysis of the period newspaper articles. The article is divided into four parts. In the first theoretical part, the role of the propaganda in the undemocratic regimes is presented. Subsequently, the reasons of the emigration are explained in the investigated period, the object of the communist propaganda is subsequently presented and ultimately, in the last theoretical part, the language level of the propaganda of the Communist Party is analysed.

Key words: Czechoslovakia; Communism; Migration; Propaganda; Language; Cold War; Intimidation

La emigración de la población de la Checoslovaquia socialista en el lenguaje de la propaganda comunista

Resumen

El presente artículo explica los métodos y formas de propaganda de los regímenes no democráticos tomando como ejemplo la propaganda comunista respecto a la emigración. El propósito del artículo es averiguar cómo veía la élite política comunista a la gente que abandonaba el país, contra qué tipos de emigrantes iba dirigida la propaganda comunista y qué medios de expresión se utilizaban en la prensa comunista para caracterizar a los exiliados políticos. Partimos de la hipótesis de que el lenguaje propagandístico de los comunistas en contra de los emigrantes no cambiaba en función de la rigidez del régimen comunista. De este modo, los emigrantes eran considerados enemigos del régimen tanto en el periodo totalitario de los años cincuenta como en el periodo autoritario de los ochenta. En el presente texto se realiza un análisis de los contenidos de los medios de comunicación escritos de ambas épocas. En la primera parte, la parte teórica, se presenta el papel que desempeña la propaganda en los regímenes

no democráticos. A continuación, se explican los motivos de la emigración durante la época objeto de análisis y, finalmente, se analiza el lenguaje de la propaganda del partido comunista.

Palabras clave: Checoslovaquia; el comunismo; migración; propaganda; idioma; Guerra Fría; intimidación

Referencia normalizada

Štefančík, R., Nemcová, A. (2015). The emigration of the czechoslovak inhabitants in the language of the communist propaganda. *Historia y Comunicación Social*. Vol 20, número 1, páginas 89-105.

Sumario: 1. Introduction. 2. The role of the propaganda in the undemocratic regimes. 3. The reasons of the emigration from communist Czechoslovakia. 4. The object of the communist propaganda. 5. The language of the communist propaganda. 6. Conclusion. 7. References.

1. Introduction

The undemocratic character of the political regime in former Czechoslovakia was the main reason why almost half a million of the inhabitants left this territory within the second half of the 20th century. In order to prevent the greater decrease of the population, the regime was deceitfully informing the inhabitants about the life behind the western frontiers of Czechoslovakia. In terms of this misleading politics, the regime was endeavouring after creating obstacles of the emigration already in its bud. Apart from the closed frontiers, including the order to shoot at the violators of the so-called green frontier, the complicated passport and visa policy, the instigating policy also belonged to the demotivating instruments of the emigration. On the one hand, the propaganda was directed against the socio-political establishment in the democratic countries, or on the other hand it was directed against those citizens who were finding the freedom in the countries outside of the sphere of the influence of the Soviet Union.

The contribution has the ambition to explain what language the communist propaganda was using at the presenting of the emigrants who left Czechoslovakia between the years 1945 until 1968. We are coming from the assumption that in the negative level, the communist propaganda was directed at the blackening of the co-called class enemies to whom the emigrants were also considered.

The article is built on the hypothesis that in spite of the changes in the level of the rigidity of the communist regime, the language of the communist in the propaganda directed against the emigrants was not changing. The emigrants were considered to be the class enemies of the regime both in the totalitarian conditions of the fifties and in the authoritarian period of the eighties. In spite of this statement, it may be noticed the decrease, or on the contrary, the increase of a number of the published articles in the daily press directed against the emigrants in the individual phases. They were achieving the lowest intensity in the period of the presidential amnesties that also related to the part of the emigrants showing the interest in the return to the country and during the so-called Prague's Spring – from the election of Alexander Dubček as

First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in January 1968 until the military occupation of the state by the armies of the five states of the Warsaw Pact on 21st August 1968.

The text is divided into four parts. In the first theoretical part, we are presenting the role of the propaganda in the undemocratic regimes. In the second part, we are consequently explaining the reasons of the emigration in the investigated period, in the two last parts, we are analysing the language level of the propaganda of the Communist Party.

In the empirical part, the article is compiled in the form of the contents analysis of the period newspaper articles published throughout the whole period of the government of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, i. e. from the year 1948 to the year 1989, in the Czech and Slovak nationwide dailies. The materials were obtained from the archives of the Slovak Radio, the component the Czechoslovak Federal Republic 1.24 – Emigrants to the year 1987¹ and from the press archives of the Herder's institute in Marburg in Germany². In order to come nearer to the language of the period propaganda, we are presenting some statements in the longer wordings.

2. The role of the propaganda in the undemocratic regimes

Leonard Doob (1948) means that propaganda can be called “the attempt to affect the personalities and to control the behaviour of individuals toward ends considered unscientific or of doubtful value in a society at a particular time” We understand the propaganda as the one-way communication form of the persuasion with the certain – as a rule, with the political, religious, or economic – aim. In difference form the correct persuasion (for example in the form of the advertising), the propaganda intentionally offers the distorted, or the untrue information (Friedrich, 1973) while it is never a one-time activity. It is understood the systematic and long – term persuasion of the power apparatus under the term of the propaganda. The contents standard of the propaganda always corresponds to the officially valid ideology and as a rule, with the only ideology. For the given reasons, the theorists consider it to be one of the characteristic features of the totalitarian as well as the authoritarian forms of the governance. Also according to the German author Hannah Arendt (1951), the propaganda is the important factor of the totalitarian regime and it considered the indoctrination to be its decisive instrument. The aim of this permanent persuasion was to achieve the status when people were thinking and acting independently, namely, exactly in accordance with the will of the totalitarian rulers (Arendt, 1951). So, the essential function of the propaganda in the undemocratic regimes is not the informing but the manipulating.

The holders of the power in the undemocratic systems are not only aiming at the silencing of the potential critics of the regime, but in particular, to motivate them so that they will glorify their advantages and virtues (Friedrich, 1953). The propaganda

is usually going on in two levels, in the sense good vs. Bad (Bussemer, 1998). On the one hand, the positive language is used which demonstrates the holders of the power, gives reasons for the means of the governance (including the repressive methods) and which informs about the social aims (in fact, about the aims of the ruler, prospectively, about the aims of the narrow group of the rulers). As the world in the period of Cold War was divided into two mutually competitive blocks, it was characteristic for the communist propaganda to demonstrate its position against the political – economic – military rival in the West by using superlatives (*the best society*), or by using comparatives (“*the better future*”, “*we are quicker*”, “*more creative*”, “*more progressive*”, “*more productive*”, “*more humane*”). The propaganda was playing the role of the education of its own citizens who will be thinking and acting in accordance with the official ideology. That means the society in which the power elite will not need to use the repressive methods against the own citizens because they will not feel the need to criticize the regime. In the case of the communist propaganda, the author was obliged to refer to the positive role of the Communist Party and to emphasize the strong alliance with the Soviet Union, which was the party of a lot of newspaper articles.

On the other hand, the propaganda is using the negative language. Namely, in the propaganda of the undemocratic regimes, also the certain real or fictitious enemy is always appearing. As a rule, the enemy is the concrete state, the certain group (the political opposition, the religious group, prospectively, the inhabitants belonging to some nationality), also some worldview with the different contents than the official ideology has, may appear in the position of the enemy. So, the role of the propaganda is to represent all the agents who are in the opposition with the official line of the Party as the mortal enemies of the whole society. And the political emigrants were also belonging to them.

3. The reasons of the emigration from communist Czechoslovakia

During the whole 20th century, Czechoslovakia was primarily considered to be the source country of the emigrants. The Czechs and Slovaks were leaving the country for the political, economic or social reasons. Two great World Wars, the economic crisis among them and after the defeat of the Nazi dictatorship, the introduction of another undemocratic regime were the main reasons of the great emigration waves from Czechoslovakia. After the Second World War, Czechoslovakia recorded the considerable decrease of the inhabitants also for the reason of the violent emigration of the members of the German minority. As from 1 January 1946, from the total amount ca. 3,200,000 Germans, within the organized removal 2,256,000, within the unorganized, or the so-called “wild” removal 660,000 persons of the German nationality were driven from Czechoslovakia with the consent of the victorious powers (Němeček, 2002).

Baštýř differentiates two mass emigration waves after the seizure of the power by the communists (Baštýř, 2001). It came to the first one after February 1948, the second one was connected with the finishing of the Prague's Spring in the year 1968 by the occupation of the troops of five states of the Warsaw Treaty. However, it is necessary to complement Baštýř's conception by first emigrants from the renewed Czechoslovakia, namely, by the representatives of the political top connected with the regime of the Slovak Republic 1939-1945. The part of this group of the emigrants was already leaving Slovakia before the arrival of the soviet army, but it fully manifested itself after the seizure of the power by the communists in the year 1948. After this year, apart from the representatives of the fascist regime of the Slovak Republic, the political representatives connected with the short democratic phase between the years 1945-1948 were also leaving Czechoslovakia. From the Czech part of the renewed state, the representatives of the political parties which were not renewed after the year 1945 emigrated in this period. The critics of the second Czechoslovak president Edvard Beneš also belonged to the group of the Czech emigrants.

The extremely strong wave of emigration occurred after the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact troops in August 1968. According to the exile publicist, Pavel Tigrid (1990), these groups primarily left after this year:

1. The politically and socially discriminated people as the former political refugees from the period of the government of Stalin, the former members of the convict units of the Czechoslovak army and the former owners of the enterprises.
2. The good qualified experts who refused the advancement opportunities for doing the career under the government of the Communist Party.
3. The active members of the process of the democratization: the reform communists, the journalists, the writers and artists.

It was also coming to the emigration waves in the eighties. The intensity of the emigration was not already achieving the dimension of the two great emigration waves from the years 1948 and 1968 although the number of the emigrants was gradually increasing until the year 1989. In difference from the first two waves it was often the economic emigration as the emigrants were not immediately threatened with the governing regime. However, the political regime was creating the obstacles from the career growth.

It is not easy to assess the exact numbers of the emigrants from Czechoslovakia during the Cold War. The numbers differentiate in dependence on the views of the individual historians; they are not even uniform at the estimating of the number for the individual periods of the conflict between the East and the West. While the Czechoslovak authorities were speaking about ca. 25,000 refugees in the first three years after the seizure of the power by the communists, Lubiše Paukertová is mentioning as many as ca. 250,000 persons who should have left the country until the end of the fifties (Paukertová, 2002: 27). According to Z. R. Nešpor (2002: 42), both the

numbers are exaggerated. Later, he is rather recommending to be stick with the boundary of ca. 60,000 refugees until the year 1968. However, Paukertová's estimate need not be completely out of the reality as long as we also include the legal emigration of the rest of the Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia in the emigration. Between the year 1950 and 1979, more than 87,000 Czechoslovak citizens of the German nationality emigrated only to Germany. It is necessary to add other Sudeten or Carpathian Germans with them who left for Germany as the tourists without the permission of the Czechoslovak authorities for the permanent emigration.³ Overall, ca. half a million people emigrated from Czechoslovakia in the period between the seizure of power by the communists in the year 1948 until the system change in the year 1989.

Despite the fact that most of the Czech and Slovak emigrants acquired the status of the political refugees in the western countries of Europe, the actors of all three emigration waves were also incited to the emigration by other than political push factors. The political elites of the first Slovak Republic, or, of the first three post-war years of renewed Czechoslovakia, i. e. people, who had the real reason to fear for their lives, or for their freedom for their previous public activities, formed only a part of the Czech and Slovak refugees. The statistics of the Bavarian refugees camp Valka from the year 1953 shows that the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the camp originally from Czechoslovakia was formed by the workers from the standpoint of the profession (respectively: auto mechanics, electricians, miners, mechanics, forest workers) and agriculturists, but only a tiny number of the refugees was formed by the officers, or by the technicians.⁴ The similar combination of the refugees was also at other camps. According to Rolland J. Hoffmann (1996: 98), as many as eighty per cent refugees with the transitional stay at the camp Burg were professed workers. In Regensburg, the workers should have formed the minimal two-thirds of the inhabitants (Hrubý, 2006: 14). Naturally, it cannot be excluded that the part of them were politically motivated to the escape, but it is equally necessary to anticipate that a lot of refugees left the republic for the sake of the bad economic conditions in Czechoslovakia. This supposition is confirmed by the statistics of the Austrian authorities in the three summer months of the year 1956, according to which the political circumstances were creating the reason for learning republic only in 35 percent of all Czechoslovak refugees. The numerous groups were formed by the economic migrants, people refusing to serve in the Czechoslovak army, or people with an interest in the permanent emigration to another state.

To date unknown type of the refugees from Eastern Bloc was also appearing in the documents of the Austrian Ministry of Interior. These were mainly young people who were trying to assert themselves in another state, or at the beginning, through the IRO (International Refugee Organisation); later on, by means of the Austrian authorities, or simply, they were looking for the possibility of travelling from Europe, because of the adventure. The Austrian authorities were reluctant to return this type of the emigrants back to Czechoslovakia because they were exposed to the criminal prosecution in their homeland because of the illegal crossing of the frontier.⁵ Last but not least, it is not necessary to forget about the refugees whose main reason for the

abandonment of Czechoslovakia was the criminal activities and the effort at the avoiding of the criminal prosecution. Besides the criticism of the activities of the political emigrants, just this group of people was the important objective of the interest of the communist journalists in the intensifying of the negative propaganda.

The social composition of the emigrants after the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the troops of the Warsaw Treaty in August 1968 differentiated from the first-post-war emigrational wave. Within it, the inhabitants of the greater cities were mainly leaving (in particular, the inhabitants of the capitol Prague) and from the border areas. According to the estimates, three-quarters were created by the inhabitants of the Czech Republic, in particular, with the higher education (Baštýř, 2001: 7). More than 90 percent ought to have completed the secondary, or the university education, which secured them the rapid integration and the at the market of the work in the exile country (Šimko, 2007). Most of them directed to the Federal Republic of Germany (Drbohlav, 2000).

4. The object of the communist propaganda

During the government of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (1948-1989), the propaganda was considered to be the decisive means, how to ensure the loyalty and the obedience of the domestic inhabitants towards the power elite. The objective of the propaganda was to influence people's thinking in such a way so that every inhabitant would be thinking and acting in accordance with the official ideology. The propaganda was the premeditated means of the power elite for the manipulation of the public opinion, for the indoctrination by the communist's ideology and the instrument for shaping public view on various aspects on the social life, including the view of the illegal emigration.

Since the seizure of power in the year 1948, the state propaganda was devoting itself to the emigrants by means of the press. The elimination of the number of the persons leaving the republic belonged to the priority roles of the Communist Party and its instrument – the secret state security, namely during the whole period of the government monopoly of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The emigration was considered to be the phenomenon threatening the economic growth and the demographic development in communist Czechoslovakia. The emigrants as the instrument of the acquiring of the information by the western powers behind “the iron Curtain” were dangerous for the communist regime. Not only the former politicians and lowly-qualified workers were leaving Czechoslovakia, but also people with the university education with the knowledge and sometimes also with the information which the Czechoslovak government had the interest to hide them from the western states. Namely, the Cold War was not only the military – political confrontation. The conflict between the West and the East was also reflecting in other spheres of the life, from the political and military, through the ideological, cultural, and sporting as well

as the technical and scientific spheres. If the refugee belonged to the leading scientists, it existed an assumption that he was also taking the part of the state secret with him. Therefore the communists were trying to use all the possible means in order to suppress the interest in the emigration in people and so, to prevent the possible leak of the sensitive information. Therefore they also focused their attention to the field of the negative presentation of the West.

Within on calendar year the total number of the published negative articles directed towards the topic of the emigrants depended upon the interest of the communist rules about the political activities of the emigrants. Namely, some emigrants were making an effort to establish the contacts with the political representation of the host states, which could subsequently influence the bilateral relations at the international level in a negative manner. The communist press was intensifying the effort to blacken the emigrants and to quail the domestic inhabitants, in particular, in the period of the fifties, it was gradually decreasing in the second half of the sixties, it stagnated during the period of the so-called Prague's Spring and then, after the year 1970 in the period of the so-called normalization, it repeatedly took on the intensity of the fifties. However, the whole image of the emigrant (with the exception of the short period of the democratization process from January to August 1968) did not change in the state propaganda. First of all, the emigrant was the enemy of the Communist Party and therefore of the whole socialist establishment.

In comparison of the individual articles in various newspapers, the articles were markedly similar by their content, some sentence constructions were only changing, and alternatively, some of them were complemented by the new commented features. The aim of this permanent propaganda was to evoke fear of the desertion of the republic. The inhabitants should not have had only fear of the violation of the Czechoslovak rules, of the possible disclosure at the strictly guarded frontier with the order to shoot, but equally of the life in the new conditions. To prevent the illegal emigration, it was regularly bringing the information about the bad economic and social relationships in both West European states which were immediately neighbouring to Czechoslovakia (Germany and Austria). Equally, it was negatively depicting the bad life conditions at the refugee camps (in particular, at the Austrian camp Traiskirchen and the Bavarian camp Valka, and after its abolishment also at the camp Zirndorf):

The worst criminals were chosen from this camp who were then sent to our republic in order to kil the enthusiastic builders of our new and beautiful life. The camp Valka is the centre of recruiting for the criminals, spies and subversives. With the help of people as Zenkl, Majer, Lettrich and Peroutka and Černý, they created the junkyard of the darkest elements from whole Europe from this West German camps who became the terror of the calm inhabitants of Bavaria.⁶

The communist press was defining the typical officer of the American spy service as:

the egoist, the lout and the notorious alcoholic. His worldview is purely fascist and it limits itself to the promulgation of the Americans as the higher race destined to rule the world.⁷

In order the Communists delivered the credibility to their allegations, they used the press conferences with those emigrants for the propaganda who went back to their homeland after a certain period of time for various reasons. This method was used by the Communists, both in the period of the first wave of the emigration from Czechoslovakia and after the year 1968. The returnees were mostly presented as people, who decided to live abroad, under the impression of false information, but for the sake of unpleasant disenchantment with the knowledge of the actual conditions, they returned back to their homeland. In radio, the press chats were replenished by reading letters of the emigrants who could not return back to Czechoslovakia. According to the author, one of them from the refugee camps in Norimberg – Germany

... they are chosen the worst criminals who are then sent to our republic to kill the enthusiastic bulders of our new and beautiful life”. The camp Valka was presented as “the centre of recruiting for the criminals, spies and subversives. With the help of people like Zenkl, Majer, Lettrich and Peroutka and Černý; it was created the refuse dump of those darkest elements from across Europe from this West German concentration camp who became the fright of the calm people of Bavaria.⁸

In some cases, the returnees were appearing as active members of the Communist safety for the state secret who were reinstated as spies to the refugee camps in Western Germany. Following the same pattern, Germany was presented as the country with the great unemployment; the refugee camp was presented as a place with the high level of criminality, poverty and with conditions under which the contagious diseases are rapidly spreading.

All these camps are places of psychic and physical miserable existence. Here people are to lose all their hopes; they are succumbing to apathy and despair. Every refugee has to procure the pallet that is infested with the insects. The refugees use the tin instead of the plate. Food is insufficient; the heated meal is only once a day. The meals are eaten there after the warranty. It is literally struggled for the bare survival at the camp. There are growing various wickednesses, prostitution, theft and all evil. The scrap is frequent and there are also murders⁹

In May 1955 the communist daily *Rudé právo* published the report of the physician who examined the children of the refugees at the refugee camps in West Germany. The report states that the children are malnourished. The article in *Rudé právo* has the contours of the article published in the previous period in another daily. The sentence about the children:

The children are malnourished, the ribs are visible, the muscles are weak, the subcutaneous fat is insufficient, and they are pale and tired. The curved spine is in the foreground

was appearing in the communist newscast several times per annum within several years.¹⁰

Besides the negative attributes to the address of the circumstances beyond the frontiers, the communists were bringing the testimony of the former emigrants who

positively evaluated the progress of Czechoslovakia (the construction of a subway in Prague, new factories, new roads).¹¹

The Czechoslovak authorities exerted pressure on the families of the emigrants so that they might write them the motivational letters which should motivate them to return to homeland. The Czechoslovak citizens had to report the number of all their relatives who fled. The contents of these letters was to request to return home and “*the confidential information*” that after the return, other members of the family will be discharged from prison.¹²

The emigrants were connected by means of the attributes in the period press, according to the fact to which emigration wave they belonged. In the fifties the emigrants from among the former high-ranking representatives of the political regime of the Slovak Republic 1939-1945 (besides other Karol Sidor, Ferdinand Ďurčanský) were especially exposed to the criticism:

The aims of the Slovak emigrants are clear: to secede the Slovaks from the fraternal Czech nation, to establish the fascist dictatorship and put Slovakia into disaster which it did not know yet in its turbulent history. And the means to it? Nothing else, but the war.¹³

After the seizure of power by the communists in the year 1948, the former representatives of the parties existing in the post-war period until the communist putsch (besides other Petr Zenkl, Jozef Lettrich, Ferdinand Peroutka) were standing in the centre of the interest of the communist propaganda. The Czech press extraordinarily directed at these politicians in an intensive manner. According to the words of the propagandists, the notables from among the Czechoslovak refugees

are to shed throats whisky for the U.S. dollars and speculate on how to return to the ministerial offices, how to be able to return our factories to the owners of the factories and our fields to the squires and let their victims at the mercy of hunger, poverty and bedbugs.¹⁴

The criticism of the communistic press was also focusing its attention on the address of both emigration waves for the sake of the intensive political activities of the Slovak and Czech emigration that was based on the ideas of the anticommunism. After the year 1968, the Czech and Slovak refugees were the focus of attention of the communist media who reacted to the violent finishing of the reform process of the end of the sixties (for example Ota Šik, Luděk Pachmann, Zdeněk Mlynář and at the end of the seventies, also the emigrants from among the signatories of anti-communist document from January 1977 Charter 77).

One of the extraordinarily active critics of the migration from among the communist journalists, Ondrej Dányi differentiated the activities of the emigrants abroad in several stages. In the first immediate period after the war,

the clerical emigrants should have realized the activities directed toward the rescue of the capitalism in Czechoslovakia”. In the subsequent period, it was “mobilizing the clerical-nationalist organizations by means of the Catholic missions and it was

inciting to the formation of the revisionist and clerical opposition in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (...) in the so-called crisis years 1968-1969, it was providing for the broad international publicity of the defamatory speeches about (...) twenty years' journey of the building of the socialism and pressure requirements of the clerical and other antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia.¹⁵

We can see this classification of Czechoslovak emigrants in more articles, even in the slightly diversified form, either in various dailies (the Czech as well as the Slovak ones), or in various spans of time. The language of the propaganda also depended upon the anniversary of some event (e. g. in mid-March, when some Slovaks were commemorating the origin of the Slovak Republic from the year 1939, the criticism of the Slovak post-war emigration was intensifying), in August, the criticism of the emigration after the year 1968 was increasing. However, the criticism of the Slovak post-war emigration was primarily the matter of the Slovak communist journalism, on the contrary, the Czech journalists were especially devoting themselves to the emigration waves after the years 1948 and 1968.¹⁶

The communist press was often using the information about the criminal acts for the depiction of the emigrants as the enemies of the regime which the emigrants abroad were committing. The common part of the information from the field of the emigration was the news about the refugees who found themselves in the social poverty in the West (Archives SRo). In consideration of the character of the regime, the nature of the journalist vocabulary and the rigorous censorship, it is highly questionable, to which extent these articles are based on the truth and whether they were not only fabricated in an artificial manner. However, apart from the vocabulary which was typical for the communist journalists, all of them are not the product of their anticapitalist fantasy. On the contrary, the same facts although with the different emphasis on the individual situational aspects are also appearing in comparison of the description of the events by the Czechoslovak press as well as by the West German press. The case of the hijacking of the plane by eight citizens of Czechoslovakia in summer 1970 for the purpose of the emigration to the Federal Republic of Germany serves as the illustration. The communist press published the information about the previous criminal activity of some hijackers – men while it was depicting some women – the girlfriends of the hijackers as the women – “*prostitutes*”. As the German press was focusing greater attention on this case, it is interesting to follow the reactions of the German journalists. Although at the beginning, the hijackers were being depicted as the applicants for the asylum who desire for the freedom, it was gradually appearing also the information about their previous criminal activity already in the territory of Czechoslovakia. With a span of time, the German press was even citing the words of the director of the refugee camp in Zirndorf who was taking offence at the amoral behaviour of the women who were not imprisoned in difference from the male hijackers, but they were only located at the refugee camp.¹⁷

In particular, the communist press was critically expressing on the address of the emigrational organizations the activities of which should have been directed against the governance regime in Czechoslovakia. The official propaganda found the excuse

for the criticism in various activities, one of them should have been the support of the emigrants of “*the Sudeten – German Landmannschaft*” the aim of which should have been the recovery of the Czech border territory neighbouring with Germany (Tvorba, 1981, Archives SRO). So, in the eighties the regime was taking advantage of the still live recollections of the domestic inhabitants of the consequences of the World War II, thus only got worse fear of the population before the emigration.

Evoking fear before returning to the circumstances before the Munich agreement from the year 1938 was mainly the subject of the communist propaganda in the Czech press. In the Slovak press, the emigrants were primarily associated with the Catholicism and with the regime of the Slovak Republic 1938-1945. Besides the relationship of the emigrants to the Catholic faith, the connection of some emigrants with the regime of the fascist Slovak Republic, the opening of the sensitive topics in regard to the World War II., the communists were also using the activities of the Slovak organizations promoting the idea of the independent Slovak state for their propaganda. E. g. according to communist journalist, the Slovak World Congress should have realized:

the furious campaign against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and other socialist countries for the money of the CIA”. The Congress was depicted as “the mouthpiece of the defamations and the shameless and dirty lies.”¹⁸

The editor of the communist daily “*Pravda*”, Daniel Andrejčík, presented the Slovak emigration in a similar vein:

They live from the emigrant’s pay in the West which they receive from their paymasters for that reason they help them to subvert our socialist establishment. They still live in the belief that in the near future the world conflict erupts the result of which will be the formation of the United States of Europe and under them again the formation of the independent Slovak State according to their ideas, with the state ideology of the political Catholicism. Long since the American Slovaks revealed the political aims of the populist emigrants in connection with the Catholic emigrants associated around the Slovak Institute of Cyril and Methodius in Rome. They do not have the interest to participate in the actions of the political Catholicism, nor to support it.¹⁹

At the beginning of the fifties, the emigrational organizations were accused of the cooperation with the American army and of the recruitment of the Czech and Slovak emigrants to the foreign legions:

In order to serve the imperialists (the emigrants), they drag thousands of the young Czechs and Slovaks to Indo-China, Korea, Morocco, Malaysia and the like and they are rewarded for it by money from the USA. Once the young emigrants get to the West, then these people sell them to the foreign legions and to the armies. The refugees are grabbed by the agents and the recruiting-officers who fight them off to the poor concentration refugee camps. They are exposed to hunger, filth, inhuman torture there, so long they have been exposed to the physical and psychic pressure of the SS and other criminal commanders until they succumb. The recruiting-officers are to get ten marks for one man. In this way, they should have recruited 2,000 young Czech and Slovak people to Indo-China so that they might go to slaughter the brave Vietnamese people for profits of the French and U.S. sweaters. Most of them aren’t

longer alive because either they fell in the war, or they perished in the jungle, they succumbed to the tropical diseases or to the torture by the SS group which is mostly reigning in the foreign legions in addition to other types of crime. These traitors should have admitted themselves that more than 500 of their victims have already fallen in Indo-China.²⁰

The extremely frequented object of the criticism of the communist propaganda was the Czech and Slovak broadcasting of the free transmitter from the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany – Radio Free Europe. According to the Communist Press, the former exponents of the fascist regime of the first Slovak Republic ought to also have belonged to the workers of the Free Europe. Ladislav Nižňanský, the collaborator of the SS unit Edelweis (he was sentenced in his absence to death in Czechoslovakia) also belonged to them. Other workers were also depicted as the former collaborators of the SS units, or of the para-military organization of the Slovak Republic – Hlinkova garda (Hlinka's Guard), one of them ought to have even been *“the product of the schools of killers of the American secret services”* (Hlas revoluce, 1976, Pressearchiv HI).

5. The language of the communist propaganda

The propaganda as the appellative text is to stimulate the recipients to the certain proceeding. In the context of the emigration, this thesis is valid by contraries. The communists were evolving it in such a way in order to prevent the illegal abandonment of the state, or in order to suppress the idea of emigrating already in the human mind. Its objective was to evoke the idea of the right action of the propagandists and the wrong action of the competitive side in the West. To achieve this objective, it was necessary to discredit the other side. As a rule, the communist propaganda was going on in the dichotomous perception. On the one hand, the West was connected with the great unemployment, the exploitation of the working class, hunger, hopelessness, crime, on the other hand, the socialist world was presented as a place with the better living conditions, where there is no unemployment, where people are equal, where the workers are governing by themselves, where new factories, new roads, new flats are being built.

We can find the means of expression characterising the communist propaganda in the context of the emigration both in the group of the adjectives, substantives and in the group of the verbs. The central interest of the communist propaganda was directed at the so-called *“class enemy”*. Every man with the different ideological opinion was considered to be the enemy of the working class. Also the emigrant, the man desiring for the life in the freedom was considered to be one of the enemies. In the level of the adjectives, the superlative was prevailing in the description of the migration (*“the most serious crime”*, *“the worst enemy”*, *“the greatest betrayal”*, or *“the darkest elements”*). The substantive (*“the collaborator”*, *“the traitor”*, *“the traitor of the our country”*, *“the clerical fascist”*, *“the revanchist”*, *“the capitalist”*, *“the oppor-*

tunist”, “the subversive”, “the parasite”, “the flopper”) was used in the communist propaganda in the case of the depiction of the emigrants to a great extent, or it was combined with the adjective (beside “the class enemy”, also “the American paymaster”, “the experimental rabbits”, “the unhappy returnees”, “the western spy”, “the fascist emigrant”, “the subversive of the country”, “the right-wing and antisocialist forces”, “the antisocialist element”, “the clerical emigrant”, “the ideological diversionist”, “the bourgeois nationalist” “the members of the new Wehrmacht”, “inheritors of fascist regime”). The important meaning in the language of the communists had also the verbs (“to instigate against our republic”, “to scrap for the dollars of the American providers”, “to establish the fascist regime”). The communist press was intensively using the original phrases in its vocabulary as well. According to the communist propaganda the western freedom means “to starve, to be unemployed and let the insects gnaw” or “collaborate with the Nazi generals”.²¹

The above presented approach of the communist propaganda in the perception of the refugees during the Cold War corresponds to the idea of the German legal theorist, Carl Schmitt of the perception of politics (*Politischen*) through the categories: the friend – the enemy. The relationship of Schmitt: the friend – the enemy is comparable with the contradictions of other antagonistic pairs, like for example, between good and evil in the moral level, between beautiful and ugly in the aesthetic level, between beneficial and harmful in the economic level, respectively, between profitable and unprofitable. According to Schmitt, it is the foreign element in the case of the enemy and this is completely enough in order to some danger might arise.²² It is important to remark that according to Schmitt, the categories of the friend, the enemy and the fight are understood in their real form, not as the metaphors. The enemy acts in a public form, in any case not in a private form. Thus, the enemy does not have to be ugly, or pretty, in the aesthetic perception, or beneficial and useless in economic terms. What is important is the difference in humans which is defined by the fact that we know to which political unit the man belongs. So, the man is not the enemy because he behaves otherwise, that he speaks different languages, but because of the fact that he belongs to the other political rival camp.²³

During the Cold War the friend – enemy logic was transferred to other spheres of life on both sides and it came to the fore just in the context of the migration. In his period the refugee represented the public enemy for the Czechoslovak regime; the Czechoslovak regime was comparing him to the confessor of Hitler, to the American agents, or to the clerical fascists in the press. So, the emigrant was seen as a symbol of the confrontation between the East and the West. On the one hand – on the West side – the refugee was the symbol of the desire for the freedom and the economic prosperity as well as the evidence of the system failure of the rival camp – on the other hand – on the East side – the refugee was the symbol of mammon and betrayal to his own nation and country.

6. Conclusion

The language of every undemocratic regime belongs to the main instruments of the fight against the real as well as frequently against the fictitious enemy. The language of the communist propaganda was not any exception. During the Cold War, when the world was divided into two antagonistic poles, the communists created a whole variety of the means of expression, on the one hand in order to mark their own ideas about the life and the governance of the society in the positive level and on the other hand, in order to present their enemies in the negative level. However, the enemy in the communist propaganda was not only the fighter of the army of another state, the enemy was often the co-citizen who became the enemy only for the sake of the disgust towards the central conception of the Communist Party about the governance of the working class that would result in the socio-political establishment – the Communism with the existence of the classless society. So, the class enemy became the central concept of the communist propaganda. Everybody was the class enemy who did not agree and who was publicly presenting the different than the official opinions, including people who had the interest to live in the free society of the western world. The confirmation of the hypothesis that was stated in the introduction, results from the given text. Regardless of the level of its rigidity, the Czechoslovak regime considered the refugees to be the class enemies during the whole period of its existence. With the exception of the period of the so-called Prague's Spring in the first half of the year 1968. The emigrant was the enemy as by his escaping, he did not agree to the ideas of the power elite about the governance of the society or about the leading role of "the working class".

The intensity of the negative articles on the address of the political refugees depended on more events concerning the interior policy – from the presidential amnesties, or on the anniversaries of the events that related to the emigration waves. The emigrants were being depicted as the class enemies in the language of the communist propaganda. Other means of expression as the synonyms to this concept were used that related to the reason why some inhabitants were denominated to be the class enemies. So, in the context of the emigration, the political refugees were also marked as the collaborators, the traitors, the Slovak emigrants were often with the nationalism and the clerical fascism. Namely, some Slovak provincial organizations abroad were referring to the idea of the Slovak statehood from the period of the Slovak fascist republic 1939-1945. The communist propaganda was noticing the fragmentation of which the emigrational organizations abroad were characteristic. Namely, the life in the emigration, in the conditions of the freedom was often helping to preserve the idea of the national emancipation of the Slovak nation.

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Endnotes

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