

NOTES TO RESEARCH OF THE NAZI REPPRESIVE POWER IN THE PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA¹

Vojtěch Češík

Palacký University Olomouc, Department of History
ORC ID: 0000-0001-7891-7327

Introduction

The Czech (before 1993 Czechoslovak) historiography of World War Two was for a long time mainly focusing on the description of military operations and actions of Czechoslovak resistance (either involved in exile resistance or Czechoslovak army formed in the United Kingdom or the Soviet Union or fighting on the “home front”). Resistance fighters played a major role in the narrative of these works, and members of Nazi repressive power involved in fighting the opposition stood behind the scenes. In resistance stories, they were only depicted as an anonymous and foggy group of ruthless Nazi fanatics whose only working methods were brutal investigations, torture, and executions.

Under the influence of Western (mainly German and Anglosaxon) historiography, however, the “Täterforschung” (“Research of perpetrators”) has been slowly making its way into the Czech historiography in the last 20 years. The term “Täterforschung” itself originated during the 1990s and is connected with a new generation of mainly German historians who started asking new questions about this topic. The focus

¹ This work was supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic, Grant IGA FF UP (IGA_FF_UP_2020_014 A Society in Historical Development VI).

of these historians also went gradually from head Nazi leaders down to the lower ranks.² This fact opened new opportunities for research and historians went slowly down the hierarchy focusing more on the “ordinary men” of the Nazi regime as well.³

The situation in the Czech (or at this time yet Czechoslovak) historiography was far more complicated as before the Velvet Revolution in November 1989, even Czechoslovak archives provided only very limited sources and many materials were unreachable for historians. With some luck, historians were only given a limited amount of materials even without information about origin. Historian Stanislav Biman explained difficulties with research before the Velvet Revolution in the interview with Jan Vajskebr: “They [archivists] gave us only a few selected papers. It was a problem as one was not able to see information in context. I did not know from which collection these [papers] are.”⁴ One can imagine that research in foreign archives was forbidden completely for Czechoslovak historians. It surprises that despite these enormous problems historian Oldřich Sládek was able to write his famous book *Zločinná role gestapa* which was published in 1986 and until recent years was the only complex monography about nazi Secret state police (*Geheime Staatspolizei*, Gestapo) written by a Czech author.⁵ However, as newer research showed, this book has become obsolete and many of its conclusions were proven inaccurate or even incorrect. Yet pieces of information from this work were extensively quoted by other authors, and many inaccuracies and myths continued their journey through Czech historiography.⁶ Overall said it can be stated that the opening of Czechoslovak archives after 1989 provided the necessary basis for initially slow but continuous development.

² About forming the “Täterforschung“ direction of research in the German historiography, see *Gestapo za druhé světové války. „Domácí fronta“ a okupovaná Evropa*, eds. G. Paul, K.-M. Mallmann, Praha 2010, pp. 9–17.

³ The author borrowed the term from the book by Christopher R. Browning bearing the same name: Ch. R. Browning, *Ordinary Men. Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, New York 1998.

⁴ J. Vajskebr, „Práci je třeba umět předávat.“ *Rozhovor se Stanislavem Bimanem*, “Paměť a dějiny” 2017, vol. XI, no. 2, p. 71.

⁵ O. Sládek, *Zločinná role gestapa. Nacistická bezpečnostní policie v českých zemích 1938–1945*, Praha 1986.

⁶ Historian Jan Zumr focuses in his recent paper on the structure of the Prague Gestapo and pointed out all the inaccuracies not only in Sládek’s book but also showed the limited picture of the facts about Nazi secret police known in Czech historiography at all. J. Zumr, *Organizační struktura exekutivního a kontrarozvědného oddělení pražského Gestapa*, “Moderní dějiny” 2018, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 251–290.

The young generation of Czech historians, however, started filling those blank spaces in research, although methods of research and archival sources used in those works (and their quality as well) vary a lot. It is a must to mention Vojtěch Kyncl⁷ in the first place as this historian discovered archival sources stored in The Central Office of the State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes (*Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen*) in Ludwigsburg and presented these to Czech professional public. It was a groundbreaking moment in Czech historiography as until this time researchers most of the time worked only with sources from Czech archives and archival sources based outside the Czech Republic stood behind without any attention.

To this time, a significant amount of works about the secret state police has been written. From the newest works, one needs to mention: the complex monography by Vladimír Černý, which describes the activity of Gestapo in Brno during the war and connects the topic with postwar lawsuits of former Gestapo officers.⁸ Other works include analysis of mass executions during so-called second martial law (started after the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich) by mentioned Vojtěch Kyncl,⁹ monography about police forces activity during the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Petr Kaňák, Dalibor Krčmář, and Jan Vajskebr,¹⁰ personnel analysis of the anti-parachutist section of Prague Gestapo by Pavel Kreisinger,¹¹ and dozens of case studies about selected Gestapo personnel, either written by authors mentioned above. Other authors

⁷ Vojtěch Kyncl is famous mainly for his research about burned down villages of Lidice and Ležáky, see i.e. *Ležáky a odboj ve východních Čechách*, eds. V. Kyncl, J. Padevět, Praha 2016; V. Kyncl, *Lidice. Zrození symbolu*, Praha 2015 and others.

⁸ V. Černý, *Brněnské gestapo 1939–1945 a poválečné soudní procesy s jeho příslušníky*, Brno 2018. Along with Jan Břečka, Černý edited and published manuscript of former resistance member František Vašek about Gestapo prison located in Kounic college, see F. Vašek, V. Černý, J. Břečka, *Místa zkropená krví. Kounicovy studentské koleje v Brně v letech nacistické okupace 1940–1945*, Brno 2015.

⁹ V. Kyncl, *Bez výčitek... Genocida Čechů po atentátu na Reinharda Heydricha*, Praha 2012.

¹⁰ P. Kaňák, D. Krčmář, J. Vajskebr, *S jasným cílem a plnou silou. Nasazení německých policejních složek při rozbití Československa 1938–1939*, Terezín 2014.

¹¹ P. Kreisinger, *Personální obsazení tzv. protiparašutistického IV 2b pražské řídicí úřadovny gestapa v letech 1943–1945. Pokus o rekonstrukci na základě výpovědi hlavního dešifřanta podeřferátu IV 2b Karla Schnabla a dalších pramenů*, "Historica Olomucensia" 2013, no. 45, pp. 169–203.

include Václav Adamec,¹² Vojtěch Češík,¹³ Lenka Geidt,¹⁴ Jiří Plachý,¹⁵ and others.

Archival Sources

As it was necessary to begin the complex archival research, many of these works are based on classic positivism and ordinary description of events without any further analysis. As said before, the books on this topic also suffer from using only sources stored in Czech archives providing only a limited and unbalanced research basis. On the other hand, the youngest generation of Czech historians (besides Vojtěch Kyncl mainly Pavel Kreisinger, Jan Vajskebr, Jan Zumr, and others) have broken through this barrier and started their researches outside the Czech Republic as well.¹⁶ Connected with the availability of sources stored outside the Czech Republic also new methods of historical work have been used, including historical sociology, anthropology, statistics, etc. The vast problem with wartime sources is the enormous disposal of files created by repressive institutions (mainly card files of investigated etc.). Germans especially in the Protectorate were very precise with destroying written evidence of their war crimes so only very limited fragments of documents survived until the present.¹⁷ The author does not claim to provide a complete list of relevant archival sources as some supplementary information can be found elsewhere. Sources mentioned below should provide a basic overview of materials even for the reader not familiar with the described topic.

¹² V. Adamec, *Mýtus Koslowski. Kriminální rada brněnské řídicí úřadovny Gestapa Otto Koslowski*, “Paměť a dějiny” 2014, no. 4, pp. 76–89.

¹³ For example V. Češík, *Kriminální komisař Richard Heidan (1893–1947). Životní osudy posledního vedoucího gestapa v Olomouci*, “Moderní dějiny” 2018, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 183–203.

¹⁴ L. Geidt, *Gestapačkou z lásky i přesvědčení. Sekretářka Gestapa v Moravské Ostravě Magdalena Siwy*, “Paměť a dějiny” 2015, no. 2, pp. 88–97.

¹⁵ For example J. Plachý, *Naše služba jako úředníků gestapa nebyla lehká. Kurt Max Walter Richter. Nacistický válečný zločinec, jehož zachránil Antonín Zápotocký*, “Paměť a dějiny” 2016, no. 2, pp. 89–100.

¹⁶ About problems with using foreign archival sources in Czech historiography, see J. Zumr, *Organizační struktura exekutivního a kontrarozvědného oddělení pražského Gestapa*, “Moderní dějiny” 2018, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 252–253.

¹⁷ V. Češík, *Příslušníci olomouckého gestapa odsouzení v rámci retribuice k trestu smrti*, Olomouc 2018 (MA Thesis), p. 7.

Probably the most important archive sources are stored in German Federal Archives (*Bundesarchiv*) in Berlin-Lichterfelde, and those are necessary for everyone interested in the research of the Nazi repressive power. These materials slope into the collection of former Berlin Document Center (BDC), a collection originally created for preparation for Nuremberg war crimes.¹⁸ For research focused on perpetrators, there are two most important agendas included in the BDC. First of them are files of the former SS Race and Settlement Main Office (*Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS*, RuSHA), now stored in agenda RS. These files contain personal information about SS members who were requesting marriage permission as marriage requests of SS members needed to be authorized by *Sippenamt* (Family Office) in RuSHA.¹⁹ Applicants and their future wives were requested to fill in various forms and questionnaires, and these are very useful for research of information about persons of interest. One can reconstruct their careers before entering the SS, find often missing information about education, awarded medals, membership in various Nazi organizations (including membership numbers), etc. These materials can also be used for comparison with information from postwar sources and so can be used to fix inaccuracies or even lies stated in postwar materials (mainly in files from postwar lawsuits, more of these sources later). Some more vital information can be found in the so-called agenda SSO (*SS-Offiziersakten*). However, this agenda is relevant only for the former SS officers. These files contain a concise and factual overview of ranks held by the particular persons, brief information about educational attainment, and last but not least summarized military career (if an examined person was in the army before) with the list of awarded decorations. Similar information about SS members born in Austria can be found in collection *Gauakten* stored in *Archiv der Republik* in Vienna, which is part of the National Archives of Austria (*Österreichisches Staatsarchiv*).²⁰

As said before, there is an immense amount of relevant archival sources present in Czech archives, though the majority of them were

¹⁸ For more information about this archival institution, see Berlin Document Center, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170101232007/https://www.bundesarchiv.de/fachinformationen/01001/index.html.de> [access: 17.11.2019].

¹⁹ SS Marriage Order (December 31, 1931), https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1505 [access: 18.11.2019]; For more information about SS marriage and family policy, see A. Carney, *Marriage and Fatherhood in the Nazi SS*, Toronto 2018.

²⁰ For further information, see Archiv der Republik, <https://www.statearchives.gv.at/archiv-der-republik> [access 18.11.2019].

created in the period after the end of the war. These are connected with the work of different Czechoslovak offices, which were investigating Nazi war crimes perpetrated in the area of Czechoslovakia during the war. For all one can mention the infamous State Security (*Státní bezpečnost*, StB) which was besides persecuting political opposition of the communist regime, also investigating the former Nazi officers who were captured after the war.²¹ Nazi war criminals were searched for by a Czechoslovak mission led by general Bohuslav Ečer (this mission was stationed in Wiesbaden and it was among others responsible for the extradition of Karl Hermann Frank or Kurt Daluge to Czechoslovakia).²² Materials collected by these institutions were stored in former Federal Ministry of the Interior Collections, now they are mainly in the Security Services Archive in Prague (*Archiv bezpečnostních složek*, ABS).²³ These collections contain an enormous variety of documents, ranging from different interrogation protocols, through photographic materials to documents with wartime origin (either in original form or as transcripts). All of these provide a useful basis for research despite all the inaccuracies included (investigators had often only limited knowledge of the Nazi repressive power structure, etc.). The other important source for research is Moravian Land Archives in Brno, mainly collection B 340 (Gestapo Brno) located there. This collection provides information about first and second martial law in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia as dozens of sentences of the “Standgericht“ (martial court) in Brno. However, documents stored in this collection are just a fragment of its original extent as the majority of the wartime agenda got destroyed during this time. There are also fragments of sources in other Czech archives or museums, but the utility of these documents depends on the individual research topic.

Other sources crucial for research of perpetrators are documents from collections of the Extraordinary People’s Courts (*Mimořádné lidové soudy*, MLS) stored in State Regional Archives (*Státní oblastní*

²¹ For more information about StB in the early postwar period and its role in communist take-over in 1948, see i.e. K. Kaplan, *Protistátní bezpečnost. 1945–1948. Historie vzniku a působení StB jako mocenského nástroje KSČ*, Praha 2015.

²² For the newest monography about Bohuslav Ečer, see M. Dudáš, *Bohuslav Ečer. Český lovec nacistů*, Prague 2019; About investigating Nazi war crimes in Czechoslovakia in postwar period, see i.e. the newest work of V. Kyncl, *Bestie. Československo a stíhání válečných zločinců*, Praha 2019.

²³ For information about collections stored in ABS, see Guide to the Collections, <https://www.abscr.cz/en/guide-to-the-collections/> [access: 18.11.2019].

archivy, SOA).²⁴ These collections contain court files of Nazi war criminals who had a place in Czechoslovakia between 1945–1948, including mainly interrogation protocols and entries from the lawsuit among several other types of documents (notes about transferring defendants among different prisons, execution protocols, etc.). These materials provide useful information, however, difficulties connected with research in these files show up as well. Especially in files from MLS, the researcher needs to be very careful in taking over the information provided as probably every defendant was trying to reduce his role in war crimes. Defendants were also concealing their activity yet not known to investigators or they were simply lying (not only about activity but about their membership in Nazi organizations, etc.). Also, witnesses were sometimes manipulated to testify falsely so extreme caution is advised when working with these files. Without verifying information in other sources it is easy to take over the defendant's narrative. However, with keeping all these problems and complications in mind, files from the Extraordinary People's Courts provide a very useful source of information. In some files, even certain relevant documents from the wartime period can be found, and they can help with completing the final image a bit.

There are also other problems connected with almost all materials from the postwar period. The most obvious inconvenience is a simple fact that not everybody was found or even captured after the war ended. Many former members of the secret police simply disappeared in the chaos of the early postwar period and escaped justice. Many names of these officers are also known only from postwar interrogations. Their names are often mispronounced or garbled so positive identification of those is complicated or even impossible. This fact connected with the absence of personal register from the wartime period causes hard times for the researcher. The common case is that the historian discovers the only surname of the person of interest, often accompanied by typing errors and with a lack of any further information, and the whole research in that direction comes to a dead end.

²⁴ For more information about retribution in postwar Czechoslovakia, see B. Frommer, *National Cleansing. Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia*, Cambridge 2005.

Methodology

On these pages, the author would like to show readers one of the possible methods used mainly to research German police officers who served on occupied territories (primarily in the area of Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia). The presented method can be used for research in area of Protectorate only (mainly specific archival sources stated above), major part of methods can be applied on research of perpetrators in other areas as well. Author in his thesis decided to go against in Czech area traditional positivism; the main point was to analyse several phenomena connected with former Gestapo members from Gestapo field office in Olomouc and compare results with data known about Gestapo members from other offices.²⁵ The brief positivistic enumeration of events and dates should be used only to provide background for further analysis. The same method in larger scale is being implemented by above mentioned Jan Vajskebr and Jan Zumr in their current research project within Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes (*Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů*, ÚSTR).²⁶ It should be mentioned that positivism was not completely removed from said method. Description of events connected with analysed personnel had to be utilized in limited form to give reader some basic information about researched individuals.

The first task is to find a methodological key for selecting a sample of analyzed individuals. The members of the Gestapo in Olomouc for analysis were chosen whether were they tried by MLS in Olomouc, and whether were they sentenced to death and executed. This key enabled us to put together a sample containing leading officers, investigators of the executive department, and personnel of the administration as well—results of the analysis could be put into context of the whole Gestapo office in Olomouc. The next part of the research is to determine what phenomena will be analyzed. It is obvious to select only phenomena with mentions in available sources. However, overall said, common points of interest applicable to probably all areas are:

²⁵ V. Češík, *Příslušníci olomouckého gestapa*, op. cit.

²⁶ Part of their project “Nacistický bezpečnostní aparát a SS v protektorátu Čechy a Morava“ was a lecture about the Gestapo commanding officers stationed in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the record of the lecture is available, see *Uspořádali jsme přednášku o velitelském sboru gestapa na území protektorátu*, <https://www.ustrcr.cz/akce/poradame-prednasku-o-velitelskem-sboru-gestapa-na-uzemi-protektoratu/> [access: 18.11.2019].

1. Competence in police work—the structure of the Gestapo can be characterized as a very diverse group containing a mix of professional policemen with many years of experience, people transferred to Gestapo from other Nazi organizations, and last but not least unprofessional personnel with often no education in police work. The last group was brought to Gestapo often with a desire for stable and prestigious employment connected with more than average salary.²⁷ Many of those unprofessional staff were drafted from local sympathizers from occupied territories who were indispensable for Germans due to their knowledge of local conditions and language skills.²⁸

2. Education and social status—comparison of these phenomena can bring us interesting results as there existed divergent situations among Gestapo personnel (mainly commanding officers) serving in Altreich and occupied territories.²⁹

3. Membership in Nazi organizations—this is the most obvious yet the most problematic phenomena to analyze as in many cases there is an extensive lack of relevant sources providing information about membership of analyzed individuals in Nazi organizations (it is often possible only to confirm membership in NSDAP and SS, and membership in other organizations remains hidden).

4. Age—besides showing the age range of the observed sample, analyzing of age is also useful when connected with other phenomena (i.e. participation of analyzed personnel in World War I and forming their political opinions, etc.).³⁰

One other possible phenomena not only for occupied territories is to analyze chosen personnel by their place of birth and compare proportions among officers from Altreich, former Austria, and from the occupied territory itself. In the case of Olomouc (the more or less similar situation was, however, present throughout the whole Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia), about 70% of personnel was born in former Czechoslovakia, often directly in Olomouc or its surroundings, and only commanding officers and some other higher ranks came from Austria or Altreich.³¹ As mentioned above, the final touch in the

²⁷ V. Kyncl, *Ležáky: Obyčejná vesnice, Silver A a pardubické gestapo v zrcadle heydrichiády*, Pelhřimov 2008, p. 53; C. Dams, M. Stolle, *Gestapo. Moc a teror ve třetí říši*, Praha 2010, pp. 54–55.

²⁸ V. Kyncl, *Ležáky*, op. cit., p. 43.

²⁹ C. Dams, M. Stolle, op. cit., pp. 57–59.

³⁰ For further information about age diversity among Gestapo personnel, see *Ibidem*, pp. 56–58.

³¹ V. Češík, *Příslušníci olomouckého gestapa*, op. cit., p. 67.

outlined research is to provide a comparison of the situations in other areas. This helps to put research results into a wider context and to better understand the personal structure of the secret police as a whole. Due to the extensive work of many historians in recent years, there is already a huge amount of data about Gestapo members in different areas, which can be used for comparison.

Conclusion

It is clear that this topic still offers space for further research as thousands of German police officers were serving in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia during the Nazi occupation. The majority of repressive power personnel serving not only in the Protectorate still remains unclear and waiting for further research. Due to those white spots in research, it is evident that positivistic methodology is still needed, though together with analytical methods stated above positivism can be pushed aside and can be used only for initial description of facts and so provide background for subsequent analysis. With the combination of these, research provides beneficial data, and at the same time, it remains readable and attractive for a reader. When speaking about readability, it is crucial to find a balance between historical narration and pure analysis. With just the use of pure statistics and quantification, there is a threat of falling into “the history without people” making the text completely unreadable.³²

The amount of various types of sources also facilitates different methods not stated above consistent with current trends in the historiography. This includes, for example, research in the field of everyday life history or biographical case studies and besides “ordinary” historical research, its results can be used also for popularisation. In its attractiveness for the public, the history of Nazi repressive power (and history of Gestapo especially) has been flooded with many myths and inaccuracies, and these are difficult to fight against. These myths are renewed over and over mainly by journalists who want to shock the public while bending and schematizing the reality.³³ Therefore popularisa-

³² About problems with implementing quantitative methods into historiography, see an example by The Annales School, G. Iggers, *Dějepisectví ve 20. století*, Praha 2002, pp. 59–60.

³³ One example to illustrate this fact is a series of articles published on server info.cz during this year. The author uses schematizing statements and focuses only on the usage of

tion of this topic among the public seems like an appropriate method of fighting all the myths as the majority of professional works written in professional language remain hidden from the general public and resulting blank spaces are often filled by journalists and unprofessional researchers with close to zero knowledge about the problematics.

Bibliography

- Adamec V., *Mýtus Koslowski. Kriminální rada brněnské řídicí úřadovny Gestapa Otto Koslowski*, “Paměť a dějiny“ 2014, no. 4, pp. 76-89. Archiv der Republik, <https://www.statearchives.gv.at/archiv-der-republik> [access 18.11.2019].
- BerlinDocument Center, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170101232007/https://www.bundesarchiv.de/fachinformationen/01001/index.html.de> [access: 17.11.2019].
- Browning Ch. R., *Ordinary Men. Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, New York 1998.
- Carney A., *Marriage and Fatherhood in the Nazi SS*, Toronto 2018.
- Češík V., *Kriminální komisař Richard Heidan (1893–1947). Životní osudy posledního vedoucího gestapa v Olomouci*, “Moderní dějiny“ 2018, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 183–203.
- Češík V., *Příslušníci olomouckého gestapa odsouzení v rámci retribuice k trestu smrti*, Olomouc 2018. (MA Thesis)
- Dams C., Stolle M., *Gestapo. Moc a teror ve třetí říši*, Praha 2010.
- Dudáš M., *Bohuslav Ečer. Český lovec nacistů*, Prague 2019.
- Frommer B., *National Cleansing. Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia*, Cambridge 2005.
- Gestapo za druhé světové války. „Domácí fronta“ a okupovaná Evropa*, eds. G. Paul, K.-M. Mallmann, Praha 2010.
- Geidt L., *Gestapačkou z lásky i přesvědčení. Sekretářka Gestapa v Moravské Ostravě Magdalena Siwy*, “Paměť a dějiny“ 2015, no. 2, pp. 88–97.
- Guide to the Collections, <https://www.abscr.cz/en/guide-to-the-collections/> [access: 18.11.2019].

brutal interrogating methods, totally omitting all the other methods and fields of work of the Secret State Police. For example, see article focused on *Kriminalrat* Otto Koslowski, which is part of the mentioned series, see Školil ostatní nacisty, jak zabíjet odbojáře. Po válce ze sebe udělal nevinného odbojáře, <https://www.info.cz/magazin/skolil-ostatni-nacisty-jak-zabijet-odbojare-po-valce-ze-sebe-udelal-nevinneho-uprchlika-41679.html> [access: 19.11.2019].

- Iggers G., *Dějepisectví ve 20. století*, Praha 2002.
- Kaňák P., Krčmář D., Vajskebr J., *S jasným cílem a plnou silou. Nasazení německých policejních složek při rozbití Československa 1938–1939*, Terezín 2014.
- Kaplan K., *Protistátní bezpečnost. 1945–1948. Historie vzniku a působení StB jako mocenského nástroje KSČ*, Praha 2015.
- Kreisinger P., *Personální obsazení tzv. protiparašutistického IV 2b pražské řídicí úřadovny gestapa v letech 1943–1945. Pokus o rekonstrukci na základě výpovědi hlavního dešifřanta podreferátu IV 2b Karla Schnabla a dalších pramenů*, "Historica Olomucensia" 2013, no. 45, pp. 169–203.
- Kyncl V., *Bestie. Československo a stíhání válečných zločinců*, Praha 2019.
- Kyncl V., *Bez výčitek... Genocida Čechů po atentátu na Reinharda Heydricha*, Praha 2012.
- Kyncl V., *Ležáky: Obyčejná vesnice, Silver A a pardubické gestapo v zrcadle heydrichiády*, Pelhřimov 2008.
- Kyncl V., *Lidice. Zrození symbolu*, Praha 2015.
- Ležáky a odboj ve východních Čechách*, eds. V. Kyncl, J. Padevět, Praha 2016.
- Plachý J., *Naše služba jako úředníků gestapa nebyla lehká. Kurt Max Walter Richter. Nacistický válečný zločinec, jehož zachránil Antonín Zápotocký*, "Paměť a dějiny" 2016, no. 2, pp. 89–100.
- Sládek O., *Zločinná role gestapa. Nacistická bezpečnostní policie v českých zemích 1938–1945*, Praha 1986.
- SS Marriage Order (December 31, 1931), https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1505 [access: 18.11.2019].
- Školil ostatní nacisty, jak zabíjet odbojáře. Po válce ze sebe udělal nevinného odbojáře, <https://www.info.cz/magazin/skolil-ostatni-nacisty-jak-zabijet-odbojare-po-valce-ze-sebe-udelal-nevinneho-uprchlika-41679.html> [access: 19.11.2019].
- Uspořádali jsme přednášku o velitelském sboru gestapa na území protektorátu, <https://www.ustrcr.cz/akce/poradame-prednasku-o-velitelskem-sboru-gestapa-na-uzemi-protektoratu/> [access: 18.11.2019].
- Vajskebr J., „Práci je třeba umět předávat.“ *Rozhovor se Stanislavem Bimanem*, "Paměť a dějiny" 2017, vol. XI, no. 2, pp. 68–74;
- Zumr J., *Organizační struktura exekutivního a kontrarozvědného oddělení pražského Gestapa*, "Moderní dějiny" 2018, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 251–290.

Abstract

This paper deals with possible directions of researching personnel aspects of the Nazi repressive power (with the main interest in Gestapo officers who were assigned to Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia during World War II). It also focuses on methods of research of the Nazi repressive power, and the paper shows relevant archival sources and literature with outlining limits associated with those sources.

Keywords: World War II, Gestapo, 20th century, modern historiography

Author

Vojtěch Češík currently finishes his Ph.D. history studies at the Faculty of Arts, Palacký University Olomouc. His research focuses mainly on Nazi represses in the area of Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. He has published several papers about the personal structure of the Gestapo field office in Olomouc, containing biographical case studies.