

Czech University of Life Sciences in Prague

Faculty of Environmental Studies



Ore mountains resettled? Results of resettlement of
the territory of MEP Ostrov.

Master Thesis

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Objectives of thesis: The goal of the thesis is to describe the process and and evaluate the outcomes of the after-WW2 resettlement of the territory of Ostrov municipality with extended powers.

Methodology: Student will start with describing the process of extradition of the native German population of the area following the events of WWII. He will than thoroughly inspect the legal structure of the process of re-settlement of the former Sudetenland as well as processes that took place at the area of the case study. He will identify databases that contain information on numbers and destinations of the incoming population and later on the numbers and places of residences of inhabitants of MEP Ostrov.

He will use the data acquired to describe the dynamics of settlements that were within the administrative boundaries of MEP Ostrov during Census 2011, thus evaluating the successfulness of the re-settlement process.

The proposed extent of the thesis: 50 pages with adequate tabular and map amendments

Keywords: resettlement, Sudetenland, MEP Ostrov

Recommended information sources:

1. Bartoš, J., 1986: Okupované pohraničí a české obyvatelstvo 1938-1945. Český svaz protifašistických bojovníků, Praha
2. Čapka, F., Vaculík, J., Slezák, L., 2005: Nové osídlení pohraničí českých zemí po druhé světové válce. CERM, Brno
3. Kastner, K., 1999: Osídlování českého pohraničí od května 1945. Sociologický ústav AVČR, Praha
4. 12/1945 Sb. částka: 7, Dekret prezidenta o konfiskaci a urychleném rozdělení zemědělského majetku Němců, Maďarů, jakož i zrádců a nepřátel českého a slovenského národa
5. 27/1945 Sb. částka: 13, Dekret prezidenta o jednotném řízení vnitřního osídlení
6. 28/1945 Sb. částka: 14, Dekret prezidenta o osídlení zemědělské půdy Němců, Maďarů a jiných nepřátel státu českými, slovenskými a jinými slovanskými zemědělci.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original, except as cited in the text, and that the material has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for degree at this or any other university. I have listed all literature and publications from which I have acquired information.

Prague, 15 April, 2017

Jakub Říha

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the issue of the re-settlement process held after WWII in the area of the Czech borderland and its effect on the settlement structure in reaction to inhabitant numbers dynamics. The thesis analyses statistical data for territory of municipality with extended powers Ostrov nad Ohří located in the North-West of the Czech Republic. Inhabitant numbers dynamics and settlement structure (distribution of settlements in the landscape) between years 1930, 1950, 1970, 1991 and 2011 is demonstrated on this territory. Hand in hand with the dynamics, shift in urban system and in hierarchy of settlements is shown. The result of this thesis is an interpretation of analyses of number of inhabitants and settlement structure and their further comparison to similar historical events connected to re-settlement. In this form, this thesis can serve as a knowledge base for areas affected by military actions with a need of re-settlement process, so that the process can be held as beneficial for all stakeholders and users.

Key words:

Re-settlement, Sudetenland, MEP Ostrov, Settlement structure

Abstrakt

Tato práce se zabývá problematikou dosídlovacího procesu v oblasti pohraničí českých zemích, které probíhalo po druhé světové válce a jeho vlivu na sídelní strukturu oblasti v návaznosti na změnu počtu obyvatel v oblasti. Práce se zabývá analýzou statistických dat pro území vymezené hranicí administrativní oblasti obce s rozšířenou působností Ostrov nad Ohří v severozápadní části České republiky. Na této oblasti je formou analýzy změny počtu obyvatel v letech 1930, 1950, 1970, 1991 a 2011 ukázána dynamika území a změny v sídelní struktuře a umístění sídel v krajině. Současně s tímto jevem je popsána změna uspořádání sídelní struktury a důležitosti jednotlivých sídel v hierarchii sídelní struktury. Výsledkem práce je interpretace analýz počtu obyvatel a sídelní struktury a jejich porovnání s obdobnými historickými událostmi procesu dosídlování. Takto může práce přinést znalosti pro budoucí území zasažené válečnými střety a s nutností dosídlovacích akcí, aby tyto akce byly vedeny úspěšně a ve prospěch všech aktérů procesu.

Klíčová slova:

Dosídlování, Sudety, ORP Ostrov, sídelní struktura

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. GOALS OF THE THESIS	2
3. LITERATURE REVIEW	3
4. METHODOLOGY	5
4.1 Part one.....	5
4.2 Part two	6
PART ONE.....	8
5. DEFINITION OF TERM „SUDETENLAND“	9
6. HISTORICAL OUTLINES	10
6.1 Munich Agreement	11
6.1.1 Consequences of Munich Agreement	12
6.2 After WW II	14
6.3 Second re-settlement phase (1947 – 1953)	16
6.4 “Re-colonization” – third phase (1953 - ...)	18
7. CHANGES IN REGIONAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES	20
7.1 Revolutionary year 1848 – until 1918.....	20
7.2 The Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938)	21
7.2.1 Draft of Župas.....	22
7.3 1938 -1945	22
7.4 Potsdam agreement (1945)	22
7.5 After 1960.....	23
PART TWO.....	24
8. GEOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MEP OSTROV NOWADAYS	25
9. GEOLOGY	27
10. ECONOMY	29
11. CHANGES IN ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE	29
12. SYSTEM OF RE-SETTLEMENT	33

12.1	Agricultural resettlement	34
12.2	Non-Agriculture resettlement process	37
13.	DYNAMICS OF THE SETTLEMENTS	39
14.	EXAMPLES	50
14.1	Mountain region	50
14.1.1	Potůčky	50
14.1.2	Jáchymov	51
14.2	Foothill region	52
14.2.1	Ostrov	52
14.2.2	Vykmanov	53
14.3	Lowland region	54
14.3.1	Boč	54
14.3.2	Srní	55
15.	OVERVIEWS OF RESULTS	56
16.	DISCUSSION	59
17.	CONCLUSSION	63
18.	SOURCES	66
19.	APPENDIX	71

1. INTRODUCTION

Due to significant changes that happened in the borderland of former Czechoslovakia called "Sudetenland", people's interest in what really happened increased. The effect of these changes on inhabitants of this area has been discussed many times in past years. Most authors focused on the Sudetenland as a whole, but few focuses on the processes and dynamics of a small administrative unit with significant features within it.

Year 1939 marked the beginning of all significant actions taken in the Sudetenland. Apart from the World War II (WW2) which affected a much bigger territory. The territory of the Sudetenland had to strive with also other problems than only dying population due to WWI and WWII. When Munich Agreement took place, Czechoslovakia was pursued to surrender its borderland territory in favour of Germany and hand in hand Czech inhabitants had to abandon their homes and move out. The territory was officially attached to Germany without Czech inhabitants. Many houses were left behind without any maintenance but mostly the whole region was very prosperous thanks to economic support by Germany and non-renewable resources located in the Sudetenland.

But when WWII ended, German inhabitants were displaced from the Sudetenland. Although some of them stayed. Former president of Czechoslovakia prompted all Czech farmers and peasants from inland to take their new homes in the Sudetenland. Some of them did, they took the homes of Germans and started to farm on their land. But all new inhabitants lacked services in the area. There was a big shift from a decentralised settlement structure to a highly centralised and polycentric one. All services were concentrated in regional centres, so all the people had to take a long ride to get there to satisfy their needs.

Apart from all the struggles people had to face, landscape and settlement structure had to face problems, too. Frequent changes in population structure brought forward a demand for services and vacancies in the entire area. At a time when the Sudetenland was a part of the German Empire industry flourished, but after their expulsion, Czechs were unable to take on these industrial businesses, and instead they mostly focused on agricultural industry. The disadvantage in this case was the unpreparedness of leadership of Czechoslovakia. Nobody knew what to do with this area, the only thing that was clear, was that the Czechs wanted the Sudetenland back in their hands. The only action that was planned was how to execute the expulsion of

the Germans, although this action was also not without difficulties throughout the process and was never carried out to the extent as it was intended.

After the Germans were forced to leave their homes in the former Sudetenland, Czechs - with enthusiasm or rather from the belief that they had to worry about and take care of their rekindled land - moved to the borderland. Some parts, however, were more popular than others. Of course agriculturally ideal areas where successful cultivation of all kinds of crops was rapidly performed were popular. And after the leadership of the Republic realised that the free will of citizens of where they wanted to move would be unbearable, they finally intervened. Plans of actual re-settlement of the former Sudetenland was laid out. But under the pressure of the time and consequences planning was not properly done. Since these plans also counted mainly on agricultural activities, some areas were still under-populated. To step in where those re-settled citizens in the Sudetenland already lived and force them to move to other parts of the borderland was a sign of a crisis of the re-settlement plans. A little deliverance from the unfortunate situation for settlers was the adoption of non-agricultural re-settlement, i.e. areas with not enough fertile land or unsuitable for agricultural purposes, which was mainly due to the terrain and geomorphology of most areas of the Sudetenland, underwent industrial re-settlement. However, the virtual unreadiness of all agents in the process, very impulsive behaviour of leaders, and political changes and the 1950s land reform and other events in the country meant that the process of re-settlement of the Sudetenland was not one focusing on people and the landscape but rather a process that was intended to demonstrate power and strength of the country and political parties in power. Therefore, many villages and settlements in the former Sudetenland areas disappeared or diminished to such a degree that they were connected to larger administrative units, thus the face of settlement structure markedly changed. Living conditions in these predominantly foothill and hillside areas were in some cases very difficult and incomparable with the situation in neighbouring countries and elsewhere.

2. GOALS OF THE THESIS

The aim of this work is to identify demographic changes within the study area during difficult periods of its existence. The approximate time frame is from 1930 until around 1970 with comparison to the present. But it is not so much about the demographic change itself but about what caused it and why there were so large migration waves. This work also later focuses on today's (as of 2011) administrative unit, Municipality

with extender powers (MEP) Ostrov nad Ohří and on trying to concretise some specific steps on examples of this part of the country - to show how demographic changes have affected the landscape, its layout and overall settlement structure of the region; how the settlement structure in sense of distribution of settlements in the landscape has changed and due to what consequences hand in hand with the population number changes.

One of the outcomes of this work in discussion is a comparison with in some ways similar processes in history - their analysis and subsequent controversy about possible different behaviour or decision making in certain situations. This thesis can be used as a base for later creation of guidelines for instructions in similar situations and to be applied in other related areas. The work should serve as a study material for the postgraduate work of student Batul Ibrahim, who is interested in the impact of military actions on the population in Syria.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Most of literature and other sources listed in this chapter were used in research, but some shown to be usefull of even uprecise for this research. The basic information about resettlement was taken mainly from book from Bartoš (1986), supplemented by some of the parts from following literature (SANDER 1972), (ZIMMERMANN 2001), some others were mostly focused on fate of the individuals which was not useful for this thesis (BERÁNEK 2006) and (BRÜGEL 2008).

Abovementioned authors were analysing mostly resettlement process but only slightly touching the topic of expulsion of the Germans. More focused on this topic were following: (STANĚK 1991), (EMMERT 2008), (DVOŘÁK 2012), following by Čelakovský (1999) who analysed Munich agreement (ČELAKOVSKÝ 1999).

One of the most suitable sources for research was first book of Arburg (2010) and also one book from edition "Materiály k problematice novoosidleneckého pohraničí" (ÚSTAV PRO ETNOLOGII A FOLKLORISTIKU ČSAV © 1984). Phases of re-settlement are very well described in (WIEDEMANN 2016) and (DVOŘÁK 2012). Some of precise statistical data provided the author Slezák and his two books (SLEZÁK 1978), (SLEZÁK 2007) and one of his cooperative book with other authors (ČAPKA et al. 2005). The living conditions and changes of them were well described in following: (VESELÁ 2008), (GRÖPEL et al. 2013), (GRÖPEL et al. 2011),

(BACHSTEIN 1974), (FRANZEL 1997), (HEUMOS 1989), (COLLEGIUM CAROLINUM © 1962).

Focus on smaller administrative unit was given by these publications: (SIVÁK 2010), (KASTNER 1999), (ČERNÝ 2012), (BEDNÁŘ et al. 2013). Administrative structure itself and its changes were taken from more sources and compared and applied for study area (SCHELLE 2016), (MATES 1996), (HLEDÍKOVÁ 2005). Precise administrative borders were taken from internet source (ČSÚ et al. 2016), (ČSÚ © 2017).

Statistical data were acquired mostly from statistical bulletins and lexicons and publications from Censuses (ÚSTŘEDNÍ KOMISE LIDOVÉ KONTROLY A STATISTIKY and MV © 1966), (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ and MINISTERSTVO VNITRA © 1934), (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ and MV © 1955b), (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ 1958), (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1958a), (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1958b), (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1934), (MV © 1924), (FEDERÁLNÍ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD © 1978), (ČESKÝ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD 2014), (ZEMAN 2001), (ÚSTŘEDNÍ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD © 1941a), (ÚSTŘEDNÍ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD © 1941b), (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1951). For the precise establishment of existence of all settlement units, data were compared from more source. (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ and MV © 1955a), (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1948a), (MLEZIVA 2010), (MV © 1952), (ČSÚ © 2006).

Some of the data were also acquired from statistical journals (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1946a), (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1946b), (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ 1948), (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1960), (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1948b), (JUREČEK 1948).

Some specification of the statistics and information about processes in MEP Ostrov, data were taken from Archive in Karlovy Vary, from the sources of numerous municipality archives. (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (a) no date), (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (c) no date), (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (d) no date), (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (e) no date), (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (i) no date), (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (b) no date), (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (g) no date), (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (f) no date), (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (h) no date), (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (j) no date) also from additional literature sources, such as (ZEMAN 2001), (MĚSTSKÝ ÚŘAD OSTROV © 2012), (HORÁK and SULDOVSKÝ 2009) or from internet sources as well (ČESKÁ GEOLOGICKÁ SLUŽBA © 2008), (ČSÚ et al. 2016), (CUZK © 2017), (NIKM © 2010).

Consequences of all processes are described in (ŘÍHA 2008) and (MIKŠÍČEK 2004), where both authors are bringing different view points. In case of Karlovy Vary region, there is one source published on this topic (BRODNÍČEK 2013).

For typology of landscape and settlement structure and its definition, knowledge acquired during my studies were applied and compared to following: (PERLÍN 1990), (PERLÍN et al. 2010), (CHALUPA and HÜBELOVÁ 2011).

All law related materials were taken from these sources: (MZV © 1945), (12/1945 Coll. 1945), (5/1945 Coll. 1945), (27/1945 Coll. 1945), (28/1945 Coll. 1945), (108/1945 Coll. 1945), (155/1936 Coll. 1936), (ČELAKOVSKÝ 1999)

4. METHODOLOGY

The thesis is divided into two separate parts. The first part is a descriptive one with a focus on description of events and political steps which happened in the history of the Czech lands since approximately 1930 until 1970 with an extension to the present times. Consequences of all these steps are also a part of the description. The second part is on the contrary an analysis of an area within the borders of an administrative unit MEP Ostrov nad Ohří (administrative border from 2011) in terms of population and settlement structure dynamics.

4.1 Part one

The objective of this part is to name all important events that happened in the Czech lands (between 1930 – 1970), describe them and link them to possible effects on settlement structure and population dynamics. The very first chapter determines a spatial scale of the thesis, since it compares different perspectives of authors on the term Sudetenland. The Sudetenland is an area of interest of this first part.

What follows is a description of political steps, such as the Munich Agreement, Potsdam Agreement, Benes Decrees and the function of the Settlement office. This description is linked to the different types and ways of the re-settlement process of the Sudetenland after the German expulsion.

The next chapter is about changes of administrative arrangement of the Czech lands, in particular a study period between 1930 and 1970, since that was a time of the biggest changes in population and settlement structure (spatial arrangement of individual settlements). These changes were described based on a comparison of all

available resources. This chapter tries to stress the fact that the changes of the administrative area to which the settlement units belong can greatly affect settlement structure creation and arrangement of settlements in the landscape.

As a descriptive part, the first part serves as a base of information for the second part. Simultaneously it sets a spatial-temporal scale of the thesis and analyses.

4.2 Part two

The second part of this thesis is focused on a thorough description of particular processes described in the first part and processes of re-settlement in the territory of the administrative border of MEP Ostrov nad ohří (administrative border from 2011). Software ArcGIS was used in order to create spatial analyses of the territory. Polygon of administrative borders from 2011 of MEP Ostrov was created and applied as a crop layer for all further analyses. Shapefiles with the historical administrative arrangement of the Czech lands were created based on data taken from the Czech Statistical Office website. By combining these shapefiles and polygon of administrative border of MEP Ostrov information of which administrative areas (political district, region etc.) were located on a territory of MEP Ostrov was acquired.

The next step was to find all settlement units (hamlet, village, municipality) located within the border of MEP Ostrov (since 1930). For acquisition of this information, statistical, historical and administrative bulletins and lexicons from the Czech Statistical Office were used (Appendix 1 was created). By combination of these statistical sources and previously created shapefiles of historical administrative division, a map of all settlement units was created. For each period, new shapefile with settlement units was made (to be accessible for further analyses).

There were few problems with data acquisition. One problem was in case of hamlets. Statistical data for these settlement units were always counted under a superior settlement unit, but in some cases it was possible to get data for a hamlet also separately. But these data were not taken into account, since it could have negatively influenced complete data (doubling of data). Hamlets were only counted spatially, not statistically.

The second problem was that data in some sources were not the same for particular settlement units. In this case, further analyses of changes of names of settlement units and changes of superior settlement units and also historical analysis were made in order to acquire precise data. Data for each settlement unit were later taken from statistical sources from Censuses in 1930, 1950, 1961, 1970, 1991 and 2011.

Problem was a missing census in 1940. Later it was decided to neglect data from 1961 census. These data were for many settlement units missing and for the purpose of showing all analyses data from this census were not needed.

On a base of acquired data, maps in ArcGIS were created for each year of Census. Each map included a number of inhabitants in each settlement unit and typology of a settlement unit (categories were created based on administrative hierarchy of settlement in the Czech lands – hamlet, historical village, village, municipality). These two attributes (previously created in editing mode in Attribute table) were used in case of analysis. Symbology tab in Properties table was used and a function of Multiple Attributes applied. Two attributes were chosen: the number of inhabitants and the settlement unit type. For the number of inhabitants attribute, 9 classes were created manually after a try out of pre-set classification methodology, which was not suitable for the showing of all necessities.

This procedure was applied to the shapefile of each year (1930, 1950, 1970, 1991, 2011). By the overlapping of these created layers a change in settlement structure and hierarchy of settlements was assumed and made. Overlap of map from 1930 and 2011 brought the final changes in settlement structure and a shift in settlement units distribution and their function. The chapter with zoomed-in areas and their analysis in sense of settlement structure changes was added to better demonstrate these changes. Analyses showed the fact that the whole area of MEP Ostrov can be divided into three different localities based on the factor of geomorphology and soil quality. Based on this knowledge two localities from each geomorphological category were picked for a thorough description. Different changes were demonstrated on the comparison of maps of the third military mapping (in this area reambuled in around 1920) (CUZK © 2017), orthophoto map from 1952 (NIKM © 2010) and a map from 2011. All changes were described and the most probable causes for them were listed.

The last part of part two of this thesis is devoted to final analyses and comparison of the whole area of MEP Ostrov in ArcGIS software. Descriptions of these changes are listed in the chapter Overview of results. Chapters of discussion and conclusion bring the comparison of the process of re-settlement, which was the main cause of settlement changes in this area, to other similar historical events and finishing with the final statement on a future possible use of this thesis in case of re-settlement process of areas affected by military conflicts.

PART ONE

5. DEFINITION OF TERM „SUDETENLAND“

The term „Sudetenland“ can be defined in terms of historical, geographical or political context due to the many changes the land has undergone over the years. In popular culture it is perceived as the area close to the administrative Czech state border with present day Poland, Germany and Austria (MIKŠÍČEK 2004).

At the beginning of the 20th century, this term was unofficially used only for today's Czech-Polish administrative borderland (KASTNER 1999). The very concept of the Sudetenland gained importance in 1918 when this term was introduced into political dictionary. In 1918 four provinces were created in the area of the Czech borderland. These were called Province of German Bohemia (Provinz Deutschböhmen), Province of the Sudetenland (Provinz Sudetenland)¹, Bohemian Forest Region (Böhmerwaldgau) and German South Moravia (Deutschsüdmähren) (ČAPKA et al. 2005). However, this province never formed any consistent territorial and administrative entity as its borders were never officially defined and it was never approved by law. Furthermore Czechoslovak government did not accept the self-determination of German population.

In later years, however, the term Sudetenland was used for the entire territory which was withdrawn from the former Czechoslovakia. This area was not a part of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia formed in 1938 (BARTOŠ 1986). This territory was seen as a defensive rampart of German Austria against Bohemia and Moravia. In German environment since 1938, the term Sudetenland was used to denote the whole territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (ČAPKA et al. 2005).

The first political attempt to spatially and politically define the border area dates back to year 1936. The Sudeten German Party (Sudetendeutsche Partei – SdP), under the leadership of Konrad Henlein, made an official request to Czechoslovak government to clearly define the borderland zone (WIEDEMANN 2016). The request was based on the fact that the majority population in these parts of the borderland of the former Czechoslovakia was of German nationality. This area of German majority formed a strip of land sometimes up to 100 km wide along the borders of the Republic. On the request of SdP the so-called „Border Territory“ was declared in 1936 (ZIMMERMANN 2001). The border territory comprised 55 political districts of Bohemia and 22 political districts of Moravia-Silesia.

¹ This province does not correspond to the later expression of this term, which contained all the German-speaking part of the Czech lands.

Government Regulation 155/1936 Coll. therefore defines the Border Territory as a part of the Czech-German border, Czech-Polish border and Czech-Austrian border where districts within these borderlands had majority German population (155/1936 Coll. 1936). Between years 1945 – 1947 this majority formed 91.7% of the Bohemian part of the Border Territory and 70,2% of the Moravia-Silesian part. (KASTNER 1999; ČAPKA et al. 2005; STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1934) (some districts that were defined as Border Territory, however, did not have a majority German population). According to the Sudetenland division Act. the territory of the Sudetenland was divided into three governmental district, namely Cheb (Eger), Ústí nad Labem (Aussig) and Opava (Troppau). Although this definition of Border Territory and Sudetenland was given by the government regulation, the meaning of the term „Sudetenland“ was understood as a historical rather than geographical or political one, since there were changes in geographic location of the so - called territorial unit over the years.

The question of defining the term Sudetenland has been discussed by many authors (BACHSTEIN 1974; ČAPKA et al. 2005; KASTNER 1999). The term Czech border regions (Sudetenland) in this thesis is understood primarily as a territory of border districts between the inland and the territory of other states as these districts were listed in the Munich Agreement, had a majority German population and eventually became part of German Austria (ČELAKOVSKÝ 1999). In the former administrative structure, it comprised the total of 93 districts covering an area of 29,074 square kilometres, which included 4,179 municipalities (ČAPKA et al. 2005). Because this term in the process of re-colonization was prohibited from use (it resembled wartime), the settlement office (state organizational body carrying out the re-settlement processes) defined Sudetenland as "areas intended for settlement". This area comprised 65 regions (ČAPKA et al. 2005).

6. HISTORICAL OUTLINES

In the Sudetenland, the Czech borderland, there were over the years many events that affected not only the demographic structure of the area but also the natural character and eventually the settlement structure. However, the main period which this thesis deals with is the period after 1938. In that year occurred one of the key events that influenced the development of this area and its consequences persist to the present day. What followed were several political actions taken by different governmental bodies, numerous changes to the political system during the period,

and other factors leading to the process of transformation of borderland towards its present-day state.

6.1 Munich Agreement

The first political act that influenced the area of the Sudetenland was Munich Agreement signed by four major political powers of Europe at that time, namely Nazi Germany, Great Britain, Italy and France. It was a political document that, inter alia, also mentioned the border region of former Czechoslovakia (BARTOŠ 1986). By this political act Czechoslovakia was compelled to give up the border territory to Nazi Germany mainly because it was inhabited by Germans. This population was convinced themselves that they belong to Nazi Germany and wanted to formally become part of Nazi Germany (BACHSTEIN 1974).

There never were any existing borders in the Czech lands based on nationalities. However, due to pressure from the German population and the Sudeten German Party and its leader Konrad Heinlein, a new government decree was approved in 1936 (155/1936 Coll. 1936), which determined a so-called border zone which comprised 55 districts of Bohemia and 22 districts of Moravia (HOFFMANN and HARASKO 2000). This border zone comprised essentially all the districts where the vast majority of inhabitants were Germans. In numbers there were altogether 2,644,922 of German inhabitants (STÁTNI ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1934).

However, the border zone was not officially disconnected from Czechoslovakia. That changed in 1938 when the territory of the Czech borderland became part of the county Sudeten German Reich (province – župa) and three other Nazi counties. (ZIMMERMANN 2001). Annexation of this territory was outlined in the Munich Agreement. The territory was divided into five zones and the occupation should take 10 days in early October 1938 (ČELAKOVSKÝ 1999).

By applying the Munich Agreement Czechoslovakia lost about 30% of its population. This group of inhabitants lost after the Munich Agreement was officially affiliated to Poland, Hungary and especially Germany. By this act a new territorial unit, which was named the Sudeten province (župa), was established and officially detached from Czechoslovakia. The province consisted of three main smaller territorial units, Ústí nad Labem, Opava and Cheb including Karlovy Vary. Due to the very rapid process of establishment of the Sudeten province boundaries of this area nor an inner arrangement were never precisely defined (FRANZEL 1997). Thanks to this and many other facts, such as national issues, many families decided to relocate their

homes to other areas of the Czech lands and Germany. On the other hand, many new residents were later invited to settled down in this area. Mainly because of the prospect of low-priced property, land and real property became so attractive that they were hard to resist of. Many of the new residents quickly found jobs because thanks to the German population and the influence of Nazi Germany the Sudetenland province maintained a good level of welfare and had a really high status (HEUMOS 1989). Despite this the situation in the border regions began to rapidly deteriorate for many reasons since 1938.

6.1.1 Consequences of Munich Agreement

Changes associated with Munich Agreement had been happening already since 1930. According to the 1930 census, the German population accounted for about 21,9 % of population of Czechoslovakia (ARBURG and STANĚK 2010). However, analysing the data in connection with Munich agreement is very problematic due to lack of census from period of 1940s. Census was held in 1930 and next one in 1950. The partial census was held in 1939 as well, but this census was carried out for the Sudetenland only, and only for German section of the population. Germans were majority, but still the data are not precise due to neglecting to add the other nations. Major problem for carrying out the census of the population in this period was very high turnover of population in the Sudetenland (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1951). Many of the residents have fluctuated and migrated many times throughout the whole territory of the Czech lands. Therefore, it was almost impossible to obtain a precise number of inhabitants of the Sudetenland around 1940's.

This influenced the overall settlement structure, which over the years has been transforming from scattered structure to the centralized one (PERLÍN et al. 2010). In case of MEP Ostrov nad Ohří, centre of the region was city Karlovy Vary with 53,000 inhabitants (figure from 1939). Other settlements in this area had an average maximum of 2 000 inhabitants, this group of municipalities accounted for 49.4 % of all municipalities in the Sudetenland (BACHSTEIN 1974).

By the loss of the Sudetenland, the Czech lands suffered big spatial, social and economy collapse. The Czechoslovak Republic lost most enterprises of mining, glass, ceramic, textile and paper industries. The state lost one of the most industrialized regions of Europe at that time with huge reserves of brown coal (SIVÁK 2010). This new division also interrupted some important road and rail connections in Europe.

Republic lost 90 power plants, about 61% of textile industry, 52% of paper industry and 76% of glass industry (ČERNÝ 2012).

Factor, which says a lot about the changes that have occurred in the border territory, is the change in population each year. This factor also contains information on natural increment, which was in the years 1869 - 1939 only 25.7 % (JUREČEK 1948). This number compared to one in inland Czechoslovakia, where natural increment was 57,6%, is very low. The population density per square km was in the Sudetenland in 1939, an average of 130 inhabitants, in the district of Cheb, the figure was even lower, 103 inhabitants. Compared to an inland Czechoslovakia, where the population density was 184 people per square km (COLLEGIUM CAROLINUM © 1962).

Also, as a consequence of a deviation of data provided by different authors it is not possible to obtain precise data. Unfortunately, this deviation is too high to make possible to determine the exact number of inhabitants. However, it can be assumed by the acquired data. Between 1930 and 1939 there was deported approximately 214,000 inhabitants from the Sudetenland. On the other hand, it immigrated around 216,000 inhabitants, mostly Germans and Austrians (BRÜGEL 2008). This brings us to a positive balance of about 2,000 inhabitants.

However, according to another author, (SANDER 1972) was in those years a large population decline, while counting all features, such as natural growth, mortality, immigration and emigration, formed about 228,000 inhabitants. As it can be seen, the difference in the statistical data featured individual authors is very different, thus it is difficult to determine the change in the population and a finite number of inhabitants in the county Sudetenland after the Munich agreement.

Even though there are no exact data for census around 1940, other sources than census can be useful in estimation of number of inhabitants. For example, natural increment is one of them. The natural increment was in 1940 about 9.5%, but already in 1942 only 2.5% in the Sudeten Province (HOFFMANN and HARASKO 2000). As mentioned above, the increment was unstable due to population movement. Some of the inhabitants have moved before childbirth, thus the child could no longer be count to data for the Sudetenland. Germans moved back into the inner Germany mainly due to job cuts in the Sudetenland, and also because they were often called for duty. Czechs in contrary to Germans moved in to the Sudetenland because of the possibility of finding a job. The Czechs were not welcome in the Sudeten region, but the Germans were at the same time aware of their necessity, because no one else would fill the gaps in labour market (BARTOŠ 1986).

Very accurate indicator that can help to estimate the population in the Sudeten county is the number of issued food allowances. Those in 1945 were issued 3,071,000 in whole Sudeten province (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1951).

6.2 *After WW II.*

After Nazi Germany was defeated, all parts (province of the Sudetenland) previously taken from the Czechoslovak Republic (ČSR) were reattached back to ČSR. At the same time, Potsdam agreement was applied, especially paragraph 11. and 12. (MZV © 1945). Based on this agreement inhabitants with German nationality were transferred (referred to the original expression in Potsdam agreement) from previous Sudetenland to American and Soviet occupation zones in Germany. All the belonging of those inhabitant was consolidated by the state and they had to leave without owning anything (108/1945 Coll. 1945). This happened mostly in May 1945 and were lasting until about 1948, when this process was finished. Meaning that the most of German inhabitants were already moved out and as much as new Czech inhabitants moved into the Sudetenland. The number of newly incoming inhabitants was way to lower than the one of inhabitants that left (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1960).

This chapter is trying to map and document the process of re-colonization of border land by Czechs, not the transfer of Germans.

Due to the lack of 1940 census, most of the statistical data are collected from various sources, and the number of inhabitants is mainly determined according to the issued food tickets (allowances). Exactly from this source came the figure from May 1945, when in the entire border area was issued 3,325,000 tickets (KASTNER 1999). But in 1947, there was only 2,496,836 inhabitants in borderland. However, the ethnic structure, according to the Ministry of interior affairs changed from 82 % Germans in year 1945, to overwhelming majority of Czech population in 1947 – 93,5 % (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1960). Change of demographic composition was most noticeable on age of population in borderland, which suddenly became a very young population. This phenomena was caused mainly by the fact that the main migration population group were young and middle age groups. After settling down, most of the new incomers made a family, thus the natural increment was pretty high in first years of re-settlement but over time, this high natural increment was not enough to compensate the new trend in colonization (re-settlement) which was departure back to the inland (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1946b). These residents who decided to return back from borderland were mostly whole families which have already

exhausted and used all state subsidies and they were unable to either find a stable job or to establish their own agriculture to feed their families (JUREČEK 1948).

Most new incomers among Czechs coming from inner land and from neighbouring countries, were peasants and farmers. Plan on agricultural resettlement of the Sudetenland was born thanks to the active Czechoslovak government in exile (SLEZÁK 2007). The main initiator and supporter of this plan was the former president Edvard Beneš. The need of the new land reform after the war was also one of the reasons for agriculture re-settlement of the Sudetenland. Because the government was counted with taking all the belongings of the Germans living in the Sudetenland and showing this part of the Republic as an example of well laid land reform. Plans for post-war land reform were drawn by many, however, until 1942 when the first outlines of land reform were proclaimed by Edvard Beneš, and these set the structural changes in the style of socialism and collectivism. In this form, however, eventually the land reform did not happen (BARTOŠ 1986). Over years, negotiations have occurred between exile government in London and Moscow. Other form of land reform was negotiated.

The main point of the new reforms was to set stages in which reform should proceed. One of the first stages included the area of the Sudetenland. Although at the time when the reform was approved (1944), it was not yet decided on the expulsion of Germans and confiscation of their property. Edvard Beneš himself in 1945, said: "Next land reform ... will be discussed later and proceed by the decision of parliament. That happens only after the re-settlement of the border region, after proper design and exploration of all the statistics regarding the agricultural community." Even though it was promised a proper exploration of suitability of the land for agriculture, it had never been applied, and the reform was introduced throughout the country (BRÜGEL 2008). And again it was also affecting the division of land in the border areas. Along with land reform Presidential decrees were applied. These were main three decrees. Decree "to annul certain property rights from the time of oppression and the national administration of property of Germans, Hungarians traitors and collaborators and of certain organizations and institutions" (5/1945 Coll. 1945), the Decree "on the confiscation and early allotment of agricultural property of Germans, Hungarians, as well as traitors and enemies of the Czech and Slovak nation " (12/1945 Coll. 1945) and the Decree "on the settlement of agricultural land of Germans, Hungarians and other enemies of the state by Czech, Slovak and other Slavic farmers" (28/1945 Coll. 1945). These political interferences were thus influencing and affecting as urban structure and the structure of the open countryside as well.

In term of settlement structure, there were similarly changes as in the case of demographic data. Mostly in agricultural based areas of borderland was a rapid decrease in population density, where some communities were completely demolished and displaced.(STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ and MV © 1955b). Others shrank and changed their internal structure. In case of industrial regions the centralised urban structure (settlement structure) showed up and bigger municipalities were still prevailing over the smaller ones nearby. Thus the situation in borderland was characterised by the lack and also with the loss of job opportunities and labor as well which has led to cuts in production, particularly in the industrial sectors. And because of that the will of inland inhabitants to move to the borderland began to decline and decrease in intensity since 1947 (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1958b). Another reason for the decrease was the exhaustion of internal human resources and stabilization of inland labor market, due to decreased by those who are about to move to former Sudetenland (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1958a).

Other problems why the re-settlement did not continue so intensely was continuous exchange of population, internal migration and emigration caused large differences in population. The main component of the population which left were farmers (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ 1948).

6.3 Second re-settlement phase (1947 – 1953)

Even in the case of defining phases of re-settlement (re-colonization) of former Sudetenland opinions are not the same by all authors. According to Bartoš (1986) is the period from 1947 the second phase, but in comparison Dvořák (2012) marks this period already as the third phase. As mentioned in the previous chapter, beginning in 1947, new trends began to appear in re-settlement process previously unseen. That is re-settlement process is losing in intensity and number of new settlers is substantially less than the number of outgoing either back inland or to neighbouring countries. By the end of 1948 over 27,000 of settlements left borderland, mostly agricultural settlers (WIEDEMANN 2016). Farmers were leaving mainly because they basically did not have sufficient experience in management and failed to acclimate themselves to new environment in the Sudetenland (BARTOŠ 1986).

This trend continued in the following years, the National Property Fund predicted percentage of outbound to 24 %. This prediction was fulfilled in upcoming years. Total sum of the departed from the borderland back inland in 1949 was 35,886 persons. In case of individual years statistics is as follow: 1946 - departed 1,525; 1947 - departed

8,666; 1948 - departed 17,455°; 1949 - departed 8,240 (SLEZÁK 2007). The highest number of departures is from 1948 which, given the political situation in the country is not so surprising. Liquidation of political opponents and their prosecution has forced many people to stampede and many of them were the new settlers of the borderlands. These simply quickly packed up and left their new home to save their lives. Conversely, year 1949 brought almost half reduce in number of departures from the borderland. Unfortunately, it was not caused by natural evolution or as result of improved living and economic conditions in the borderland. But conversely, this was due to political action, which used drastic measures to avoid people to leave their homes (GRÖPEL et al. 2013).

The situation in the borderland (former Sudetenlad) became completely unmanageable and was a proof of fatal mistakes of political system and social crisis, which began in about 1948. There were mass departures of the population, despite strict orders and frequent checks of households (BERÁNEK 2006). Many times it happened that an abandoned farmhouse was found where residents were able to pack up in one day and leave the homestead. New tendency in re-settlement process has therefore become more an effort to maintain the already resettled population in the borderland than trying to gain newcomers (GRÖPEL et al. 2011).

The second stage of re-settlement process is generally characterized by a complete change in the political and social system of the country that influenced the process of settlement previously set. Changing economic system controlled by a central economy has caused a change in the functioning of the borderland and the will of people to continue moving to the borderland (DVOŘÁK 2012). Inter alia, natural mountain and foothill landscape was negatively affected as well due to the land reform (consolidation) many of natural boundaries were destroyed.

However, from statistical point of view, it was still a period with a positive balance, despite numerous departures back inland. From May 1947 to March 1950 there was a natural increment in the population of 128,000 in the borderland (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ 1958; STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1951) However, as the result of departures population decreased by 77,000 persons so overall balance is positive, but only 51,000 individuals, who were listed in the borderland. Population development continued in the following years. From 1950 until autumn 1953 borderland accounted natural increment of 152,000 inhabitants but the exodus consisted of 32,000 inhabitants, thus 120,000 inhabitants were added to borderland (BARTOŠ 1986). High natural growth in borderland was mainly due to age groups that were moving into borderland, these were in most cases people of working age

who are just about to establish a family. Therefore, population growth in borderland during entire second phase of the re-settlement was accounted for 7.4%, while inland accounted only growth of 5.1%. The population density also increased from the value of 84 inh./km² in 1952 to 86 inhabitants per km² (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ 1948).

6.4 *“Re-colonization” – third phase (1953 - ...)*

This phase of re-settlement began in autumn 1953. It was the longest stage of all, it lasted until the end of the next decade, and sometimes it can be heard that it has basically never ended. As a result of changes in the second phase of re-settlement (recolonization), it was decided by the communist party that more attention should be paid to agricultural newcomers, just because that group formed the largest group that has gone back inland (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1946b). Therefore, in mid-September 1953 the government adopted a new resolution which had a separate section devoted to agricultural issues in the borderland. In this resolution, inter alia, is to set up the revision of agricultural recruitments to the borderland. For the sustainability of the borderland to take settlers from more populous part of borderland and re-settle them within the borderland to less populated part was allowed (Materiály k problematice novoosídleneckého pohraničí 1984).

The main interest in this period was focused on three regions, the least populated - České Budějovice, Plzeň and Karlovy Vary. For those regions and especially their agricultural cooperatives (cooperative farms) many concessions were made for the purchase of agricultural equipment or special rewards for their members. Even housing construction and 60 % of the funds devoted to it were transferred from inland to these three regions of borderland (WIEDEMANN 2016). Following years these main regions of interest within the borderland were changed numerous times. But by the adoption of new government resolution from January 1954 about the agriculture development of border regions and its implementation, 10 regions of borderland were set (155/1936 Coll. 1936).

This resolution was in many cases quite similar to the one from 1953. There were goals set for the development of the border regions, such as: ensure the development of agriculture production in connection with natural and economic dispositions and ensure the voluntary re-settlement of agriculture workers from inland to establish the functioning social community, etc (SLEZÁK 2007; SOKA KARLOVY VARY (a) no date).

These tasks set by the resolution were monitored and continuously evaluated as well. One of extensive checks was carried by Controlling inspection group from Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry at the beginning of 1957. Their report contained process of re-settlement of three past years. Members of the group also visited the cooperative farm in Karlovy Vary (SLEZÁK 1978).

The conclusion of this investigation, however, was a grim. It turned out that the respective national committees that oversights and managing the process of agricultural re-settlement pays attention especially for welcoming new workers and payment of ad hoc aid. The later fate of newcomers was not their interest at all (ČAPKA et al. 2005). Even worse was the situation with the housing fund. Old houses were reconstructed for the newcomers. These houses were again deteriorated after their quick departure and had to be under enormous sums of money again repaired (MIKŠÍČEK 2004). Task for the improvement of social and environmental conditions in the borderland also came out as not really well done because larger part of newcomers decided, after a short time, to leave again this is demonstrated by the following figures: Plan identified to gain by the end of 1956 a total of 26,034 new farmers but obtained was only 16,890, ie 64,8 % of planned. However, because 3,862 settlers of all departed back inland appears to meet the planned number of only 50.04% (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1946b).

Conclusion of controlling inspection group was therefore clear: In large part of the borderland re-settlement process is barely able to cover the loss of inhabitants and in only a few districts happened to increase the number of workers permanently employed in agriculture by 1954 (SLEZÁK 1978).

The numbers from controlling inspection group of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry substantially correspond with the results of a survey which was held in late 1957 by the State Statistical Office workers in seven border regions: Prachatice, Kadaň, Podbořany, Toužim, Nový Bor, Bruntál and Rýmařov. Inspectors in these regions revealed the fact that 741 agricultural workers were acquired but 402 of them afterward left. Therefore, total number of newly acquired agricultural workers only reached number 339 which is only 45.7% of planned (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1946b).

7. CHANGES IN REGIONAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES

For the purpose of this thesis it is also important to clarify the history of the territorial administrative division in the Czech lands. Each period was influenced by different political views and different structure and functioning of the regional units. Each period had the power in the hands of someone else and administrative authorities had a different form. On the form of administrative authorities strongly depends the way of analysing statistical data because all of them are always counted accordingly to the self-governing unit at each time.

Therefore, it is important to know how the Czech lands were allocated from about 1850 since it was the beginning of forming the modern look of administrative units until about the 60s of the 20th century. Later development in local government and the division of local government units is not so pronounced and so did not affect the functioning of individual units (SCHELLE 2016).

Since power over decisions in the area is strongly linked with politics, some political steps linked with the possible change of demography or look of administrative units and their power, are included in this chapter. In this sense, it is mainly Beneš decrees, which had a significant impact on the proctor and arrangement of landscape and population migration, as well as the future forming of the Sudetenland.

7.1 Revolutionary year 1848 – until 1918

In year 1848, there was still Austria-Hungary empire, but there was a beginning of forming the functioning self-governing administrative system. There were two main emperor's constitutions: nr. 268/1849 about new court organisation and nr. 255/1849 about new organisational structure of self-government, and there was a third one only temporary one nr. 170 where was the settlement proclaimed as a core of the state (HLEDÍKOVÁ 2005). So after 1848 districts were established as the lowest level of self-governing units. And this state of districts had been remaining until 1949.

Early to that, first regions were established with the head of hetman. But the first draft of this new reform was not applied. The reform went to the practice by the year 1855, when the number of regions was higher compare to the first draft. Our land was divided into 3 lands, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. Bohemia got now 13 regions (kraj) (České Budějovice, Mladá Boleslav, Chrudim, Čáslav, Cheb, Jičín, Hradec Králové, Litoměřice, Plzeň, Písek, Praha, Žatec, Tábor), 207 districts (okres) and 2 self-working city councils. Moravia consisted of 6 regions (Brno, Jihlava, Nový Jičín,

Olomouc, Uherské Hradiště, Znojmo), 76 districts and 2 cities. And Silesia was one big county itself and had 22 districts and 1 self-governing city (SCHELLE 2016).

These newly established regions within the Czech lands were aborted in 1862, in Silesia even in 1860. After this only districts remained (HLEDÍKOVÁ 2005).

7.2 The Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938)

The year 1918 brought the old arrangement of local and regional authorities back from the times of Austrian Empire. This change was made by the “Reciprocal Act”, Act 11/1918 Coll. But this act basically did not change much, only names of the local authorities were changed, but the structure remained unchanged. (FEDERÁLNÍ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD © 1978) The first real actions were taken because of the fear from Germans.

In October, 1918 German leading parties in borderland required the autonomy on the Czech lands of some land units in borderland and so that these units were connected to German's Austria. It was asked for following units: German Bohemia (Deutschböhmen) – north and north-west of Bohemia with centre in town Liberec; Sudetenland; Šumava's župa and German South Moravia. This requirement was declined by the Czechoslovakian government and by the military action, all these units were taken back from Germans (WIEDEMANN 2016).

That was also a reason for a gradual centralization and weakening the powers of regional self-government units. Earlier form of the self-government meant a strong local competence of Sudeten Germans in regions with predominancy of them. Therefore various rights of a local self-governing units were abolished and their functions were replaced by committees (komise) (HLEDÍKOVÁ 2005). In case of statutory towns with predominant German inhabitants, the rights were also weakened and until 1928 there was 21 of those statutory towns, but after 1928 their number was reduced to only 11, because of the weakening of the power of Germans (ČAPKA et al. 2005).

Because of the proedominancy of German names of the cities and villages in border area, the Act 266/1920 Coll. came into power. This act gave the Minister power to change all the names of any settlement structures in the Czechoslovakia (MATES 1996).

7.2.1 Draft of Župas

After 1918, new Czechoslovak constitution was submitted. By that it was proposed division into so-called Župa which, however, did not respect the division of three Czech lands of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. They should have replaced the current division of lands. This division was determined by law 126/1920 Coll. "On the establishment of district and regional authorities in the Czechoslovak Republic." Bohemia should have been divided into 15 župa's (MATES 1996). The establishment of these župa's had no impact on the districts because they never came into force. This was due to a significant centralization of government, the Czechoslovak government took over a substantial part competency of districts, without transmitting it to the župa's committees. The definite end of Župa division was made by the Act 125/1927 Coll. By this Act 103 districts (okres) were established in the Czech lands and 45 in Moravian-Silesian land (ČSÚ © 2006).

7.3 1938 -1945

After Munich Agreement borderland was disconnected from the Czech lands. This land was given a new name, which was Reichsgau Sudetenland with a centre in town Liberec. Reichsgau Sudetenland was divided into 3 government units – Cheb, Ústí nad Labem and Opava. And next division comprised of 53 rural and 5 city districts (HLEDÍKOVÁ 2005).

The Czechoslovak republic was forced to agree with autonomy od Podkarpatská Rus, and also by the law 299/1938 Coll. Autonomy of Slovakia was approved. The rest from Czechoslovakia had a name Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. This protectorate, as the name says, consisted of two lands, Bohemia and Moravia. These were divided into 19 oberlandrates at the first phase in 1939. Their number was constantly decreasing to 15 in years 1940 – 1942, up to only 7 active after the Heidrich's reform in 1942 (MATES 1996). Oberlandrates were units consisting of more districts. When oberlandrates were abolished districts took their place again in a same form as before Munich Agreement (EDL 2006).

7.4 Potsdam agreement (1945)

The president Decrees nr. 11/1944 basically abolished all previously given norms and acts from the time of 1938 until the freedom of a land. The first regulation of the Czech

National Council regarding changes in the landscape and its arrangement took place in 1945, approval of the "Measures for the provisional leadership political and general management in those parts of Czech and Moravian-Silesian countries that were occupied by foreign powers in 1938". Measures imposed obligation former district offices on the territory of former protectorate to take over the management of borderland again connected to restored Republic (SCHELLE 2016). Immediately after the war the administrative division changed to the state in 1938 and functioning administrative offices were replaced at all levels of national committees (MATES 1996). Some of the postwar changes in land management were recognized, but most were cancelled and returned to the state that functioned in 1938. 32 out of all political districts of prewar undergone territorial changes until 1945 (EDL 2006). The main document which dealt with the administrative structure of the territory since 1945 became presidential decree no. 121/1945 Coll. valid until 1949. In 1949 became regional system functioning. Regions were established in number of 13. But they did not respect previous land boundaries, because act nr. 280/1948 establishing regions also set the rule for districts. Each district can belong to only one region, so it has to follow the regions' border. The act 3/1949 Coll. set the new boundaries of districts in number of 192. Some of the districts were newly established but also 11 districts in the border area were aborted (HLEDÍKOVÁ 2005).

Abortion of the districts was not unique, but also individual municipalities and settlements were disappearing. According to some authors, mainly German Sudets in this period disappeared nearly 1,000 municipalities, but this is most probably not true indication. When working with certified resources, so it was in the 50s destroyed 333 villages in overall in the borderland (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ and MV © 1955a). Some did it only in a way that they were attached administratively to another municipality.

7.5 After 1960

Another new regulation of local public administration was established by act 36/1960 Coll., On the territory of the state structure, which abolished Presidential Decree 121/1945 Coll. This act has substantially reduced the number of districts and regions. In the Czech lands the number of districts was reduced from 192 to 75 and the number of regions from 13 to 7. The City of Prague was considered the eighth region, while the 76th district. And this arrangement was kept for another 30 years (HLEDÍKOVÁ 2005).

PART TWO

8. GEOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MEP OSTROV NOWADAYS

Municipality with extended power (MEP) Ostrov nad Ohří is a part of larger administrative (region) unit called Karlovy Vary region, which is one of 14 existing regions in the Czech Republic. Karlovy Vary region is situated on the west of Czech Republic and by the area is the third smallest region of the Czech Republic (after Prague and Liberec). Karlovy Vary Region is bordered on the north side of the state border with Germany, a neighbour to the east with the Ústí region and in the south region of Pilsen. Karlovy Vary region is further composed of three districts - Cheb, Karlovy Vary and Sokolov with a total of 132 municipalities. Karlovy Vary Region is divided into seven administrative districts of municipalities with extended powers (MEP): Aš, Cheb, Karlovy Vary, Kraslice, Mariánské Lázně, Ostrov and Sokolov (MĚSTSKÝ ÚŘAD OSTROV © 2012).



Figure 1
Location of MEP Ostrov nad Ohří within the Czech Republic (State from 2011)

MEP Ostrov is located in the northeast of Karlovy Vary region, bordered to the east with the Ústí nad Labem region, from the north with Germany and the other sides to the MEP Karlovy Vary (MĚSTSKÝ ÚŘAD OSTROV © 2012).

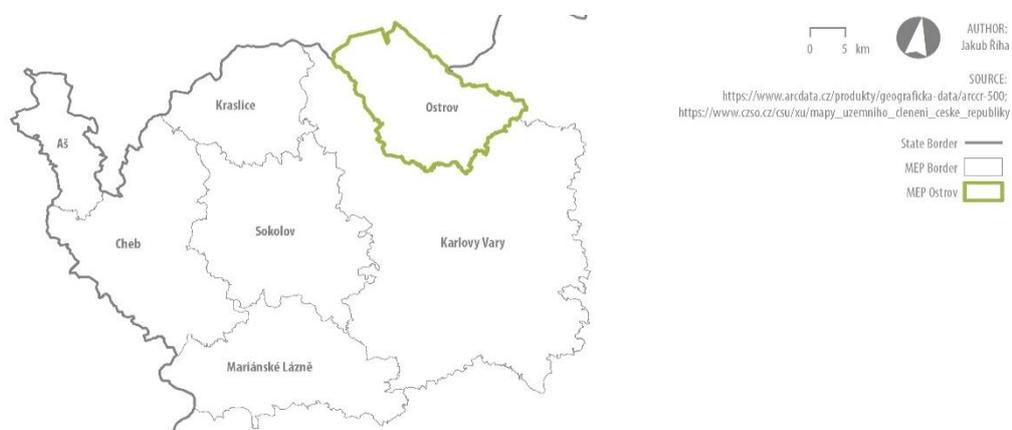


Figure 2
Location of MEP Ostrov nad Ohří within the Kralovy Vary Regions (State from 2011)

In administrative unit of municipality with extended powers Ostrov is included in the present time (state from year 2011) 14 municipalities and 46 cadastral areas. The list of municipalities: Abertamy, Boží Dar, Hájek, Horní Blatná Hroznětín, Jáchymov, Krásný Les, Merklín, Ostrov, Pernink, Potůčky, Stráž nad Ohří, Velichov and Vojkovice. Newly from 2016 it is annexed municipality of Doupovské Hradiště (which is not a part of this study) (ZEMAN 2001).



Figure 3
Division of municipalities within the entire territory of MEP Ostrov. Dots mark all (including historical) settlement units in whole territory (State from 2011)

MEP Ostrov is located mostly in mountain and foothill terrain. Therefore each part has some specific features. To describe the landscape and settlement structure the division taken from the territorial analytical data (ÚAP) of MEP Ostrov is used where land is divided into 3 parts, differing by character of terrain and structure of settlements:

- 1) Mountain region: including municipality Jáchymov, Boží Dar, Pernink, Abertamy, Horní Blatná, Merklín, Potůčky
- 2) Foothill region: including municipality Ostrov, administrative territory of the municipality Hájek, Hroznětín and Krásný Les
- 3) Poohří (Riverbed): Eger (Ohře) river Valley – Municipalities Stráž nad Ohří, Velichov, Vojkovice



Figure 4
 Division of MEP Ostrov according to different character of terrain – based on the data from ÚAP Ostrov (MĚSTSKÝ ÚŘAD OSTROV © 2012)

This division can be also re-divided into only two regions, based on the agriculture rentability and geological point of view. These would be Mountain Region on itself stays the same and the rest of a region Poohří and Foothill region can be merged into one (see Figure 36).

9. GEOLOGY

Geology in this area plays a very important role. Because it determines the land use of the entire area. Since the area is so divers in sense of geomorphology, vast differences can be seen even within this small territory such as MEP Ostrov is. If we proceed from the territory adjacent to the State border, we are dealing with a very mountainous area, where the main component soils are hard volcanic rocks and their metamorphosis. Another component are gravels and sands with domination of lighter sandy loam soil with a high content of kaolin (SOKA KARLOVY VARY (e) no date). Thus the area is not perfectly suitable for agricultural purposes, although the volcanic rocks are rich in nutrients, in combination with the high altitude, this factor is degraded (ČESKÁ GEOLOGICKÁ SLUŽBA © 2008). Even though there may be profitable of pastoralism for which this area has ideal conditions. Foothill region is composed of basically the same rocks like a mountain part and there is as well high evidence of

mining reserves, mostly in case of rocks (MĚSTSKÝ ÚŘAD OSTROV © 2012). More to South, here are, however, situated river floodplains which are most likely favourable for agricultural use. In the lowest area (Riverbed – referred to the previous chapter), ie in the southern part of the MEP Ostrov is located the river Ohře, which due to prolonged exposure caused transformations of rocks and sediments have turned this area in the one being suitable the most of all previous for agriculture.

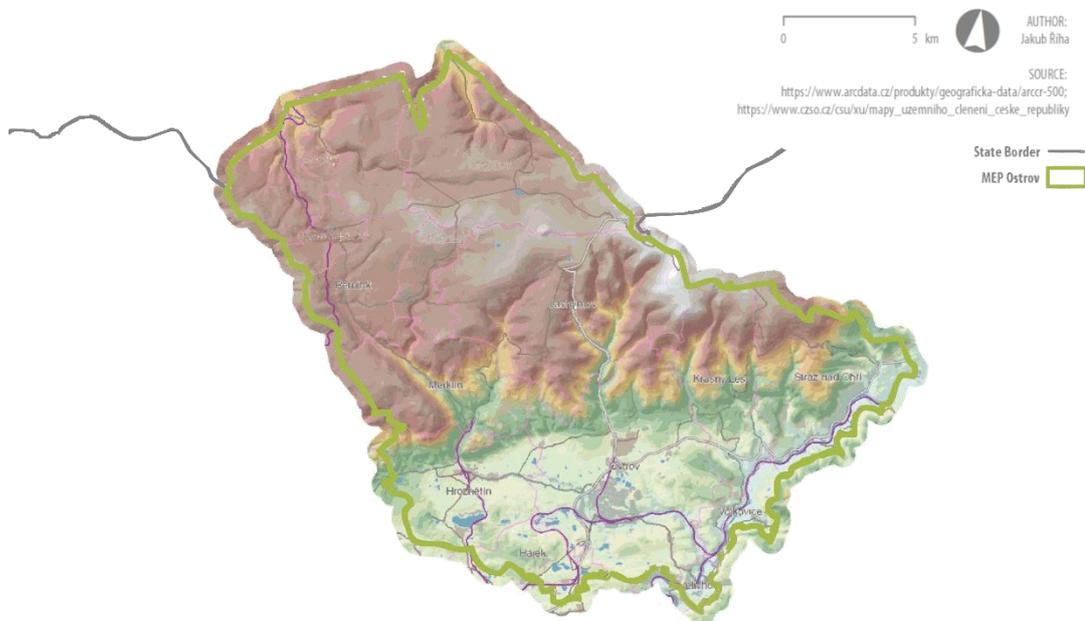


Figure 5
Terrain model of MEP Ostrov – green = lowland; brown = mountains

Throughout the entire area of MEP Ostrov there are many rock deposits, which were used, or are still used for mining. Of the areas rich in rock deposits, it is necessary to mention mainly Jáchymov district, where since the 16th century first silver mines on the Czech territory were opened. Over time, however Jáchymov transformed rather in the mining area of pitchblende - uranium ore. Major mining boom was in 1945, and lasted until about 1962, when mining activities were due to the depletion of rock slowly suspended (DVOŘÁK 2012).

Another area is the area of the municipality Hroznětín, where it is currently Kaolin the subject of mining, in deposits close to the municipalities Ruprechtov and Hájek. Previously, this area was mined for basalt and radioactive materials are also reported here. Another basalt deposit is near municipality of Stráž nad Ohří. Another mined material is peat, which was previously mined in the zone of municipality of Pernink and Abertamy (ČERNÝ 2012).

In many places, they are registered undermined territory as a result of previous mining activity. These places are in the municipality of Ostrov, or their parts of Maroltov and

Dolní Žďár. Furthermore, in municipality of Ondřejov and Vykmanov. And in the village of Krasný Les, Pstruží, Abertamy, Boží Dar, Rýžovna and others (MĚSTSKÝ ÚŘAD OSTROV © 2012).

10. ECONOMY

The main economic factors are conditioned to the geology of the area and its location. The proximity to the state border plays also the crucial role in economy of MEP Ostrov. Since it is basically more connected to the Germany, which is the neighbouring country, than to the inland of the Czech Republic. Next, not the last, the history is one of the main factors determining the area from the economic view point, since the area has gone through immense changes.

In the past, the main stream of economy concerned mainly of mining and quarrying, the stocks of the mined stones are still presented in the area but in some cases the mining process was interrupted and mines were closed. One of the main mining areas is Jáchymov district where the main mine of pitchblende was established and intensively mined from the year 1945, whose stocks are in the area still recorded, but no further mining is in the process (HORÁK and SULDOVSKÝ 2009). Mining is still a major component of the economy of the area. Basalt is mined, as well as Kaolin nowadays.

Overall, the region MEP Ostrov focused more on industry than on agriculture. It is in this area of the industry metallurgical, porcelain and glass, textile and paper industries. Agriculture in this area is mainly concentrated in Poohří, the part of the river bed of the Ohře river. And also in mountainous areas thrive livestock production.

11. CHANGES IN ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Whole area of the municipality with extended powers Ostrov nad Ohří is so divers in case of topography, climate and so on, that is not a surprising fact, it has not been the compact territorial unit throughout the history. All the factors were working towards the separation of this territory and hand in hand with the absence of Regions in administrative structure as a superior territorial unit until 1949 the area of MEP Ostrov belonged to many of the different smaller administrative units (STÁTNI ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ and MV © 1955a). Identification of this division is listed in this chapter below. This identification helps mainly to acquire the data for the entire territory from

each period of time. The proximity and influence of Germany happened to have also many different names in case of most of the settlement is the area (ÚSTŘEDNÍ KOMISE LIDOVÉ KONTROLY A STATISTIKY and MV © 1966).

The first time period of investigation of the statistical data is the year of Census in 1921. In that year, the territory of MEP Ostrov contained 93 municipalities and their parts and hamlets. These were divided between four different territorial units (see. Figure 6) (MV © 1924). After a failed attempt of so-called župas, the division of Czechoslovakia into three countries Czech, Moravian and Silesian returned. MEP Ostrov was a part of the Czech county. The Czech county was further divided into 103 political districts. All settlement units from today's MEP Ostrov were divided into four of these political districts. These are following: Jáchymov, Nejdek, Karlovy Vary, Kadaň.

The most of settlements accounted political district of Jáchymov. The total number of 45 municipalities and their parts of all recorded at that time. Political district of Nejdek accounted about 1/4 of settlement units which were on the area of today territory MEP Ostrov. This was together 25 settlements. Political district Karlovy Vary included 11 settlements. Last political district is a district of Kadaň, this contained 12 settlement (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ and MINISTERSTVO VNITRA © 1934).

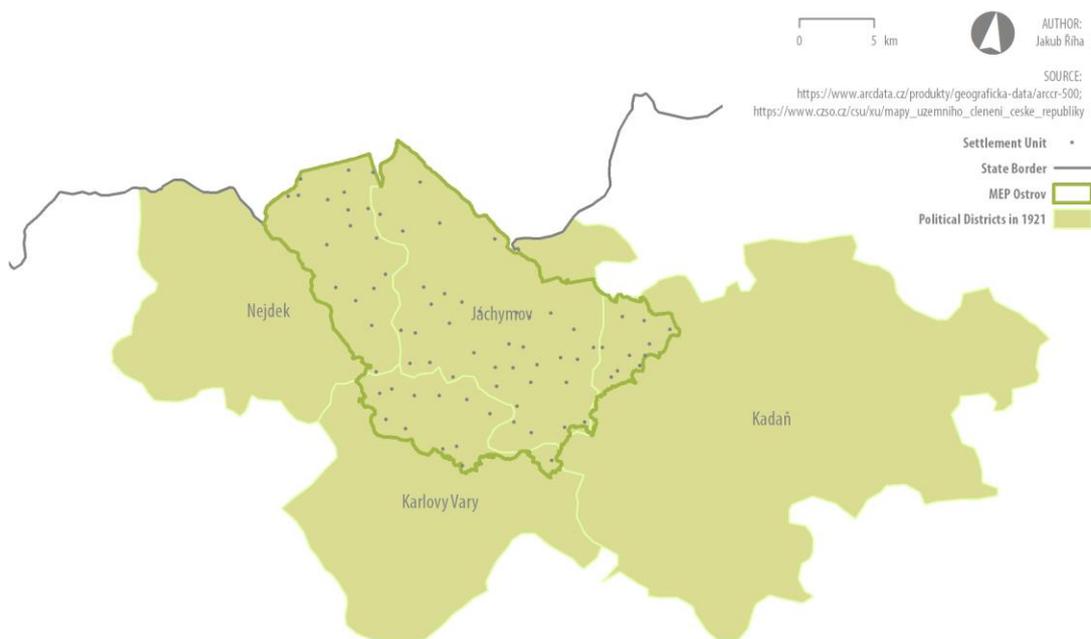


Figure 6
Administrative division from the state in 1921, covering the area of MEP Ostrov

The year 1938 brought new changes in administrative structure of Czechoslovakia. Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was established, and border region were excluded from this (MLEZIVA 2010). Borderland was divided into 3 administrative units

Aussig, Troppau and Eger. However, all municipalities of MEP Ostrov nad Ohří at the time was under the postal office West Sudeten region and regierungsbezirk (administrative district) Cheb (Eger). In administrative district of Cheb (Eger) were 20 units which could be compared to the political district previously, there borders were mostly following borders of previous political districts. The area of MEP Ostrov was laid on four of all the units (see Figure 7). These were Nejdeček (Neudek), Boží Dar (Sankt Joachimsthal), Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad) and Kadaň (Kaaden) (STÁTNI ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ and MV © 1955b).

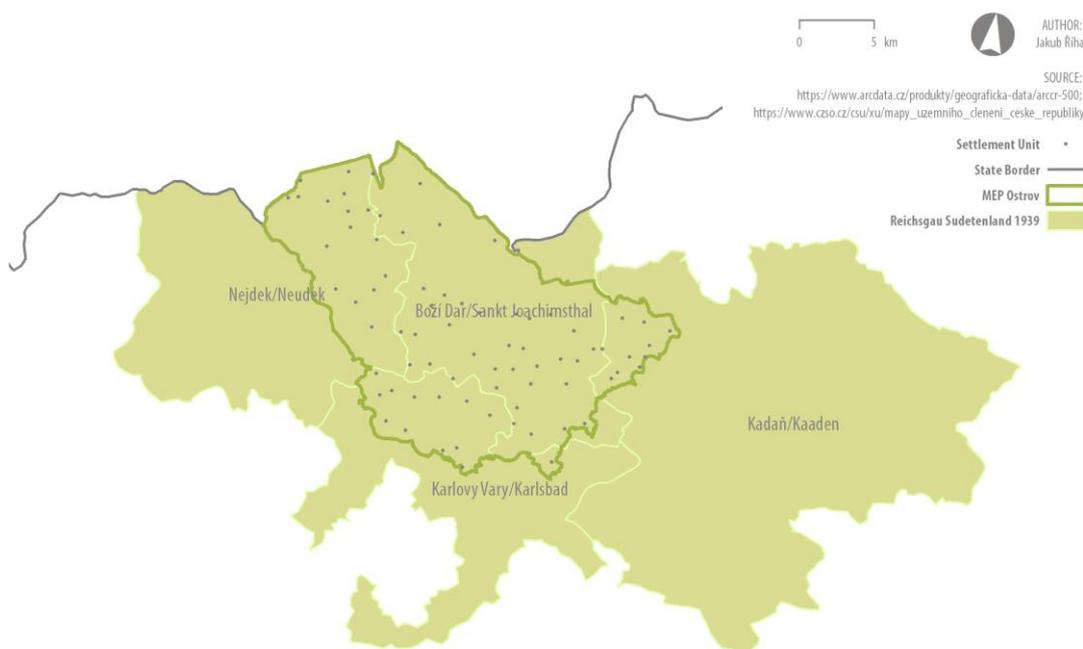


Figure 7
Administrative division from the state in 1939, covering the area of MEP Ostrov

The year 1949 brought new changes in the territorial administrative division and hand in hand with this division the new arrangement in the census was set as well. This census took place in 1950. For the first time since 1849 the big administrative area (but smaller than counties in 1921) of regions are established. The administrative structure and bodies were based on a three levels system – region, district, municipality. Due to the quite huge areas of regions, the area of MEP Ostrov nad Ohří fell entirely into one region of Karlovy Vary – okolí (see Figure 8). Furthermore, the regions have been divided not on political and judicial districts as the counties used to be, but the categories for the census of population in 1950 was a district as a small administrative unit (MATES 1996). There were no changes in cadastral unit borders, even due to resettlement process (SOKA KARLOVY VARY (g) no date).

Unfortunately, despite the fact that district of Karlovy Vary-okolí (surrounding) incorporated the majority of the settlement units MEP Ostrov, some of them were

excluded. It is in this case only municipality Korunní, together with its settlement Kamenec, fell under the district of Kadaň (HLEDÍKOVÁ 2005).

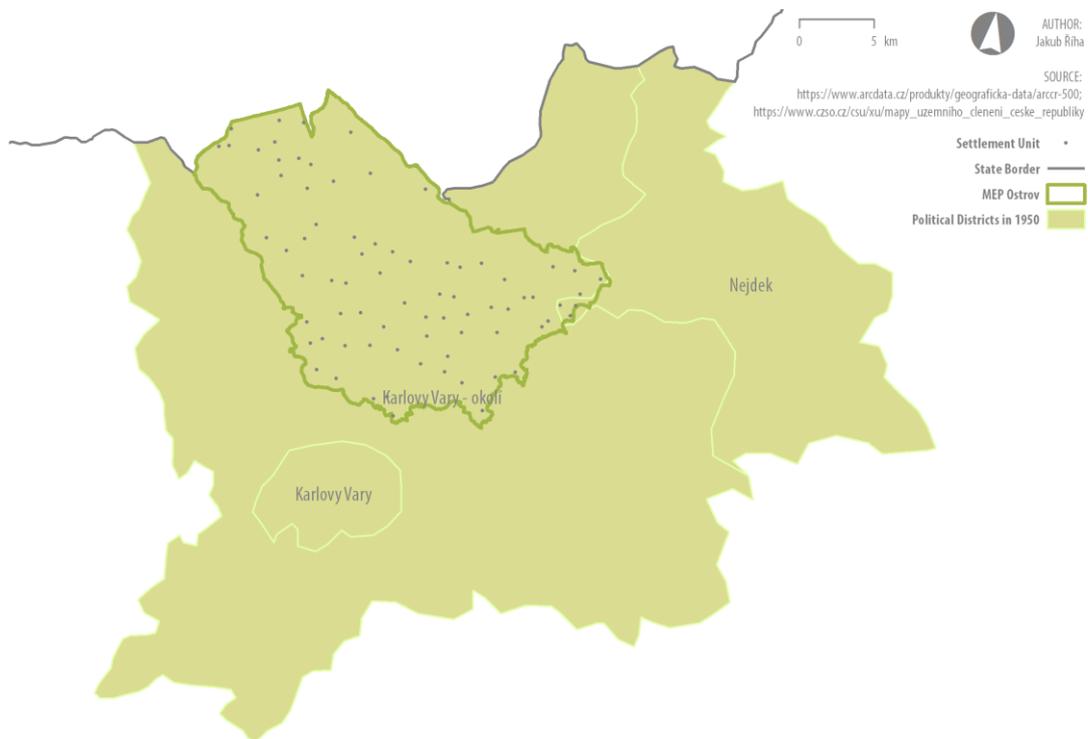


Figure 8
Administrative division from the state in 1950, covering the area of MEP Ostrov

Territorial division was changed again for the census in 1961. The three level administrative body system was kept, but it was created a new division of regions and districts as well. Their number diminished and therefore there was a consolidation of them also in the North-west of Republic. Therefore the whole ORP Ostrov nad Ohří (state of 2011) fell into a region of the West Bohemian district of Karlovy Vary, without exception, at that time (see Figure 9) (ÚSTŘEDNÍ KOMISE LIDOVÉ KONTROLY A STATISTIKY and MV © 1966).



Figure 9
Administrative division from the state in 1961, covering the area of MEP Ostrov

12. SYSTEM OF RE-SETTLEMENT

Since the entire territory of MEP Ostrov is diverse in sense of topography and the climate conditions vary very much, two basic approaches towards the resettlement in this area were applied (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (e) no date). The first approach, starting at the very beginning of the whole process of resettlement, just after the World War II ended, was the agricultural resettlement. Soon after the government acquired data and analysed the success of this process, approximately in 1947, the second approach was introduced (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (e) no date). The second one was focused more on non-agricultural economic sector, such as industry and mining. In later years those approaches were applied simultaneously and supportive to each other.

Year 1930 can be taken as the statistical starting point. The total number of inhabitants of the territory of MEP Ostrov was then 37,595 inhabitants in 93 settlement units (see the Figure 10 and figure 12). Even after intensive stages of resettlement in later years the area did not reach the same population volumes which were by 40 % lower in 1950 (number of inhabitants 23,500) (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1946b). The situation in 1970 shows a slight increase in population after the

introduction of non-agricultural resettlement practice. In 1970 even after loss of many of the settlement units (see Figure 14), the transformed settlement structure counted 29,828 inhabitants (ČESKÝ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD © 2015).



Figure 10
Spatial distribution of all ever existing settlements (since 1920) within the territory MEP Ostrov

12.1 Agricultural resettlement

To occupy all the land after German expulsion was the target number one for the government of Czechoslovakia after WWII. It was thought that this is the way to keep or even rebuild the area of former Sudetenland. The idea was very clear, however, not very well thought through, since the time for the preparation of the process of resettlement was immensely short and the process itself had to be processed as fast as possible (KASTNER 1999). Thus the real plan for resettlement - based on the typology of the areas, their differences and possible use, was not prepared at the beginning of the resettlement process. Although 12 offices were established by the Presidential decree of November 27, 1945 (JECH et al. 2002) with a straightforward message: to develop a plan on expulsion of Germans, work on the borderland settlement plan and provide information about vacancies in the district (ČAPKA et al. 2005).

One office was located in Karlovy Vary and served for the territory of MEP Ostrov. The function of the office was supported by the President, primarily by his decrees.

The distribution of agricultural land is clearly expressed in decree 12/1945 Coll., under which applicants should receive up to 12 hectares of agricultural land but not less than 8 hectares. In the mountain areas where pastoralism is the main agricultural practice, this refers to the northern part of MEP Ostrov, it was possible to get up to 20 hectares of farmland (12/1945 Coll. 1945). It was assumed that if some small farms, mainly those with an area of about two hectares, were not be merged into larger ones, nobody from inland would be willing to move into border areas. In a similar way the government had to intervene in case of large farms, which for political reasons could not become private possession and had to be divided into blocks not larger than 13 hectares (WIEDEMANN 2016). The main reason for cutting and consolidation of farms was fear of complete displacement of skilled farmers from inland areas, as well as the overpopulation of mainly highly productive agricultural areas of borderland. However, all this came to an end with the arrival of the Communist regime and the grouping of agricultural land into large mono-blocks within collective farms (RATINGER and RABINOWICZ 1997).

The settlement process was slowed down in this area as a result of several other factors. One of them was the lack of drinking water and housing due to the bombing at the end of the WWII (SLEZÁK 2007). The fact that living conditions, especially housing, in the border regions were of lower quality than the living conditions in the inland, in many cases also caused demotivation (BERÁNEK 2006). However, there still was a shortage of housing, especially in the period after 1948. Another demotivating factor in considering migration to the border was low profitability of agriculture in that area. In spite of all the support from the State, settlers did not want to move to small villages in mountainous areas, in case of MEP Ostrov the area is near the state border, where they could anticipate demanding agricultural work (SOKA KARLOVY VARY (e) no date).

Settlers' interest in individual parts of the former Sudetenland was clearly conditional to natural conditions of the area and the profitability of farmland. The entire district of Karlovy Vary was relegated to the second area of interest of settlers, defined by an average soil quality (ÚSTAV PRO ETNOLOGII A FOLKLORISTIKU ČSAV © 1984). However, over time it became clear that MEP Ostrov belonged to the third category of popularity, which gained the smallest number of agricultural settlers throughout the resettlement process. This fact is revealed in the phase of agricultural resettlement, bounded by summer of 1946 and autumn of 1947, when a large part of farmhouses within the district of MEP Ostrov remained still unoccupied (ARBURG and STANĚK 2010).

The unpopularity of the regions in the process of agricultural resettlement was articulated by the number of so-called "national administrators", who looked after the agricultural resettlement and were sent as first new settlers to various parts of the former Sudetenland. If there were more administrators, it can be presumed that there were also more settlers. If Jáchymov district, where most of the settlement units from MEP Ostrov were located, had only 150 administrators and district Nejdeč a mere 14 administrators, the popularity of these districts was clearly low when compared to figures from "popular" districts (those that belonged to the first area of interest for new settlers), such as Česká Lípa (number of administrators is 2,218) or even more distant town of Most (529 administrators) (ČAPKA et al. 2005).

Methodical instructions for the creation of the Agricultural Production Plan for the year 1955 aimed at the use of absolutely all agricultural and arable land, increase of yields and livestock meat, assuming an increase in people employed in agricultural work. (SOKA KARLOVY VARY (a) no date). As the Complex Five-Year Plan (SOKA KARLOVY VARY (e) no date) for the District of MEP Ostrov from 1960 shows, the agricultural resettlement was not successful as expected (SOKA KARLOVY VARY (d) no date). After a short period most settlers decided to go back inland or move abroad. In spite of the amelioration process the soil was not fertile enough - due to the content of kaolin in soil - to keep the settlers from moving. Livestock production, however, achieved a good level as almost 50% of the MEP Ostrov (situation of 1961) were meadows and pastures where cattle production prevailed (SOKA KARLOVY VARY (e) no date). Efforts to boost agricultural production, especially after the land reform and the establishment of agricultural cooperatives (collective farms), were never successful as planned. According to the five-year plan for Ostrov region (SOKA KARLOVY VARY (e) no date) in 1961, the collective farm in that area lacked approximately 1,010 members in the previous year. Finances, which were invested into these cooperatives to attract settlers and provide housing for newcomers were wasted on constant home repairs (ZEMAN 2001).

Expectations at the beginning of the process did not meet any real outcome to basically any part of the agriculture settlement process in the territory of MEP Ostrov. Due to all the above-mentioned factors the territory of MEP Ostrov can be divided into three different regions, proven also by the distribution of population during the process of resettlement. These regions were and to some extent still are: the mountains, where the conditions for agriculture are the toughest ones, the region of transition from the mountains to the lowland, and the lowland plateau by the Ohře river (MĚSTSKÝ ÚŘAD OSTROV © 2012). Neither of these were successful in agriculture

production, but the mountain region suffered the most due to the unwillingness of people to come and settle down.



Figure 11
Three divisions of the territory into areas with different landscape character, based on natural and climate conditions and soil properties.

12.2 Non-Agriculture resettlement process

After the two initial phases of agriculture resettlement, the government of former Czechoslovakia realised the real potential of the territory. Since the climate conditions were mostly not suitable for agriculture production, industry in this area gained more importance (ARBURG and STANĚK 2010),

It ought to be added that the industrial sector was highly supported by the government although the resettlement process should have focused primarily on agriculture in order to divide and manage all land left after the Germans. On the basis of the confiscation decree 108/1945 Coll. it was decided that all property of enemies would be confiscated (in the case of German MEP Ostrov) (JECH et al. 2002). This was industrial machinery, motor vehicles, equipment and supplies, commercial enterprises and all newly manufactured items such as glass, porcelain and textiles. Czechoslovak government, in case of MEP Ostrov and all its municipalities, opted for the confiscation of some enterprises; these were mainly German companies that had over 50 employees. Other companies were closed. Each company had to prove demand

for their products and demonstrate sufficient manpower of Czech citizens (WIEDEMANN 2016).

The question of the qualified workers highly influenced the process of resettlement. Since Czechs and other Slavic nations invited to the Sudetenland were usually not educated and experienced enough, they were not able to replace highly experienced Germans. Instead of an actual expulsion of these Germans, they were forced to stay in the area to sustain a particular factory until new replacement settlers were found. These factories were mainly the consolidated ones (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1946b; ÚSTAV PRO ETNOLOGII A FOLKLORISTIKU ČSAV © 1984).

Ostrov's porcelain factory was among the confiscated ones. During war it underwent a period of great crisis and, moreover, due to the departure of the Germans qualified workers during the expulsion process, eventually closed in 1949 and was relocated to Lesov village. Dehtochema plant (Teerag pre-war name), producing cardboards, however, managed to survive (ČERNÝ 2012). Even though the factory building was destroyed by several fires during the war. The factory was rebuilt and continued with Czech workers after German expulsion (SIVÁK 2010).

Gloves producing factory Abertamy survived war thanks to the merging of several small businesses after WWII. However, this factory was greatly affected by the lack of professional workers. Some professionals left the company in the time of German expulsion. Several professionals left later in search for better salaries to nearby newly opened Jáchymov mines. The progressive yarn factory in Nejdeč was the reason for many people to move to the border area. This company dealt with the lack of supplies and raw material for production. Its productivity increased after receiving an adequate amount of material, yet it faced a loss of about 500 workers between 1946 and 1947 (SOKA KARLOVY VARY (d) no date). Another industrial factory was Blex located in Horní Blatná village. In that period it specialized in production of tinned spoons.

Merklín village was known for its pulp and paper mill. In the village Pernink there was a textile plant and several small wood-production enterprises, which were largely doomed (ČERNÝ 2012).

One of the threats for factories was the lack of workers. This was caused by low salaries which awaited settlers in the border regions despite the fact that some companies enticed citizens with higher salaries in the borderland enterprises. The opposite, however, was true (ČERNÝ 2012). The government even considered the option to establish a state surcharge for professions in the border area but this was not acceptable from a historical and administrative standpoint, since it would remind people of the disconnection of this area from Czechoslovakia in the past. However,

state funded surcharge was introduced for a transitional period, and only for professions with below-average income (ARBURG and STANĚK 2010).

The existence of many industries and enterprises caused a shift of the area to non - agricultural type of resettlement. After the change of regime in 1948, uranium mines in the greater Jáchymov area were opened. This step amplified the importance of non – agricultural resettlement while agricultural resettlement still played a role in areas further from Jáchymov (HORÁK and SULDOVSKÝ 2009).

Uranium mines in Jáchymov was the most important site of Czechoslovakia for the extraction of strategically important raw material after WWII. The interest in uranium ore was shown by the Soviet Union, which sent a group of experts and officers to Jáchymov on August 26, 1945. After a thorough exploration a contract between Czechoslovakia and the USSR on mining and the supply of uranium solely for Soviet Union was signed (ČAPKA et al. 2005). After the establishment of the national enterprise Mines Jáchymov, mining steadily expanded. Temporary workers were brought from as far as Ostrava, Kladno and Příbram to work in the Jáchymov mines. The increase of labour did not guarantee a sufficient increase in production; the Soviet proposal for the participation of German prisoners of war detained in the USSR was therefore employed. During 1948, around 4,000 prisoners came into this area and new camps were established in the vicinity of mining sites (HORÁK and SULDOVSKÝ 2009).

The industrial potential in this area was quite high, this approach of resettlement appeared to be better than the agricultural one, even though it basically created a shift in the settlement structure arrangement. Since industries and mining sites were all located in bigger villages or in their vicinity, people had to move towards these villages and municipalities, repeating the process of abandoning previously partially resettled sites.

13. DYNAMICS OF THE SETTLEMENTS

The territory of MEP Ostrov is diverse in many ways. From previous chapters it can be summed up that the territory went through two different types of resettlement attempts. The agricultural one - applied as the first - proved the existence of three different landscape characters in the territory, such as the northern part of Mountains, followed by the transitional part of foothills and the last one slightly fertile lowland plateau in the vicinity of the Ohře river. Since this division seems to be subordinated

to agriculture only, the second resettlement approach - the industrial one - proved this division as well, but from a different perspective. In fact all the settlement units in the area of study were affected by both resettlement types, either directly or indirectly.

All settlements, in case of their inner structure, correspond to the time of their establishment (12th-14th century), their purpose, and especially natural conditions in which they were located. Their establishment and gradual growth were subordinated to the dominant agricultural function of rural settlements in the Czech Republic. The transformation period of typically agricultural rural settlements was the Industrial Revolution, when mostly in newly established industrial regions, settlement units changed their inner structure in favour of industry and its preference to agricultural production.

Typical small settlement unit of the Czech territory had about 30-100 inhabitants. In these settlements, stable agricultural production, supplemented by additional economic activity and intense public participation was applied in the pre-WWI period. Strong relationship to land determined the character of individual settlements and the surrounding countryside. This relationship to land, which was inherited and cultivated for generations, was completely cut off by 1938, when Czech population (minority) had to leave the Sudetenland region. What followed was the development of industry and urbanization of former rural settlements by the Germans which intervened in the settlement structure as well. Subsequent displacement of vast German population from borderland and the resettlement process after World War II hit all settlements in the area. The newly arriving settlers usually did not have any relationship to the land nor the local conditions and they failed to adapt. They were not even able to re-take and maintain the industry that the Germans left. Some municipalities suffered as a result of the German expulsion and the migration balance was so high that they even completely disappeared, causing the formation of gaps in the previously established and functioning settlement structure of the agricultural region that had undergone industrial transformation. Other settlements were doomed to stagnation and declining balance of population development, without any development of housing area either. Population also underwent main changes in this period. By comparing data for MEP Ostrov acquired from the 1930 census and the 1950 census, the trend of a striking population decline can be identified. About 40 % of the entire population was lost between 1930 and 1950. According to the data obtained in the 1930 census, there were 37,595 residents in municipalities and villages (excluding hamlets). In 1950 the same territory had only 23,500 inhabitants according to the census. Compared with the entire former West Bohemian region, there was

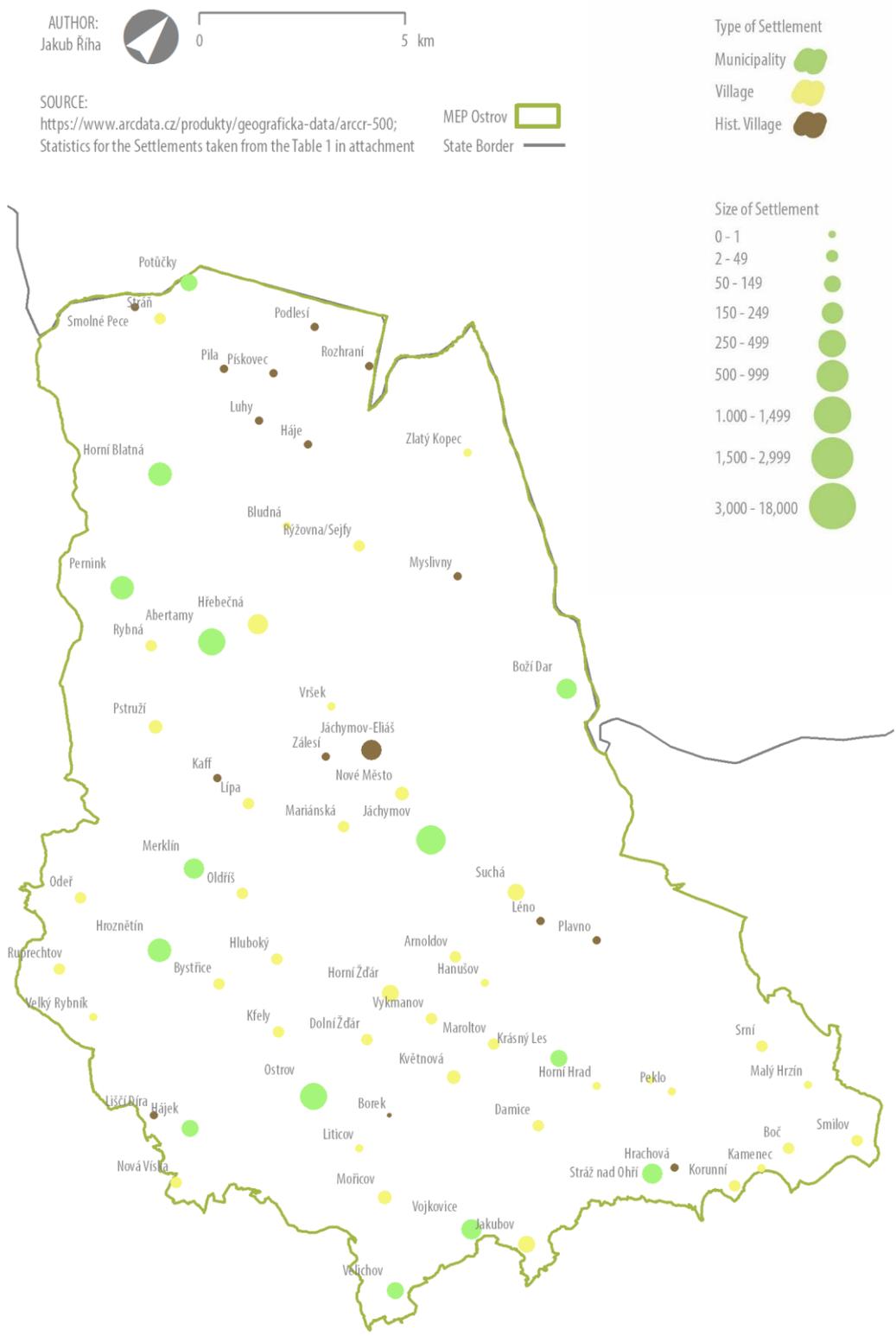


Figure 13
 State from 1950 – number of Hamlets (0), Villages and Historical Villages (56), Municipalities (14). Continual shrinkage of the small settlement and disappearing of Hamlets after German population expulsion and agriculture resettlement process in progress. Creating gaps in settlement structure due to disappearance of Hamlets. Beginning of industrial important settlements. The biggest municipality of Jáchymov counted 5,806 inhabitants. Other settlement units shrunk and they mostly counted up to 100 inhabitants.

The population decline is also noticeable in the change of the number of municipalities located in the MEP Ostrov area (see the Figure 12 and 13), since due to the departure of the German population the extinction of several settlements happened over the years and other settlement units were administratively attached to another ones, thus the statistical data for these municipalities may be included in the data for their superior village or municipality. The declining trend in population numbers continued in the following years, mainly due to the departure of new settlers who decided to resettle back into the inland. (see the Figure 14)

A significant event affecting the development of rural settlements was collectivization and the formation of collective farms (JZD) and a related land reform which caused the joining of farmland into large monolithic blocks and thus the loss of significant landscape features that had previously dominated Czech countryside. Significantly, however, industrial development took effect on the area of study, especially the development of mining in Jáchymov region. It was the mining of uranium ore, in which the former Soviet Union had a great interest and significantly promoted its extraction (DVOŘÁK 2012). As a consequence, there was a great boom of building new accommodation facilities in the area surrounding the mine shafts for newly arriving workers. The principal mines are found to the west of Jáchymov village. In this area, 11 camps were built for German political prisoners who were called to work in the mines during the heyday of mining (ZEMAN 2001). Jáchymov municipality actually had two such camps, called Jáchymov-Eliáš I and II. Before their final closure in 1951 they counted about 647 prisoners. The development of mining industry continued and the neighbouring villages would expand their housing stock sometimes several times in reaction to the demand, and thus lost their rural character. This phenomenon is especially noticeable in Ostrov nad Ohří and Mariánská. In spite of a population decline trend of most settlement units, in terms of total numbers the population of MEP Ostrov was 31,646 inhabitants in line with the 1961 census, which was a relative increase of about 29% when compared to the 1950 census. This phenomenon can be attributed to the expansion of mining industry in Jáchymov mines, and to the building of the new part of Ostrov municipality which in that period grew several times. The population of Mariánská reacted to mining as well. Growth of 700% from 71 inhabitants in 1930 to 538 inhabitants in 1950 was caused by development of mining industry in the adjacent area of Jáchymov. Opening mines Adam, Eva and Eliáš caused immigration of more than 400 workers to Mariánská, for whom 50 wooden houses were built.

Focusing on individual settlements, 18 of them were no longer registered as settlement units in the 1961 census. These are the following administrative units: Borek, Háje, Hrachová, Léno, Liščí Díra, Luhy, Myslivny, Osvinov, Peklo, Pila, Pískovec, Plavno, Podlesí, Popov, Rozhraní, Smolné Pece, Velflík and Vrch. Additionally, Arnoldov and Rýžovna were also missing in the 1970 census. Most of these settlement units were inhabited mainly by German inhabitants before the end of the war. After the displacement of German population they were not sufficiently resettled by new citizens and therefore disappeared. The village of Plavno serves as an example, this settlement unit was affiliated to the village of Krásný Les after the war. The village had local budget approved by the District Committee (ONV) 1948, however, village residents gradually left and by 1966 the village was empty.

On the other hand, some settlement units never disappeared from the administrative structure and were later repopulated by a few inhabitants (f. e. Léno – 3 inh. in 2011, Peklo – 2 inh. in 2011, Hrachová – 55 inh. in 2011). For example, the settlement unit Borek was in administrative lexicon from 1955 still a part of village Dolní Žďár, even though it did not have a single citizen. The settlement unit Borek ceased to exist in 1946 when local inhabitants asked the district administrative committee in Jáchymov to change their residence, the request was approved and all residents left. On the other hand other settlements disappeared from the administrative structure even though they still were populated by a few inhabitants.

This is mostly connected to the creation of the so-called “Forbidden Zone”, which occurred in 1952 and covered some municipalities of MEP Ostrov (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (j) no date). In this case the municipality had to either set up a municipal committee (MNV) in each settlement unit, or if a unit did not have sufficient population to create their own MNV it had to be merged with a unit outside the Forbidden Zone. This was the case of Háje village, which was merged in 1953 with a remote village of Krásno. This process could be taken as an explanation for the increase in population of the municipality of Boč, which for the same reason associated the Srní settlement in 1953 (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (i) no date).

Primarily downward trend in population volumes of all settlement units continued in following years. Data from the 1970 Census support this claim. In fact it can be said that the last phase of resettlement that took place in that period was the most unsuccessful of all (SOkA KARLOVY VARY (g) no date). Even in this period we encounter the phenomenon of dwindling settlement units, in this case no longer as a result of the post-war expulsion of the German population but rather as a result of closure of some mines in that area and relocation of families of their former

employees. It is an area west of the village of Jáchymov, which includes municipalities and parts of municipalities of Mariánská, Nové Město, Abertamy, Rybná, Pernink, Pstruží and Lípa. All these settlement units experienced a rapid decline in population. In case of the municipality of Jáchymov itself the decline was of one-fifth since 1961, i.e. 604 residents. Mariánská population fell sharply from 538 inhabitants after the closure of mines. In the 1970 census the village population dropped again down to 173 inhabitants. After the end of uranium extraction in these pits some settlement units even ceased to exist.

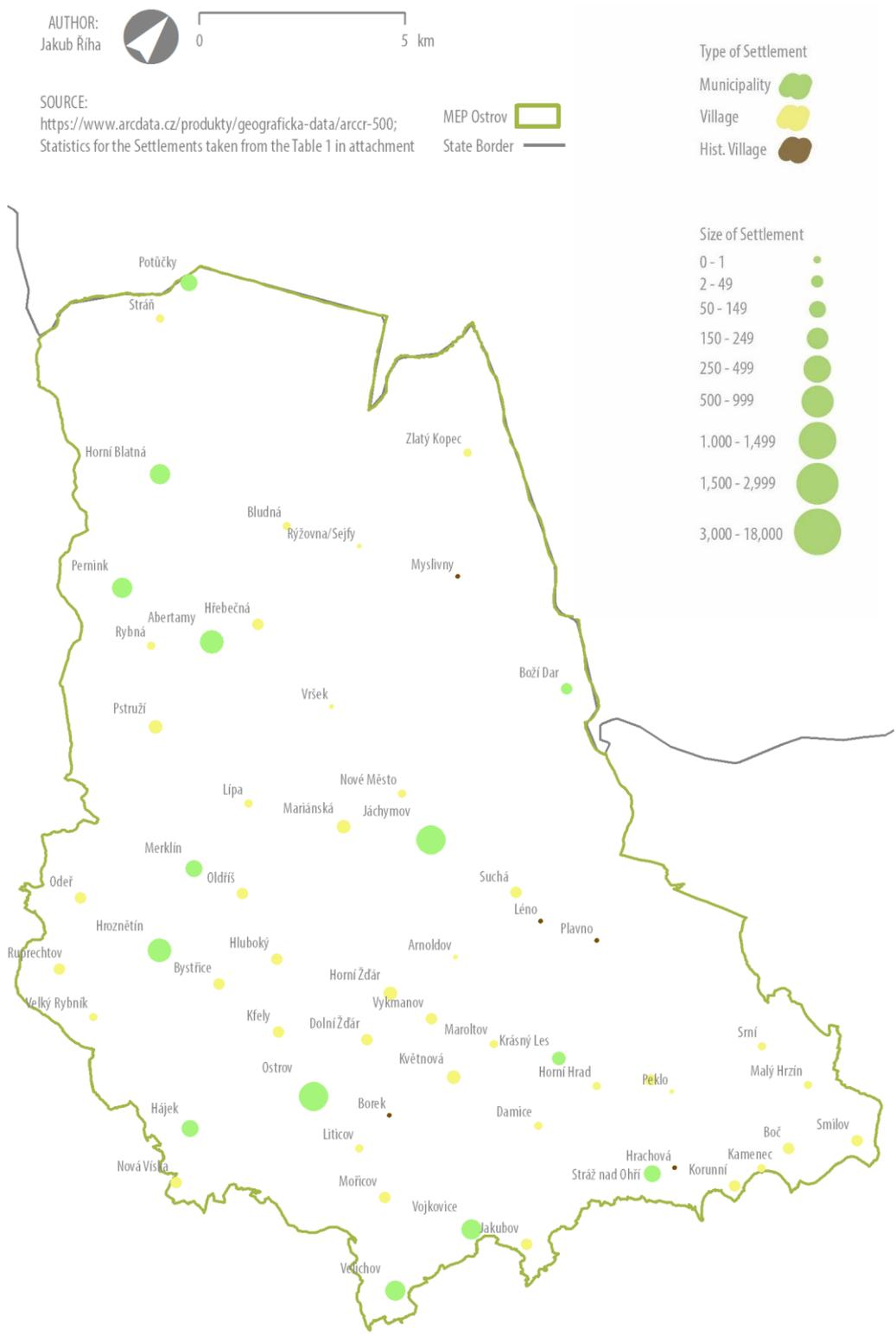


Figure 14

State from 1970 – number of Hamlets (0), Villages and Historical Villages (44), Municipalities (14). Continuing processes from 1950 - Centralising of municipalities and continual shrinkage of small settlements without any industry – movement of population within the territory itself, towards the bigger municipalities and its surrounding. Raising importance of Ostrov municipality, in connection to mining. Ostrov counted 17,648 inhabitants. Only Jáchymov, Abertamy and Hroznětín had more than 1,000 but up to 3,005 inhabitants. All other settlement units had mostly up to 100 or maximally few hundreds of inhabitants.

These changes were accompanied by a settlement structure arrangement shift to a centralized one, when cities began to develop and create their catchment areas with high concentration of population, and other parts further from the city remained almost uninhabited. Hand in hand with modern trend of deurbanization, when people prefer to live in rural settlements, where they are surrounded by nature, but also do not want to lose the comfort of a city and its services. This trend is mostly seen in Figure 15 and 16, where bigger cities grow and gain more power and create centres with concentrated population. And other parts, mostly northern territory loses population and settlements as well. In general, the population of MEP Ostrov has not been through a big change in case of numbers but the distribution of the settlement units has dramatically changed. The total population of all municipalities and their parts in MEP Ostrov in 2011 was only by about 2% lower than in 1970, that says that the decrease of population has been gradually diminishing. In 2011 the number of inhabitants was 29,300. Majority of the population is concentrated in centers. The main increase in population has been recorded in the residential units of the municipality of Ostrov nad Ohří and some of its parts. Such as settlement units of Horní and Dolní Žďár, Hájek and Vykmánov and Borek, the last of which accounted 16 inhabitants in the 1991 census and 130 inhabitants in the 2011 census. Municipalities Jáchymov, Abertamy and Merklín have become settlement centers in the mountain areas. Examples of some areas with a substantial change of the settlement structure are described below.

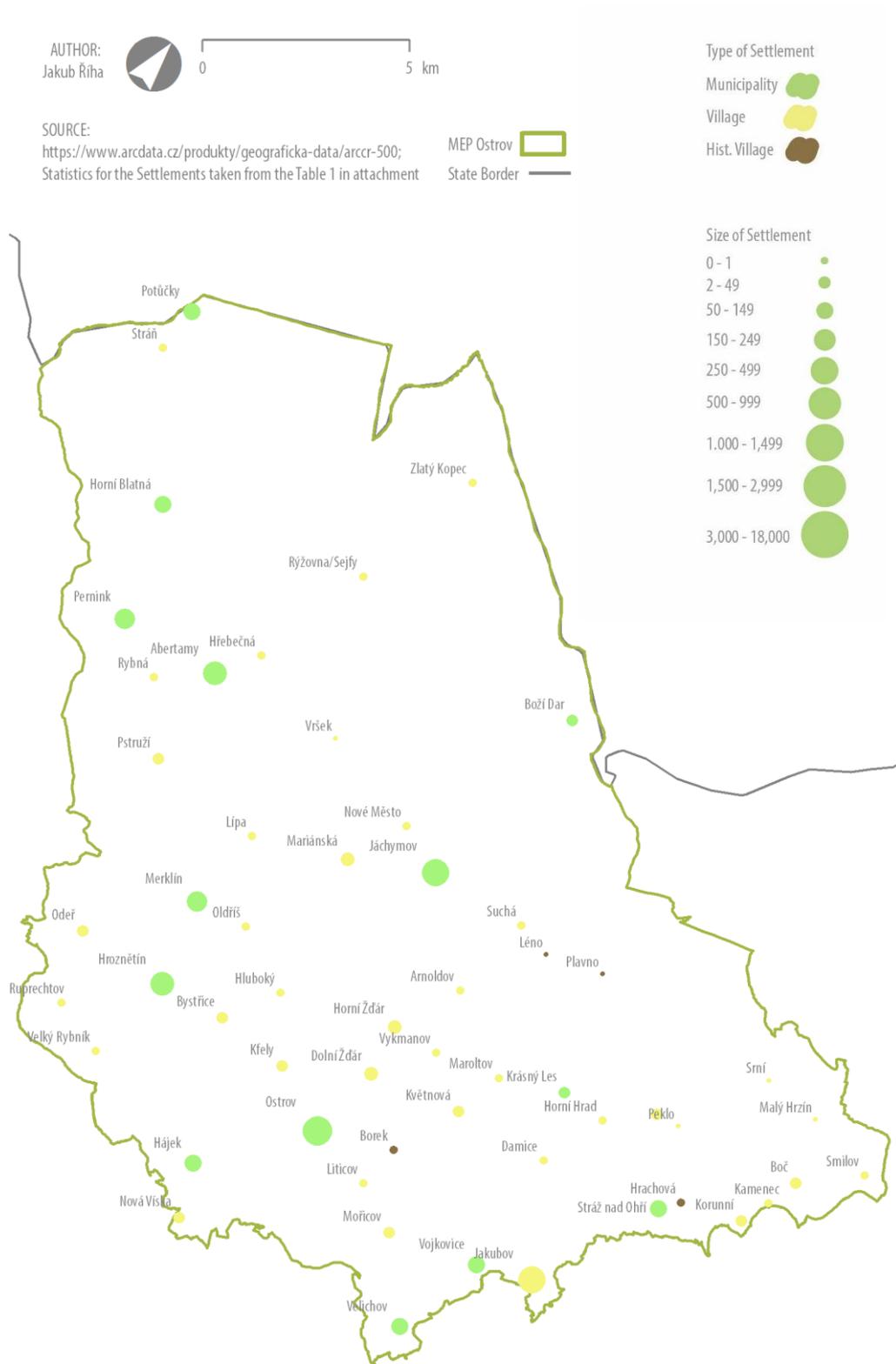


Figure 15

State from 1991 – number of Hamlets (0), Villages and Historical Villages (42), Municipalities (14). Mining was gone and other industries were taking a place here. Bigger centralization and concentration of population on municipalities. Only slight decrease in population from 1970.

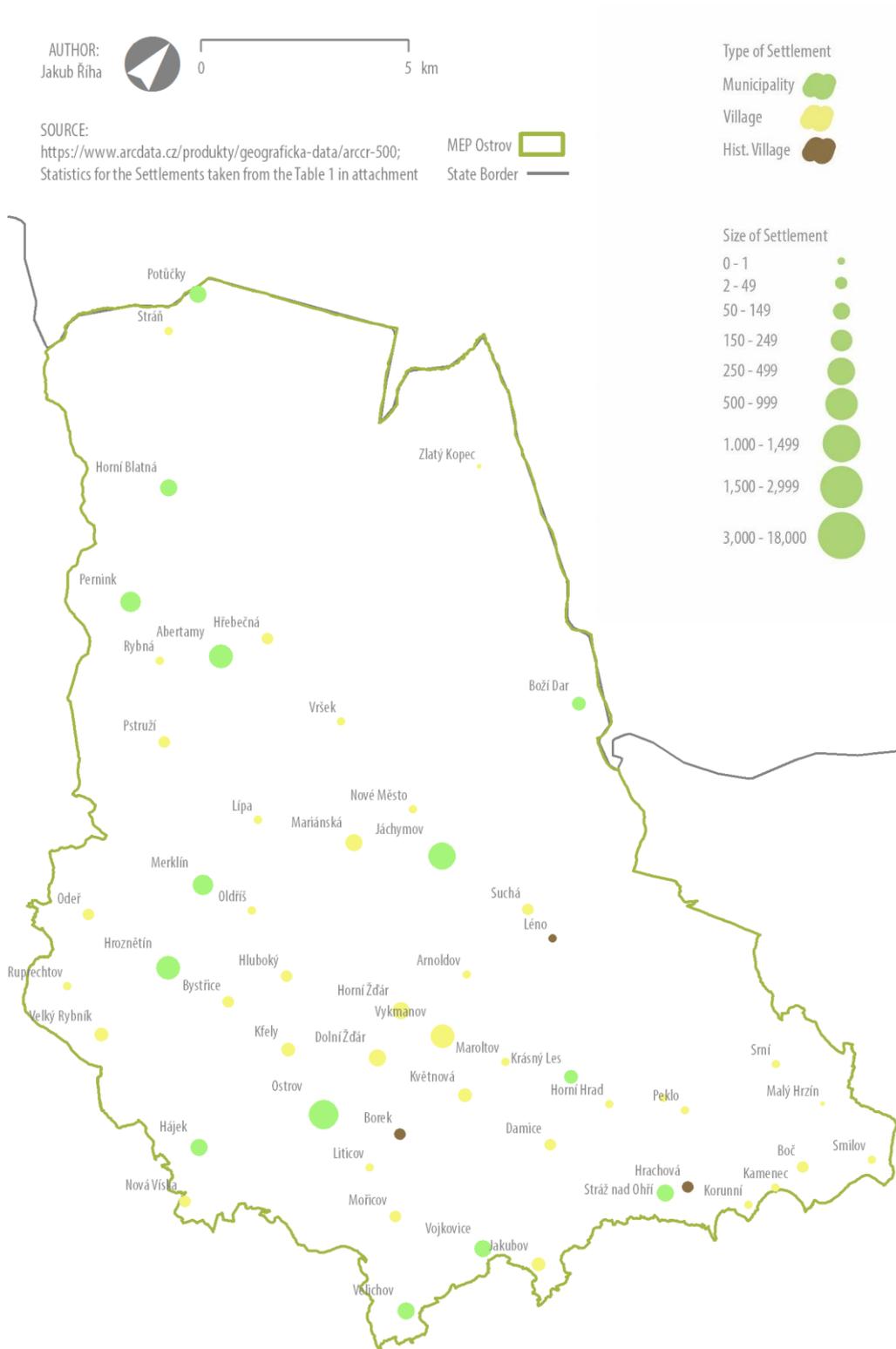


Figure 16

State from 2011 – number of Hamlets (0), Villages and Historical Villages (39), Municipalities (14). Deurbanization and preference of people to live in a vicinity of cities yet in nature. Villages around centres (Ostrov, Jáchymov, etc.) are gaining more inhabitants. Tourism affects the territory of northern part seasonally.

14. EXAMPLES

14.1 Mountain region

14.1.1 Potůčky

German name	Czech name	population					nr. of houses				
		1930	1950	1970	1991	2011	1930	1950	1970	1991	2011
Brettmühl	Pila	83	31	--	--	--	9	10	--	--	--
Breitebach	Potůčky	1451	304	358	327	436	187	203	45	54	66
Pechofen	Smolné Pece	73	3	--	--	--	10	10	--	--	--
Ziegenschacht	Stráň	212	88	49	17	34	27	23	11	6	12

Table 1

Development of population and number of dwellings in greater area of Potůčky municipality (data taken from Appendix 1)

Municipality Potůčky used to be a part of the bigger municipality, established on the German side of border. It is used to create a group on villages in this area, including municipality Boč, Stráně and Smolné Pece Village. These were all the agricultural base of the Johangeorgenstadt on German side.

The cut off the relationship with the German part simultaneously with expulsion of German population, the function of this area was completely lost. As a result of that, Smolné Pece village disappeared at all. As well as remote settlement Pila, which was in a way part of this group of settlements.



Figure 17
Historica (1930) establishment of Potůčky unit, both german and Czech part. Significant importance of other settlement units. Taken from: http://archivnimapy.cz/k/mapy/map_default.phtml



Figure 18
Disappearance of connections to Germany caused disappearance of some settlement units and shrinkage of Potůčky settlement unit. Taken from: <http://kontaminace.cenia.cz/>



Figure 19
Increase in area of Potůčky settlement unit and open area around due to non-existence of previously present settlement units. Taken from: <http://kontaminace.cenia.cz/>

14.1.2 Jáchymov

German name	Czech name	population					nr. of houses				
		1930	1950	1970	1991	2011	1930	1950	1970	1991	2011
Joachimsthal	Jáchymov	6103	5846	3005	2453	2477	949	954	628	582	622
Mariasorg	Mariánská	132	71	173	194	254	24	25	10	25	35
Neustadt	Nové Město	195	235	44	44	49	37	36	15	23	31
Werlgrün	Zálesí	68	36	--	--	--	12	14	--	--	--

Table 2

Development of population and number of dwellings in greater area of Jáchymov municipality (data taken from Appendix 1)

Jáchymov municipality is located in the mountain region of MEP Ostrov. It is a typical mountain area settlement, following the main road and spreading alongside of it. Jáchymov municipality has been serving as a centre of the area since its beginning (SOKA KARLOVY VARY (h) no date). After the expulsion of German population, Jáchymov began to be a centre of the mining area. Due to this fact Jáchymov municipality heavily influenced its surroundings. Stable population number in 1930 and 1950 proves the fact, that the importance of this municipality was high. The population changed from mainly German to Czech, but some Germans still remained in place since there was lack of mine workers. For German prisoners of war new houses were built (mine workers).

After mines in the area started to deplete, people were losing jobs and greater Jáchymov area did not get a sufficient compensation. This was the time of the shrinkage of this area in terms of population. Many people moved to either Ostrov nad Ohří, where it was possible to find a job or elsewhere (see Table 1).

The abovementioned trend of shrinkage of settlements and loss of settlers was repeated in the surroundings of Jáchymov municipality as well. The only exception is village Mariánská. Mariánská village transformed into a tourist mountain centre, thus gained more stable inhabitants, as well as occasional visitors.



Figure 20
Jáchymov municipality and its surrounding in 1930 – well interconnected structure of settlement units. Taken from: http://archivnimapy.cz/k/mapy/map_default.phtml

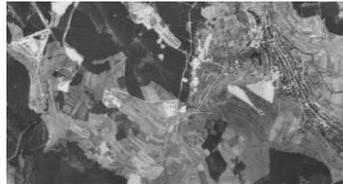


Figure 21
Development of Jáchymov and its surrounding in case of housing stock and population number due to mining activities (1952). Taken from: <http://kontaminace.cenia.cz/>

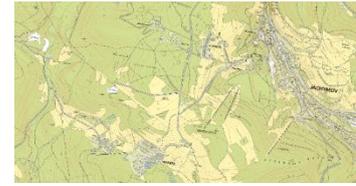


Figure 22
Development of area due to tourism and deurbanization. Still persisting signs of mining activities of past (2011). Taken from: <http://kontaminace.cenia.cz/>

14.2 Foothill region

14.2.1 Ostrov

German name	Czech name	population					nr. of houses				
		1930	1950	1970	1991	2011	1930	1950	1970	1991	2011
Haidles	Borek	74	--	--	16	130	15	14	--	2	--
Unter Brand	Dolní Žďár	196	145	124	200	306	32	36	19	44	73
Ober Brand	Horní Žďár	436	318	190	173	265	55	65	42	51	77
Gfel	Kfely	260	149	95	107	207	42	39	24	31	55
Permesgrün	Květnová	391	204	188	133	162	66	48	34	41	53
Marletzgün	Maroltov	97	61	37	18	18	21	22	8	8	6
Schlackenwerth	Ostrov	2958	2746	17648	17067	15413	360	414	1013	1087	1164
Weidesgrün	Vykmanov	97	77	80	49	1205	18	18	13	12	25

Table 3

Development of population and number of dwellings in greater area of Ostrov municipality (data taken from Appendix 1)

Municipality Ostrov is located on a transitional zone between mountains and lowland region. Its locality in foothill area and in the centre of whole MEP gives it a potential for growth. The initial establishment of settlement Ostrov itself under the church of St. James with disarrangement of farmhouses was lately replaced by a royal city, which was laid out on a regular rectangular plan. Founded on the left bank of the river Ohře with a long rectangular square, surrounded by the rationally developing street network

basically survived in a modified version until today. Changes were made in late 1950s when mining industry started to grow and a need for more housing capacity forced municipality Ostrov to build new part of the municipality. North-West part was newly build though with shorter distances between Ostrov and surrounding villages creating more enclosed settlement structure and changing the administrative border of Ostrov cadastral unit (SOKA KARLOVY VARY (g) no date). Loss of jobs after the closure of mines was replaced by other industrial factories in the municipality, therefore people did not leave.

A new population trend of deurbanization can be seen in the surrounding villages. Village Borek was re-established after long period of non-existence and housing development in Vykmanov village caused immense increase of population in past years. Simultaneously, population of Ostrov municipality is slowly decreasing.



Figure 23
Historical layout (1930) of Ostrov municipality and its surrounding area. Taken from: http://archivnimapy.cuzk/mapy/map_default.phtml



Figure 24
Development of Ostrov municipality and creating the buffer of affected villages (1952). Taken from: <http://kontaminace.cenia.cz/>



Figure 25
Huge development of housing stock in Ostrov municipality and losing of open area between Ostrov and surrounding villages -> buffer zone. Taken from: <http://kontaminace.cenia.cz/>

14.2.2 Vykmanov

German name	Czech name	population					nr. of houses				
		1930	1950	1970	1991	2011	1930	1950	1970	1991	2011
Ober Brand	Horní Žďár	436	318	190	173	265	55	65	42	51	77
Permesgrün	Květnová	391	204	188	133	162	66	48	34	41	53
Marletzgrün	Maroltov	97	61	37	18	18	21	22	8	8	6
Weidesgrun	Vykmanov	97	77	80	49	1205	18	18	13	12	25

Table 4
Development of population and number of dwellings in greater area of Vykmanov municipality (data taken from Appendix 1)

Village Vykmanov is one part of the municipality of Ostrov and it is located on its north part. It is a combination of a village following a stream and village with central square.

It was established in a meander of a stream and afterwards followed the stream. The remnants of the central village square is still recognizable on a picture from 1952 (see Figure 27), but it did not remain until present day (see Figure 28). Vykmanov always used to be a medium-size agricultural village, but with the construction of new prison in this area and a change of census system, when prisoners are also a subject of census, a rapid increase in population took place in Vykmanov in 2011.

When the trend of deurbanization started to affect people's minds, the village of Horní Žďár and Květnová village became new centres for living in a vicinity of Ostrov municipality.



Figure 26
Settlement units alongside roads and paths in 1930. Taken from: http://archivnimapy.cuzk/mapy/map_default.phtml



Figure 27
Due to expansion of adjacent Ostrov municipality, housing development increased, but mostly only in Northern settlement units. Taken from: <http://kontaminace.cenia.cz/>



Figure 28
Importance of Ostrov municipality is over its borders and affecting adjacent settlement units. Vast expansion of Vykmanov (prison) and Horní Žďár village. Taken from: <http://kontaminace.cenia.cz/>

14.3 Lowland region

14.3.1 Boč

German name	Czech name	population					nr. of houses				
		1930	1950	1970	1991	2011	1930	1950	1970	1991	2011
Wotsch	Boč	275	100	114	73	70	43	45	34	35	37
Stengles	Kamenec	88	42	24	8	9	16	12	8	6	5
Krondorf	Korunní	199	123	80	79	47	36	41	17	21	20

Table 5

Development of population and number of dwellings in greater area of Boč municipality (data taken from Appendix 1)

Village Boč is located in a lowland and lays on the banks of the river Ohře. Since the soil quality due to hummus sediment layer from the river is fertile and suitable for agriculture, the village was always an agricultural one. Yet the concentration of kaolin

makes the soil not as fertile as elsewhere. Boč used to have a typical village square structure. All houses were around the central square with a church and plots were long strips adjacent to the backyards of houses. This structure was changed and did not remain to present day. The same situation was in case of village Korunní.



Figure 29
Formation of settlement units along the river and roads in 1930
Taken from: http://archivnimapy.cuzk/mapy/map_default.phtml



Figure 30
Expansion of Boč over the border, since it was an agricultural sufficient place. Other settlement units are shrunked.
Taken from: <http://kontaminace.cenia.cz/>



Figure 31
Today situation of settlement units. Importance of Boč as a center increased over shrinkage of other settlement units. But Boč itself also decreased in population (2011).
Taken from: <http://kontaminace.cenia.cz/>

14.3.2 Srní

German name	Czech name	population					nr. of houses				
		1930	1950	1970	1991	2011	1930	1950	1970	1991	2011
Kleingrün	Malý Hrzín	112	9	32	1	1	20	19	5	3	4
Boksgrün	Srní	233	62	10	0	5	45	44	3	6	12

Table 6
Development of population and number of dwellings in greater area of Srní municipality (data taken from Appendix 1)

Both are traditional agricultural settlement in lowland area. The Village of Malý Hrzín used to have a central village square and long plots behind each of the house surrounding the square. Srní village was established around a stream and each house was facing the stream and had a long plužina plots behind a house.

Thanks to the German expulsion and the lack of people's will to resettle in this area, the pattern of old plužina landscape survived until present day in a quite disturbed version. The first and the biggest disturbance was the agriculture reform and merging plots into bigger ones. The second disturbance in case of Srní village, was a construction of new road which cut the village.

Mostly all remaining houses are at present recreational buildings or cottages.



Figure 32
Settlements Srní and Malý hrzín in year around 1930. Houses and plots arrangement following stream. Alread existing road cutting the the structure off. Taken from: http://archivnimapy.cuzk/mapy/map_default.phtml

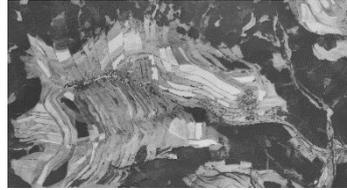


Figure 33
Ortophoto from 1952 – clearly visible arrangement of the surrounfing landscape and plots – not affected by land reform due to landform of area. Taken from: <http://kontaminace.cenia.cz/>



Figure 34
Visibly not changed settlement structure on a map from 2011. But number of inhabitants rapidly decreased since 1930. Taken from: <http://kontaminace.cenia.cz/>

15. OVERVIEWS OF RESULTS

Due to its diverse conditions, the settlement structure of MEP Ostrov has undergone a manifold transformation. Agricultural settlements established during the 12th to 14th centuries were in fact decentralised, although there usually was one central settlement with an influence over surrounding smaller settlements, but his settlement did not play such an important role in overall hierarchy. Their structure eventually became a centralised one. This change was a consequence of many different factors, such as the industrial revolution, agricultural reform, German expulsion and mainly re-settlement after WWII; this event had a significant influence of settlement structure dynamics. These changes resulted in a rather significant population fluctuation and the related transformation of settlement location, and a change of their importance in the settlement structure. These changes also had an impact on population volumes and the low numbers of inhabitants of the area were significantly felt. This was all a result of an inconsistent and unsuccessful resettlement process. Figure 35 illustrates this with the initial situation of 1930 and a final one in 2011.

This figure illustrates the final state of the changes in population volume and distribution of population across the whole territory of MEP Ostrov. Loss of population is from 1930 to 2011 about 23 % from the initial number.

The original structure composed of small settlements distributed almost evenly across the whole land regardless of its geographical specifics (See Figure 36) became a structure of centres and their areas of significance – polyfunctional centralised settlement structure (distribution of settlements in the landscape). Settlements are concentrated in buffer zones of important municipalities. These central municipalities are located in each of three geomorphological zones with different natural conditions (see Figure 36).

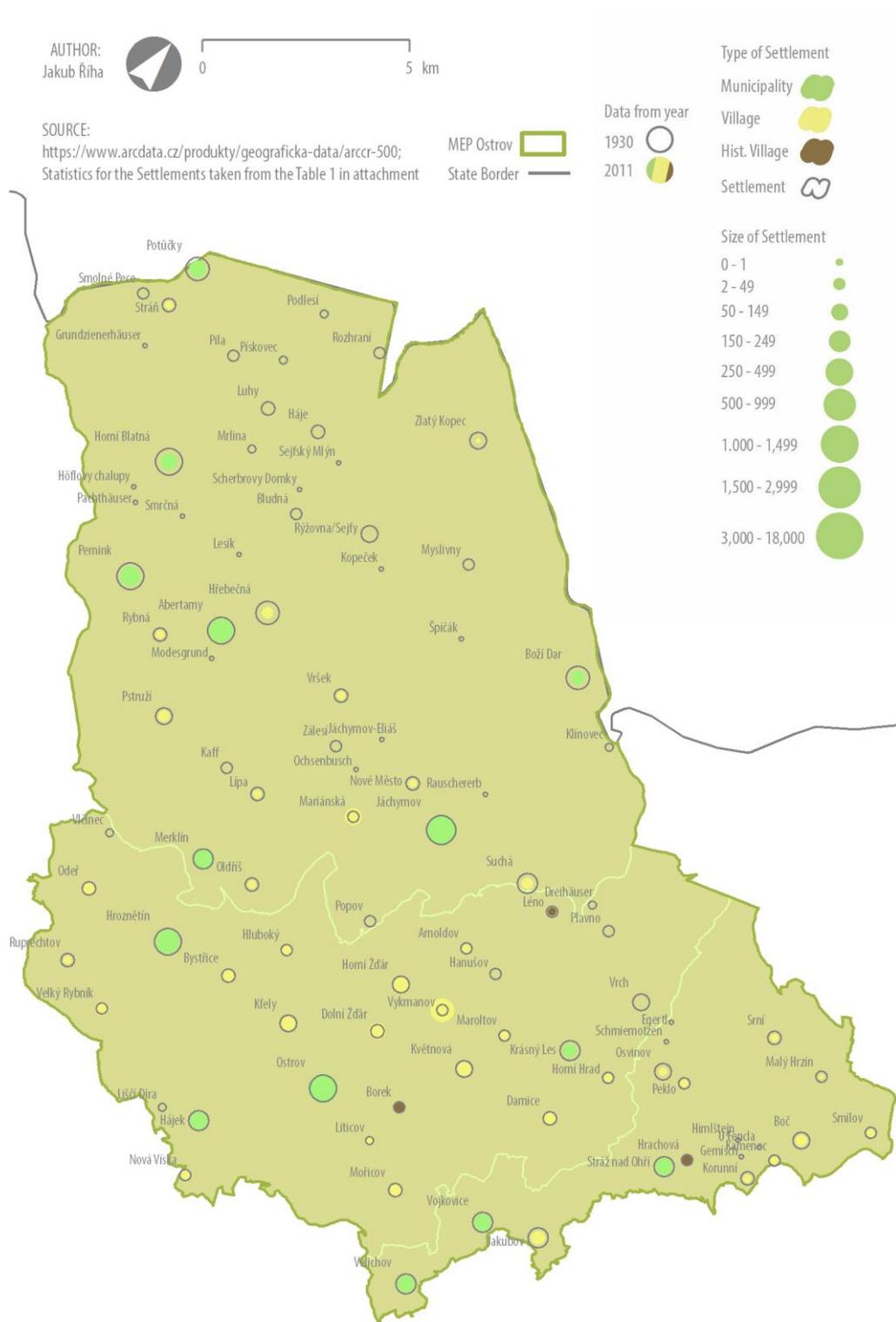


Figure 35

All the settlement units that existed in 1930 are shown as grey outlines of symbols. Colour fill (division of colours is also applicable to symbols for 1930 – brown = hist. villages, yellow = villages, green = municipalities) of symbols representing the settlement units and their change in 2011. The shift in settlement structure arrangement is clearly visible. Gaining the importance of municipalities and gradual loss of small villages. Shift from a decentralised structure to a centralised one and forming of buffer zones of municipalities. Map is layered on a background of geomorphological division of the territory (see figure 11).

16. DISCUSSION

Much attention has been paid to the description of the Czech Sudetenland resettlement process throughout history as well as in present times. The interpretation of the processes that happened in that area of the present-day Czech Republic were mostly demonstrated on individual people's stories, be them those of expelled Germans or Czech settlers (BERÁNEK 2006). Nevertheless, the social relation to land and area, especially from the perspective of it being established anew by new settler and its later absence, has never been sufficiently studied.

At the same time most authors' attention has been focused on statistical description of the Sudetenland in its entirety regardless of its administrative division and diversity of its land (WIEDEMANN 2016; ČAPKA et al. 2005). Later processes showed that the region was influenced by frequent changes of administrative competence while settlements were always subjects to geomorphological conditions, which are in fact always defined slightly differently by every author. Nikm © (2010) gives the division based on morfological structure in connection with history, comparatively Městský úřad Ostrov © (2012) defines tree different characteristic areas from morphological and land use point of view (see Figure 36).

The one problem that is often omitted by majority of authors, such as Bartoš (1986) or Čapka (2005) is the unreadiness of the resettlement project which would involve distribution of settlers to all parts of the Sudetenland, contrary to thorough examination of this factor by Kastner (1999). What emerged were "dead" peripheral regions which were financially supported but in many cases this subsidy was misused or it was not sufficient to get by how Černý (2012) wrote. Simultaneously Czech settlers could not overtake industrialized regions while the concentration of population reflected the emerging industrial centers. Some Germans were even forced to remain in some industrial settlements until a sufficient replacement was found.

Settlers' preference of strategically convenient areas (the so-called rich Sudetenland according to Perlín (1990)) to regions that did not have the potential of self-support and therefore were not sustainable corresponds to basic animal instincts. All animals (and humans too) are governed by basic instincts. Every group member therefore chooses to live in conditions that support life, not to face inconveniences in food supply and reproduction of its own species as it is claimed by most. Therefore, if those willing to migrate to the borderland could choose the settlement area, the settlement structure reflected this selection process and agriculturally profitable regions became centralized while rather mountainous and - conditions-wise - less suitable regions

without an actual industrial base (the so-called poor Sudetenland according to Perlín (1990)) were not sufficiently resettled.

Subsequent additional factor of strategically convenient industrial centers partially balanced this situation (wrote by Brodniček (2013), Černý (2012) and Sivák (2010) as well) of under-settled peripheries as - despite worse climate not ideal for agricultural production - the prospect of industry and a well-paid factory job was reasonable enough for settlers to migrate even to these regions.

In this respect one can draw (but none of authors did) a parallel with a medieval locator who in order to establish a village or a town had to find a place of living whose natural conditions did not stand in the way of the question of population nutrition. If a locator chose a place where these conditions were not ideal enough people were not willing to stay in this settlement and it was doomed. Likewise, the principle of Renaissance architecture and the creation of the Vitruvian Man proves the importance of proportion (of place, body) for human life. To create a quality architecture that will serve people's needs it is necessary to know the principles that will sustain ideal conditions (*sine qua non*) for life. This is applicable also to the moment of choosing the right place to establish a settlement as well as the process of selection of settlements that will be resettled (implicitly phrased f.e. by Perlín (2010) and by Chalupa (2011)). In line with this one can assume that in contrary to Čapka (2005) the borderland resettlement process can rather be called a new establishment of the borderland on the remains of what was left by the Germans.

The expulsion of German population from the Sudetenland caused the loss of majority population of this area and the region remained in fact empty (this is articulated by most of the statistical sources). The resettlement process started with so-called administrators whose role was to assign confiscated agricultural property to new settlers. In this respect the resettlement can be compared to the process of colonisation during 11th to 13th centuries. The function of an administrator can to some extent be compared to that of a locator during the process of the great colonisation of Europe. The only difference was that an administrator had an allocated land where the redistribution of property took place while a locator first had to find such place and only then create a plan to establish a settlement and distribute land to settlers. An administrator yet had to arrive at the same conclusion as a locator, i.e. whether a chosen place was favourable for settlement or not, in other words whether potential settlers would like it or not. This way during the colonisation process a settlement was not established and during the re-settlement process a settlement ceased to exist. Settlements left behind after the German expulsion from the

borderland were often left in such conditions that the settlements had to be built again (articulated by the journal of statistical office, Státní úřad statistický © (1946)) which is in fact the same case as that of a new settlement establishment during the great colonisation. The difference between these two processes is of course the scale of the land involved and time span it took. The great colonisation took hundreds of years, it is usually placed between the 11th and 13th centuries while the resettlement process, at least during its initial part was meant to take place immediately, during a period of few years the whole Sudetenland was supposed to be resettled.

Similar signs - although without the presence of a single Locator agent, can be found in the period after the Bílá hora battle, in the post-Hussite times in the Czech lands. The land was almost completely plundered and there was an urgent need to re-establish settlements. The difference from the colonization period is that during the processes of the great colonization the reason to locate and establish a new settlement was a previous high concentration of population in another place. The case of the post-Hussite colonization and the borderland re-settlement was rather redistribution of (already insufficient in volume) population previously decreased by war or a reaction to it. Prioritised were always strategically important settlements, such as royal cities, location of which was usually the most convenient one in terms of agricultural production and its defense. Strategically important centres of the Czech lands after the Hussite wars were prioritised rather than smaller and less important settlements, those that could not develop a sustainable service base for potential inhabitants. In the post-Hussite period this was happening subject to a sovereign's will.

On the contrary, in the Sudetenland re-settlement process the motivation was to rebuild the entire land. Strategically important centres sublimed on their own and became important in later periods. If the approach of revitalisation of only strategic centres was employed also in the process of the Sudetenland re-settlement, this could result in many errors due to insufficient duration of the first resettlement process.

Regime changes in history happened between different periods of colonisation in a similar way to the changes during the re-settlement process. Communists' access to power in Czechoslovakia of 1948 caused a political reorganisation of the state as well as a reorganisation of its economy. This relates also to so-called land reform that influenced the organisation of the country and its settlement units and their distribution in the landscape. Part of the reform was the creation of so-called collective farms that can be compared to feudal estates typical for Middle Ages and early modern period through to the early 1900s (14th - 1st half of the 19th century), i.e. also during the

colonisation of the Czech lands. Feudal estates functioned in fact as higher agricultural units where parts of the land of a feudal estate were sublet to individual peasants. This hierarchy is also applicable to collective farms. After the regime change there was a need to increase the numbers of farmers within collective farms, therefore there was also a need to support agricultural resettlement. This in spite of an earlier - rather unsuccessful - attempt at resettling the borderland which the communists could draw on.

The level of successfulness of the borderland reform process in the Czech lands differs by author who deal with this matter. Nevertheless, they all come to the same conclusion that the resettlement was not as successful as it had been foreseen. Even statistical reports from the communist era (STÁTNÍ ÚŘAD STATISTICKÝ © 1946b) support this statement; and these reports were kept secret from the public in order to have people think that the process was successful.

In my opinion the main drawback of the resettlement process was naivety. One could have drawn on previous resettling attempts in history (similar or comparable events and processes) and conclude that the re-settlement of peripheral regions is not as successful as rebuilding or establishing new polycentric and centralised settlement structures. The success of such resettlement depends on the quality of an offer that potential settlers were made. The focus on centres and their development and stabilisation rather than the periphery would sustain conditions for future potential development of the surrounding land and the establishment or revitalisation of surrounding settlement units. Controlled resettlement did not elaborate this potential and in fact renounced it. Settlement units were globally revitalised and there was an attempt at distribution of all confiscated property at the detriment of speeding up the centres' development. The situation was partially changed by later industrial re-settlement that by principle had to depend on centres where industry was located. Development of centralised settlement structure was therefore applied later, and significantly influenced the development of the landscape only during natural processes.

Non-agricultural (industrial) re-settlement in fact copied an altogether successful model of post-war recolonisation of landscape, during which strategically significant, mostly industrial centres became central points of modernisation and a new centralised settlement structure emerged - the surroundings of centres were left to evolve relative to human development and migration. The revitalisation of settlement structure underwent similar processes after many military conflicts in history, such as the Hussite Wars or the Yugoslav Wars, and also in the European part of Russia. This

in fact is natural evolution of any organism on Earth. The beginning usually is in one specific place and once population has gained strength to the point when it enables migration, one group of species can break away and create their territory in a different place. The same model can be applied to human settlements and human population in present-day recolonisation of settlements in degraded.

History shows us that attempts at resettlement, be they after a surplus of inhabitants or after military conflicts are subject to natural conditions as well as economic interests. To revitalise or rebuild an economic and cultural relationship to land, it is more efficient to support strategic centres with concentrated population where the restoration process can happen faster. These settlement units can then grow in the future as well as revitalise defunct settlements and settlement units in the landscape. It is important that individual settlement units are interconnected, so that the settlement structure is not discontinuous and units are related by economic as well as cultural bonds. What should be suppressed is nationalistic attitude and ambitions to re-settle an entire region. The attempt to satisfy basic human needs rather than political ambitions provides for the development of quality settlement units. Such was the attempt to establish settlements in Banat - a part of Romania - by Czech community that came to the region hoping to find better living conditions and opportunities for wood processing industry in the country. The sacrifice of some settlement units in favour of a faster development of land as a whole should not be a major obstacle. These small settlement units can never become independent enough to match the state of development that they had had in the past. In a better case new settlements are born on the foundations of those original ones. Otherwise a settlement unit ceases to exist anyway.

17. CONCLUSION

The goals set at the beginning of this thesis can be claimed as fulfilled. Demography changes analysed in the territory of MEP Ostrov within the study time period showed significant changes in population and settlement structure as well. Settlement structure in sense of arrangement of settlement units in the landscape, not the inner structure of each settlement and placement of services in them (analysis of the inner structure was intended to be a part of this thesis, but the scope of the master thesis did not allow the inclusion of this part). Simultaneously, the discovery of changes even in the hierarchy of settlement units within the settlement structure was made. Municipalities gained more power over their surroundings, had more inhabitants and

basically served as centres for adjacent area, thus creating a buffer of influence over other settlement units. These small settlement units in buffer zones of municipalities were strongly dependent on them, thus creating a centralised settlement structure with polycentric pattern. This diversity of settlement units in the territory of MEP Ostrov showed to be important for further study of effects of re-settlement on the area of former Sudetenland. Since the settlement structure underwent remarkable changes in history, present time brings new trends in the settlement structure arrangement, which is a shift of structure based on reaction to tourism. The territory of MEP Ostrov has also been affected by the factor of tourism. Acquisition of all required data for analyses in this thesis was more difficult than expected, since there is a missing 1940 census and other struggles in the statistical data sorting.

The analysis of the demography changes was based on a previous description and understanding of political events in history and their consequences on settlement units and their arrangement in the landscape. By this description and study of these events the second goal of identifying factors influencing migration in process of re-settlement of former Sudetenland was fulfilled. These factors were facing constant changes in history. They were affected by mostly political regime and people's behaviour and thinking. Because of that, process of re-settlement of the Sudetenland can be easily compared (so the results can be used in future research for other events' analyses or for future creation of a plan of re-settlement of affected areas by for instance military actions) to other similar processes in history, as it was done in the Discussion chapter.

MEP Ostrov, as a part of the Czech lands and a part of former Sudetenland, underwent many significant changes through history, leaving a bad memory in landscape and people as well. One of the main events influencing the look of the landscape and its features was the expulsion of a minority of Czech inhabitants, later on more damaging event of expulsion of Germans after WWII (this can even be taken as too effective and successful from the point of view of Czechoslovak government), and re-settlement by Czechs and other Slavic nations. Re-settlement process can be divided into two parts, even though they were taking place almost simultaneously. The first one was an agricultural resettlement, which was in the territory of MEP Ostrov not successful as a whole. And second phase was non-agricultural / industrial re-settlement, which can be taken as quite successful thanks to the existence of non-renewable resources and the development of mining and other industries which were left after Germans or newly established. The industrial re-settlement to some extent caused the re-establishment of some settlement units.

This re-establishment is a relative term. It was intended (by the government) to match number of re-settled inhabitants with the number of inhabitants before German expulsion. But this intention was not accomplished even after a quite successful industrial re-settlement. Furthermore, the strategy of re-settling of entire taken territory including peripheries and all the settlement units showed to be quite inadequate and unsuccessful. To follow examples from history and “natural laws” and create polycentric and centralised settlement structure would be a step overtaking native steps, which naturally applies later anyway (since this territory ended up in this form anyway nowadays by “natural succession”).

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