

Contents

Foreword

ix

Notes on the Contributors

xiv

PART I TRIUMPH AND TRAGEDY OF CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERSHIP

- 1 Lions or Foxes: Heroes or Lackeys? 3
H. Gordon Skilling

PART II INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED

- 2 T. G. Masaryk: The Problem of a Small Nation 25
George J. Kovtun
- 3 On the Emergence of Czechoslovakia 41
Jaroslav Opat

PART III CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN EUROPE

- 4 Beneš between East and West 55
Walter Ullmann

PART IV THE NATIONALITIES

- 5 Slovaks and Czechs: An Uneasy Coexistence 65
Edita Bosák
- 6 Castles on the Landscape: Czech-German Relations 82
Ronald M. Smelser
- 7 Magyars and Carpatho-Rusyns 105
Paul Robert Magocsi

PART V POLITICAL CULTURE AND ECONOMIC CHANGE

- 8 Political Culture: Continuity and Discontinuity 133
Frederick M. Barnard
- 9 From Capitalism to Socialism 154
Radoslav Selucky

PART VI LITERATURE: FREE, OFFICIAL AND INDEPENDENT

- 10 Traditions of Czech Literature: Curses and Blessings 177
Igor Hájek
- 11 Slovak Literature: Loyal, Dissident and Émigré 196
Peter Petro
- 12 A Neglected Generation 211
Václav Havel

APPENDICES

- I Conference Participants 215
- II Greetings to the Toronto Conference on Czechoslovakia 216
- III Letter of Charter 77 to the Toronto Conference 217
- IV Letter to L. Adamec, Czechoslovak Prime Minister 218
- V Thoughts on the Jubilee of the Republic 220
- VI Seventy Years – Tradition and Legacy 223

Index

226

Index

- Action Programme, 10, 145
 Adamec, Ladislav, x, 218
 agriculture, 126, 157, 167
 Aron, Raymond, 101, 146
Austria
 Masaryk's attitude towards, 29–36
 relations with Germany, 32–7
see also Austria-Hungary
Austria-Hungary, 4, 17
 Czech industry in, 154–7
 Czech interest in, 27–30
 composition of, 82–3
 destruction of, 43–4, 49–50
 history of, 25–7
 liberation from, 14
see also Austria; Hungary
- Badeni government, 34, 87, 89
 banning, of literature, 42–3, 183–90, 212
 Barnard, Frederick M., 133–53
 Bartušek, Antonín, 183
 Bednár, Alfonz, 206
 Beneš, Edvard, xi, 6, 10, 13, 14–17, 19, 42, 55–61, 77, 97, 101, 223
 Beniak, Valentín, 198, 203
 Berková, Alexandra, 187
 Bernstein, Edvard, 145
 Bezruč, Petr, 179
 Blaho, Pavol, 67, 69, 71
 Blatný, Ivan, 193
 Blažková, Jaroslava, 205
 Bohemia, 18, 29, 33, 51, 78–9, 101, 136
 immigration in, 84–7
 industrialization in, 83–4
see also German-Czech relations
 Bohemian Brethren, 4–5
 Bohemian Settlement, 34
 Bondy, Egon, 191
 Bosák, Edita, 65–81
 Botto, Julius, 69
 bourgeois nationalism, Husák's, 9, 78
 Brabcová, Alexandra, 192
 Brezhnev, Leonid, 9, 12
 Brodii, Andrei, 113
 Brodsky, Joseph, 194
 Bunčák, Pavol, 203, 204
 Čapek, Karel, 177, 180
 Carpatho-Rusyns, 105–26
 after World War II, 118–21
 assimilation of, 122–5
 Carpatho-Ukraine, 113–14
 Catholic Church, *see* Greek Catholic Church; Roman Catholic Church
 Čechová, S., 207
 Čejka, Jaroslav, 192
 censorship, *see* banning, of literature
 Čep, Jan, 183
 Černík, Michal, 192
 Červenková, Jana, 192
 Česká literatura, 182
 Českoslovanská Jednota, 71
 Československá společnost, 139
 Česká otázka, 3–4, 6
see also Czech Question
 Charter 77, x, xi, 11, 20, 148, 217, 220–2
 Chelčický, Petr, 5
 Chrobák, Dobroslav, 200
 church, *see* Greek Catholic Church; Roman Catholic Church
 Churchill, Winston, 56
 Clementis, Vlado, 78
 CMEA, 164, 171
 communism, Czechoslovak, 13
 T. G. Masaryk's view on, 142–4
see also Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

- Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 15, 41, 43, 137, 141, 146, 148, 161,
leaders in, 7–14, 141
see also political parties
communist rule in Czechoslovakia, 7–14, 77–9, 159–73
consumer industries, 171
CPCz, *see* Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
Csémadok, 117–18
culture, *see* political culture; literature
Czech history, 27–8
 meaning of, 4–5
Czech leadership, 6–20
Czech literature, *see* literature, Czech
Czech Question, The, 29, 33
 see also Česká otázka
Czech-German relations, 82–101
 see also Bohemia
Czechoslovakia
 capitulation to Hitler, 15
 creation of, 17, 25–39, 43–50, 72–5
 democratic revolution (1989), 11, 20
 February 1948, 9, 15–16, 59–60, 138
 industrial development in, 154–73
 political culture of, 134–49
 reform in, 10–11, 148, 183
 steel production in, 155, 166
 technological development in, 167, 172
 see also First Czechoslovak Republic; normalization; Second Republic; People's Republic; Protectorate
Czechoslovakism, 72, 74, 77
Czechoslovak Communist Party, *see* Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
Czechs, 105
 migration of, 84–5
 Slovaks and, 65–79, 134
 in Subcarpathian Rus', 112
 in World War I, 50–2
 see also Czechoslovakia
Czernin, Ottokar, 36
Declaration of the Slovak Nation, 197
Dědeček, Jiří, 187
Dench, Geoff, 95, 96–97
Depression, Great, 99, 158, 159
Dérer, Ivan, 71
de-Stalinization, 11–12
Dilong, Rudolf, 208
Dobrovský, Josef, 5
drobná práce, 4
Drtina, Prokop, 15, 16
Dubček, Alexander, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10–11, 19, 78, 142, 170
Durych, Jaroslav, 183
Dušek, Václav, 184, 186
Dusík, Stano, 208–9

economy, planned, 160–7, 168–73
 see also industrial development
Edice Petlice, 188
education
 Czech-German relations and, 95
 Magyar, 106–7, 117–18
 and language problem, 106–7
 in Slovakia, 73, 75
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 58
emigration, from Slovakia, 69, 157
Enlowe, Cynthia, 83, 100
Erben, Karel Jaromír, 178
Esterházy, János, 107, 108, 112, 113

Fábry, Rudolf, 198, 203
Fabry, Zoltan, 117
February 1948, 15–16, 59
federation, 9, 38
Fentsyk, Stepan, 113
Fierlinger, Zdeněk, 55–6, 59, 60
Figuli, Margita, 198, 200
First Czechoslovak Republic, xi, 6, 12–13, 18, 37, 65, 72–5, 134–5, 136–9, 143, 148, 223–4
 German-Czech relations in, 87–101
 see also Czechoslovakia, creation of
Fischer, Fritz, 35
Flek, Josef, 161–2
Fojtík, Jan, 43–5, 47–9
foxes, *see* lions and foxes

- Galandauer, Jan, 43–5, 47–50
 Garver, Bruce, 35
 Gašpar, Tido J., 200
 Gayda, Rudolf, 99
 German-Czech relations, 28–9, 32–7,
 82–101
 see also Bohemia
 Germans, *see* Sudeten Germans
 Germany
 and Czech industry, 159, 160
 relations of with Austria, 33–7
 in World War I, 46–9
 see also Hitler, Adolf
 Gerson, Louis, 84–5, 87
 Goldmann, Josef, 161–2
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 8, 11
 Goslin, Cecil, 73
 Gottwald, Klement, xi, 6, 8, 9, 11–14,
 15, 16, 77–8, 165
 Great Britain, and Czechoslovakia,
 56–7
 Great Depression, 99, 158, 159
 Greek Catholic Church, 121, 122,
 123, 125
 Grygar, Milan, 190
- Habsburg Monarchy, 26–7, 32
 see also Austria-Hungary
 Hácha, Emil, 18
 Hájek, Igor, 177–95
 Hamada, M., 207
 Harkins, William, 189
 Harníček, Martin, 191
 Havel, Václav, ix, xii, 20, 183, 188,
 189, 193, 209, 211–14, 216
 Havlíček, Karel, 4–5, 70
 Hečko, Frantisek, 205
 Henlein movement, 99
 Herder, J. G., 28, 130, 145
 heroes, 3–6
 see also lions and foxes
 heroism, and Czech history, 19–20
 Hillgruber, Andreas, 37
 Hitler, Adolf, 15, 36–7, 76, 98, 114
 Hlasists, 66, 70–71, 73
 Hlbina, P. G., 198
 Hlinka, Andrej, 65–6, 67, 73
 Hodža, Milan, 66
 Holan, Vladimír, 181
 Holub, Miroslav, 186, 192
 Horváth, Ivan, 200
 Hostovský, Egon, 183
 Hrabal, Bohumil, 183, 187
 Hronský, Jozef Cíger, 198, 199, 200,
 201–203, 208
 Hrušovský, Igor, 71
 Hrušovský, Ján, 200
 Hrúz, P., 207
 humanism, Masaryk's view of, 5–6,
 144
 Hungary, 67–9
 Magyars in, 106, 107–8
 1938 territory of, 112–13, 114
 see also Austria-Hungary; Magyars
 Hus, Jan, 4–5, 67
 Husák, Gustáv, xi, 6, 7, 8–10, 77,
 78–9
 Hussites, 5, 18, 28, 51
 Hutka, Jaroslav, 190
 Hviezdoslav, Pavel O., 196–7, 199–
 200
 Hykisch, Anton, 205
 independence, of Czechoslovakia,
 14, 17, 37–8, 50–1
 industrial development, 154–73
 industry, nationalization of, 161–3
 Jakeš, Miloš, 6–9
 Jaroš, Peter, 205–6
 Jaross, Andor, 107
 Jesenský, Janko, 200
 Jilemnický, Peter, 205
 Johanides, Ján, 205
 Kadlecík, I., 207
 Kafka, Franz, 204
 Kálal, Karel, 70
 Kann, Robert A., 36, 38
 Kantírková, Eva, xii
 Kaplan, Karel, 165
 Katzenstein, Peter J., 35
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 9, 11, 12, 140
 Klíma, Ivan, 186–7, 188, 192, 213
 Klokočka, Vladimír, 145–6
 Koch, Walter, 97
 Kohák, Erazim, 17
 Kohout, Pavel, 182, 193, 208
 Kollár, Jan, 5

- Komenský, Jan Amos, 4–5
 Kopecký, V., 41–43, 45
 Korbel, Josef, 15
 Korean War, 164–5
 Kosík, Karel, 143
 Kostolná-Stalder, Blažena, 208, 209
 Kotrlá, Iva, 192
 Kovtun, George J., 25–40
 Král', Fraňo, 205
 Král', Janko, 203
 Kramář, Karel, 33, 35, 88
 Krčmér, Štefan, 200, 209
 Křelina, František, 183
 Křesadlo, Jan, 191
 Kriseová, Eda, 192
 Krofta, Kamil, 30–1
 KSUT, 120, 123
 Kukučín, Martin, 69, 196–7, 199–200, 208
 Kundera, Milan, 191, 193, 208, 209
 Kusý, Miroslav, 206, 208
 Kutna Hora, 182
- lackeys, 3, 4
see also lions and foxes
- language
 Carpatho-Rusyn, 111, 120
 Magyar, 117, 118, 125–6
 Slovak, 69–70, 71, 75, 106
 Ukrainian, 121–3
- language problems, 87, 89
- leadership, Czech, 6–20
- Lenin, V., 46, 48
- Lenko, Ján, 203
- Lessons of the Crisis Development, The*, 8
- Linhartová, Věra, 183
- lions and foxes, 3, 4, 5, 6–7
 definition of, 7
- literature
 Czech, 177–94; banning of, 183–90; drama, 193; writers, constraints on, 181–4, 189
see also samizdat
 Czechoslovak, 211–14
 Slovak, 196–210
- Lodgmann, Rudolf, 91
- Lörincz, Julius, 117
- Lucembursky, Jan, 6
- Ludwig, Emil, 39
 Lukáč, Emil B., 198, 203
 Lustig, Arnošt, 298
 Lutheran church, 67
- Macartney, C. A., 69
 Mácha, Karel Hynek, 177–8, 181
 Machiavelli, Nicolo, 3
 Machiavellianism, 3, 7, 8, 9, 19
 Machovec, Milan, 143
 Magosci, Paul Robert, 105–29
 magyarization, 71
 Magyars, 35
 assimilation of, 125–6
 Carpatho-Rusyns and, 105–8
 education of, 106–7, 117–18
 expulsion of, 115–16
 political parties of, 107–8
 restoration of citizenship to, 116–18, 124
 and Slovaks, 65, 67, 72
 in World War II, 112–13
- Marenčin, A., 207
- Marx, Karl, 142
- Masaryk, Jan, 16, 116
 Masaryk, Tomáš G., xi, 3–6, 12, 14–20, 25–40, 42, 50–1, 88, 91, 109, 133, 137–8, 223
 attitude of, towards Austria, 29–36
 attitude of, towards religion, 144
 on Czech politics, 4
 democracy, view of, 142–5
 influence of, on Slovaks, 70–2, 74
 political views of, 142–7, 149
 on Russian Revolution, 44
- Mayr-Harting, Robert, 96
- Meckling, Ingeborg, 36
- Měšťan, Antonín, 182
- Miko, František, 205
- Mináč, Vladimír, 207
- Mňáčko, Ladislav, 204
- Mommesen, Theodor, 34
- Moravia, 51, 78–9, 101, 136, 159
- Munich Pact, 112, 113
- Nádaši-Jégé, Ladislav, 200
- Narodna strana, 68
- Národné noviny, 69, 71
- National Economic Commission, 7–8

- nationalism
 bourgeois, 9, 78
 in Czech literature, 177–83
 in Slovak literature, 197
 nationalization of industry, 161–3
 natural rights, doctrine of, 30–2
 Navrátil Jiří, 184
 Nazism, 99, 101
see also Hitler, Adolf
New Europe, The, 38
 Nichols, Philip, 57
 normalization, 8, 10, 11, 37, 43, 79
 Novák, Arne, 178
 Novák, Jan, 191
 Novomeský, Ladislav, 78
 Novotný, Antonín, 6, 8, 10, 11–12,
 141–2, 178
 Nový, Lubomír, 78, 143
- October, 28th of, Czech (1918), 41
 anniversary of, ix–xii, 43, 50, 216–
 23
 October Revolution, Russian (1917),
 xi, 41–3, 44–8, 51, 60
odsun, 56, 57
 Old Czech party, 4
 Ondrejov, L'udo, 198, 200
 Opat, Jaroslav, ix, 41–52
 Otčenášek, Jan, 182
- Palacký, Frantisek, 5, 18, 26–33, 38
 Páral, Vladimír, 184
 Pareto, Vilfredo, 3–4
 Patočka, Jan, 15, 17, 18
 Pecka, Karel, 183, 192, 213
 Pekař, Josef, 28
 Pelc, Jan, 191
 Peroutka, Ferdinand, 16, 17
 'persistent dissenter,' Masaryk as,
 16–17
 Pětka, 138
 Petro, Peter, 196–210
 Ptihart, Petr, 185
 Pittsburgh Agreement, 73, 75
 planning, economic, 160–7
 Pludek, Alexej, 184
 poetry, Czech, 178, 179–80, 182,
 192–3, 194
 poetry, Slovak, 198, 203, 208
- Poland, 141
 Beneš's attitude toward, 56–7
 political culture, 133–49
 political parties, 136–9, 140–2, 145
see also Communist Party of
 Czechoslovakia
 Ponická, Hana, 207
 Prague Spring, 8, 9, 10, 78–9, 117,
 122, 140–41, 147, 149, 170
see also Czechoslovakia, reform in
Prince, The, 3
 Procházková, Iva, 192
 Prokop, 4
 Protectorate, Czech, 148
 Ptáčník, Karel, 182
 publication, Slovak, in exile, 208–9
 publications, Czech
 banning of, 183–90
 in exile, 188–94
see also samizdat
- Rádl, Emanuel, 5–6, 19
 Ráz, Roman, 186
 Reisel, Vladimír, 203, 204
 religion, *see* Greek Catholic Church;
 Roman Catholic Church
 Richterová, Sylvie, 192
 Roman Catholic Church, and Slo-
 vaks, 66–7, 71, 199
 Russia, *see* Soviet Union
 Russian Revolution, *see* October
 Revolution
 Rusyns, *see* Carpatho-Rusyns
 Ruthenia, 56
see also Subcarpathian Rus'
- Salivarová, Zdena, 192, 208
samizdat, ix, 188–91, 193, 206, 207–8,
 212–13
 Šeflová, Ludmila, 193
 Seifert, Jaroslav, 180, 182, 192
 Selucky, Radoslav, 154–73
 Shanafelt, Gary W., 35
 Šik, Ota, 169
 Šikula, Vincent, 203, 205–6
 Silan, Janko, 198
 Silesia, 51, 136
 Šimečka, Milan, Jr, 208
 Šimon, Josef, 192

- Sixty-Eight Publishers, 187, 189
 Skácel, Jan, 187
 Skála, Ivan, 182, 211
 Skilling, H. Gordon, 3–22
 Škultety, Jozef, 69
 Škvorecký, Josef, 182, 191, 208, 209
 Slánský, Rudolf, 12, 13, 18
 Slavík, J., 42
 Slovak national autonomy, 9
 Slovak national uprising, 9–10, 76–7
 Slovak People's party, 74–5
 Slovak Republic, 9, 66, 75–7, 198
 Slovakia, 9, 51, 59
 agriculture in, 126, 157, 167
 Carpatho-Rusyns in, 105–26
 culture of, 134
 industrial development in, 154, 156–9, 167
 Magyars in, 105, 106–7
 Slovaks
 and Czechs, 65–79, 134
 and Magyars, 65, 72, 117–18
 Smelser, Ronald M., 82–104
 Smrek, Ján, 198, 203
 socialism, 142
 Masaryk's view on, 144–6
 after World War II, 163
 Soviet Union, 14–16, 37, 46
 and Czech industry, 160–2
 and Czechoslovakia after World War II, 55–7, 59–60
 economic demands of, 164–8
 and independence of Czechoslovakia, 50–2
 militarization by, 165–6, 168,
 1968 invasion by, 9, 183
 Spina, Franz, 96
 Šrobár, Vavro, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73
 Stalin, Joseph, 140, 146, 164–5, 166,
 Stalinism, 6, 12–14, 42–3
 Steed, Henry Wickham, 31
 Štefánik, A., 71
 Štefánik, Milan Rastislav, xi, 14, 17,
 73, 223
 Steinberg, Stephen, 86
 Štepan, Milan, xi
 Števček, Ján, 202
 Štoll, Ladislav, 182
 Stříbrný, Jiří, 99
 Štrougal, Lubomír, 8, 19
 Strož, Daniel, 192
 Štúr, L'udovit, 66, 69, 196
 Subcarpathian Rus', 105, 115, 119
 political parties in, 107, 110–11,
 114
 territory of, 108–9
 Sudeten Germans, 56–8, 88–9, 91–2,
 94–101, 139
 expulsion of, 100–101
 Sumner, B. H., 6
 surrealism, in Slovak literature, 198,
 199, 203–4
 Švantner, František, 200
 Švehla, Antonín, 96
 Švejda, Jiří, 184
 Sýs, Karel, 192
 Szporluk, Roman, 17
 Szüllo, Géza, 107, 112
 Tajovský, Jozef Gregor, 200
 Tatarka, Dominik, 198, 206–7
 Taylor, A. J. P., 26
 Tažký, Ladislav, 204
 terror, 12–13
 Tiso, Jozef, 18, 37, 76
 Titanism, 144
 Tito, Josip, 75, 140
 Titta, Franz, 99
 Topol, Josef, 183
 Treaty of St Germain, 106, 108–10
 Trefulka, Jan, 191
 Třešňák, Vlastimil, 190
 Trotsky, Leon, 46
 Turčianský Svätý Martin, ix, 65, 68,
 70, 197
 Tvář, 213
 Tyl, Josef Kajetán, 178, 181
 Ukraine, 111, 113–4
 Ukrainians, Carpatho-Rusyns as,
 118–24
 Ullman, Walter, 55–61
 United States
 and Czechoslovakia after World War II, 57–8
 in World War I, 43, 47–9
 Urban, Milo, 198, 199, 200, 201
 USSR, *see* Soviet Union

- Václavek, Bedřich, 181
 Vaculík, Ludvík, 188, 189, 192, 211,
 213
 Vajanský, Svetozar, 71
 Válek, Miroslav, 207
 Vámoš, Gejza, 200
 Vejvoda, Jaroslav, 190
 Vienna Award, 113
 Vlach, Robert, 183, 189
 Vladislav, Jan, 188
 Voloshyn, Avhustyn, 113
 Vostrá, Alena, 186
 Warsaw Pact, 122
 Wellek, René, 179
 Werstadt, J., 42
 Wilson, Woodrow, 43–4, 48–9, 82, 93
 Wolker, Jiří, 180
World Revolution (Masaryk), 42, 44
World War and Our Revolution
 (Beneš), 42
 World War I
 and creation of Czechoslovakia,
 43–50
 and Czech-German relations, 87–
 90
 Czechs in, 50–2
 World War II, Czech industry in, 159,
 160
 Writers' Union (Czechoslovak), 182,
 183
 Young Czech party, 4, 29
 Yugoslavia, 141, 164
 Žáček, Jiří, 192
 Zapletal, Zdeněk, 186
 Zápoltocký, Antonín, 11
 Žáry, Štefan, 203
 Zhatkovych, Gregory, 109–110
 Žižka, Jan, 4–5