TELEFAX COVER SHEET

VOICE OF AMERICA ● CZECHOSLOVAK SERVICE ● TEL.: (202) 619-2208

90 OCT 18 P3:18

***RETURN FAX**: Washington (202) 619-1208*

DELIVER TO:
Ms. Peggy Dooley,
The White House,
Speech Writers
Fax . No. 456--6218

FROM:

Miroslav S. Dobrovodsky, Chief, Czechoslovak Service, VOICE OF AMERICA
330 Independence Ave., S. W., Washington, D.C. 20547, United States
Tel.: (202) 619-2208, 619-2209

COMMENTS

Number of pages (including cover sheet): 7

MIROSLAV S. DOBROVODSKY

Voice of America
European Division
Chief, *Czechoslovak Service*

330 Independence Ave., S. W.
Washington, D.C., 20547
Tel.: 202/619-2208, 619-2209
Fax Number: 202/619-1208

Date: November 17, 1990

Subject: President Bush I Speech to members of government and Federal Parliament in Prague

To:
Ms. Peggy Dooley,
The White House,
Speech Writers
Fax . No. 456--6218

I would like to thank you once more for your help this weekend (Saturday) in promptly sending us an address in Prague by the President to members of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly.

It helped us greatly in expanding our special live coverage of the following event at Wenceslau Square. We have been on the air for 90 minutes (on specially allocated frequencies), on top of regular VOA Czechoslovak broadcasts. By having had an accsess to the copy you sent us of the speech by Mr. Bush we were able greatly expand the subjects discussed, inform the listeners in detail of previous important addressin Prague by the President - to the benefit of many and thus to enhance VOA standing all over the world.

Enclosed I dare to sent you (perhaps for your files) some quotes I have recently collected on VOA Czechoslovak and VOA in general.

Thank you once more for your (weekend, sic!) great cooperation.

Miroslav (Miro) S. Dobrovodsky
Chief, *Czechoslovak Service*

SUBJECT: **Quotes on VOA**

DATE: November 17, 1990

Following are some statements on VOA in general, and VOA Czechoslovak in particular, collected as of November 17, 1990, for the future references.

- **PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH, in Prague, November 17, 1990**

President George Bush, in Prague, in his addres to the Federal Assembly of the Czech and Slovak Federated Republik, November 17, 1990:

"Generations of Americans, Czechs and Slovaks sustained these commond bonds. In the battle to defeat Nazi tyranny, America stood with the courageous Czech and Slovak Partisants, fighting for freedom. Through the long dark days after 1948, we --- like you --- refused to accept Europe's division. Through Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, we held aloft the ideal of truth --- we spoke a common language of hope. At long last, the grip of dictators weakened."

- Congressmnan MARTIN FROST (D - Texas) in a letter to the Chief, Czechoslovak Service, thanking him for the tapes of a Dubcek interview he had requested, September 10, 1990:

"Voice of America continues to be a strong part of our foreign policy, and the results that are now showing in Europe can, in great part, be atributed to the influence of mass media, including radio --- particularly the Voice of America".

- **PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH, April 2, 1990**

Remarks to **THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS**, Georgia World Congress Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

For these (oppressed) nations, truth was something to be twisted and stretched by the brutal hands of authority, manipulated beyond recognition. The Czech author, Milan Kundera, calls this time the "kingdom of forgetting" --- when whole nations almost forgot their heroic histories and finest traditions... From Havana to Prague to Phom Penh, the peoples of these lands never fully gave in to amnesia, because even in the worst hours of repression, they could always count on a friendly voice to remind them of the truth --- Radio Marti, Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe --- and, God bless it, the Voice of America..."

"How did it (the downfall of Communism in Eastern Europe) happen? It happened in part because of the power of truth . Czechoslovakia's playwright-president, Vaclav Havel, paid a very personal tribute to this power on his recent visit to Washington, when he visited the Voice of America, and met the employees of its (Czechoslovak) division. It was a very poignant encounter -- for Havel didn't recognized any of them by face, he knew them all by name the instant he heard them speak..."

- **Czechoslovak President Vaclav HAVEL, February 20, 1990**

During his visit at VOA Czechoslovak on Tuesday, February 20, 1990, President Havel said:

"I would like to thank the Czech and Slovak broadcasting service of Voice of America for its work. For many years, it has been the most listened-to (Czechoslovak) radio station.You have informed us truthfully of events around the world and in our country as well, and in this way you helped to bring about the peaceful revolution which had at long last taken place. However, by this I don't intend to say that your work has now lost its meaning. On the contrary, it now has taken on a new meaning - you will have to inform us about how to create democracy, because we are now beginning to build it, to renew it after many long decades, and we have a lot to learn.Thank you."

- **President George BUSH at the press conference, March 15, 1990**

(Unidentified questioner) "It seems to me the Voice of America has been one of the best tool for exporting ideas of democracy. And yet, I understand that we want to cut their budget. Don't you think that it would be better if we just maintain the budget in order to continue to have this influence in the countries of the Eastern bloc?"

President Bush's response: "I am embarrassed to say that I don't have the figures, but I am not aware of any cut in the budget because, like you, I accept your premise --- your hypothesis. And you know why? Because Vaclav Havel, the playwright president of Czechoslovakia, expressed his --- not only appreciation ---for what the Voice of America did in bringing --- keeping the hope of democracy and freedom alive ---- but also insisted it's essential that the Voice still goes there. So I don't think --- can somebody help me? ---- we don't think we have recommended cuts in the Voice, but maybe we could get your name. It's a good, specific question and --- we'll let you know the exact numbers. But whatever the figures, believe me. There is no philosophical commitment to 'ratchet down' , or cut back on the Voice because, I agree with you, it's even more important that the message of freedom continue to be heard, and I accept the word of (President) Havel in the process."

- **Czechoslovak President Vaclav HAVEL in Prague, February 23, 1990**

Report from Prague on President Havel's press conference on Friday, February 23, 1990, upon his return from the United States:

President Havel said at the televised news conference in Prague on Friday, February 23, that he had told President Bush and members of the congressional foreign relation committees that they should allocate more, rather than less, funding to the Voice of America (and Radio Free Europe) for broadcasts to Eastern Europe. In his words: these stations "have not lost their purpose and if they make certain changes

in their concepts, they can continue to play an incredibly significant and important role and do numerous things which domestic media are unable to do." He also referred to the warm welcome (strašně vřelé přivítání) he received at the Voice of America while in Washington.

• **Alexander DUBCEK, President of the Czechoslovakian Parliament, at VOA Washington studio, May 12, 1990**

On Saturday, May 12, Alexander Dubcek, the '68 Prague Spring leader and presently the President of the Czechoslovakian Parliament, paid tribute to the Voice of America. Shortly after the beginning of his interview A. Dubcek said it was a very good feeling to sit at the VOA studio in Washington because it suggested that the fight for democracy in Czechoslovakia begun during the 1968 Prague Spring was not a futile one. He continued:

"It is a good feeling. Because today, here at the Voice of America, I probably have exactly the same feeling as any other listener of yours (in Czechoslovakia) who very carefully followed your every single word on the air, each one of your voices that so helped to inform our people about what was happening. Unfortunatelly, during those days, and you must be very well aware of it, we had no chance (to get information) from our domestic media, so the Voice of America meant so much to us. So, in my opinion, it is a good feeling (to be here and speak with you) not only for us (the Czechs and the Slovaks), and for me personally, but I hope you at the Voice of America also feel a great deal of satisfaction at the fact that you also were among (those) who had helped to get things done, thus in your own humble way made that Brezhnevite militarism and neo-stalinism a thing of the past."

At the end of his 40 minute long interview, after being thanked for granting the interview, he said:

"And I have to express my thanks for everything that the staff of this radio station (Voice of America) have done for us... those who had worked at home in not easy, difficult conditions, and in their own way helped to bring down, what I would call the Czechoslovak Bastille.

• **THE WASHINGTON POST, February 27, 1990**

"He had been listening to their voices for years. Last week, en route from the White House to the Library of Congress, Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel wanted to see the faces at the Voice of America, to thank the broadcasters and to tell them their work has taken on new meaning... "You will have to inform us about how to create democracy, because we are now beginning to build it, to renew it after many long decades, and we have a lot to learn," he told them...

• **NATIONAL REVIEW, March 19, 1990**

"It was an emotional moment at Voice of America headquarters in Washington last week when (Czechoslovak) president Vaclav HAVEL interrupted his busy schedule to meet and embrace writers and broadcasters from the (Czech/Slovak-language) service, many of whose voices were familiar to him from long years of listening to VOA. "The part you played in in the revolution was very real," he told them. Two

weeks earlier Lech Walensa had said much about Radio Free Europe's role in Poland's liberation.... Years earlier, shortly after his exile, Aleksandr Solzhenicyn had lyrically evoked "the mighty non-military force which resides in the airwaves and whose kindling power in the midst of Communist darkness cannot even be grasped by the Western civilization." Such encomiums should blunt the enthusiasm of D. C budget-cutters who are asking whether the Voice... shouldn't be cut back with the waning of the cold war. The answer is resounding No."

• Karel MASTNY, Editor-in-Chief, News and Documentary Programs, Radio Prague

In closing statements of the live radiobridge (March 7, 1990) between Czechoslovak Radio, Prague, and VOA Czechoslovak, Washington (on the founder of Czechoslovakia, Thomas Garique Masaryk and his American experience and inspiration), the Radio Prague moderator Karel Mastny (Editor-in-Chief, News and Documentary Programs) unexpectedly felt obliged to pay tribute to VOA. He said:

"Over the past years it was you (the Voice of America) who have not only supplied us with serious information, but also filled us with the hope that man can live to see something better. We had no notion that it would happen; of course, this has already been said many times. But we in the (Czechoslovak) radio, those of us who have been able to stay and to survive, so to speak, have been following you very closely, you were a source of such great hopes for us. And I will tell you that (I am proud) at having the honor of establishing contact with the radio station that had managed to do so much work during .... our dark days".

• New Czechoslovak Ambassador to the U. S. Rita KLIMOVA

In an interview granted to the VOA Czechoslovak reporter and broadcast on February 10, 1990 (taking her official duties in Washington) the ambassador said:

"Voice of America is very popular in Czechoslovakia, I am sure you know its nickname "Prague 3"... I believe that many people (in Czechoslovakia) listen faithfully to Voice of America, simply because that is what they have been doing every evening at 9 o´clock for many years, and, especially, because they can be sure that Voice of America will inform them in a concise way about the main world events. Radio Free Europe, in my opinion, has a tendency to raise a false impression that Eastern and Central Europe is the hub of the world. Compared to that, Voice of America has an advantage in that its programming is more objective and truthful. For example, if the main news event of the day comes from the Pacific area, your line-up will give it the number one position, whereas Radio Free Europe will relegate it to the 28th position. Therefore, people keep listening to Voice of America, and I personally wish that VOA would help to educate and inform people about political structures existing in the world and their alternatives. I believe that the Voice of America could perform that very well... The same applies to the economy. People in Czechoslovakia have, for example, terrible fear of unemployment and imagine that unemployed are starving to death... Teaching of English is also needed...It would be wonderful if Voice of America could do all I have mentioned."

• Czechoslovak MINISTER OF INTERIOR RICHARD SACHER on Secret Service's dossiers on VOA Czechoslovak, March 22, 1990

Minister of Interior Richard Sacher, in charge of dismantling the old Communist Secret Service in Czechoslovakia visited VOA Czechoslovak Service. In an interview

with the VOA reporter he also responded frankly to a question about possible "old" secret service's dossiers in Prague collected over the years and kept on Czech and Slovak VOA staff members working in Washington.

"What kind of dossiers are there in your vaults on the Czechoslovak Service of the Voice of America... if we were to measure their thickness in centimeters, how thick would they be?"
Minister Sacher: "Well, I guess, it would not be enough to use centimeters. We would probably have to use some larger unit of measurement... for measuring distances."
Question: "What will happen to those dossiers?"
Minister Sacher: "Well, it depends. We (may) leave them in the archives. (Or) if the Voice of America would be interested, then we will release them to (you)."

- **PEOPLES NEWS DAILY (LIDOVE NOVINY) PRAGUE, JANUARY 9, 1990**

Staff writer Alexander Kramer, under the headline "The Instigating (foreign) radio stations" writes:

"We used to listen to foreign stations broadcasting in Czech and Slovak.
To Voice of America, BBC, Radio Free Europe, Deutsche Welle and some others. We learned from them all what our press, our radio, our television should have told us - but did not ... Naturally, we also had access to samizdat publications. However, the scope of their reach had been negligible... We know by now that most of what we were told by these stations (in the past) was true.... That's why today it is proper to say to them all: 'Thank you!'... I believe that our main criterion in our attitude (towards foreign radio stations) should be whether they are helping or hurting us.

- **FIRST DEPUTY PREMIER OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA on VOA's effectivness, APRIL 3, 1990**

The First Deputy Premier of the Czechoslovak Federal Government, Dr. Jan Carnogursky, in an interview with VOA during his recent visit to VOA's Czechoslovak Service in Washington, touched upon the role and impact of Voice of America, past and future, among Czech and Slovak listeners. He said:

"I believe the Voice of America has been the most listened to radio in Czechoslovakia, certainly until the velvet revolution. Even now, because of (VOA's) enormous expertise in gathering the information, in elaborating on it and thus in broadcasting it, the Voice of America is the radio that (people) do listen to and will listen to in the future. And in this sense (VOA) can, in certain sense, teach our (domestic) media about how to disseminate the news... Voice of America has played a big role in the downfall of the old (Czechoslovak) government. I dare to say that if it were not for Voice of America, the dawnfall of the Communist regime would have materialized, but probably not in November 1989, as it did, but later, let's say, in November 1990."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 14, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON CW

FROM: DAN MCGROARTY DMcG

SUBJECT: CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

I. SUMMARY

At 12:20 p.m. on November 17 you will address a special session of the Czechoslovakian Federal Assembly. The speech will be simultaneously translated, and will be on teleprompter.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks discuss the great progress that Czechoslovakia has made since the "velvet revolution" of a year ago, and also discuss the important role it can play in a new European and world order. Several economic and cultural initiatives are announced, including the hope that Prague will be the site of the Permanent Secretariat of the CSCE.

# # #

CSFR

McGroarty/Dooley
November 15, 1990
10:30 am

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
NOVEMBER 17, 1990
12:20 P.M.

Ms. Dillon

President Havel. ~~President~~ Chairman Dubcek. [Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovak~~ian~~ Federal Republics.] Members of the Federal Assembly -- and the **people of Czechoslovakia.** // It is an honor for me -- the first American President ever to visit your country -- to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom. //

One year ago today, in the streets and squares of this city, the people of Prague gathered, first by twos and threes, then by thousands. In the night air, an autumn chill -- in their minds, memories of a spring twenty years past. // The Velvet Revolution had begun. //

That revolution succeeded without a single shot. Your weapons proved far superior to any in the State's arsenal. In the face of force -- you deployed the power of principle. Against a wall of lies -- you advanced // the truth. Out of a thousand acts of courage -- Czech and Slovak -- emerged a single voice. Its message: the time had come to bring freedom home to Czechoslovakia. //

Your revolution was also a renewal -- a renewal of the deeply held principles that bind my country to yours. Principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence -- issued in the United States in 1918 by Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MAS-ah-rick),

your first President, and Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. Principles inspired by the ringing words of **our own Thomas Jefferson**, more than two centuries ago.

Generations of Americans, Czechs and Slovaks sustained these common bonds. In the battle to defeat Nazi tyranny, America stood with the courageous Czech and Slovak partisans, fighting for freedom. Through the long dark decades after 1948, we -- like you -- refused to accept Europe's division. Through Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, we held aloft the ideal of truth -- we spoke a common language of hope. //

At long last, the grip of the dictators weakened. Czechoslovakia seized its chance to rise up -- to reclaim your rights as a free people and sovereign nation. //

Today, as fellow citizens of free governments, we share the fruits of our common resolve. Europe -- East and West -- stands at the threshold of a new era -- an era of peace, prosperity and security unparalleled in the long history of this continent. Today, Europe's long division is ending. Today, once more -- Czechoslovakia // is free. //

A **new Europe** is now emerging -- built on the firm foundation of shared democratic principles -- a shared sense of **partnership** that made the **Revolution of '89** possible. //

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over. Its renaissance has just begun. // Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the

unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism.

I am here today to say that **we will not fail you in this decisive moment.** America will stand with you. To that end:

o America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. Today, our two countries will sign agreements giving Czechoslovakia the fullest access to American markets, American investment and American technology. //

o To meet Czechoslovakia's critical needs, the United States will extend prompt economic assistance from the $370 million dollars now committed to Central and Eastern Europe for the coming year. In addition, I will urge our Congress to authorize a $60 million dollar Czechoslovak-American Enterprise Fund. //

o We also welcome the active involvement of the American private sector. I am pleased to see that, yesterday, your government entered into a promising, multi-million dollar joint venture with Bell Atlantic and U.S. West to modernize your country's communications network. // I am sure this will be the first of many large-scale investments in the future of a free Czechoslovakia. //

o In response to this region's severe energy problems, we expect the IMF -- at our initiative -- to lend up to $5 billion in 1991 to Central and Eastern Europe, and the World Bank will commit an additional $9 billion over the next three years. //

o In addition to these economic initiatives, we seek to renew the free and open exchange denied our peoples for so many years. I am pleased to announce the reopening of the American consulate in Bratislava in the Republic of Slovakia -- and later this month, the selection of a site for our new Cutural Center in Prague. Our newly-established International Media Fund promises to contribute expertise and encouragement to your nation's free and independent media. And I am gratified that your Government and my country's Institute for East-West Security Studies will soon open a European Studies Center in Stirin [STEER-zheen] -- an important partnership of the intellect between European and American scholars. //

And let me say once again: Prague should be the home to the Permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In Paris, I expect to find unanimous support for this initiative. // It is right that this city -- once on the fault line of Cold War and conflict -- now at the heart of the new and united Europe -- play a central role as the CSCE seeks to expand the frontiers of freedom in Europe. //

At the Paris Summit of the CSCE, the nations of North America and Europe will sign historic documents: a treaty to provide deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe. -- and a CSCE Summit Declaration, charting the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic Alliance, the essential guarantor of European security, has pledged itself to that same goal.

Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that reaches its democratic destiny -- a Europe that is truly whole and free. // The United States welcomes the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of freedom -- a moral community united in its dedication to free ideals. We wish to encourage the Soviet Union to go forward with their reforms, as difficult as the course may seem. They will find our community ready to welcome them -- and to help them as they too commit themselves to this commonwealth of freedom. //

It is a commonwealth that rests upon four cornerstones:

An unshakable belief in the dignity and rights of man -- and its corollary: that just government derives its power from the people. That men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor. And that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations. //

But this long-sought community will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent. //

The principles guiding our two nations -- the principles at work in our two revolutions -- are not Czech or Slovak or American alone. These principles are universal -- rooted in the love of liberty and the rights of man. //

These principles are familiar. They are the principles on which we have staked our futures -- the principles for which we

have fought and died -- not as fine words, but as the very form and substance of this new world we seek. //

Let me draw on the life and writings of Vaclav Havel to make my point. Several years ago, Havel wrote about the Western visitors who came to see your so-called "dissidents," asking how they could help your cause. He wondered about that question -- wondered why visitors from the West couldn't see that **your** cause was **their cause, too.** Havel wrote, and I quote: "Are not my dim prospects or my hopes his dim prospects and hopes as well? / Is not the destruction of humans in Prague a destruction of all humans? / Is not indifference to what is happening here a preparation for the same kind of misery elsewhere?" //

Dissident Havel -- now President Havel -- spoke then of a shared destiny -- spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. //

Czechs and Slovaks understand this vision and this challenge. The heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOSE), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us -- the countrymen of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the son of Moravia whose name graces your great university at Bratislava -- have always looked to the far horizon, to take their bearings from principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence demands constant vigilance, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own heroic actions here -- but on the broader principles that govern the greater world in which you live. We must recognize that no people, no Continent, can stand

alone -- secure unto itself. Our fates -- our futures -- are intertwined.

That is why Europe's celebration of freedom brings with it a new responsibility. Now that democracy has proven its power, Europe has both the opportunity and the challenge to join us in leadership -- to work with us in common cause towards this new commonwealth of freedom. //

That is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis is a warning -- to America as well as to Europe -- that we cannot turn inward, somehow insulate ourselves from global challenges. Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can remain secure when aggression remains unchecked. //

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know the tragic consequences when nations, confronted with aggression, choose to tell themselves it is no concern of theirs -- just a "quarrel in a far-away country between a people of whom we know nothing." //

We Americans, too, have learned. We know the costs -- to ourselves, and to the whole of Europe -- of our isolationism after the First World War. We know that America must resist the temptation to consider our work complete. We must remain committed to the cause of freedom in the world. //

The world's resolute action against Iraq's aggression shows what can be achieved when Americans and Europeans work together, in common cause with the rest of the world. // From this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity -- to extend our international solidarity and put in place the first foundations of a commonwealth of freedom -- a new world order far more stable and secure than any we have known.

For the first time in the post-war era -- the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. // For the first time in the post war era -- the United Nations is functioning as its creators intended it: free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action. //

For the first time in the post war era -- a true commonwealth of freedom is within our reach. //

Today, I am proud to join Czechoslovakia as it celebrates a year in freedom. I salute you for your courage and your vision: for all that you have endured -- and for all you are destined to achieve. And I challenge you, as you take your rightful place in the center of Europe, to look beyond the confines of this continent -- to join with your neighbors in Europe and in North America to build a true commonwealth of freedom, so that the peace and prosperity you seek -- the peace and prosperity we shall share -- will be the peace and prosperity of all mankind.

Once again, thank you for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the people of Czechoslovakia.

McGroarty/Dooley
November 15, 1990
6:15 pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
NOVEMBER 17, 1990
12:20 P.M.

President Havel. Chairman Dubcek. [[Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovak Republics.]] Members of the Assembly -- and the **peoples of Czechoslovakia.** // It is an honor for me -- the first American President ever to visit your country -- to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom. //

One year ago today, in the streets and squares of this city, the people of Prague gathered, first by twos and threes, then by thousands. In the night air, an autumn chill -- in their minds, memories of a spring twenty years past. // The Velvet Revolution had begun. //

That revolution succeeded without a single shot. Your weapons proved far superior to any in the State's arsenal. In the face of force -- you deployed the power of principle. Against a wall of lies -- you advanced // the truth. Out of a thousand acts of courage -- Czech and Slovak -- emerged a single voice. Its message: the time had come to bring freedom home to Czechoslovakia. //

Your revolution was also a renewal -- a renewal of the deeply held principles that bind my country to yours. Principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence -- issued in the United States in 1918 by Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MAS-ah-rick),

your first President, and Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. Principles inspired by the ringing words of **our own Thomas Jefferson**, more than two centuries ago.

Generations of Americans, Czechs and Slovaks sustained these common bonds. In the battle to defeat Nazi tyranny, America stood with the courageous Czech and Slovak partisans, fighting for freedom. Through the long dark decades after 1948, we -- like you -- refused to accept Europe's division. Through Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, we held aloft the ideal of truth -- we spoke a common language of hope. //

At long last, the grip of the dictators weakened. Czechoslovakia seized its chance to rise up -- to reclaim your rights as a free people and sovereign nation. //

Today, as fellow citizens of free governments, we share the fruits of our common resolve. Europe -- East and West -- stands at the threshold of a new era -- an era of peace, prosperity and security unparalleled in the long history of this continent. Today, Europe's long division is ending. Today, once more -- **Czechoslovakia // is free**. ///

Czechoslovakia's **revolution** is over. Its **renaissance** has just begun. // Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism.

I am here today to say that **we will not fail you in this decisive moment.** America will stand with you. To that end:

o America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. Today, our two countries will sign agreements giving Czechoslovakia the fullest access to American markets, American investment and American technology. //

o To meet Czechoslovakia's critical needs, the United States will extend prompt economic assistance from the $370 million dollars now committed to Central and Eastern Europe for the coming year. In addition, I will urge our Congress to authorize a $60 million dollar Czechoslovak-American Enterprise Fund. //

o We also welcome the active involvement of the American private sector. I am pleased to see that, yesterday, your government entered into a promising, multi-million dollar joint venture with Bell Atlantic and U.S. West to modernize your country's communications network. // I am sure this will be the first of many large-scale investments in the future of a free Czechoslovakia. //

o In response to this region's severe energy problems, we expect the IMF -- at our initiative -- to lend up to $5 billion in 1991 to Central and Eastern Europe, and the World Bank will commit an additional $9 billion over the next three years. //

o In addition to these economic initiatives, we seek to renew the free and open exchange denied our peoples for so many years. I am pleased to announce the reopening of the American consulate in Bratislava in the Republic of Slovakia -- and later this month, the selection of a site for our new Cutural Center in

Prague. Our newly-established International Media Fund promises to contribute expertise and encouragement to your nation's free and independent media. And I am gratified that your Government and my country's Institute for East-West Security Studies will soon open a European Studies Center in Stirin [STEER-zheen] -- an important partnership of the intellect between European and American scholars. //

And let me say once again: Prague should be the home to the Permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In Paris, I am confident that I will find unanimous support for this initiative. It is right that this city -- once on the fault line of Cold War and conflict -- now at the heart of the new and united Europe -- play a central role as the CSCE seeks to expand the frontiers of freedom in Europe. //

At the Paris Summit of the CSCE, the nations of North America and Europe will sign historic documents: a treaty to provide deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe. A CSCE Summit Declaration, charting the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic Alliance, the foundation of European stability, has pledged itself to that same goal.

Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that reaches its democratic destiny -- a Europe that is truly whole and free. // But this continent's reconciliation is only part of the larger vision for our world -- a vision which I ask you to share.

Let me draw on the life and writings of Vaclav Havel to make my point. Several years ago, Havel wrote about the Western visitors who came to see your so-called "dissidents," asking how they could help your cause. He wondered about that question -- wondered why visitors from the West couldn't see that **your** cause was **their cause, too.** Havel wrote, and I quote: "Are not my dim prospects or my hopes his dim prospects and hopes as well? // Is not the destruction of humans in Prague a destruction of all humans? // Is not indifference to what is happening here a preparation for the same kind of misery elsewhere?" //

Dissident Havel -- now President Havel -- spoke then of a shared destiny -- spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. //

Czechs and Slovaks understand this vision and this challenge. For half a century, your struggle for freedom was cut short -- not by one, but by two of the cruelest tyrannies history has ever known. You know what it means to live under regimes whose vision of world order holds no place for freedom. As heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOS), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us -- as countrymen of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the son of Moravia whose name graces your great university at Bratislava -- you have always looked to the far horizon, to take your bearings from principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence demands constant vigilance, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own heroic actions here -- but on the broader principles that govern the greater world in

which you live. We must recognize that no people, no Continent, can stand alone -- secure unto itself. Our fates -- our futures -- are intertwined.

That is why Europe's celebration of freedom brings with it a new responsibility. Now that democracy has proven its power, Europe has both the opportunity and the challenge to join us in leadership -- to work with us in common cause towards this new commonwealth of freedom. //

This commonwealth rests on shared principles -- upon four cornerstones that constitute our common values:

An unshakable belief in the dignity and rights of man -- and the conviction that just government derives its power from the people. The belief that men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor. And that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations. //

The United States welcomes the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of freedom -- a moral community united in its dedication to free ideals. We wish to encourage the Soviet Union to go forward with their reforms, as difficult as the course may seem. They will find our community ready to welcome them -- and to help them as they too commit themselves to this commonwealth of freedom. //

Every new nation that embraces these common values -- every new nation that joins the ranks of this commonwealth of freedom -- advances us one step closer to a new world order: a world in

which the use of force gives way to a shared respect for the rule of law. ///

This new world will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent. ///

The principles guiding our two nations -- the principles at work in our two revolutions -- are not Czech or Slovak or American alone. These principles are universal -- rooted in the love of liberty and the rights of man. //

Now, after four decades of conflict and Cold War, we are entering an era of great promise. And yet our freedom -- the freedom of people everywhere -- remains under threat from regimes for whom the rights of man and rule of law mean nothing. //

That is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis is a **warning** -- to America as well as to Europe -- that **we cannot turn inward**, somehow insulate ourselves from global challenges. Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can **remain secure** when aggression **remains unchecked**. //

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know the tragic consequences when nations, confronted with aggression, choose to tell themselves it is no

concern of theirs -- just a "quarrel in a far-away country between a people of whom we know nothing." //

We Americans, too, have learned. We know the costs -- to ourselves, and to the whole of Europe -- of our isolationism after the First World War. We know that America must resist the temptation to consider our work complete. **We must remain committed to the cause of freedom in the world.** //

For the first time in the post-war era -- the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. // For the first time in the post war era -- the United Nations is functioning as its creators intended it: free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action. //

From this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity -- the opportunity to draw upon the great and growing strength of the commonwealth of freedom -- and forge for all nations a new world order far more stable and secure than any we have known. ///

Today, I am proud to join Czechoslovakia as it celebrates a year in freedom. I salute you for your courage and your vision: for all that you have endured -- and for all you are destined to achieve. And I challenge you, as you take your rightful place in the center of Europe, to look beyond the confines of this continent -- to join with your neighbors in Europe and in North America to build a true commonwealth of freedom, so that the

peace and prosperity you seek -- the peace and prosperity we shall share -- will be the peace and prosperity of all mankind.

Once again, thank you for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the people of Czechoslovakia.

# # #

Peter Bodde 311 9780

McGroarty/Dooley
November 13, 1990
5:30 pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
NOVEMBER 17, 1990
XX:00 A.M.

President Havel. President Dubcek. Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovakian Republics. Members of the Assembly -- and the **people of Czechoslovakia.** // It is an honor for me -- the first American President ever to visit your country -- to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom. //

One year ago today, in the streets and squares of this city, the people of Prague gathered, first by twos and threes, then by thousands. In the night air, an autumn chill -- in their minds, memories of a spring twenty years past. // The Velvet Revolution had begun. //

That revolution succeeded without a single shot. Your weapons proved far superior to any in the State's arsenal. In the face of force -- you deployed the power of principle. Against a wall of lies -- you advanced // the truth. Out of a thousand acts of courage -- Czech and Slovak -- emerged a single voice. Its message: the time had come to bring freedom home to Czechoslovakia. //

Your revolution was also a renewal -- a renewal of the deeply held principles that bind my country to yours. Principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence -- written in the United States in 1918 by Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MAS-ah-rick),

Mr. Setlik - Cultural Affrs.
363-6315

your first President, signed by Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. Principles inspired by the ringing words of **our own Jefferson**, more than two centuries ago.

Generations of Americans, Czechs and Slovaks sustained these common bonds. In the battle to defeat Nazi tyranny, America stood with the courageous Czech and Slovak partisans, fighting for freedom. Through the long dark decades after 1948, we -- like you -- refused to accept Europe's division. Through Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, we held aloft the ideal of truth -- we spoke a common language of hope. //

At long last, the grip of the dictators weakened. Czechoslovakia seized its chance to rise up -- to reclaim your rights as a free people and sovereign nation. //

Today, as fellow citizens of free governments, we share the fruits of our common resolve. Europe -- East and West -- stands at the threshold of a new era -- an era of peace, prosperity and security unparalleled in the long history of this continent. Today, Europe's long division is ending. Today, once more -- Czechoslovakia // is free. //

A **new Europe** is now emerging -- built on the firm foundation of shared democratic principles -- a shared sense of **partnership** that made the **Revolution of '89** possible. //

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over. Its renaissance has just begun. // Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the

unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism.

I am here today to say that **we will not fail you in this decisive moment.** America will stand with you. To that end:

o America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. Today, our two countries will sign agreements giving Czechoslovakia the fullest access to American markets, American investment and American technology. //

o To meet Czechoslovakia's critical needs, the United States will extend $50 million dollars in immediate financial assistance.

o In response to this region's severe energy problems, we expect the IMF -- at our initiative -- to lend up to $5 billion in 1991, and the World Bank to commit an additional $9 billion over the next two years. //

o In addition to these economic initiatives, we seek to renew the free and open exchange denied our peoples for so many years. I am pleased to announce the reopening of the American consulate in Bratislava in the Republic of Slovakia -- and later this month, the selection of a site for our new Cutural Center in Prague. [[International Media Fund.]] And I am gratified that your Government and my country's Institute for East-West Security Studies will soon open a European Studies Center in Stirin [STEER-zheen] -- an important partnership of the intellect between European and American scholars. //

And let me say once again: Prague should be the home to the Permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In Paris, I expect to find unanimous support for this initiative. // It is right that this city -- once on the fault line of Cold War and conflict -- now at the heart of the new and united Europe -- play a central role as the CSCE seeks to expand the frontiers of freedom in Europe. //

At the Paris Summit of the CSCE, the nations of North America and Europe will sign historic documents: a treaty to provide deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe. -- and a CSCE Summit Declaration, charting the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic Alliance, the essential guarantor of European security, has pledged itself to that same goal.

Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that reaches its democratic destiny -- a Europe that is truly whole and free. // The United States welcomes the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the **commonwealth of freedom** -- a moral community united in its dedication to free ideals. //

This commonwealth rests upon four cornerstones:

An unshakeable belief in the dignity and rights of man -- and its corollary: that just government derives its power from the people. That men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor. And that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations. //

But this long-sought community will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent. //

The principles guiding our two nations -- the principles at work in our two revolutions -- are not Czech or Slovak or American alone. These principles are universal -- rooted in the love of liberty and the rights of man. //

Let me draw on the life and writings of Vaclav Havel to make my point. Several years ago, Havel wrote about the Western visitors who came to see your so-called "dissidents," asking how they could help your cause. He wondered about that question -- wondered why visitors from the West couldn't see that **your** cause was **their cause, too.** Havel wrote, and I quote: "Are not my dim prospects or my hopes his dim prospects and hopes as well? / Is not the destruction of humans in Prague a destruction of all humans? / Is not indifference to what is happening here a preparation for the same kind of misery elsewhere?" //

Dissident Havel -- now President Havel -- spoke then of a shared destiny -- spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. //

Czechs and Slovaks understand this vision and this challenge. The heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOSE), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us -- the countrymen of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the son of Moravia whose name graces your great university at Bratislava -- have always looked to the far

horizon, to take their bearings from principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence demands constant vigilance, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own heroic actions here -- but on the broader principles that govern the greater world in which you live. We must recognize that no people, no Continent, can stand alone -- secure unto itself. Our fates -- our futures -- are intertwined.

That is why Europe's celebration of freedom brings with it a new responsibility. Now that democracy has proven its power, Europe has both the opportunity and the challenge to join us in leadership -- to work with us in common cause towards this new **commonwealth of freedom**. //

That is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis is a **warning** -- to America as well as to Europe -- that **we cannot turn inward**, somehow insulate ourselves from global challenges. Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can **remain secure** when aggression **remains unchecked**. //

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know the tragic consequences when nations, confronted with aggression, choose to tell themselves it is no

concern of theirs -- just a "quarrel in a far-away country between a people of whom we know nothing." //

We Americans, too, have learned. We know the costs -- to ourselves, and to the whole of Europe -- of our isolationism after the First World War. We know that America must resist the temptation to consider our work complete. **We must remain committed to the cause of freedom in the world.** //

The world's resolute action against Iraq's aggression shows what can be achieved when Americans and Europeans work together, in common cause with the rest of the world. //

For the first time in the post-war era -- the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. For the first time in the post war era -- the United Nations is functioning as its creators intended it: free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action.

{{ And from this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity -- to extend our international solidarity and put in place the first foundations of a <u>new world order</u>: an order based on <u>freedom and the rule of law</u>; // an order founded in <u>respect for human rights and individual liberty</u>; // an order dedicated to <u>resist aggression and the force of arms</u> -- and promote enduring <u>international peace and security</u>. //}}

These principles are familiar. They are the principles on which we have staked our futures -- the principles for which we

have fought and died -- not as fine words, but as the very form and substance of this new world we seek. //

Today, I am proud to join Czechoslovakia as it celebrates a year in freedom. I salute you for your courage and your vision: for all that you have endured -- and for all you are destined to achieve. And I challenge you, as you take your rightful place in the center of Europe, to look beyond the confines of this continent -- to join with your neighbors in Europe and in North America to build a true commonwealth of freedom, so that the peace and prosperity you seek -- the peace and prosperity we shall share -- will be the peace and prosperity of all mankind.

Once again, thank you for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the people of Czechoslovakia.

# # #

Office of Public Liaison
Bureau of Public Affairs
PA/PL Room 5831
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520-6810

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

TODAY'S DATE 11/8 TIME 10 am

PLEASE TRANSMIT THE ATTACHED MATERIAL TO:

ADDRESSEE'S NAME: Jennifer Grossman
ORGANIZATION: White House Speechwriting Staff
CITY/STATE/COUNTRY: Wash. DC
FACSIMILE PHONE: 456-6218
REGULAR PHONE: 456-7750

ORIGINATOR'S NAME: PA/PL/PI
ORGANIZATION: DOS
CITY/STATE/COUNTRY: Wash DC
FACSIMILE PHONE: 647-1579
REGULAR PHONE: 647-6575

TOTAL PAGES SENT: 9 (including cover)

NOTES:

background notes

Czechoslovakia

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

February 1990

Official Name:
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 127,896 sq. km. (49,381 sq. mi.); about the size of New York. **Cities:** *Capital*—Prague (pop. 1.2 million). *Other cities*—Bratislava (413,000), Brno (385,000), Ostrava (327,000), Kosice (220,000), Plzen (Pilsen—175,000). **Terrain:** Rolling area in wet, low mountains to the north and south, hills in the center, rugged mountains in the east. **Climate:** Temperate.

People

Nationality: *Noun and adjective*—Czechoslovak(s). **Population** (1988): 15.6 million. **Annual growth rate:** 0.25%. **Ethnic groups:** Czech (64%), Slovak (31%), Hungarian, Poliah, Ukrainian, German. **Religions:** Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Jewish. **Languages:** Czech, Slovak, Hungarian. **Education:** *Literacy*—99%. **Health:** *Life expectancy*—males—67.5 yrs; females—75 yrs. **Work force** (7.8 million): *Agriculture*—14%. *Industry, construction, and commerce*—64%. *Services and government*—22%.

Government

Type: socialist republic. **Independence:** Czechoslovak state established 1918. **Constitution:** July 11, 1960 (being redrafted during 1990).

Branches: *Executive*—president (chief of state), prime minister (head of government), cabinet. *Legislative*—bicameral Federal Assembly. *Judicial*—Supreme Court (1960), Constitutional Court (1968).

Political parties: With free parliamentary elections set for 1990, many new parties are emerging to challenge the Czechoslovak

Administrative subdivisions: Two semiautonomous "republics"—Czech Socialist Republic (Bohemia, Moravia), Slovak Socialist Republic (Slovakia); 10 administrative districts and 2 city administrations.

Defense: 7% of 1987 state budget.

Flag: A blue triangle extending the length of the staff side, with its apex toward the center, a white band on the upper half of the remaining space, and a red band on the lower half.

Economy

GNP (1987): $107 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1987 est.): 2.6%. **Per capita income** (1987): $6,900.

Natural resources: Coal, coke, timber, lignite, uranium, magnesite.

Agriculture (7% of GNP): *Products*—wheat, rye, oats, corn, barley, potatoes, sugar beets, hogs, cattle, horses.

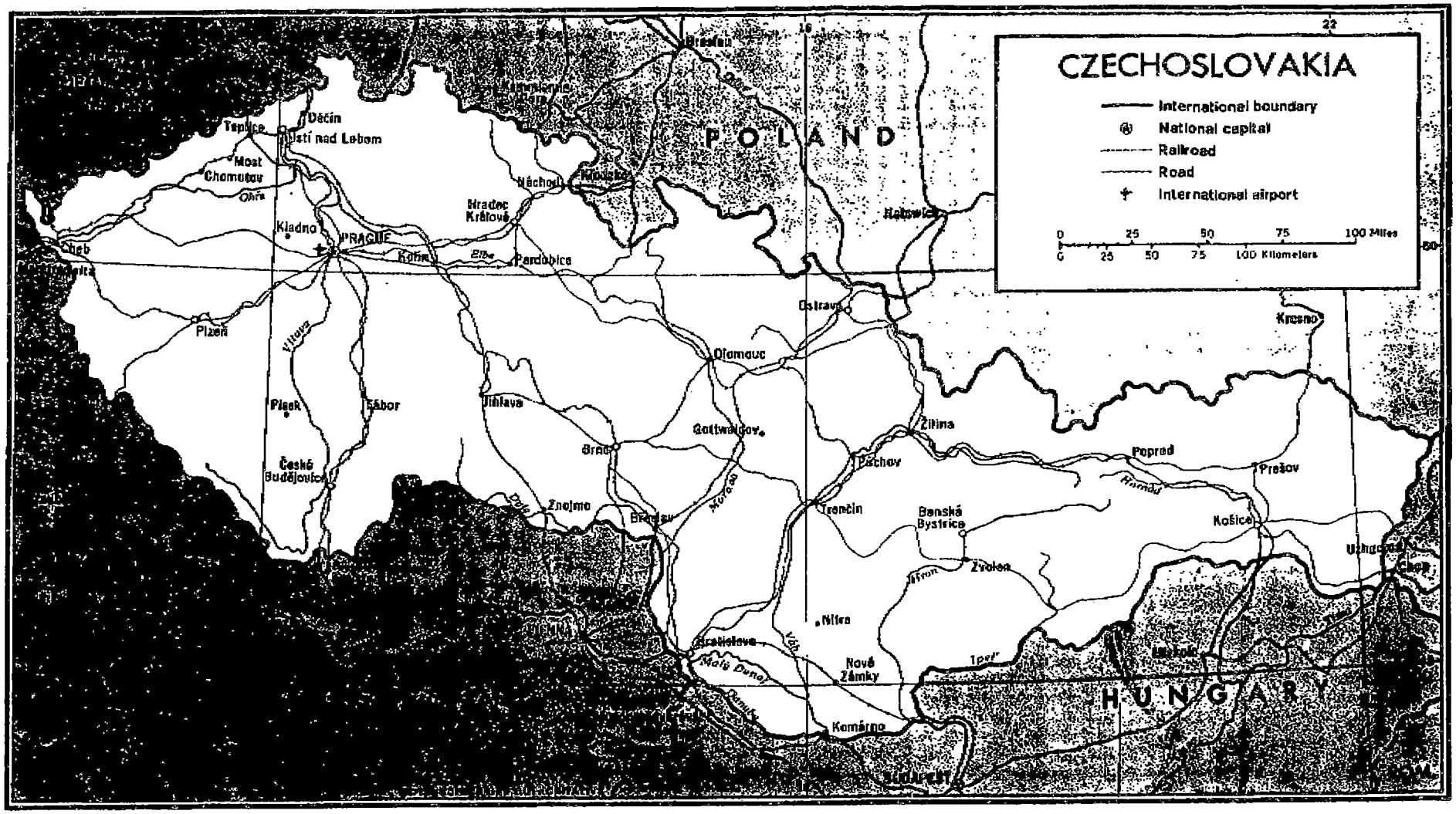
Industry (60% of GNP): *Types*—iron and steel, machinery and equipment, cement, sheet glass, motor vehicles, armaments, chemicals, ceramics, wood, paper products.

Trade (1987): *Exports*—$8.4 billion: machinery, iron and steel, chemicals, raw materials, consumer goods. *Imports*—$8.4 billion: machinery, equipment, raw materials, consumer goods. *Partners*—Austria, Bulgaria, East Germany, West Germany, Hungary, Romania, Soviet Union, Yugoslavia.

Exchange rates (January 1990): 38 crowns=U.S. $1.

Membership in International Organizations

UN and its specialized agencies, Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), Warsaw Pact.



ership began practical steps toward political, economic, and social reforms that promised a better life for the Czechoslovak people. In addition, it called for politico-military changes in the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact and Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA). The leadership affirmed its loyalty to socialism and the Warsaw Pact but also expressed the desire to improve relations with all countries of the world regardless of their social systems.

A program adopted in April 1968 set guidelines for a modern, humanistic-socialist democracy that would guarantee freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and travel; insulate the government from the Communist Party; create independent courts; introduce multiple-choice, secret-ballot elections; and effect economic reforms. After 20 years of little participation, the public gradually began to take an interest in the government and leadership. Dubcek became a popular national figure and the first Czechoslovak communist leader to enjoy broad public support.

Internal reforms and foreign policy statements of the Dubcek leadership created great concern among some of the other Warsaw Pact communist governments and parties. On the night of August 20, 1968, Soviet, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, and East German troops invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak Party and Government immediately declared that the invading troops had not been invited into the country and that their invasion was in violation of socialist principles, international law, and the UN Charter.

The principal Czechoslovak leaders were forcibly and secretly taken to the Soviet Union. Under obvious Soviet duress, the Czechoslovaks engaged in a series of negotiations at Moscow on August 23–26, again on October 2–3, and finally at Prague on October 16. On that day, Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin, acting on behalf of all the invading countries, and Czechoslovak Premier Oldrich Cernik signed a treaty that provided for the "temporary" stationing of an unspecified number of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia.

In November, the troops of the other countries and some of the Soviet forces were withdrawn. In addition to accepting the "legalization" of stationing Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak leaders were forced to censor the media and to curb virtually all of the reforms that Dubcek had promoted.

Dubcek was removed as party First Secretary on April 17, 1969, and was replaced by another Slovak, Gustav Husak. Later, Dubcek and many allies within the party were stripped of their other party positions in a purge of the Communist Party that lasted until 1971 and that reduced party membership by almost one-third.

By October 27, 1969, the Soviets had achieved their basic objectives: the Czechoslovak liberalization movement was dismantled; elements of the orthodox Communist Party were back in control; and Soviet troops remained stationed in Czechoslovakia. On that date, General Secretary Husak, Prime Minister Cernik, and President Svoboda signed a joint communique with the Soviets at Moscow that justified the invasion, accepted the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty, avowed that stationing Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia was essential to the security of Czechoslovakia's western borders, and opened the way for the further integration of Czechoslovakia's economy with that of the Soviet Union. This relationship was further formalized in a 20-year Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance signed on May 6, 1970. In May 1975, Gustav Husak replaced the ailing Svoboda as president, retaining at the same time his position as Communist Party General Secretary. Milos Jakes, who presided over the purge of party members after the 1968 invasion, succeeded Husak as party general secretary in December 1987.

GEOGRAPHY

Czechoslovakia borders on Poland and East Germany to the north, the Soviet Union to the east, Hungary and Austria to the south, and West Germany to the west.

Czechoslovakia's three principal regions are Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. Bohemia, the westernmost region, is politically and economically the most important part of the country. Its largest city, Prague, is Czechoslovakia's capital. The landscape consists of rolling plains, hills, and plateaus surrounded by low mountains to the north, west, and south.

Moravia, the central region, has important coal and steel industries in the north and agricultural areas in the south. It is bordered on the north by mountains and generally has more hills than Bohemia. Bohemia and Moravia make up the historic Czech lands, now forming the

Other ethnic groups include about 600,000 Hungarians in Slovakia, smaller numbers of Ukrainians, Germans, and Poles, and about 250,000 gypsies, the fastest growing ethnic element in the population, who live mainly in Slovakia.

Although the government has a regulatory role in religious organizations, laws promulgating religious freedom were passed in late 1989. The major denominations and estimated memberships are the Roman Catholic Church (10.5 million), the Czechoslovak Hussite Church (400,000), the Slovak Lutheran (Evangelical) Church (400,000), the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren (265,000), the Greek Catholic Church (450,000), and the Eastern Orthodox Church (150,000). About 10,000 Jews remain of the prewar population of 360,000.

nated in September 1938, when, at Munich, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom acceded to Nazi pressure and agreed to force Czechoslovakia to cede the Sudetenland to Germany. Fulfilling Hitler's aggressive designs on all of Czechoslovakia, Germany invaded what remained of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939, established a German "protectorate," and created a puppet state out of Slovakia.

With the support of Slovak communists, Slovak democratic forces engineered a revolt in the summer of 1944. It failed because of German military action and the Soviet refusal to intervene or to permit more than token U.S. and British help (including a U.S. Air Force airlift of supplies and an Office of Strategic Services mission). Soviet troops overran all of Slovakia and Moravia and much of Bohemia, including Prague, were overrun in the winter and spring of 1944–45. U.S. forces liberated the city of Plzen and most

Extended Page 3.1

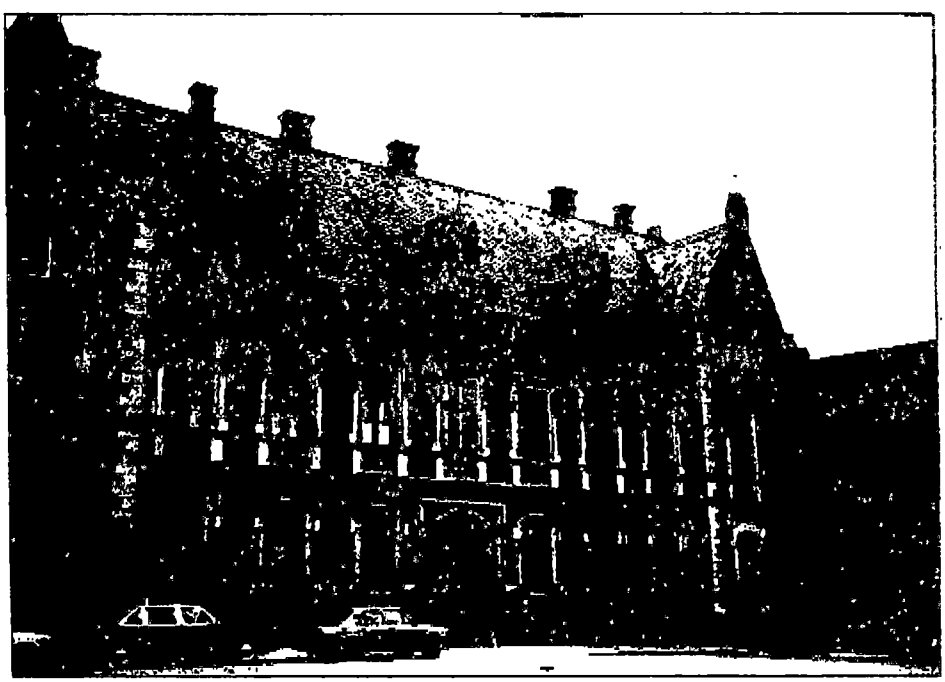
The 1968 Soviet invasion

The communist leadership allowed only a little relaxation in the early 1960s. However, in the mid-1960s, discontent arose within the ranks of the Communist Party Central Committee because of the slow pace of economic reform, resistance to cultural liberalization, and the desire of Slovaks within the leadership for a larger share of the country's investment resources.

The discontent culminated with the removal of Novotny from party leadership in January 1968 and from the presidency of the republic in March. He was replaced as party leader by a longtime, Soviet-educated party activist of Slovak origin, Alexander Dubcek, and as president by Gen. Ludvik Svoboda, a military hero of both world wars. In addition to Novotny, many other orthodox communists were subsequently forced from party and government positions.

After January 1968, the Dubcek leadership began practical steps toward politi-

Extended Page 3, 2



The exterior courtyard of the Hradcany Castle, which is located in Prague.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

In November 1989, student protests of police brutality ushered in a period of rapid changes that culminated, by year's end, in a new, noncommunist government and the election of dissident playwright Vaclav Havel as president. The new government ended the Communist Party's leading role in political life, eliminated restrictions on travel abroad, and passed legislation guaranteeing freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of conscience. All political prisoners were freed, and work began in earnest on democratic political reform.

After Husak had consolidated the "normalization" of the post-1968 period, Czecholslovaks generally had retreated from political life. The roots of 1989's Civic Forum movement that effected the "gentle revolution" can be found in human rights activism. On January 1, 1977, more than 250 people signed a manifesto called Charter 77 criticizing the government for failure to implement human rights provisions of documents it had signed, among which are the constitution; the International Covenants on Political and Civil and Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights; and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Although not organized in any real sense, Charter 77 constituted something of a citizens' initiative aimed at inducing the Czechoslovak Government to observe its formal obligations to respect the human rights of its citizens.

To stifle opposition, Husak subjected Charter 77 signatories and other "dissident" groups to periodic harassment and persecution. This included both judicial and nonjudicial measures, ranging from loss of job or denial of educational opportunities for children to detention, trial, and imprisonment. The government also induced or forced human rights activists into exile abroad and deprived them of their citizenship.

In October 1979, the government staged a "subversion" trial of six leading activists of the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted as a warning to other "dissidents." As political tension in neighboring Poland mounted during 1980-81, the government, perhaps fearing a "spillover" effect, became increasingly repressive in its treatment of Charter 77 and other activists. In March 1987, government efforts to neutralize the Jazz Section of the Czech Musicians' Union, which sought to promote freedom of cultural expression, resulted in the trial of several of the section's leaders after months of detention.

Despite persecution, Charter 77 had grown to at least 1,500 signatories in 1989. More important, the charter had become only one of many independent initiatives critical of the government. These new groups helped launch a series of peaceful demonstrations by thousands of citizens in Prague in late 1988 and early 1989 that drew worldwide attention and a strong government response. The regime forcibly dispersed a series of demonstrations in January 1989 and subsequently imprisoned several prominent human rights activists, including Havel who served 4 months in prison on charges of incitement.

In the events of November 1989, these disparate groups united to become Civic Forum, an umbrella group championing bureaucratic reform and civil liberties. Civic Forum quickly gained the support of millions of Czechs, as did its Slovak counterpart, Public Without Violence. Faced with overwhelming repudiation by the population, the Communist Party all but collapsed. Its leaders, Husak and party chief Milos Jakes, resigned in December 1989.

GOVERNMENT

A coalition government in which the Communist Party has a minority of ministerial portfolios was formed in December 1989. The government is drafting a new constitution to replace the one promulgated on July 11, 1960. A 1968 law revised some sections to establish more equitable representation between Czechs and Slovaks in federal bodies and in economic development. The law canceled the historic preferential treatment of Czech lands by increasing the autonomy of national (Czech and Slovak) organizations in the formation, administration, and operation of the economy. In practice, however, exercise of political power resembles a unitary system more than a federal one.

In Czechoslovakia, a distinction is made between the federal government and the national government. Czechoslovakia has two national governments—the Czech and the Slovak—and one federal government for the entire country.

The bicameral Federal Assembly, which was reconstituted from a unicameral legislature on January 1, 1969, is nominally the highest organ of state authority. The Chamber of the People consists of 200 deputies elected by districts based on population; the Chamber of the Nations consists of 150 deputies, of whom 75 are elected by the Czech National Council and 75 by the Slovak National Council. The two bodies are bridged by the chairman of the Federal Assembly and two deputies who chair the chambers. The consent of both chambers is required to pass a law. The number of majority votes needed to pass a bill depends on the kind of bill under consideration and on the chamber voting.

The election law of July 1971 lengthened the terms of the deputies from 4 to 5 years. Legislative reforms under way in 1990 are likely to produce parliamentary representation similar to Western democracies. Until that time, the Chamber of the People will continue to represent the National Front, a coalition of political parties and mass organizations controlled by the Communist Party. Apart from the Czechoslovak and the Slovak communist parties, four others are, in theory, noncommunist. In the second chamber, the Chamber of Nations, members currently are selected by the National Councils, the legislative bodies of the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Administrative and executive powers are vested in the cabinet and the president of the republic. The president is elected by the Federal Assembly for a 5-year term. With the approval of the Federal Assembly, the president appoints a cabinet including a prime minister as head of government.

The country's highest court is the Supreme Court, elected by and responsible to the Federal Assembly. The lower courts are elected by the districts and counties. In 1990, Czechoslovakia will reform its judicial system to introduce Western-style legal rights for individuals.

Principal Government Officials

President—Vaclav Havel
Prime Minister—Marian Calfa
Deputy Prime Ministers—
Valtr Komarek
Jan Carnogursky
Vladimir Dlouhy

Ministers

Foreign Affairs—Jiri Dienstbier
National Defense—Gen. Miloslav Vacek
Finance—Vaclav Klaus
Foreign Trade—Andrej Barcak
Interior—Richard Sacher
Premier, Czech Socialist Republic—Frantisek Pitra
Premier, Slovak Socialist Republic—Milan Cic
Ambassador to the United States—Rita Klimova

Czechoslovakia maintains an embassy in the United States at 3900 Linnean Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20008 (tel. 202-363-6315).

DEFENSE

A major overhaul of Czechoslovak defense forces is underway in 1990. At the end of 1989, regular forces totaled about 200,000 and included:

- The army, with 145,000 members organized into 5 tank divisions, 5 motorized rifle divisions, 1 airborne regiment, and 1 artillery division; and
- The air force, with 55,000 members organized into air defense, and a tactical air army, each with two air divisions.
- Border guard and interior guards, with 35,000 members, and the people's militia, with 120,000 members.

Compulsory military training for men required service of 2 years in the army, 3 years in the air force, or 27 months in the border and interior guards.

As a charter member of the Warsaw Pact (May 1955), Czechoslovak forces are subject to the command and direction of the Warsaw Pact commander, always a Soviet officer. At the end of 1989, about 80,000 Soviet troops, including 5,000 air force personnel, were stationed in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovak-Soviet discussions on Soviet troop withdrawals began in January 1990.

ECONOMY

Czechoslovakia has a developed, but gradually deteriorating, industrialized economy. Its strong industrial tradition dates to the period when Bohemia and Moravia were the industrial heartland of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Today, this heritage is an asset and a liability. Czechoslovakia has a well-educated population and a developed transport system, but much of its plant and equipment, inadequately modernized in almost 40 years of communist rule, is among the oldest in Europe. The country's centrally planned economy is tightly linked with the Soviet Union and other East European countries, although the coalition government challenged traditional ties with its East Bloc neighbors at the January 1990 CEMA conference in Sofia. The economy is characterized by low growth, low technological sophistication, and structural imbalances caused by inappropriate investment decisions over the last 40 years.

Czechoslovakia is deficient in energy resources and many raw materials. Its major natural resources are coal (brown and hard), timber, and uranium. Its main agricultural products include sugar beets, fodder roots, potatoes, wheat, and hops.

Principal industries are heavy and general machine-building, iron and steel production, metalworking, chemicals, electronics, transport equipment, textiles, glass, beer brewing, china, ceramics, and pharmaceuticals.

The gross national product (GNP) was approximately $107 billion in 1987, amounting to about $6,900 per capita. GNP grew steadily during the early and mid-1970s, stagnated during the years 1978–82, and resumed modest growth of about 2.5%–3% a year in 1983.

At the time of the 1948 communist takeover, Czechoslovakia had a balanced economy and one of the higher levels of industrialization in Europe. In 1948, the government began to stress heavy industry over agriculture and consumer goods and services. Many basic industries and foreign trade, as well as all domestic wholesale trade, had been nationalized before the communists took power. Nationalization of most retail trade was completed in 1950–51. Exceptions to private ownership in these sectors are negligible and consist mainly a few artisans. Collectivization of agriculture began in 1949. Today, all but about 7%–8% of the agricultural land is in the "socialist sector," either in state farms or in state-run cooperatives.

Heavy industry received major economic support during the 1950s, but waste and inefficient use of resources resulted from the adaptation of centralized planning techniques to the complex industrial sector. Although the labor force was traditionally skilled and efficient, inadequate incentives for labor and management contributed to a high labor turnover, low productivity, and unsatisfactory quality. Economic failures reached a critical stage in 1963.

A period of de-Stalinization and economic reform was launched during 1963–67. Proposed reforms involved decentralized decisionmaking, including greater freedom for managers to set prices, production levels, investments, and wages. The new mechanisms were invoked with insufficient preparation and failed to receive support from some important elements in the Communist Party and from many economic officials and planners. Inflationary pressures began to develop, and wholesale prices were permitted to rise rapidly in 1967. Firms were making substantial profit without having to improve productivity or quality of output.

Hope for more wide-ranging economic reform came with Dubcek's rise in January 1968. Under his leadership, Czechoslovakia could not immediately come to grips with inflationary forces, much less begin the immense task of correcting the economy's basic problems—overconcentration on heavy industry, low productivity, lack of modern equipment, and inferior quality.

Any opportunity the Dubcek leadership might have had to place economic reform on a sounder footing was cut short by the 1968 invasion, which brought renewed strains on the balance of payments. Although industrial production improved during the immediate period after the invasion, inflationary panic-buying continued, and worker productivity fell as demoralization spread.

Price increases and wage controls implemented under Husak's leadership reduced inflationary pressures and, to some extent, increased productivity. Unfulfilled targets in housing construction and inadequate supplies of fuels and power continued. High rates of absenteeism continued to reveal the attitude of workers.

The economy grew during the 1970s but stagnated between 1978 and 1982. The Czechoslovak approach to its economic problems has been to continue to uphold central planning. After a 3-year (1978–80) experiment involving about 15% of the economy, in January 1981 the regime introduced a "Set of Measures" to improve management of the production process. Its general goals were to improve export performance and the quality of production, with particular emphasis on economizing on labor, materials, and energy. The new measures, in addition to reinforcing central planning and controls, included a system of rewards and penalties intended to distinguish the performance of enterprises and workers. Ideological campaigns were maintained to diminish apathy and aversion to the incentive system. The leadership later acknowledged that the "Set of Measures" failed to stimulate exports, achieve efficiency, or promote technological innovation.

The economy grew after 1982, achieving annual average output growth of more than 3% in 1983–85. Imports from the West were curtailed, exports boosted, and hard currency debt reduced substantially. New investment was made in electronics, chemicals, and pharmaceuticals, and these sectors were industry leaders by 1986. But the economy remains troubled by central planning and stifling bureaucracy, which produced low exports and productivity, and overreliance on the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries as sources of raw materials and as markets for goods. A recent decline in imports from the Soviet Union and problems in trade with some other CEMA members, caused in part by their unwillingness to accept poor-quality products, may foreshadow a gradual change in the pattern of trade.

Economic reform is the greatest hurdle facing the post–1989 government. Although sweeping structural changes that would increase the role of market forces are being prepared, introduction of those changes is proceeding slowly and cautiously.

Travel Notes

Climate and clothing: The climate is most pleasant during May-August; smog and dampness prevail in November-March. Bring rainwear and lightweight or heavy woolens depending on the season.

Customs and currency: U.S. citizens must have visas. Tourist visas, valid for one entry, usually can be obtained within 2 weeks. Visas require the tourist, upon entry, to purchase 30 West German marks (about $17 at the exchange rate of early 1990) a day in Czechoslovak crowns. Crowns may not be imported or exported.

Health: No unusual health precautions need be taken in Prague; however, visitors coming from areas where yellow fever or cholera are endemic must have proper inoculations. Tapwater is usually safe. Bring any needed medications.

Telecommunications: Telephone and cable service is adequate. Czechoslovakia is six standard time zones ahead of eastern standard time. Because of higher Czechoslovak rates, phone calls to the United States should be made collect, if possible.

Transportation: Czechoslovakia has a wide network of bus, rail, and air services. Prague has a subway and streetcars, and trolley buses serve cities and suburbs. Taxis and rental cars are available. Main roads are adequate.

About 80% of Czechoslovakia's trade is with other communist countries. The Soviet Union alone accounts for about 45% of Czechoslovak trade and supplies the country with almost all of its oil, natural gas and iron ore, as well as many other key raw materials. To secure these resources, Czechoslovakia is investing large amounts in natural gas, and iron ore extraction projects in the U.S.S.R. In return, Czechoslovakia supplies machines and other industrial products to the U.S.S.R. After the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia's major trading partners are East Germany, Hungary, and Poland. Among Western countries, Austria, West Germany, and Switzerland account for the largest share. In 1987, U.S. imports from Czechoslovakia totaled $86 million, and U.S. exports totaled $47 million at the official rate of exchange.

Post–1989 Czechoslovakia had made expanded trade with the West an explicit policy in an effort to join the global economy. Austrian and West German firms already have increased activities in Czechoslovakia, and U.S. businesses have revived their interest.

The government has justified itself largely by its efforts to improve the material welfare of the population. The standard of living is difficult to measure, but it is certainly high in comparison to other Eastern bloc countries. Unemployment has been virtually nonexistent, the result of inefficient use of labor. About 7.8 million people, or half the population, are employed. Women make up about 47% of the labor force. Workers receive ample fringe benefits and an extensive social security program. Food and consumer goods, although by no means abundant, are in good supply, and the level of automobile ownership is the highest in Eastern Europe.

In January 1990, the government introduced a series of legislative changes designed to increase enterprise autonomy, efficiency and productivity. These changes could improve economic performance, but government experts agree that more substantial reform on private property, currency, investment, and financial institutions is needed.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The foreign policy of Czechoslovakia had, until 1989, followed that of the Soviet Union, the result of the Soviet presence in Czechoslovakia, and the country's economic and military ties to the Soviet bloc. Since the beginning of 1990, Czechoslovakia has sought to carve a niche as a small power serving as a bridge among its neighbors.

Czechoslovakia is a member of the United Nations and participates in its specialized agencies. It also is a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Czechoslovakia maintains diplomatic relations with more than 100 countries, of which 63 have permanent representation in Prague.

U.S.-CZECHOSLOVAK RELATIONS

President Woodrow Wilson and the United States played a major role in the establishment of the state of Czechoslovakia on October 28, 1918. President Wilson's 14 Points, including the right of ethnic groups to form their own states, were the basis for the Czechs and Slovaks joining to form the Czechoslovak state. Tomas Masaryk, the father of the state and its first president, visited the United States during World War I and worked with U.S. officials in developing the basis of the new country. He used the U.S. Constitution as a model for the first Czechoslovak Constitution.

Since before the founding of the Czechoslovak state, the U.S. Government and people have maintained a friendly and sympathetic attitude toward the Czech and Slovak people. Millions of Americans have their roots in the Czech lands and Slovakia, and a large community in the United States has strong cultural and family ties with Czechoslovakia.

After World War II and the return of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, normal relations were continued until 1948, when the communists seized power. Relations cooled rapidly.

The Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 further complicated U.S.-Czechoslovak relations. The United States referred the matter to the UN Security Council as a violation of the UN Charter. In a report to Congress, Secretary of State William P. Rogers condemned the invasion as an infringement of Czechoslovakia's sovereignty and stressed that improvement in East-West relations must be based on respect for the principles of sovereign equality, political independence, and the territorial integrity of each European state, regardless of its political or social system.

Despite cool relations, both sides decided in the fall of 1972 on limited steps aimed at solving some problems. Negotiations were begun on a consular convention, a trade agreement, an accord on financial issues dating back to World War II, an exchanges agreement, and an accord to open consulates in Bratislava and Chicago. The discussions failed to produce results.

The 1980s saw modest improvement in U.S.-Czechoslovak relations at the official level. In 1982, agreement was reached to resolve outstanding financial issues, including compensation from Czechoslovakia for the U.S. citizens and corporations whose properties were nationalized after World War II and the delivery to Czechoslovakia of its share of the gold recovered from Germany and other countries by the Allies at the end of the war. The gold was in the custody of a tripartite (United States, United Kingdom, and France) commission established by international agreement to allocate the pool of recovered gold among the countries from which gold was stolen by the Nazis. The United States blocked the gold identified by the commission for delivery to Czechoslovakia pending a settlement of the nationalization claims.

Another lengthy negotiation was concluded in 1986 when the United States and Czechoslovakia signed the first exchanges between the two countries. The agreement provides for exchanges in culture, education, science, technology, and other fields. In addition, the U.S.-Czechoslovak Consular Convention, signed in 1973, was finally brought into force by an exchange of instruments of ratification in October 1987.

With the "gentle revolution" of 1989, bilateral relations have improved markedly. Dissidents once sustained by U.S. encouragement and human rights policies reached high levels of government. In 1990, both governments are moving rapidly to forge close ties.

U.S.-Czechoslovak trade, hindered by Czechoslovakia's failure to qualify for most-favored-nation tariff status and its trade orientation toward the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries, was stagnant until the events of 1989. Of $47 million in U.S. exports to Czechoslovakia in 1987, cattle hides and fertilizers accounted for almost half. The United States purchased $11 million in glassware from Czechoslovakia in 1987. Other leading imports included leather footwear, hops and beer, and small tractors. In 1990, as part of the general development of warmer relations, prospects for improved trade relations and mutual economic cooperation increased rapidly.

Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—Shirley Temple Black
Deputy Chief of Mission—Theodore E. Russell
Counselor for Political and Economic Affairs—Clifford G. Bond
Press and Cultural Affairs Officer (USIA)—Thomas Hull
Economic Affairs Officer—Harvey D. Lampert
Commercial Officer—Janet G. Speck
Consul—Richele Keller
Defense Attache—Col. Edwin Motyka
Administrative Officer—Steven J. White

The U.S. Embassy is located at Trziste 15, Prague (tel. 536641/8). ■

Published by the United States Department of State • Bureau of Public Affairs • Office of Public Communication • Editorial Division • Washington, D.C.• February 1990
Editor: Jim Pinkelman

Department of State Publication 7758
Background Notes Series

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

GEOGRAPHY

Czechoslovakia borders on Poland and East Germany to the north, the Soviet Union to the east, Hungary and Austria to the south, and West Germany to the west.

Czechoslovakia's three principal regions are Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. Bohemia, the westernmost region, is politically and economically the most important part of the country. Its largest city, Prague, is Czechoslovakia's capital. The landscape consists of rolling plains, hills, and plateaus surrounded by low mountains to the north, west, and south.

Moravia, the central region, has important coal and steel industries in the north and agricultural areas in the south. It is bordered on the north by mountains and generally has more hills than Bohemia. Bohemia and Moravia make up the historic Czech lands, now forming the Czech Republic.

Slovakia, in the east, has rugged mountains in the central and northern part and lowlands in the south that are important for agriculture. Traditionally less developed politically, economically, and culturally, Slovakia has become more important since Czechoslovakia's independence; it now forms the country's second republic.

Before World War II, Czechoslovakia encompassed a fourth region, Ruthenia, in the Transcarpathian Ukraine. The Soviet Union annexed that section after the war under a treaty between Prague and Moscow.

The climate in most of Bohemia and Moravia is temperate. Lush springs and pleasant autumns alternate with cool summers (average July highs-lows: 74°–58°F) and cold, overcast winters (average January highs-lows: 34°–25°F). Slovakia is characterized by wider extremes—warmer summers in the south and colder, more severe winters in the mountains in the north. Precipitation in Prague is low—about 51 centimeters (20 in.) annually.

PEOPLE

The 15.6 million people of Czechoslovakia include about 65% Czechs and 30% Slovaks. Although the Slovaks are a nationality distinct from the Czechs, most favor working with the Czechs in a common federal state with extensive autonomy for Slovakia.

Other ethnic groups include about 600,000 Hungarians in Slovakia, smaller numbers of Ukrainians, Germans, and Poles, and about 250,000 gypsies, the fastest growing ethnic element in the population, who live mainly in Slovakia.

Although the government has a regulatory role in religious organizations, laws promulgating religious freedom were passed in late 1989. The major denominations and estimated memberships are the Roman Catholic Church (10.5 million), the Czechoslovak Hussite Church (400,000), the Slovak Lutheran (Evangelical) Church (400,000), the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren (265,000), the Greek Catholic Church (450,000), and the Eastern Orthodox Church (150,000). About 10,000 Jews remain of the prewar population of 360,000.

HISTORY

The Czechs lost their national independence to Austria in 1620 at the Battle of White Mountain and, for the next 300 years, were ruled by the Austrian monarchy. With the collapse of the monarchy at the end of World War I, an independent country of Czechoslovakia was formed with the assistance of President Woodrow Wilson. The Slovaks, ruled by the Hungarians for 1,000 years, joined in the common country with the Czechs. The Slovaks were not at the same level of economic and technological development as the Czechs, but the freedom and opportunity found in the new Czechoslovak Republic enabled them to make rapid strides toward overcoming these differences.

Although Czechoslovakia was the only East European country that remained an effective parliamentary democracy throughout 1918–38, it was plagued with minority problems, the most important stemming from the country's large German population. Constituting more than 22% of the population and largely concentrated in the Bohemian and Moravian border regions (the Sudetenland), this minority was encouraged to reject Czech-German reconciliation in the new Czechoslovak country by nationalistic elements urged on in large part by Nazi Germany. Internal and external pressures culminated in September 1938, when, at Munich, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom acceded to Nazi pressure and agreed to force Czechoslovakia to cede the Sudetenland to Germany. Fulfilling Hitler's aggressive designs on all of Czechoslovakia, Germany invaded what remained of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939, established a German "protectorate," and created a puppet state out of Slovakia.

With the support of Slovak communists, Slovak democratic forces engineered a revolt in the summer of 1944. It failed because of German military action and the Soviet refusal to intervene or to permit more than token U.S. and British help (including a U.S. Air Force airlift of supplies and an Office of Strategic Services mission). Soviet troops overran all of Slovakia and Moravia and much of Bohemia, including Prague, were overrun in the winter and spring of 1944–45. U.S. forces liberated the city of Plzen and most of western Bohemia in May 1945. In Prague, a civilian uprising against the German garrison had taken place in early May 1945. Following Germany's surrender, some 2.5 million ethnic Germans were expelled from Czechoslovakia.

From May 1945 until the spring elections of 1946, the country was ruled by a coalition government that included Communist Party members. The democratic elements, led by President Eduard Benes, hoped the Soviet Union would allow Czechoslovakia freedom to choose its own form of government, and aspired to a Czechoslovakia that would act as a bridge between East and West. This objective was sustained by Czechoslovakia's highly developed economy, its strong democratic traditions, and its readiness to accept considerable socialization of the economic system. The Communist Party, however, which won 38% of the vote in the 1946 election, held most of the key positions and gradually managed to neutralize or silence anticommunist forces. Although the Benes government initially hoped to participate in the Marshall Plan, it was forced by Moscow to back out. Under the cover of superficial legality, the communists seized power in February 1948.

After extensive purges modeled on the Stalinist pattern in other East European states, the Communist Party tried 14 of its former leaders in November 1952 and sentenced 11 to death. For more than a decade thereafter, the Czechoslovak communist leadership was characterized by its stability of tenure under the leadership of party chief Antonin Novotny.

The 1968 Soviet Invasion

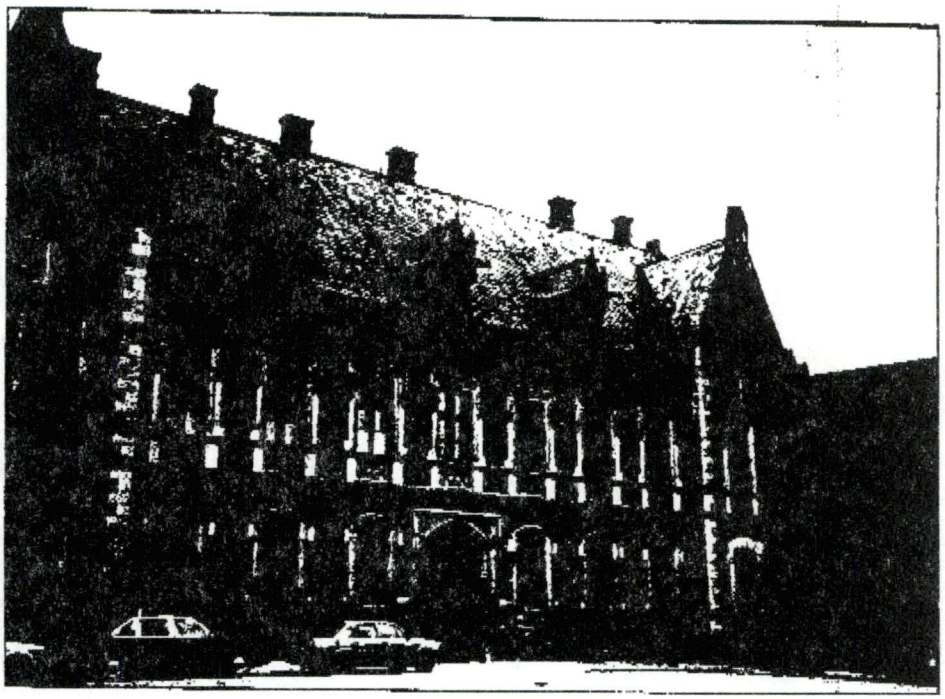
The communist leadership allowed only a little relaxation in the early 1960s. However, in the mid-1960s, discontent arose within the ranks of the Communist Party Central Committee because of the slow pace of economic reform, resistance to cultural liberalization, and the desire of Slovaks within the leadership for a larger share of the country's investment resources.

The discontent culminated with the removal of Novotny from party leadership in January 1968 and from the presidency of the republic in March. He was replaced as party leader by a longtime, Soviet-educated party activist of Slovak origin, Alexander Dubcek, and as president by Gen. Ludvik Svoboda, a military hero of both world wars. In addition to Novotny, many other orthodox communists were subsequently forced from party and government positions.

After January 1968, the Dubcek leadership began practical steps toward political, economic, and social reforms that promised a better life for the Czechoslovak people. In addition, it called for politico-military changes in the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact and Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA). The leadership affirmed its loyalty to socialism and the Warsaw Pact but also expressed the desire to improve relations with all countries of the world regardless of their social systems.

A program adopted in April 1968 set guidelines for a modern, humanistic-socialist democracy that would guarantee freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and travel; insulate the government from the Communist Party; create independent courts; introduce multiple-choice, secret-ballot elections; and effect economic reforms. After 20 years of little participation, the public gradually began to take an interest in the government and leadership. Dubcek became a popular national figure and the first Czechoslovak communist leader to enjoy broad public support.

Internal reforms and foreign policy statements of the Dubcek leadership created great concern among some of the other Warsaw Pact communist governments and parties. On the night of August 20, 1968, Soviet, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, and East German troops invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak Party and Government immediately declared that the invading troops had not been invited into the country and that their invasion was in violation of socialist principles, international law, and the UN Charter.



The exterior courtyard of the Hradcany Castle, which is located in Prague.

The principal Czechoslovak leaders were forcibly and secretly taken to the Soviet Union. Under obvious Soviet duress, the Czechoslovaks engaged in a series of negotiations at Moscow on August 23–26, again on October 2–3, and finally at Prague on October 16. On that day, Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin, acting on behalf of all the invading countries, and Czechoslovak Premier Oldrich Cernik signed a treaty that provided for the "temporary" stationing of an unspecified number of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia.

In November, the troops of the other countries and some of the Soviet forces were withdrawn. In addition to accepting the "legalization" of stationing Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak leaders were forced to censor the media and to curb virtually all of the reforms that Dubcek had promoted.

Dubcek was removed as party First Secretary on April 17, 1969, and was replaced by another Slovak, Gustav Husak. Later, Dubcek and many allies within the party were stripped of their other party positions in a purge of the Communist Party that lasted until 1971 and that reduced party membership by almost one-third.

By October 27, 1969, the Soviets had achieved their basic objectives: the Czechoslovak liberalization movement was dismantled; elements of the orthodox Communist Party were back in control; and Soviet troops remained stationed in Czechoslovakia. On that date, General Secretary Husak, Prime Minister Cernik, and President Svoboda signed a joint communique with the Soviets at Moscow that justified the invasion, accepted the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty, avowed that stationing Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia was essential to the security of Czechoslovakia's western borders, and opened the way for the further integration of Czechoslovakia's economy with that of the Soviet Union. This relationship was further formalized in a 20-year Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance signed on May 6, 1970. In May 1975, Gustav Husak replaced the ailing Svoboda as president, retaining at the same time his position as Communist Party General Secretary. Milos Jakes, who presided over the purge of party members after the 1968 invasion, succeeded Husak as party general secretary in December 1987.

PD -
FYI
Dan

McGroarty/Dooley
November 9, 1990
2:30 pm
[czech]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
NOVEMBER 17, 1990
XX:00 A.M.

President Havel. President Dubcek. Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovakian Republics. Members of the Assembly -- and the **people of Czechoslovakia.** // It is an honor for me -- the first American President ever to visit your country -- to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom. //

One year ago today, in the streets and squares of this city, the people of Prague gathered, first by twos and threes, then by thousands. In the night air, an autumn chill -- in their minds, memories of a spring twenty years past. // The Velvet Revolution had begun. //

That revolution succeeded without a single shot. Your weapons proved far superior to any in the State's arsenal. In the face of force -- you deployed the power of principle. Against a wall of lies -- you advanced // the truth. Out of a thousand acts of courage -- Czech and Slovak -- emerged a single voice. It's message: the time had come to bring freedom home to Czechoslovakia. //

Your revolution was also a renewal -- a renewal of the deeply held principles that bind my country to yours. Principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence -- written in the

United States in 1918 by Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MAS-ah-rick), your first President, signed by Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. Principles inspired by the ringing words of **our own Jefferson**, more than two centuries ago.

Here in Czechoslovakia, in November of 1989, that distant revolution echoed down through history. At a workers' rally -- in a place called Branik on the outskirts of Prague -- a worker, dressed in grimy overalls, rose to speak at the factory gate. He began his speech to his fellow citizens with these words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident. That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights -- and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

On his visit to America, speaking to our Congress as today I speak to you, President Havel recalled that moment when the words of that distant revolution spoke in a language understood by all mankind: "These words inspire us all.... They inspire us to be citizens." //

Today, as fellow citizens of free governments, we share the fruits of our common resolve. Europe -- East and West -- stands at the theshold of a new era -- an era of peace, prosperity and security unparalled in the long history of this continent. Today, Europe's long division is ending. Today, once more -- Czechoslovakia // is free. //

A **new Europe** is now emerging -- built on the firm foundation of shared democratic principles -- a shared sense of **partnership** that made the **Revolution of '89** possible. //

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over. It's renaissance has just begun. // Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism.

I am here today to say at this decisive moment in your history that America stands with you.

America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. To that end:

o Today, I will sign the final documents giving Czechoslovakia Most Favored Nation status -- the most liberal access possible to American markets.

o (Other initiatives to come: NSC.)

And let me say once again: It is right that Prague -- once on the fault line of Cold War and conflict -- now at the heart of the new and united Europe -- should be the home to the Permanent Secratariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. //

In Paris a few days from now, the nations of North America and Europe will sign historic documents: a treaty to provide deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe. [[A joint Declaration of Principles between the United States and the European Community.]] And a CSCE Summit Declaration, charting

the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic Alliance, the essential guarantor of European security, has pledged itself to that same goal.

The United States welcomes the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of free nations. Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that reaches its democratic destiny -- a Europe that is truly whole and free. //

But this long-sought reconciliation will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent. //

The principles guiding our two nations -- the principles at work in our two revolutions -- are not Czech or Slovak or American alone. These principles are universal -- rooted in the love of liberty and the rights of man. //

Let me draw on the life and writings of Vaclav Havel to make my point. Several years ago, Havel wrote about the Western visitors who came to see your so-called "dissidents," asking how they could help your cause. He wondered about that question -- wondered why visitors from the West couldn't see that **your** cause was **their cause, too.** Havel wrote, and I quote: "Are not my dim prospects or my hopes his dim prospects and hopes as well? Is not the destruction of humans in Prague a destruction of all humans? Is not indifference to what is happening here a preparation for the same kind of misery elsewhere?"

Dissident Havel, now President Havel, spoke then of a shared destiny -- spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. //

In that same spirit, let me say to you now that our challenge today is to strengthen these common bonds. To forge a new Atlantic partnership of shared values and common security -- a more inclusive Atlantic community, open to all who are dedicated to democracy and the rule of law. To build on the successes we have achieved together, successes that point the way to nothing less than a new world order. //

Czechs and Slovaks understand this vision and this challenge. The heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOSE), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us -- the countrymen of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the son of Moravia whose name graces your great university at Bratislava -- have always looked to the far horizon, to take their bearings form principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence demands constant vigilance, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own heroic actions here -- but on the broader principles that govern the greater world in which you live. We must recognize that no people, no Continent, can stand alone -- secure unto itself. Our fates -- our futures -- are intertwined.

That is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis is a **warning** -- to America as well as to Europe -- that **we cannot turn inward,** somehow

insulate ourselves from global challenges. For those in America who would retreat once again into isolationism -- for those on this side of the Atlantic who believe in "Europe for the Europeans," Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can **remain secure** when aggression **remains unchecked**. //

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know the tragic consequences when nations, confronted with aggression, choose to tell themselves it is no concern of theirs -- just a "quarrel in a far-away country between a people of whom we know nothing." //

We Americans, too, have learned. We know the costs -- to ourselves, and to the whole of Europe -- of our isolationism after the First World War. We know that America must resist the temptation to consider our work complete. **We must remain committed to the cause of freedom in the world.** //

The world's resolute action against Iraq's aggression shows what can be achieved when Americans and Europeans work together, in common cause with the rest of the world. //

For the first time in the post-war era -- the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. For the first time in the post war era -- the United Nations is functioning as its creators intended

it: free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action.

And from this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity -- to extend our international solidarity and put in place the first foundations of a new world order, based on the principles that undergird our own countries and the broader Atlantic community of nations: an order based on democracy and the rule of law; // an order founded in respect for human rights and individual liberty; // an order dedicated to resist aggression and the force of arms -- and promote enduring international peace and security. //

These principles are familiar. They are the principles on which we have staked our futures -- the principles for which we have fought and died -- not as fine words, but as the very form and substance of this new world we seek. //

Today, I am proud to join Czechoslovakia as it celebrates a year in freedom. I salute you for your courage and your vision: for all that you have endured -- and for all you are destined to achieve. And I challenge you, as you take your rightful place in the center of Europe, to look beyond the confines of this continent -- to join with your neighbors in Europe and in North America to build a new world, so that the peace and prosperity you seek -- the peace and prosperity we shall share -- will be the peace and prosperity of all mankind. //

Once again, thank you for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the people of Czechoslovakia.

Sioux City, IA press conf — V.P. A-bomb

4 objectives

November 7, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: PRAGUE SPEECHES

General

- Czechoslovakia is made up of two separate states: Czech and Slovakia. It is a sensitive subject with the Slovaks that the President is not visiting Slovakia, so he should say "I wish I had time to visit Slovakia (or Bratislava, their biggest city). When referring to the people, always refer to Czechs and Slovaks, not just Czechs.

- The people are friendly, wear Western style clothing, and like Americans very much.

- The economy is better than Poland; there is merchandise to buy. However, they have almost no experience with private retailing like in Hungary. They are about to undergo a wrenching switch to capitalism. Havel is a populist. He says, "Why should the people suffer? They did nothing wrong." However, Havel's new finanace minister urges a quick change to private enterprise. It will be painful, but should succeed.

- I saw no evidence of 40 years of communist rule on the streets. No red stars. No hammers and sickels. No communist statues.

- Prague is a stunningly beautiful city on a level with Paris and Budapest. There is a mixture of medieval, gothic, Baroque and Classical architecture that is unique in Europe. However, all of the buildings are covered in heavy soot from the heavy use of coal. If cleaned, Prague would rank high on a list of Europe's wonders. The Czech's say, "Don't judge us now. Wait five years." It will take longer, butthey should make a lot of progress.

- The U.S. is held in high regard. Woodrow Wilson was considered crucial in forming the country in 1918. They also appreciate us for standing up against communism, particular during the Prague Spring in 68. They are not expecting lots of $$$ but do want technical assistance and advice. Radio Free Europe is also credited with keeping the dissident movement going.

- The press is now totally free. I saw a Playboy-style Czech calendar on sale in the Metro station under Wenceslas Square for $1.30. (Didn't buy it.)

ADDRESS TO FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

This should be 12-15 minutes on teleprompter. About 300 legislators will be seated in an austere, modern auditorium. The building, built by the communists, is modern and fairly ugly. The only interesting item is that the new government installed two busts in the entry lobby of Thomas G. Masaryk and M.R. Stefanik. Masaryk was the country's first President. Stefanik was general under Masaryk. They are considered the founders of the country.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE IN WENCESLAS SQUARE

The address should be 5-8 minutes on cards. Translation will be consecutive. The site is directly in front of the statue of St. Wenceslas on his horse. Directly in front of the stage is the informal memorial created by the people to commemorate those slain by Soviet tanks in the Sqare in 1968. Fresh flowers and photos of the martyrs lay on a circle of bare ground about 15 feet in diameter. Surrounding the photos are 8 inch mounds of molten wax formed by 23 years of candles being burned more or less constantly. Several times the memorial was wiped away in 68, only to reappear. Eventually, the communists gave up trying to eliminate it. (Check this.)

Wenceslas Square is the spiritual and emotional heart of this nation. It is the grandest boulevard in Prague. It is the heart of the commercial district. It is where the Soviet tanks rolled in to crush dissent in 68. It is where the Velvet Revolution peacefully overthrew the communists in 89. King Wenceslas was also the originator of Czech nationalism several centuries ago. It was suggested to me that the speech be built around the phrase: "The history of freedom was written here." This should go over well. Maybe the President could say it in Czech? I don't know if it's pronounceable.

A crowd of 50,000 to 100,000 is planned. Maybe more will come.

EMBASSY GREETING

Ambassador Black packs a .357 magnum when she takes her dog for a walk in her back yard. The President mentioned her marksmanship skills in his Glynco, GA speech last year. The dog, a boxer, is named Gorby. (Joke: I just had a summit meeting with Gorby.) Black said she hopes the USSS puts lights in the back yard, because it's very dark at night. Acknowledge Admin. officer Frank Coulter & DCM Ted Russell.

GENERAL

Call Tom Hull at US Embassy and ask him for a list of communist place names that have been changed in the last year. Also, check to see if the Railroad Station has been renamed. It was originally named for President Wilson, but the communists eliminated that name. The new government may rename it for Wilson soon.

The garden behind the US Embassy slopes up a terraced hill that is topped by a little portico called a glorietta. Atop it flies the American flag. Near the top of this hill, the flag is visible throughout

much of Prague and is also clearly visible from the Castle where the President's office is. OVer the last 40 years, it was both a source of hope for the citizens and a thorn in the side of the Communist rulers as Old Glory flew on the second highest hill in Prague.

GERMANY UPDATE

Disregard my note yesterday about the German schedule changing. According to Keller, nothing has changed and we are still doing the brief remarks in Speyer.

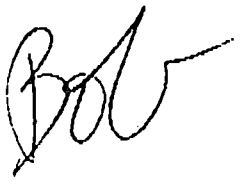
PARIS

Paris is very expensive but beatiful. Saw the Arc deTriomphe last night and went up in the Eiffel Tower. I'm not impressed by much anymore, but the Eiffel Tower is really cool, especially at night. Today, we go to Versailles. That should be great.

By the way, the only remarks in Paris is an Embassy greeting on 11/21 in the a.m. See the President's remarks from last year. Acknowledge Amb. Walter Curley, DCM Mark Lissfelt, and Administrative Minister-Counselor Bruce Clark. The President will overnight at Curley's residence. (It's at least as fancy as the White House; maybe more so.)

The President's schedule consists of a lot of plenary sessions of the CSCE, treaty signings and bilaterals. On the 1st day, there is lunch at Elysee Palace. On the 2nd night, a dinner at Versailles. Unless you are still writing for Saudi Arabia, I would estimate quite a bit of free time while in Paris. (The dollar is dropping; buy your francs now!)

No report tomorrow. We are travelling to Saudi all day long.



o freely saves those
) source of pity!

d separate me from
ht-hand side.

age.
20
drum.

-1616

nce.

bre.
d.

cha.
he company.

ven, we ought not

hos son los
suyos al cielo.

re the ways by
life. Religion is

idos intervalos.
quent lucid

como decía una
tenir.
orld, as a
e haves and the

he cards.

ventura y la
término que pide

une, and idleness,
tion's goal.

apa que cubre
njar que quita la

hambre, agua que ahuyenta la sed, fuego que calienta el frío, frío que templa el ardor, y, finalmente, moneda general con que todas las cosas se compran, balanza y peso que iguala al pastor con el rey y al simple con el discreto.
Blessings on him who invented sleep, the mantle that covers all human thoughts, the food that satisfies hunger, the drink that slakes thirst, the fire that warms cold, the cold that moderates heat, and, lastly, the common currency that buys all things, the balance and weight that equalises the shepherd and the king, the simpleton and the sage.
ch.68

1 *Los buenos pintores imitan la naturaleza, pero los malos la vomitan.*
Good painters imitate nature, bad ones spew it up.
El Licenciado Vidriera

2 *Puesto ya el pie en el estribo.*
With one foot already in the stirrup.
Preface to ***Persiles y Sigismunda*** (four days before his death)

PATRICK REGINALD CHALMERS 1872–1942

3 What's lost upon the roundabouts we pulls up on the swings!
Green Days and Blue Days: **Roundabouts and Swings**

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN 1836–1914

4 Provided that the City of London remains as it is at present, the clearing-house of the world.
Guildhall, London, 19 Jan. 1904

5 Learn to think Imperially.

6 The day of small nations has long passed away. The day of Empires has come.
Birmingham, 12 May 1904

7 We are not downhearted. The only trouble is, we cannot understand what is happening to our neighbours.
Smethwick, 18 Jan. 1906

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN 1869–1940

8 In war, whichever side may call itself the victor, there are no winners, but all are losers.
Kettering, 3 July 1938

9 How horrible, fantastic, incredible, it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas-masks here because of a quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing.
(Of Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland.) Radio broadcast, 27 Sept. 1938. K.Feiling, *Life of Neville Chamberlain*, bk.iv, ch.28

10 I believe it is peace for our time...peace with honour.
After Munich Agreement. 30 Sept. 1938. See 185:15

11 Hitler has missed the bus.
Central Hall, Westminster, 4 April 1940

HADDON CHAMBERS 1860–1921

12 The long arm of coincidence.
Captain Swift (1888), Act II

NICOLAS-SÉBASTIEN CHAMFORT 1741–1794

13 *Vivre est une maladie dont le sommeil nous soulage toutes les 16 heures. C'est un palliatif. La mort est le remède.*
Living is an illness to which sleep provides relief every sixteen hours. It's a palliative. The remedy is death.
Maximes et Pensées (1796), ch.2

14 *Des qualités trop supérieures rendent souvent un homme moins propre à la société. On ne va pas au marché avec des lingots; on y va avec de l'argent ou de la petite monnaie.*
Qualities too elevated often unfit a man for society. We don't take ingots with us to market; we take silver or small change.
ch.3

15 *L'amour, tel qu'il existe dans la société, n'est que l'échange de deux fantaisies et le contact de deux épidermes.*
Love, in the form in which it exists in society, is nothing but the exchange of two fantasies and the superficial contact of two bodies.
ch.6

16 *Je dirais volontiers des métaphysiciens ce que Scalinger disait des Basques, on dit qu'ils s'entendent, mais je n'en crois rien.*
I am tempted to say of metaphysicians what Scalinger used to say of the Basques: they are said to understand one another, but I don't believe a word of it.
ch.7

17 *Les pauvres sont les nègres de l'Europe.*
The poor are Europe's blacks.
ch.8

18 *Sois mon frère, ou je te tue.*
Be my brother, or I kill you.
Oeuvres, I, *'Notice sur la vie de Chamfort'*. Interpretation of *'Fraternité ou la mort'*. See 9:13

JOHN CHANDLER 1806–1876

19 Conquering kings their titles take
From the foes they captive make:
Jesu, by a nobler deed,
From the thousands He hath freed.
Hymns Ancient and Modern. (Tr. from Latin)

RAYMOND CHANDLER 1888–1959

20 It was about eleven o'clock in the morning, mid-October, with the sun not shining and a look of hard wet rain in the clearness of the foothills. I was wearing my powder-blue suit, with dark blue shirt, tie and display handkerchief, black brogues, black wool socks with dark blue clocks on them. I was neat, clean, shaved and sober, and I didn't care who knew it.
The Big Sleep, ch.1

21 The demand was for constant action; if you stopped to think you were lost. When in doubt have a man come through a door with a gun in his hand. This could get to be pretty silly but somehow it didn't seem to matter.
The Simple Art of Murder (1950), preface, referring to the policy of light crime fiction magazines

22 Down these mean streets a man must go who is not himself mean; who is neither tarnished nor afraid.
The Simple Art of Murder

urope

55 Years of Travel Experience

he King of Guidebooks" — *N*

obody knows Europe better than Fodor's

e honest, accurate, experienced — the

avel companions. Go with the best. Travel with Fodor's.

eatured in this guide

- op hotels, inns, pensions, and B&Bs
- 200 great restaurants, cafés, bistros, and cafés
- he latest on travel in Eastern Europe
- errific walks and drives
- nique European places and pleasures
- useums, nightlife, sightseeing, and
- ll you need to know before you go
- 2 pages of detailed maps

51695

780679 019046

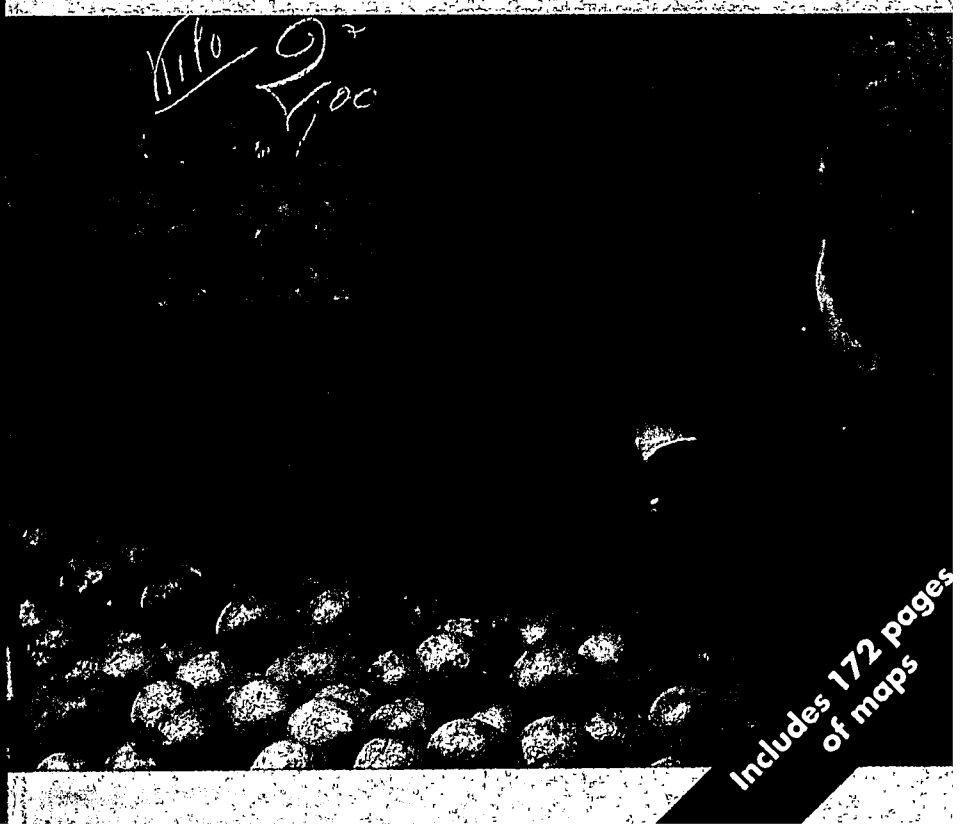
ISBN 0-679-01904-9

US $16.95 UK £12.99 CAN $22.50

Fodor's 91

Europe

A Guide to the Best of 31 Countries



Includes 172 pages of maps

scale apply to low season. At certain periods, such as Easter or during festivals, there may be an increase of 15–25%. Best bets are indicated by a star ★.

Category	Prague	Other Areas
Very Expensive	over $150	over $100
Expensive	$100–$150	$60–$100
Moderate	$66–$100	$25–$60
Inexpensive	under $66	under $25

Credit Cards The following credit card abbreviations are used: AE, American Express; DC, Diners Club; MC, MasterCard; V, Visa.

Tipping Czechs are not usually blatant about the fact that tips are expected. Small sums of hard currency, though not officially encouraged, will certainly be most welcome. Otherwise, in Moderate or Inexpensive restaurants, add a few Kčs.; in more expensive ones, add 10%. For taxis, add 5 Kčs. In the better hotels, doormen should get 2 Kčs. for each bag they carry to the check-in desk; bellhops get up to 5 Kčs. for taking them up to your rooms. In Moderate or Inexpensive hotels, you'll have to lug them yourself.

Prague

Arriving and Departing

By Plane All international flights arrive at Prague's Ruzyně Airport, about 20 kilometers (12 miles) from downtown. For arrival and departure times, tel. 02/367814 or 367760.

Between the Airport and Downtown Czechoslovak Air Lines (ČSA) provides bus services linking the airport with Town Terminal Vltava (Revoluční 25). Departures depend on aircraft schedules. The trip costs 6 Kčs. and takes about 30 minutes. A special shuttle service serves main hotels and costs 50 Kčs.; buy the ticket before boarding. The cheapest way to get into Prague is by regular bus 119; the cost is 1 Kčs., but you'll need to change to the subway for the last leg of the trip. By taxi, expect to pay 70–100 Kčs.

By Train The main station for international and domestic routes is Hlavni nádraží (tel. 02/244441), not far from Wenceslas Square.

By Bus The main bus station is Florenc (at Na Florenci, tel. 02/221445), not far from the train station.

Getting Around

Public transportation is a bargain. From special "blue ticket" machines you can buy a one-day ticket for 16 Kčs., giving unlimited use of all public transportation. Otherwise, tickets cost 2 Kčs. and should be obtained before boarding at newsstands, tobacco shops, various stores and hotels, or subway stations. Punch your ticket in the machine as you board.

By Subway Prague's three modern subway lines are easy to use and spotlessly clean. They provide the simplest and fastest means of transportation, and most new maps of Prague mark the routes.

By Tram/Bus You need to buy a new ticket every time you change vehicles. Express buses (marked with green badges) serve the suburbs and cost 4 Kčs.

By Taxi Taxis (tel. 02/202951 or 203941) are inexpensive, but can be difficult to find. The basic charge of 6 Kčs. is increased by 3 Kčs. per kilometer (surcharge at night). Rates are a little higher from the airport and some Interhotels.

Important Addresses and Numbers

Tourist Information **Čedok** (Na příkopě 18, tel. 02/2127111) is very near Wenceslas Square. For its **Department of Accommodation Services,** go to Panská 5 (tel. 02/227004) just around the corner. Almost next-door to Čedok is the **Prague Information Service** (Na příkopě 20, tel. 02/544444). Across the road, **Pragotur** (U Obecního domu 2, tel. 02/2317281), near the Powder Tower, provides a variety of services, including reservations in non-Čedok hotels and private accommodations.

Embassies **U.S.:** Tržiště 15, Malá Strana, tel. 02/536641. **Canadian** Mickiewiczova 6, tel. 02/326941. **U.K.:** Thunovská 14, Mala Strana, tel. 02/533347.

Emergencies **Police:** tel. 158; **Ambulance:** tel. 155; **Doctor: Fakultni poliklinika,** Karlovo náměstí 32, tel. 02/299381. **24-Hour Pharmacy:** Na příkopě 7, near Wenceslas Square.

English Bookstores Try Štěpánská 42 or Na příkopě 27. English-language newspapers are still difficult to find. The top hotels may carry the *International Herald Tribune.*

Guided Tours

Čedok arranges a variety of tours in and around Prague; they can be arranged before you leave or can be booked in Prague. Call 02/2318255 or 2316619 for any of the following:

Orientation Tours The "Historical Prague" tour, departing at 10 A.M. from Čedok (Bílkova 6) opposite the Hotel Inter-Continental, covers all the major sites, including Prague Castle, in three hours. In summer there is also a nighttime tour that includes dinner and a visit to a wine tavern.

Special-Interest Tours The "U Fleku" brewery and beer-tasting tour departs on Friday mornings from Wenceslas Sq. 24 and lasts 1½ hours. For cultural tours, call Čedok (*see* above). These include performances of folklore, Laterna Magica (*see* The Arts, below), opera, and concerts. You can save money by buying tickets—if any are available—at box offices, but this will take time.

Excursions Čedok's one-day tours out of Prague cover main historic and scenic sights, and include lunch. The "Bohemian Paradise and Garnet Jewelry" tour should yield attractive buys as well as good scenery. The "Beauty Spots of South Bohemia" tour focuses on history and medieval architecture among woods and lakes. Other tours include visits to famous spa towns and castles.

Personal Guides Contact **Čedok,** Na příkopě 18, tel. 02/2127640.

Exploring Prague

Prague is one of the most enchanting cities in Europe. Like Rome, far to the southwest, Prague is built on seven hills, sprawling within the confines of a broad loop of the Vltava river. The riverside location, enhanced by a series of graceful bridges, makes a great setting for two of the city's most notable features: its extravagant, fairy-tale architecture and its memorable music. Mozart claimed that no one understood him better than the citizens of Prague, and he was only one of several great masters who lived or lingered here.

It was under Charles IV (Karel IV) in the 14th century that Prague briefly became the seat of the Holy Roman Empire—virtually the capital of western Europe—and acquired its distinctive Gothic imprint. At times, you'll need to look quite hard for this medieval inheritance; it's still here, though, under the overlays of graceful Renaissance and exuberant Baroque.

Prague escaped serious wartime damage, but it didn't escape neglect. A long-term restoration program now underway always leaves some part of the city under scaffolding. But what's completed—which is nearly all that's described in the following itineraries—is hard to fault as an example of sensitive and painstaking restoration.

Numbers in the margin correspond with points of interest on the Prague map.

The Nové Město and Staré Město

❶ ❷ ❸ **Václavské náměstí** (Wenceslas Square) is the Times Square of Prague. Confusingly, it's not actually a square at all, but a broad boulevard sloping down from the **Národní muzeum** (National Museum) and the equestrian **statue of Wenceslas** (who has yet to fulfill the legend that he will again lead his people in their time of greatest need). The lower end is where all the action is. Na příkopě, once part of the moat surrounding the Old Town, is now an elegant pedestrian mall. Čedok's main office and Prague Information Service are along here, on your way to

❹ the **Prašná brána** (Powder Tower), a 19th-century neo-Gothic replacement of the medieval original.

❺ Turn into Celetná and you're on the old **Royal Route,** once followed by coronation processions past the foreboding Gothic

❻ spires of the Týn Church through **Staroměstské náměstí** (Old

❼ Town Square), down **Karlova,** across **Karlův most** (Charles Bridge), and up to the castle. Along this route, you can study every variety or combination of Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque architecture. Two good examples are the town buildings at 12 Celetná and 8 Karlova. On Staroměstske náměstí, the crowds regularly gather below the famous **Clock Tower,** where, on the hour, the complex 16th-century mechanism activates a procession that includes the Twelve Apostles. Note the skeleton figure of Death that tolls the bell.

❽ In the **Old Jewish Cemetery** in **Josefov** (Joseph's Town, the old Jewish quarter), ancient tombstones lean and jostle each other; below them, in a dozen layers, are 12,000 graves. As you stand by the tomb of the scholar Rabbi Low, who died in 1609, you may see, stuffed into the cracks, scraps of paper bearing prayers and requests. It's said that many Jews hid their valuables here before being transported to the concentration camps. Be

sure to visit the tiny Gothic **Staronová synagóga** (Old-New Synagogue), which, along with the cemetery, forms part of the

❾ **State Jewish Museum** (Státní Židovské muzeum). *Červená 101. Admission: 5 Kčs. Open Sun.–Fri. 9–4:30 (9–5 in summer); closed Sat. and religious holidays.*

When you stand on Charles Bridge, you'll see views of Prague that would still be familiar to the 14th-century architect Peter Parler and to the sculptors who added the 30 Baroque statues in the early 18th century (a few have been replaced). They're worth a closer look, especially the 12th on the left (St. Luitgarde, by Matthias Braun, circa 1710), and the 14th on the left (in which a Turk guards suffering saints, by F.M. Brokoff, circa 1714).

❿ The **museum** devoted to Prague composer **Bedřich Smetana,** located nearby at Novotného lávka, is small, and its exhibits mainly documentary. But it's a lovely quiet oasis in which to listen to tapes of Smetana's music—and admire the views across the Vltava and up to the castle. *Novotného lávka. Open Wed.–Mon. 10–5.*

⓫ The **Betlémska kaple** (Bethlehem Chapel) has been completely reconstructed since Jan Hus thundered his humanitarian teachings from its pulpit in the early 15th century to congregations that could number 3,000. But the little door through which he came to the pulpit is original, as are some of the inscriptions on the wall. *Betlémské náměstí. Open daily 9–6.*

Malá Strana and Hradčany (Lesser Quarter and Castle)

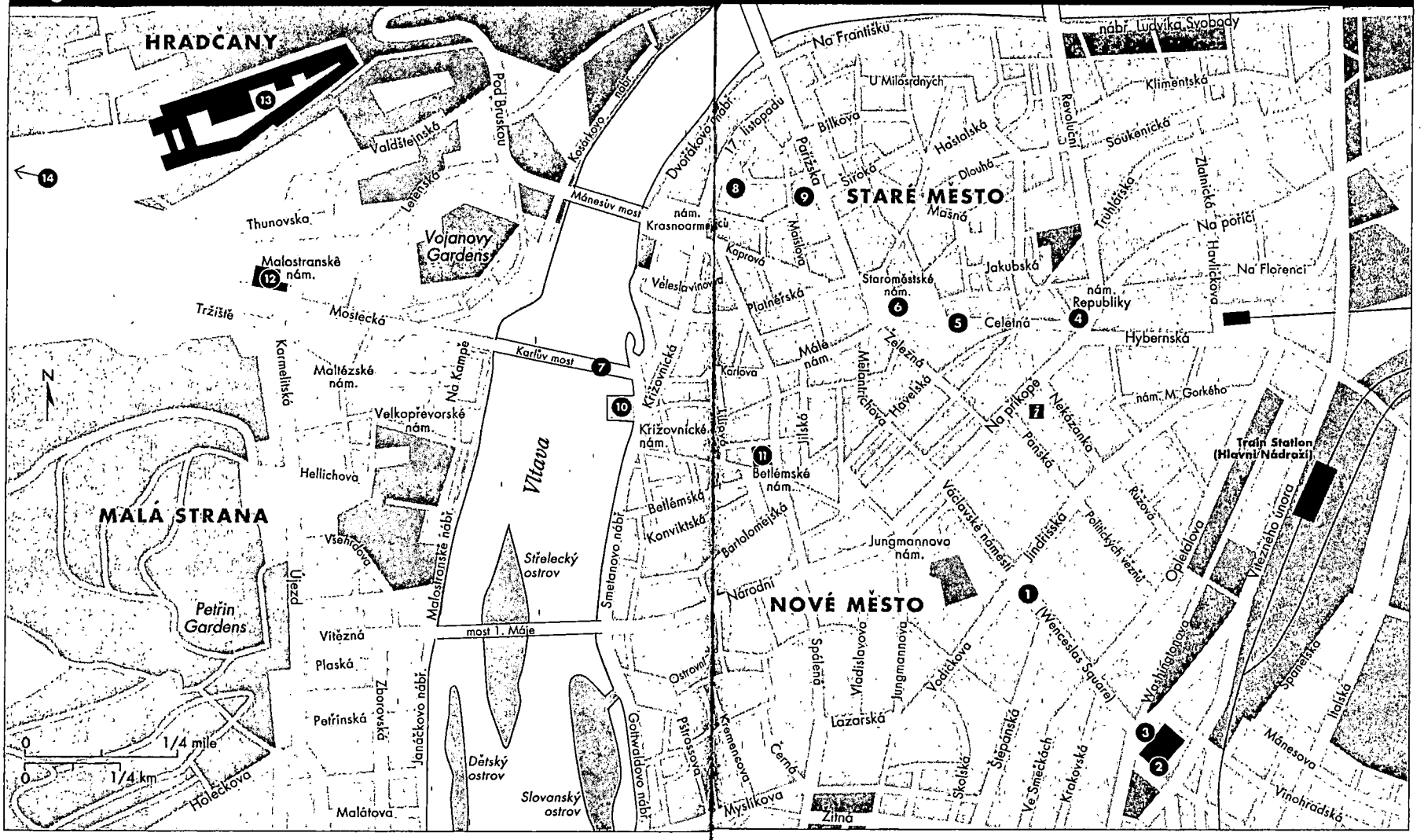
Cross Charles Bridge and follow Mostecká up to Malostranské náměstí. After the turbulence of the Counter-Reformation at the end of the 16th century, Prague witnessed a great flowering of what became known as Bohemian Baroque. The

⓬ architects (Dientzenhofer, father and son) of the **Chram svatého Mikuláše** (Church of St. Nicholas) were among its most skilled exponents. If you're in Prague when a concert is being given in this church, fight for a ticket. The lavish sculptures and frescoes of the interior make for a memorable setting. *Malostranské náměstí. Open daily 9–4 (9–6 in summer).*

⓭ The monumental complex of **Hradčany** (Prague Castle) has witnessed the changing fortunes of the city for more than 1,000 years. The scaffolding has only recently been removed from the latest restoration of the castle's **Cathedral of St. Vitus.** It took from 1344 to 1929 to build, so you can trace the whole gamut of styles from Romanesque to 19th-century. This is the final resting place for numerous Bohemian kings. Charles IV lies in the crypt. Good King Wenceslas has his own chapel in the south transept, studded with semiprecious stones. Knightly tournaments often accompanied coronation ceremonies in the castle, hence the broad **Riders' Staircase** leading up to the grandiose Vladislav Hall of the Third Courtyard. Oldest of all the buildings, though much restored, is the Romanesque complex of **St. George's Church and Monastery.** Behind a Baroque facade, it houses a superb collection of Baroque and earlier Bohemian art. *Hradčanské náměstí. All museum buildings in the castle are open Tues.–Sun. 10–5.*

Time Out At the small, pleasant snack bar of **U Ševce Matouše** (At the Cobblers) on Loretánské náměstí, you can get your shoes repaired while you have refreshments.

Prague



Betlémska kaple, **11**
Chram svatého Mikuláše, **12**
Karlův most, **7**
Loreto, **14**
Národní muzeum, **2**
Old Jewish Cemetery, **8**
Prague Castle, **13**
Prašná brána, **4**
Royal Route, **5**
Smetana Museum, **10**
Staroměstské náměstí, **6**
State Jewish Museum, **9**
Statue of Wenceslas, **3**
Václavské náměstí, **1**

⓮ The Baroque church and shrine of **Loreto** is named for the Italian town to which the Virgin Mary's House in Nazareth was supposedly transported by angels to save it from the infidel. The crowning glory of its fabulous treasury is the glittering monstrance of the *Sun of Prague*, set with 6,222 diamonds. Arrive on the hour to hear the 27-bell carillon. *Loreta 12. Admission: 4 Kčs. Open Tues.–Sun. 9–noon and 1–4:30.*

Off the Beaten Track

Take the subway to Malostranská metro station, cross a courtyard, and climb the steps to the **Letenské Sady** (Gardens on the Ramparts) for sweeping views of Prague.

The little-known **Vrtbovská Zahrada** is a charming retreat of steeply terraced gardens dotted with Baroque statues by Matthias Braun. *Entrance through Karmelitská 25. Open in summer until 9 PM.*

Almost as old as the oldest parts of Prague Castle, the ruins of **Vyšehrad castle** crown a rock bluff rising out of the Vltava, about 2 miles downstream from the Old Town. The quiet cemetery adjoining the **Church of Sts. Peter and Paul** is a place to pay homage to some of the nation's cultural giants, among them Bedřich Smetana and the playwright Karel Čapek.

Across the river, in Prague 5 district, Mozart stayed in the peaceful **Bertramka Villa,** and here completed his opera *Don Giovanni.* With luck, your trip will coincide with a concert here. If not, taped music will accompany your walk through the villa, restored to what it was in his day.

Shopping

Tuzex Stores Ask Čedok for the latest list of these hard-currency-only outlets and their specialties. One of the main ones is at Železná 18, selling imported goods, glass, and porcelain. The branch at Štěpánská 23 specializes in fashion and leather goods. **Moser** (Na příkopě 12) is the most famous for glass and porcelain.

Specialty Shops Look for the name **Dilo** for objects d'art and prints; **ULUV** or **UVA** for folk art. At Na příkopě 12 you'll find excellent costume jewelry.

Shopping Districts Many of the main shops are in and around Wenceslas Square (Václavské náměstí) and Na příkopě and along Celetná and Pařížská.

Department Stores Three central ones are **Bilá Labut** (Na poříčí 23), **Družba** (Václavské nám. 21), and **Kotva** (nám. Republiky 8).

Dining

Eating out in Prague is a very popular pastime, so it's advisable to make reservations whenever possible, especially for dinner. For details and price category definitions, *see* Dining in Staying in Czechoslovakia.

Very Expensive **Klášterní Vinárna.** You'll find this wine restaurant in a former Ursuline convent in the city center. The emphasis is on Czech home cooking—try the house goulash. The menu includes some

Moderate dishes. *Národní 8, tel. 02/290596. Reservations accepted. No credit cards. Closed Sun.*

U Labuti. Located in tastefully remodeled stables in the castle area, "At the Swans" has a stylish—if slightly rich and heavy—menu (haunch of venison, goose liver with ham and almonds), which includes some Expensive dishes. The place is rich in atmosphere, too. *Hradčanské náměstí 11, tel. 02/536962. Reservations required. AE, DC, MC, V. Dinner only.*

★ **U Malířů.** This is one of Prague's most picturesque wine taverns, popular with the artist set (the name means "At the Painters"). *Maltézské náměstí 11, Malá Strana, tel. 02/531883. Reservations required. No credit cards. Closed Sun.*

U Mecenáše. This wine restaurant manages to be both medieval and elegant despite the presence of an ancient gallows! Try and get a table in the back room. Moussaka is one of the specialties from an international menu. *Malostranské náměstí 10, Malá Strana, tel. 02/533881. Reservations required. AE, DC, MC, V. Closed Sat. Dinner only.*

Expensive **U Zlaté Hrušky.** Careful restoration has returned this restaurant to its original 18th-century style. It specializes in Moravian wines, which go down well with fillet steaks and goose liver. Some dishes are Moderate. *Nový Svět 3, Castle area, tel. 02/531133. Reservations required. No credit cards. Dinner only.*

Moderate **Opera Grill.** Though called a grill, this is one of the most stylish ★ small restaurants in town, complete with antique Meissen candelabra and Czech specialties. *K. Světlé 35, Staré Město, tel. 02/265508. Reservations required. AE, DC, MC, V. Closed weekends. Dinner only.*

U Lorety. Sightseers will find this an agreeable spot—peaceful except for the welcoming carillon from neighboring Loreto Church. Venison and steak are specialties. *Loretánské náměstí 8, near the Castle, tel. 02/536025. Reservations advised. AE, DC, MC, V. Closed Mon. and Tues. in winter.*

U Pastýřky-Koliba. It's worth the trek from the center to enjoy the folk-style decor and specialty dishes of Slovakia here, complete with open fire for spit roasts. *Bělehradská 15, Prague 4, tel. 02/434093. Reservations required. No credit cards. Closed Sun. Dinner only.*

Vikárka. This was an eating house beside St. Vitus Cathedral as far back as the 16th century, It offers good-value local cooking in a historic setting. *Vikářská 6, in the Castle, tel. 02/535158. Reservations accepted. AE, DC, MC, V. Open only until 7:30. Closed Mon. in winter.*

Inexpensive **U Medvídků.** Enjoy South Bohemian and old Czech specialties here in a noisy but jolly atmosphere. *Na Perštýně 7, Staré Město, tel. 02/2358904. Reservations not necessary. No credit cards. Closed Sun.*

U Pinkasů. The two great attractions here are the draught beer and the goulash—you can also add your signature to the wall with the countless others before you. *Jungmannovo náměstí 15 Staré Město, tel. 02/265770. Reservations not necessary. No credit cards.*

★ **U Sv. Tomáše.** Although it's touristy, this restored ancient tavern overflows with atmosphere. Try the famous dark ale and the good down-to-earth fare like roast pork with cabbage and

dumplings. *Letenská 12, Malá Strana, tel. 02/530064. Reservations advised. No credit cards. Closed Sun.*

U Zlatého Tygra. This is a favorite with not-so-young beer connoisseurs—a typical no-frills Prague pub. The pork fillet in potato pancake with sauerkraut salad makes a good foundation for the beer. *Husova 17, Staré Město, tel. 02/265219. Reservations not necessary. No credit cards. Closed Sun.*

Lodging

Many of Prague's older hotels—some having great style—have recently been or are due to be renovated. If you haven't prebooked, go to Čedok or Pragotur when you arrive (*see* Tourist Information in Important Addresses and Numbers). For details and price category definitions, *see* Lodging in Staying in Czechoslovakia. Interhotels belong to the Čedok network.

Very Expensive

Forum (Interhotel). Prague's latest high rise is near ancient Vyšehrad castle. Prices include half-board. *Štětkova, tel. 02/410111. 531 rooms with bath. Facilities: saunas, pool, bowling alleys, miniature golf, gym, nightclub, roulette. AE, DC, MC, V.*

Palace Praha (Interhotel). Beautifully renovated in art nouveau style, the newly reopened Palace is Prague's most elegant and luxurious hotel. Its central location just off Wenceslas Square makes this an excellent choice. *Panská 12, tel. 02/2350094. 125 rooms with bath. Facilities: saunas, health club, nightclub. AE, DC, MC, V.*

★ **U Tří Pštrosů.** "The Three Ostriches" has a magical location at the Lesser Town end of Charles Bridge: The river views are superb. It's very popular, so you'll need to make reservations well ahead. Prices include half-board. *Dražického nám. 12, tel. 02/536151. 18 rooms with bath. AE, DC, MC, V.*

Expensive

★ **Alcron** (Interhotel). This stylish old town house just around the corner from Wenceslas Square is a favorite with Americans who prefer traditional decor over modern. *Štěpanská 40, tel. 02/2359216–30. 149 rooms with bath. Facilities: 3 restaurants. AE, DC, MC, V.*

Esplanade (Interhotel). Facing a park near the National Museum, this is another favorite with Americans looking for a traditional atmosphere. An old town house, it was last renovated in 1980. The nightclub, Est Bar, has a good local reputation. *Washingtonova 19, tel. 02/222552–4. 65 rooms with bath. AE, DC, MC, V.*

Jalta (Interhotel). The Jalta has a plum location on Wenceslas Square. Despite its five-star status, it's on the shabby side, but comfortable, nevertheless. *Václavské náměstí 45, tel. 02/265541. 90 rooms with bath. Facilities: 2 nightclubs. AE, DC, MC, V.*

Panorama (Interhotel). Near Vyšehrad castle, with good subway connections to the center, this hotel makes a practical exploring base. Prices include half-board. *Milevská 7, tel. 02/416111. 432 rooms with bath. Facilities: saunas, pool, solarium, nightclub. AE, DC, MC, V.*

Moderate

Ambassador (Interhotel). This is another oldie from the turn of the century and was renovated in 1983. It's right on Wenceslas Square. *Václavské náměstí 5, tel. 02/2143111. 170 rooms with bath. Facilities: disco. AE, DC, MC, V.*

International (Interhotel). Situated about 4.8 kilometers (3 miles) from the center, the International is known as the Russian Ritz for its 30-year-old architectural pretensions! High-season prices can edge this one up into the Expensive category. *Náměstí Družby 1, tel. 02/321051. 327 rooms with bath. Facilities: garden, miniature golf, nightclub. AE, DC, MC, V.*

★ **Paříž** (Interhotel). This is the pick of the Moderate hotels, despite some small rooms. Its turn-of-the-century Art Nouveau style was tastefully restored in 1985, while the hotel's Old Town location is ideal. Rooms without bath are Inexpensive. *U Obecního domů 1, tel. 02/2322051. 86 rooms, 75 with bath. AE, DC, MC, V.*

The Arts

Prague's cultural life is one of its top attractions and its citizens like to dress up for it, but performances are usually booked far ahead. You can get a monthly program of events from the Prague Information Service, Čedok, or many hotels. **Čedok** (Bílkova, tel. 02/2318255) is the main ticket agency for foreigners, but there's a wider choice through **Sluna** (Pasáž Černa Růže, off Na příkopě, tel. 02/265124).

Concerts Performances are held in the **National Gallery** in Prague Castle; the **National Museum;** the **Gardens** below the castle (where music comes with a view); the **Church of St. Nicholas** in Malá Strana; and **St. James's Church** on Malá Stupartská (Staré Město), where the organ plays amid a flourish of Baroque statuary.

Year-round concert halls include **Dvořák Hall** (the House of Artists, náměstí Krasnoarmejců), **Smetana Hall** (Obecní dum, Náměstí Republiky 5), and **Palác Kultury** (Kvetna 65).

Opera and Ballet Opera is of an especially high standard in Czechoslovakia. The main venues in the grand style of the 19th century are the beautifully restored **National Theater** (Národní třida 2) and **Smetana Theater** (Vitezného února 8). The even older **Týl Theater** is under restoration until 1992.

Theater You won't need to know the language at **Divadlo na Zábradlí** (Theater on the Balustrade, Anenské náměstí 5), home of the famous Black Theater mime group when it is (rather rarely) in Prague. **Laterna Magica** (Magic Lantern, Národní 40) is a popular extravaganza combining live actors, mime, and sophisticated film techniques.

Puppet Shows These are brought to a high art form at the **Špejbl and Hurvínek Theater** (Římská 45).

Nightlife

Cabaret **The Alhambra** (Václavské náměstí 5) has a three-part floor show. More moderately priced is **Variété Praha** (Vodičkova 30). You'll find plenty of fellow foreigners at both.

Discos The best-known and most crowded is at the **Ambassador** hotel (*see* Lodging, above). There's one at each of the three hotels on the Vltava River: **Admirál** (Hořejši nábřeží), **Albatros** (nábřeží L. Svobody), and **Racek** (Dvorecká louka).

12TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

September 8, 1990

SECTION: World politics and current affairs; EUROPE; Pg. 57 (U.K. Edition Pg. 103)

LENGTH: 655 words

HEADLINE: Czechoslovakia;
Havelling through

BYLINE: FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN PRAGUE

BODY:

A PORTRAIT of Vaclav Havel still gazes benignly upon many a Prague office. His supporter's graffiti still decorate the city's walls. Outsiders may criticise him, as some did for his recent appearance at the Salzburg festival alongside Austria's President Kurt Waldheim, but his won constituents still give him a 90% approval rating. Everywhere he goes, he is greeted with cheers and flowers. President Havel's popularity is good for Czechoslovakia's morale. But his fondness for skateboards and the Rolling Stones may not be enough to carry Czechoslovakia through the touch economic times ahead, particularly if Mr Havel continues to let his own doubts about capitalism hamper the country's reformers.

Mr Havel's authority in Prague Castle disguises the confusion just beneath him. After a brief battle last spring, advocates of radical reform, led by the finance minister, Mr Vaclav Klaus, seemed to have defeated those arguing for a "third way" - a more gradual transformation to something between socialism and capitalism. But Mr Havel worried aloud about "not selling off the family silver", and suddenly there was a lack of momentum behind laws designed to help foreign investors. Privatisation laws suffered a similar fate. This week Mr Klau's minions handed a draft law on privatisation to the Czechoslovak parliament, for the first sign in months that his ideas about speedy reform may prevail. But the law applies only to services -- restaurants, shops and other small businesses. the fate of the big state companies is still to be determined.

Other plans and projects have been mysteriously halted. Mr Tomasz Jerzek, the new minister for ownership transformation, thought that his plan to carry out public sales of state companies was well on its way. The core of the plan is a voucher programme, which would give each citizen the right to buy a certain number of shares without payment. Without such a plan, shares would be snapped up either by foreigners or by former communist officials who managed to stash away their ill-gotten gains. But just when Mr Jerzek thought he had won the argument about vouchers, the idea came under attack one more as inflationary (its opponents argue it is almost like issuing money), but risky enough for investors (that is, free distribution will not give a true sense of ownership) and unmanageable.

Similar confusion surrounds the formation of joint-stock companies and joint ventures with foreign partners. Ministries are still in the throes of reorganisation. And, although there is still plenty of talk of privatisation, some forms of private enterprise still technically incur a jail sentence.

Czechoslovakia is peculiarly unready for market reform in other ways. Its infrastructure is in better repair than that of most of its Comecon neighbours, and its industry is technologically sharper. But the Soviet invasion of 1968 put many of the brightest Czechoslovaks out of their jobs, or drove them abroad. The country has few competent economists and businessmen: Hungary and Poland experimented with elements of a market economy even under communist rule, but Czechoslovakia's ideologues forbade private shops and land ownership.

The Czechoslovak economy is also more closely bound up with Comecon (two-fifths of Czechoslovakia's exports go to the Soviet Union) and more dependent on Soviet oil than the economy of any other East European country except Bulgaria. Starting in January, Czechoslovakia will have to payhard currency for these Soviet oil deliveries and may lose a good portion of its Comecon markets; it will have to redirect its foreign trade westwards much more quickly than expected. The loss of East German trade will affect Czechoslovakia particularly badly. Unless Mr Havel's government moves more smartly towards reform, Czechoslovakia will find itself uncomfortably pushed into change by the force of events around it.

GRAPHIC: Picture, It's only rock 'n' roll, but Havel likes it

28TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

August 11, 1990

SECTION: World politics and current affairs; EUROPE; Pg. 48 (U.K. Edition Pg. 42)

LENGTH: 329 words

HEADLINE: Off track

BYLINE: FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN PRAGUE

BODY:

ASKED how he learnt the tricks of his trade, Mr Jaromir Fabianek says modestly, "I read some books left over from 1968." Mr Fabianek, an ex-Communist, holds the new post of marketing director in the locomotive division of CKD, a giant Prague factory. In the past CKD sold 80% of the 500 locomotives it produces yearly to the Soviet Union, and did not need exotic western marketing techniques. Today Mr Fabianek fears that the Soviet market may be "saturated" with Czechoslovak locomotives. With competition replacing Comecon quotas, new sales skills will be needed.

What to do? Mr Fabianek started by carrying out a marketing survey in Czechoslovakia, and found that things are more complex than they used to be. "We used to call up the directors of a few big enterprises to ask them what they needed. Now we much contact all 1,600 locomotive users in Czechoslovakia. " Mr Fabianek wants to do the same in the Soviet Union, but this s more difficult than just picking up a telephone. Customers must be identified, directors must be found, and there is no one to help. Mr Fabianek has a few old contacts and he is trying to make more, but whole regions -- including most of the non-Russian republics -- have been closed to him in the past.

If CKD cannot preserve its traditional markets, things may get tough. Sales prospects in the West are poor, because the company cannot match the everhigher technology of western trains. CKD is looking for partners who might want to take advantage of its trade contracts in the East, in exchange for help with modernisation. What about sales to the third world? A deal with Iraq was close, but the plans may now come to nothing. Someone from CKD is now in China scouting around, but the Chinese seem interested in more modern western trains.

Will the plant make something else, fire its 2,500 workers, shut down? Not yet. "We make a good product," insists Mr Fabianek, "and our labour costs are still cheap."

36TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

July 21, 1990

SECTION: Business, finance and science; BOOKS AND ARTS; Pg. 90 (U.K. Edition Pg. 96)

LENGTH: 550 words

HEADLINE: Vaclav Havel;
Fat boy makes good;
DISTURBING THE PEACE. By Valclav Havel. Knopf; 215 pages; $ 19.95. To be published in Britain by Faber; £14.99

BODY:

FIVE years ago, a Czech journalist living in West Germany sent a batch of 50 questions to Vaclav Havel, then still a banned playwright and leading dissident. Mr Havel spoke his answers into a tape recorder. The result was published in Czech by samizdat in June 1986 under the title "Long-distance Interrogation." Last December it came out in Czechoslovakia as the first samizdat book to be legally published there, and it is now out in English. The title appeals to Mr Havel; he has been disturbing the peace, willy-nilly, for most of his life.

Mr Havel was the son of a self-made man, cossetted by governess, cook, maid, gardener and chauffeur. He was also a plump boy, mocked for it at school, and an outsider; from this, he thinks, he drew his tendency to see the absurd in life.

He tried hard to avoid military service, but failed; and it was in the army, ironically, that he began his career as a dramatist, with a regimental theatre company. From then on he was to be found working in the Theatre on the Balustrade, one of the many small theatres that sprang up in Prague in the early 1960s. The Balustrade staged "Waiting for Godot," "Ubu Roi" and early Havel plays, in which he stressed the crushing of the individual by the state.

It was only later, in the 1970s -- when Czech society was at its most apathetic and shame-faced -- that Mr Havel began writing about opposition, and plunged into the practice of it too. He became one of the founders of Charter 77; his writing was banned, and he was sent to jail. Both in and out of prison, he says, he kept suicide in the back of his mind. It was always an option of last resort, and he would try to talk fellow-prisoners out of it; but Mr Havel still kept his admiration for the suicide who prizes life so highly that he will not debase it by living senselessly.

"Hope", he says (and this, remember, was in 1985), "is not the conviction that something will turn out well, but the certainty that something makes sense, regardless of how it turns out." As the years passed he grew convinced that, bit by bit, things were getting better. A new generation was refusing to accept the humiliations of the old, and he thought he glimpsed the results of the moral position he and others had taken, eschewing violence, worrying away at injustice, filling the gaps when someone was jailed, never giving up.

His mission, however, was not to hand out prescriptions but to warn. "Suggesting something's better and putting it into practice", he says, "is a politician's job, and I've never been a politician and never wanted to be."

Nor did he ever want power: "All power is power over someone, and it always somehow responds, usually unwittingly rather than deliberately, to the state of mind and the behaviour of those it rules over." He thinks he sill has too much of it.

"Disturbing the Peace" reads easily, as transcribed speech does, but it is not in any way a conversation. It is an eavesdropping session on two Czechs discussing Czech affairs with a Czech public in mind. Readers who have not always been Havel-watchers may well feel excluded by this technique, but they should also be grateful; there is simply no other way to learn so much about Mr Havel, man, playwright and politician, all in one place.

49TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

June 30, 1990

SECTION: Business, finance and science; BUSINESS; Pg. 69 (U.K. Edition Pg. 107)

LENGTH: 919 words

HEADLINE: Skoda;
Playing hard to get

DATELINE: MLADA BOLESLAV, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HIGHLIGHT:
Czechoslovakia's carmaker is being courted by nearly every big western car company. What's the attraction?

BODY:

AMID the decrepit factories and demotivated workers of Eastern Europe, there are a few golden opportunities for foreign investors. One potential gem is Skoda, a Czechoslovak carmaker. After flirtations with 24 potential suitors, America's General Motors and West Germany's Volkswagen have emerged as the keenest to partner the company. But Skoda is continuing to play the field. The company reckons it can afford to be choosy. Like other newly liberated firms in ex-communist countries, its ambitions might be a little too high.

How good a catch Skoda turns out to be will depend upon the success of the economic reforms of Civic Forum, the protest movement recently elected to power in Czechoslovakia. Some price subsidies will be removed next month and the first privatisations are planned for the autumn.

Do not expect these measures to ignite Czechoslovakia's new-car market, which accounted for two-thirds of Skoda's 183,000 car sales last year. Indeed, they are more likely to make it go into reverse, at least initially. The country already has a relatively high level of car ownership -- 5.6 people per car, which is higher than Greece and Portugal but well behind West Germany's ratio of 2.1 per car. True, there is a waiting list of several months for Skodas. And half the nation's cars are more than ten years old. But fears of unemployment and inflation are likely to delay the replacement of many old bangers and kill demand for new cars.

Still, Skoda's exports could grow. In 1989 Skoda sold 45,500 cars in Western Europe and 17,700 to other East European countries. Britain, where Skoda sold 16,200 cars last year, is the company's biggest single export market, followed by West Germany and Belgium.

Skoda has hired Price Waterhouse, a British accounting firm, to advise it during its negotiations. Eight carmakers have shown particular interest: Mitsubishi Motors, Subaru (part of Fuji Heavy Industries), Fenault, Citroen (part of Peugeot), Fiat, General Motors, BMW and Volkswagen. Of these, says Mr Jiri Danhelka, Skoda's spokesman, the firmest proposals have been submitted by GM and VW. Further negotiations are now under way.

Skoda's base is at Mlada Boleslav, a company town 40 miles north-east of Prague. The depressing impression made by the firm's dour industrial

buildings, sprawling across 2,000 acres, is deceptive. Some parts, like a robot welding-line, are modern. Skoda officials reckon, probably correctly, that they have the best-equipped car factory in Eastern Europe. The company also developed on its own the current (and only) Skoda model, a stylish, front-wheel-drive hatchback called the Favorit. The car has won good reviews in some western motoring magazines.

All this leads Skoda officials to maintain they will not be forced into making a deal with a western partner at any old price. But the company cannot afford to be too cautious: it is desperately short of the money it needs to develop new models and modernise more of its factory. The cost of making a Skoda car is about 50,000 crowns ($ 3,000 at the official exchange rate). The cars are sold for about 85,000 crowns, but what the state has allowed the company to retain as a "profit" works out at a mere 200 crowns per vehicle.

In addition to preserving the company's identity, Skoda's management wants to retain its current level of employment. By western carmaking standards, Skoda is heavily overstaffed: it has 21,000 employees, about 2,000 of them in sales and service centres. At its present volume it should need only about half that number. The company says better use will be made of its workforce once foreign investment allows output to be doubled.

A more basic problem remains. Under the communists many people shunned working in factories, preferring an easier life in the bloated bureaucracy. Like other Czechoslovak manufacturers, Skoda filled some of the dirtier and more unpleasant jobs in its production line with convicts and about 1,800 "guest" workers from Vietnam and Cuba. The convicts have been freed, and the foreign workers will be going home. Office workers will have to be retrained and motivated to carry out production jobs, not an easy task.

Labour problems and lack of investment extend all the way down the supply pipeline, sometimes causing shortages which actually halt production. More than 90% of Skoda's components come from other state-owned enterprises, many of which face an uncertain future. BAZ, a Bratislava truck plant, supplies Skoda with axles. It is in desperate need of a new vehicle to build and is discussing its futures with Toyota and General Motors. If BAZ goes bust, Skoda's axle supply could disappear overnight.

Eventually Skoda will be turned into a joint stock company, although exactly how or when has still to be decided. Its managers would like the state to have a majority stake, but even that may be too ambitious. Mr Jaroslav Underman, the newly promoted director of economic policy at the State Planning Commission -- once the heart of the centrally planned economy and now being turned by reformers into what could become a Ministry of Economy -- says: "My opinion is that state capital should not be devoted to the problems of car manufacturing." He points to the Spanish motor industry, which has been transformed with foreign, not state, money. That could mean that Skoda and other Czechoslovak companies, like many in Spain, may find potential partners will become future owners.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Happy to talk, not to sell

59TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

June 9, 1990

SECTION: World politics and current affairs; EUROPE; Pg. 53 (U.K. Edition Pg. 57)

LENGTH: 529 words

HEADLINE: Slovakia;
The spirit revives

BYLINE: FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN SLOVAKIA

BODY:

"FIX it for the feast of Pentecost; that'll draw the crowds." The campaign manager for the Christian Democrats in Slovakia, Mr Jan Kovacovsky, was arranging a rally for the Czechoslovak election on June 8th and 9th. He reckons he knows his voters. Slovakia is the poorer, more agricultural and more Christian of Czechoslovakia's two republics. In the other one, the Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia, the Christian Democrats have been behind in the opinion polls. In Slovakia, they have been scoring a comfortable 25-30%.

Until last November Mr Kovacovsky's office in Bratislava the Slovak capital, belonged to a local Communist worthy. On the wall now is a crucifix. Mr Kovacovsky's Christianity is not bashful. His movement (a word he prefers to the tainted "party") is popular, he explains, because it stands for a "revival of the spirit". Christian Democrats, he says, are self-disciplined and family-oriented. He thinks that women should stay at home to look after children and that abortion should be banned.

The Slovak twin of Civic Forum, the movement that led the revolution in Prague and runs Czechoslovakia's transitional government, is called Public Against Violence. At first, the polls suggested that PAV was trailing with 15-18% of the vote. As a parish priest from a pottery town near Bratislava explains, many villagers find the intellectuals of PAV alien and high-handed. But PAV has been catching up during the campaign, capturing some of the anti-communist high ground held by the Christian Democrats. President Vaclav Havel, the ultimate boss of Civic Forum-PAV, was well received on a recent swing in Slovakia. But so was the Pope, who drew a large crowd in Bratislava in April.

Slovak separatism is little heard of. Slovaks bridle when called "Czechs", and resent the jokes told about them in Prague. They have won a "hyphen war" over the country's new name: it is the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, although most people will call it Czechoslovakia. Gestures aside, Slovaks on the whole seem to accept the Czechoslovakia cannot tie itself into too many knots to keep them happy. Save in geographical and administrative terms, Slovaks themselves find it hard to define Slovakia. Back in the 1840s Ludovit Stur's circle of linguistic nationalists had to create modern Slovak out of several dialects. Modern Czech and Slovak are so close that moments of incomprehension are rare. Cultural differences are small. Czechs prefer beer, Slovaks wine.

Slovakia was never really a separate state. As part of the Habsburg empire, it was jostled between Austria and Hungary. In 1918 it was added to Bohemia and Moravia to make Czechoslovakia. An inglorious moment of nominal independence came as Germany's puppet in 1939-45, through some Slovaks still look proudly back on those years as a time of economic success.

Nowadays, nationalism seems strongest among Slovaks abroad. At home, the small Slovak National party admits that autonomy is not on the agenda. The Czech lands and Slovakia do compete, but at present only over down-to-earth things such as whose economy is in worse shape, whose air and water dirtier.

GRAPHIC: Map, no caption

61ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

June 2, 1990

SECTION: Business, finance and science; BOOKS AND ARTS; Pg. 97 (U.K. Edition Pg. 125)

LENGTH: 1092 words

HEADLINE: Poetry in Czechoslovakia;
"Death has no adjectives"

BODY:

MIROSLAV HOLUB is Czechoslovakia's foremost living poet and one of its most distinguished scientists. The first substantial collection of his poetry to appear in English was published in 1967, months before the tanks of the Warsaw Pact ended the Prague spring. Today the recent sea-change in the history of Czechoslovakia is marked by the appearance in translation of three new books, published by Faber and Faber: a collection of essays, "The Dimension of the Present Moment"; a selection of his early poetry, "Poems Before and After"; and a new volume of poems, "Vanishing Lung Syndrome". In London last week Mr Holub talked to The Economist .

Auden wrote, "When evening fell, the day's oppression lifted." But for you it has been half a century of oppression, from Munich onwards. What does it feel like to be emerging from tyranny?

We are talking about a span of time that represents, for me, the most part of my life. And in a sense it was the best years of our life -- though lived under the most appalling conditions, and ones that we never really believed could change. So in those first days we asked ourselves: has it really ended? Can we be sure? And then later I asked myself: but how long is human happiness? Perhaps it is only a theoretical state. Maybe it's like spending the whole of one's life wearing a shoe that is one size too small, and then, one morning, you take it off. But you soon forget you ever wore it, don't you? Human happiness lasts maybe three to five minutes, and then you just go on living your life. . . . One positive thing is that now we no longer feel guilty for being Czechs, for being the ones who submitted to Big Brother.

Were you ever a communist?

I was never in the Communist party. I was one of the few who never were. Before the communist coup of 1948, I was in the Czech Socialist party.

Were you involved with Charter 77?

No. I had to lead my two professions, as writer and scientist. Had I become involved, I would have lost my freedom to work in science.

You started writing in the 1950s. What was the atmosphere of that time?

In the early 1950s it was almost impossible to publish or to write. This was the time of the pink-faced, optimistic poems eulogising Stalin. It was a very cruel time. The party members were extremely fanatical, extremely dedicated. After the coup of 1948, many people began by believing what I never could,

that Czech communism would be different from the Russian variety. But this proved to be a dream, of course.

And especially after the Slansky trials started. . . .

Yes, with the big political trials, the terrible executions, the ugly anti-semitic passions that were aroused, it became clear that ours was to be a direct copy of the original, and so it was hopeless. And yet, as I say, there were still many, many people who were proud to be in the party, who would march in the brigades and sing the songs. And the poetry, you saw it everywhere -- on posters in the main squares of Prague -- in praise of our great leader Stalin, written in the most beautiful, formal metres, all lies.

Perhaps that helps to explain your distrust of lyricism in poetry?

We felt abandoned, abandoned by Europe -- in spite of our sense of ourselves as Europeans. After Munich we were an abandoned people, and then again in 1968. Especially after 1968. For me, a state of lyricism would have been psychologically impossible in the circumstances that I have known. When you live in a time that forbids you to say anything that you wish to say, when you are obliged to conceal part of yourself, it is better not to speak about the self at all. It is better not to express inner feelings because, frankly, you cannot flow about your feelings. The conditions are so terrible that the only thing possible is plain statement. No comment. Lyricism is comment. When I began to write, it was the situation of the total silence of poetry, and in such a period you just speak in very plain words, describing small facts. You don't dream big dreams where you are not allowed to make big bubbles of words with them. Equally, it is impossible to write big lyrical poetry about how beautiful it is to be in Prague nowadays.

The second thing is, I was a boy in wartime, and my first encounter with the broader realities of life was hundreds and hundreds of dead and bloody bodies during the Pilsen air raids. Later I became a clinical pathologist, doing post-mortems. Any type of lyricism when face to face with death -- manifold death -- is superfluous, an impertinence even. Death is death. It doesn't have any adjectives. I like verbs and nouns, but not adjectives. The old regime taught us to suspect all adjectives -- the Great Red Army, the Victorious Red Army, the Heroic Working Class, and so on. The speech of the 1950s-70-s represents a sickness of adjectives.

You were also obliged to write -- when you could write at all -- in a coded language, to outwit the censor.

It is a strange fact, but true, that censors are dull people. The less dull ones did not remain censors for long -- they got smart by reading and reading, and had to be dismissed. So the censor was not a great obstacle. We writers communicated with our readers over their heads. Everybody understood that when you wrote about Julius Caesar, for example, you were talking about a Russian marshal.

Your works sold out very quickly, didn't they?

Yes, they did not even have to go on display. They were sold under the counter.

So what will happen now? How will normalisation affect your writing? In a sense, oppression must have given your poetry an edge -- and this collusion between reader and writer will be lost in a more tolerant age because you will no longer represent the covert spirit of freedom.

That is true, of course. Such regimes as the ones we experienced until November last were a big endorsement of the role of poetry, and gave great encouragement to its sales, because, as you say, the poet assumes the role of public protester, giving voice to general feelings that would not otherwise be vented in public. Gradually this role will be lost. To be criticised by the authorities before publication stimulated sales enormously. Frankly, I do not know how it will affect my own writing. I am, of course, aware of themes that are waiting to be explored. One always has complaints, strong feelings. Even in a normal, open society there are inner and outer absurdities. . . .

GRAPHIC: Picture, no caption

62ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

June 2, 1990

SECTION: World politics and current affairs; EUROPE; Pg. 50 (U.K. Edition Pg. 54)

LENGTH: 778 words

HEADLINE: Czechoslovakia;
The velvet vote

BYLINE: FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN PRAGUE

BODY:

THE campaign has little passion, and almost no hoopla. That does not mean lack of content. In voting on June 8th and 9th, Czechoslovaks will get a chance to do two things: complete the drubbing of the Communists which began with the "velvet revolution" on the streets last November, and endorse the government of ex-dissidents led by Civic Forum that has run the country since then. If polls are right, the Communists stand to get 10-13% of the vote, Civic Forum 30-40%.

To make it seem like a race, the Forum has publicly bemoaned its chances, agonised about whether or not to announce economic reforms before the election, and aired internal squabbles. None of this has dispelled a sense of the inevitable. In sketching future policies, officials do not even bother with the democratic nicety, "if we win".

The Christian right, the Forum's nearest rival among the non-Communist parties, is almost certain to join it, as now, in a coalition government. The two would be partners even if, against the odds, the Forun came second. This helps to soften the impression that the Forum is installing its own one-party system. Before long the Forum will have to accept that it cannot speak for everyone. It now stretches from radical left to radical right. In defining itself, there will be defection, s workaday politics replaces anti-communist charisma.

The Forum's leading force is Mr Vaclav Havel. Because he is also Czechoslovakia's president, he is not in theory campaigning. But he is all over the country, receiving an honorary degree here, getting rapturous applause on attending a concert there. In speeches, he urges people to vote "morally" -- that is, against the Communists -- and above all to vote.

The election is for the two houses of the federal parliament. Czechoslovakia's two "nations", the Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia (10m people) and Slovakia (5m), will split the seats in the upper house with half each, and in the lower house two-thirds to one-third. Voters will also pick Czech and Slovak national assemblies.

In Slovakia the Christian Democrats may well come first. Their main sister party in Bohemia-Moravia is called the People's party. The People's party has to overcome the taint of its long period of tame co-operation with the Communists, though its leaders of those years have gone.

Rumours spread earlier this spring that the interior ministry, under Mr Richard Sacher, a People's party leader, was being less than vigorous in sacking former secret policemen. Several thousand "contact" files were said to have disappeared. If true, that was convenient for people who had once helped the police and now wanted a clean slate. President Havel, who has spoken out against vengeance, was reluctant to act. Pressed by Civic Forum, he agreed to appoint a deputy minister of the interior with permission, it is said, for a clear-out.

The Communists look and sound like hurricane victims, brave but dazed. Unlike other communists in Eastern Europe, they cannot even claim to have helped bring in democracy. Their party liberalised itself last November only when it was already too late. Most Czechs now treat it with ridicule. When the Communists chose a pair of cherries as their campaign symbol, the Forum put up posters of Stalin with two cherries dangling from an ear.

Those inside the Forum urging postponement of economic reforms have lost, though their defeat has been announced more than once before and they may yet regroup. Encouraged by the Polish example, where union-activists-turned-ministers are talking strikers back to work, the Czechoslovak government has decided to push ahead at once with its own price reform. Privatisation is to begin in the autumn.

Subsidies amounting to 25 billion crowns ($ 1.5 billion at the official rate) a year are to be cut from many staple foods, fuel and public transport. The aim is to make prices for these goods better reflect supply and demand. In contrast to Poland, there is no need, says the government, to cut overall demand. To soften the change, each person will get a payment of 140 crowns a month, for a time at least. The IMF, which is expected soon to approve Czechoslovakia's application to join, would have liked a tighter budgetary policy.

The hard work after the election is not just economic. Within 40 days of the vote the parliament must pick a new president. Everyone expects it to be Mr Havel. He will serve for two years, the time in which parliament must write and promulgate a new constitution. To begin with, Mr Havel said his job was temporary. Those who know him say his taste for office is growing.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Trundling to democracy

77TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

April 14, 1990

SECTION: World politics and current affairs; EUROPE; Pg. 48 (U.K. Edition Pg. 60)

LENGTH: 1330 words

HEADLINE: Czechoslovakia;
Rough velvet

BYLINE: FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN PRAGUE

BODY:

WITH its street musicians and young people cheerfully competing to sell rival newspapers, Prague is so much jollier than it used to be. Why then the growing feeling that all is not quite well? The overthrow of communist rule in November was astonishingly rapid and civilised. The gentle or "velvet" revolution, they called it. Yet not even Czechoslovaks can stay nice forever. Less than two months before the election on June 8th there are, inevitably, patches of Velcro among the velvet.

Czechs and Slovaks have been arguing with some passion over a hyphen: Slovaks are insisting that the new republic be called Czecho-Slovakia, Czechs are resisting what they see as an inelegant concession to Slovak nationalism. Despite early calls to resist the urge for vengeance, evidence is mounting that people are taking the chance to settle old scores with Communists. It is starting to be realised that the transition to normal economics and politics is going to be a lot less smooth than many had, perhaps naively, hoped.

Mr Vaclav Klaus, the free-market finance minister, is working 20-hour days, with time off only for judging the Miss Czechoslovakia beauty contest. The strain is showing. On his desk lies the umpteenth draft of the blueprint for turning Czechoslovakia into a market economy. Mr Klaus stresses the need for preparation and points to the progress already made: the introduction for the first time in decades of a proper budget (Mr Klaus is aiming for a surplus, with the help of deep spending cuts), and the revolutionary fact of a colourful finance minister, not grey apparatchiks, in charge of the economy. Yet there is growing impatience for more action.

Would-be entrepreneurs are unhappy that a law on private enterprise has still not been passed. Foreign investors are rushing to Prague only to find that Czechoslovakia, unlike Hungary and Poland, is not yet open for business. Politicians who pressed for quick reform, at a time when most people would still blame the Communist party for the inevitable pain, fear that a window of opportunity is closing. Behind the arguments holding up change -- when to free prices? how to privatise state industry? -- lurks a deeper division over how rough Czechoslovakia's ride to the market has to be. It will be a struggle to get reforms through parliament before it dissolves itself at the end of April to make way for the election; there is already talk of extending the session, to avoid more months of delay.

The power of the power-hungry
In politics, delay is proving costly to Civic Forum, the coalition which

(together with its Slovak sister group, Public Against Violence) brought down communism and is now running the country. Its leaders say Civic Forum is a "political service", not a party. They hoped the anti-communist front would hold together through the election and for the two years of the constituent assembly that is due to draw up a new constitution. But not everyone is prepared to wait patiently to compete for power. As the election approaches, a new political landscape is beginning to take shape.

On the right, a powerful three-sided coalition, the Christian Democratic Union, emerged last week. A group of Christian Democrats led by Mr Vaclav Benda, a former dissident, has walked out from under Civic Forum's umbrella (against the objections of some members) to form an electoral pact in the Czech republic with the People's party, founded in 1919 but after 1948 a Communist satellite. The People's party claims several hundred thousand members, compared with Mr Benda's 1,500, and since November has replaced its discredited leaders; but the link with Mr Benda's party gives it extra respectability. Strongly Catholic Slovakia provides the third side in this coalition: the Christian Democratic Movement, which is likely to do well there.

The Christian Democrats stress moral renewal. The programme the People's party has just approved includes sections on the family, education, the nation, religion, culture and sport before moving on to an unconvincing discussion of economic policy. Its religious enthusiasm upsets some critics ("I'm afraid of getting Jesuits in place of Communists," says one). But the new Union is getting money and advice from Christian Democrats in the West. The Pope's visit to Czechoslovakia this month will do it no harm. On the evidence of the elections in East Germany and Hungary, Christian Democracy is the force to watch as East Europeans vote freely.

On the left, the fallen fortunes of the Communists show in a collection box for campaign contributions at the entrance of the cavernous Central Committee building, which the party will soon have to leave. To listen to the talk there ("We are searching for a new identity") you might think Freud had replaced Marx as the guru. But with new young leaders, supposedly reformed ideas and still a claimed 1.1m members, the Communists are not entirely finished. Others remain wary of them, anyway.

The Communists gobbled up the once-powerful Social Democrats in 1948. Now the Social Democrats have re-emerged, only to find themselves divided. One lot is running its own list of candidates. Another, with its roots in the dissident movement and favouring "an ecologically oriented social-market economy", has remained with Civic Forum. When not fighting each other, the Social Democrats worry about a rival on the centre-left, the Socialists. The Socialists make much of their links with Tomas Masaryk and Edvard Benes, Czechoslovakia's first presidents, and play down their role as an "ally" of the Communists over the past 40 years.

To complete the spectrum, there are farmers' parties, liberals (some inside Civic Forum) and Greens -- whose support is said to be around 10% in this ecologically devastated country, though it is hard to trace any sign of organised greenery in Prague. It is a far cry from the simple democrats-versus-Communists politics that Civic Forum imagined only a few months ago.

Civic Forum now admits that it was a big mistake to delay the election and introduce a controversial new election law, which replaces the old first-past-the-post system with proportional representation for parties winning at least 5% of the vote. "We wanted to be too perfect," says Mr Jan Urban, Civic Forum's chief organiser. Delay has opened the movement to criticism and given other parties a chance to organise. The departure of many of its best people to government jobs has weakened the forum as a campaigning outfit. With no membership and so no membership dues, it is even finding it hard to pay the salaries of its staff.

Still, opinion polls suggest that Civic Forum, though flagging, remains the strongest political force in the land, with the support of 23-30% of voters. Mr Urban reckons it can count on the backing of large numbers of Czechoslovaks who distrust political parties after 40 years under the Communists. Over the next two months it will remind voters of the things it has managed to do (overthrowing communism, for instance). But whereas in an early vote under the old rules the forum would have swept to outright victory, it now expects to be in a coalition after the election.

The weaker the government, the more important the president. The hugely popular President Vaclav Havel is likely to stay on for another two years, because his country needs him. In his offices up in Hradcany castle, where the blue-jeans informality is another reminder of how much Czechoslovakia has changed, his spokesman says Mr Havel will be travelling less and devoting more time to domestic politics, touring the country and probably addressing both Czechs and Slovaks at least once before polling day. Mr Havel's main worry, it seems, is that selfish individual or group interests will prevail over the interests of the federation. That may be a sign that Czechoslovakia is becoming just a normal western country.

GRAPHIC: Picture, The new perkiness of Prague

88TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

March 10, 1990

SECTION: World politics and current affairs; EUROPE; Pg. 56 (U.K. Edition Pg. 62)

LENGTH: 520 words

HEADLINE: Czechoslovakia;
Market-making

BYLINE: FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN PRAGUE

BODY:

DOWN a drab corridor where the wooden coat-pegs fall out of their sockets, Czechoslovakia's minister of finance, Mr Vaclav Klaus, is battling for economic reform. Some government colleagues, lead by Mr Valtr Komarek, the deputy prime minister, want tough measures delayed, at least until after the general election in June. They worry that a voter backlash might help ex-Communists and their allies waving the banner of social justice. Both sides think Czechoslovakia should move to a market economy. The question is how fast.

So sharp is the row that some of President Havel's advisers had glumly expected it to come to him on appeal a second time. The president is a political leader and playwright, not a technocrat. The first time the issue was referred up to "the Castle", as his office is known, the economists were told to decide for themselves. In the past fortnight, however, Mr Klaus may have begun to get the upper hand. His position was further stiffened by the arrival of a team from the International Monetary Fund, which Czechoslovakia wants to join.

Part of Mr Klaus's problem is persuading fellow Czechoslovaks that the economy is in worse shape than it looks. People are well-trained and work hard. There is a strong engineering tradition. Unlike Poland, Czechoslovakia's gross foreign debt is a low $ 7 billion. Inflation is a murmur, not a roar. Food is plentiful. Yet much of industry is old and uncompetitive. Reliance on trade with other inefficient Comecon partners damagingly cushions the country from outside competition.

Foreign aid or loans are the last things Mr Klaus wants. Nor does he think all price controls should be lifted right away. "Freeing prices with our monopoly structure would be suicide," an adviser at the finance ministry says. Instead, Mr Klaus wants to squeeze the budget and get privatisation moving swiftly.

In this year's budget, Mr Klaus is aiming for a small surplus of 1-2% of government spending. Money for the armed forces and the police is to be slashed. Subsidies to industries and consumers will be cut. Lay-offs and even shut-downs are likely, though the government is being coy about how many people will lose their jobs.

If Mr Klaus gets his way, an Office of State Property and Privatisation will soon be working from his ministry. According to an adviser, privatisation

could come in two states. In the first, lasting perhaps a year, state firms would be evaluated and turned into joint-stock companies. (A bill authorising joint-stock companies passed parliament earlier this month.) Around a fifth of their capital would be pooled in a sort of national unit trust. Shares in this would be sold cheap or, more probably, given away. The idea is to create a base for popular capitalism and to compensate for lost consumer subsidies.

Privatisation proper would come in the second stage. The treasury, holding the balance of industrial capital, would start selling it off to the public. The means, the scope and the pace are yet to be decided. The arguments will go on. Mr Klaus's opponents are down, not out.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Klaus is less cautious

The New Encyclopædia Britannica

in 30 Volumes

MICROPÆDIA
Volume VI

Ready Reference
and
Index

FOUNDED 1768
15TH EDITION

Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.
William Benton, Publisher, 1943–1973
Helen Hemingway Benton, Publisher, 1973–1974
Chicago/Geneva/London/Manila/Paris/Rome
Seoul/Sydney/Tokyo/Toronto

west of Kilimanjaro (19,340 ft [5,895 m]). It has an area of 1,259 sq mi (3,261 sq km) and was established in 1948. The reserve is situated at about 4,000 ft above sea level and consists of grasslands, swamps, springs, and acacia forests, which are shared by the herds of the Masai tribe and by wildlife, notably the rhinoceros. Other wild animals include elephants, buffalo, wildebeests, zebras, giraffes, lions, cheetahs, leopards, and varied birdlife. Competition between wildlife and cattle for limited water supplies has posed a major problem, but some water is transported into the area. The park's headquarters are at Nairobi.

·map, Kenya **10**:424

Masai language: *see* Nilotic languages.

Masaka, town and district, southern Uganda, East Africa. The town, near the northwestern shore of Lake Victoria, is a trade and agriculture centre. Pop. (latest census) town, 12,987.

·map, Uganda **18**:826
·population density map **18**:828
·transportation, area, and population descriptions **18**:830e; table 828

Masākin (Tunisia): *see* Msaken.

Masalit, people inhabiting the Darfur region of The Sudan.

·Sudan ethnic composition map **17**:762

Masamune Hakuchō (b. MASAMUNE TADAO, March 3, 1879, Bizen, Okayama Prefecture, Japan—d. Oct. 28, 1962, Tokyo), writer and critic, one of the great masters of Japanese Naturalist literature. Unlike others of that school whose Naturalism was a reaction to the Romanticism of the late 19th century, Hakuchō seems to have had a basically unsentimental and skeptical view of man that gave an especially disinterested, realistic tone to his writing. Early influenced by Christianity, he went to Tokyo in 1896 to enter Tokyo Semmon Gakkō (now Waseda University); he was baptized the following year.

In 1903 he began writing literary, art, and cultural criticism for the *Yomiuri shimbun* newspaper. The novels *Doko-e* (1908; "Whither?") and *Doro Ningyō* (1911; "The Clay Doll") brought him attention as a writer of fiction, although he was already known for his distinctive criticism. These are stories of people living in a gray world from which all ambition and hope are banished; similar are *Ushibeya-no-nioi* (1916; "The Stench of the Stable") and *Shisha seisha* (1916; "The Dead and the Living"). Hakuchō also devoted some time to writing plays, perhaps the best known of which is *Jinsei-no-kōfuku* (1924; "The Happiness of Human Existence").

But it was in criticism that his true forte seemed to lie; and in 1932 he published one of his most influential works of that genre, *Bundan jimbutsu hyōron* ("Critical Essays on Literary Figures"), characterized by sharp but impressionistic observations. Other outstanding works are *Shisō mushisō* (1938; "Thought and No-Thought") and *Bundanteki Jishōden* (1938; "A Literary Autobiography"). Hakuchō's work showed no diminution of energy through the years, and his expression remained bold to the end of his life.

Masan, port city, Kyŏngsang-namdo (South Kyŏngsang Province), southeastern South Korea. It is on Masan-man (bay), inside of Chinhaeman, 22 mi (35 km) west of Pusan, with which it is connected by rail and road. After 1899 it developed as an open port, but it was closed in 1908 because it was in a naval fortified zone. Masan's port was opened again (1967). The city is also the market centre for agricultural products from the Kimhae plain and the Nam-ch'ŏn (river) Valley surroundings, and for marine products from the fishing area facing the city. The main industries in the early years were the manufacturing of marine products and the brewing of liquor. After independence with the construction of a thermoelectric plant, machine, chemical, and textile industries developed. Consequently, Masan became the largest commercial and industrial city in the province. In 1966 a plan to develop the seaside area as a special industrial zone was established. Pop. (1970) 190,992.
35°11′ N, 128°32′ E

·map, South Korea **10**:524
·urban location map **10**:526

Masaniello, properly TOMASSO ANIELLO (b. June 1620, Naples—d. July 16, 1647, Naples), leader of a popular insurrection in Naples against Spanish rule and oppression by the nobles. Masaniello was a young fisherman in 1647 when he was chosen to lead a protest against a new tax on fruit levied by the nobility to raise money to pay the tribute to Spain.

Masaniello, oil painting attributed to D. Gargiulio (1612–79); in the Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples
Alinari

The insurrection against the nobles was successful; but Masaniello lost control of himself, became intoxicated, and urged the people to slaughter the nobles. He was murdered by assassins hired by the nobles. His short, sensational career was the subject of an opera, *La Muette de Portici* (1828; by Daniel Auber and Eugène Scribe).

·anti-Spanish revolt **9**:1149f

Masaniello, proper title LA MUETTE DE PORTICI (first performed 1828; *The Mute Girl of Portici*), opera by the French composer Daniel Auber.

·phenomenal popularity in 19th century **13**:586c

Ma San-pao (Chinese admiral): *see* Cheng Ho.

Masaoka Shiki (b. MASAOKA TSUNENORI, Oct. 14, 1867, Matsuyama, Ehime Prefecture, Japan—d. Sept. 19, 1902, Tokyo), poet and essayist, responsible for the revitalization of haiku and tanka, traditional Japanese poetic forms. He was born into a samurai (warrior) family. Masaoka went to Tokyo to study in 1883 and began to write poetry in 1885. Four years later he contracted tuberculosis, remaining an invalid for much of the rest of his life. After two years of study at Tokyo Imperial College (1890–92), he joined a major publishing firm.

As early as 1892 Masaoka began to feel that a new spirit was needed to free poetry from centuries-old rules prescribing even topics and vocabulary. In an essay entitled "Jojibun" ("Narration") that appeared in the newspaper *Nihon* in 1900, Shiki introduced the word *shasei* ("delineation from nature") to describe his theory. He believed that a poet should present things as they really are and that he should write in contemporary speech. Through his articles, Masaoka also stimulated renewed interest in the 8th-century poetry anthology *Manyō-shū* (*q.v.*) and in the haiku poet Buson. Shiki frequently wrote of his illness, both in his poems and in such essays as "Byōshō rokushaku" (1902; "The Six-foot Sickbed"), but his work is remarkably detached and almost entirely lacking in self-pity.

·poetry styles **10**:1072c

Masarwa (African people): *see* bushman.

Masaryk, Jan (b. Sept. 14, 1886, Prague—d. March 10, 1948, Prague), statesman and diplomat who served as foreign minister in both the Czechoslovak émigré government in London during World War II and the postwar coalition government of Czechoslovakia.

The son of the statesman Tomáš Masaryk, he served in a Hungarian regiment during World War I, entered the foreign office of the newly independent Czechoslovakia in 1919, and served in Washington and London, before becoming secretary to the foreign minister Edvard Beneš in 1921. From 1925 to 1938 he was ambassador to Great Britain. During World War II he was foreign minister of the Czechoslovak émigré regime in London. A leading spokesman for that government, Masaryk made wartime broadcasts to occupied Czechoslovakia, published in 1944 under the title *Speaking to My Country*, and became a popular figure at home. Retaining the foreign ministry after the liberation of his homeland in 1945, he accompanied Beneš to Moscow and also participated in the inauguration of the United Nations in San Francisco. Convinced that Czechoslovakia must remain friendly to the Soviet Union, he was nevertheless greatly disappointed by the Soviet veto of Czechoslovak acceptance of postwar United States reconstruction aid under the Marshall Plan.

At the request of President Beneš, Masaryk remained at his post after the Communist take-over of Feb. 25, 1948, but a few weeks later he apparently committed suicide by throwing himself out of a window at the foreign office.

·Czechoslovak political leadership **2**:1198a

Masaryk, Tomáš (Garrigue) **11**:572, (b. March 7, 1850, Hodonín, now in Czech.—d. Sept. 14, 1937, Lány), chief founder and first president of Czechoslovakia and a leading Slavic nationalist in the early 20th century.

Abstract of text biography. In the 1880s Masaryk wrote on the Czech religious heritage. In 1889 he began his political career, championing the rights of Slavs in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He lived in western Europe after the beginning of World War I, joining the Czech liberation movement. He later went to Russia and then to the United States (1917), where he negotiated for Czechoslovak independence. Masaryk became president of the new nation in 1918, resigning in 1935.

REFERENCES in other text articles:
·Czechoslovak National Council **19**:962h
·Young Czech political decline **2**:1194g

Masaya, department, southwestern Nicaragua, mainly in the lowlands between Lake Nicaragua and Managua but extending into a range of low coastal hills in the southwest. The smallest but most densely populated of Nicaragua's departments, it has fertile soils derived chiefly from volcanic ash and lava. Its agriculture produces mainly tobacco, corn (maize), and other vegetables, flowers, and, on the slopes of Masaya Volcano, coffee. Masaya (*q.v.*), the capital and largest city, is linked to Managua (*q.v.*), the national capital, and Granada, and the department is well served by highways, railroads, and airlines. Pop. (1971 prelim.) 93,890.

·area and population table **13**:59
·map, Nicaragua **13**:60

Masaya, capital, Masaya department, southwestern Nicaragua, at the eastern foot of Ma

The New Encyclopædia Britannica

in 30 Volumes

MACROPÆDIA
Volume 2

Knowledge in Depth

FOUNDED 1768
15TH EDITION

Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.
William Benton, Publisher, 1943–1973
Helen Hemingway Benton, Publisher, 1973–1974
Chicago/Geneva/London/Manila/Paris/Rome
Seoul/Sydney/Tokyo/Toronto

scheme forwarded by the crown advisers could reconcile the federalist tendencies with the monarch's desire to concentrate as much power as possible in Vienna.

Division of Czechs and Slovaks. After a war with Prussia and Italy in 1866, Francis Joseph sought a solution that would promise speedy recovery and the stabilization of internal affairs. The monarchy was transformed, in 1867, into a dual system. The Magyars obtained the dominant position in Hungary; in the conglomeration of other provinces, which was briefly called Austria, the Germans were the strongest single group, followed by Czechs, Poles, and other nationalities. The dual system passed through successive crises but remained in existence until 1918.

Like other nationalities the Czechs resumed political activities after the promulgation of the October Diploma. Palacký was recognized as a dominant figure, but the actual leadership passed into Rieger's hands. Two courses were open to the Czechs: to apply the principle of nationality or to emphasize historical continuity. Palacký and Rieger decided for the latter and were supported by their conservative collaborators; clearly they had no chance for success without a close alliance with the conservative landed aristocracy, to which the electoral system granted a strong position in the provincial diets and in the parliament. But this alliance was exploited by Rieger's progressive opponents. Differentiation within the National Party began in 1863 and continued more rapidly after 1867. The Czechs, irrespective of ideological orientation, opposed the dual system and boycotted institutions that Austria received after the promulgation of a new constitution in December 1867. After two stormy years, an attempt was made to devise a solution that would give Bohemia autonomy within the Austrian half of the monarchy. In agreement with the historically minded nobility, Rieger negotiated in 1870 and 1871 with the Vienna cabinet and consented to a compromise. But Francis Joseph, although originally sympathetic, yielded to heavy pressure from many sides in October 1871 and refused to sanction the compromise. No attempt was made after 1871 to revive the project.

Internal differences in National Party

Despite the setback, Rieger was able to retain leadership for some 20 more years. Most official statements in either the Vienna Chamber of Deputies or in the provincial diets of Bohemia and Moravia contained a formal declaration in favour of the state right. The idea of restitution of the kingdom of Bohemia to its former rank, similar to that of Hungary, was never given up; but its chances of realization declined with the consolidation of the dual system, and Francis Joseph showed no intention of going to Prague to be crowned with the ancient crown of St. Wenceslas. After 1871 the Czech political leadership was confronted with a dilemma: whether to boycott the parliament and the diets or to join the government majority for concessions in education and economic life. In 1874 the National Party split; the progressive wing, commonly called the Young Czechs, gained in popularity among the urban middle class and well-to-do peasants. Rieger found it more and more difficult to defend his alliance with the big landowners, because it brought no tangible results and obstructed the flow of progressive ideas. The Young Czech deputies insisted on its dissolution and were applauded by their supporters, to whom progress in education, emancipation from clerical influences, and improvement of living standards were more vital than the continued emphasis on unforfeited state right. The Old Czechs lost ground in the 1880s and suffered a total defeat in the parliamentary election of 1891.

German–Czech rivalry. The most determined opponents of the state right scheme in 1871 and thereafter were the spokesmen of the German-speaking population of Bohemia and Moravia, later known as the Sudeten Germans, who realized the losses they would suffer with any decentralization of Austria. In the Vienna parliament they cooperated with their kinsmen from the Alpine provinces and helped determine the composition of the cabinets. An alliance between Austria-Hungary and Hohenzollern Germany (1879) increased their sense of belonging to one of Europe's strongest ethnic units. But their population was losing in Bohemia and Moravia in proportion to the Czechs. The losses were not spectacular and were largely neutralized by Vienna's reluctance to change the traditional practices of giving preference to German over Czech candidates in civil service and especially in the army. The electoral system for the provincial diet, introduced in 1861, was not changed, although the right to vote in parliamentary elections was extended several times to benefit less propertied voters. The immediate cause of Rieger's fall was dissatisfaction over concessions he was willing to make to the Germans in 1890. Thereafter, no attempt was made to achieve general agreement on problems of coexistence of the two ethnic blocs. The largest and richest crown land, in fact, became a trouble spot second, after 1908, only to the southern Slavic provinces.

But the Young Czech leaders were soon caught in the same dilemma that had plagued Rieger. Solemn declarations of adherence to the state right scheme were followed by bargaining with the prime ministers, who sought potential members of a government coalition and offered tempting concessions, including Cabinet posts. Graf Kazimierz Badeni, who headed the Austrian Cabinet in 1895–97, promised administrative measures that would sanction wider use of Czech in Bohemian civil service and law courts. But he encountered vigorous opposition, organized by German nationalists, in the parliament and lost the Emperor's confidence. He resigned, and his successor recognized the futility of trying to adjust the outdated laws in favour of the Czechs, whose members in relation to the Germans amounted to almost two-thirds.

The changing social and economic stratification also sped the decline of the Young Czechs. They unsuccessfully courted industrial workers, who were more attracted by the Social Democrats and voted for their candidates. Václav Klofáč, a talented journalist, after several years of cooperation with the Young Czechs, founded the National Socialist Party. The peasants, dissatisfied with the increasing influence of big business and the upper middle class, turned away from the Young Czechs after 1890. An agrarian movement soon became the Young Czechs' most dangerous rival, because the peasants predominated in the Czech-speaking areas of Bohemia and Moravia. The young Czech political program was pervaded by liberal principles, which included anticlericalism; that made it unpalatable to the conservative groups, which favoured close cooperation with the Roman Catholic Church and which were stronger in Moravia than in Bohemia. Finally, voters led in Moravia by Adolf Stránský and in both provinces by Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk came to feel that the Young Czechs were not seriously carrying out the progressive ideas included in their program. Parties that developed out of ideological opposition were small when compared with the Agrarians, the Socialists, and the Young Czechs; but their ideas reached the noncommitted voters. The grant of universal manhood suffrage in 1906 greatly improved the chances of parties appealing to the less propertied voters; instead of helping to consolidate the parliament, it caused such differences that the prime ministers, following each other in quick succession, found it increasingly difficult to form a solid majority block. Thus, from the election in 1907 to the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the Chamber of Deputies could easily be bypassed by the court and by the ministries of Foreign Affairs and War, over which Francis Joseph exercised stronger control than other constitutional rulers. The dual monarchy, instead of experiencing regeneration, was moving toward more dangerous involvements in international affairs and, finally, toward catastrophe.

Decline of the Young Czechs

II. Czechoslovakia since 1914

THE REPUBLIC OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA (1918–45)

The struggle for independence (1914–18). World War I brought about a total estrangement between the Germans and the Czechs and Slovaks within the country. The Germans lent full support to the war effort of the

Central Powers, but among the Czechs the war was unpopular. Opposition to the war, however, was uncoordinated, because Czech political leaders were unable to agree on a program. In December 1914 Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, a representative in the Vienna parliament, left Prague to organize activities that could not be developed at home because of the suspension of civil rights and political persecution. After staying some months in neutral countries, Masaryk moved to London. In 1915 he had been joined in Switzerland by his former student Edvard Beneš and by Josef Dürich, a member of the conservative Czech Agrarian Party. Masaryk at first had rather vague notions of the tasks ahead of him. But, after conferring with distinguished experts in central European affairs, he eventually came to advocate a program of political union of the Czechs and Slovaks. A young Slovak astronomer, Milan Rastislav Štefánik, offered his support. Masaryk established contacts with the Czechs and Slovaks living in Allied and neutral countries, especially the United States. In 1916 a Czechoslovak National Council was created under Masaryk's chairmanship. Its members were anxious to maintain contacts with the leaders at home in order to avoid disharmony, and an underground organization called the Maffia served as a liaison between them.

At home the military regime headed by Archduke Frederick curbed the press, forbade public meetings, and imprisoned those suspected of disloyalty. Among those arrested were the pro-Russian Young Czech leader Karel Kramář and the economist Alois Rašín. Dissatisfaction among the Czech soldiers on the Eastern front became more articulate in 1915, and whole units often went over to the Russian side.

Moderate reform under Charles I

Francis Joseph died in November 1916 and was succeeded by Charles I. The new emperor abolished the most irritating restrictions on the freedom of expression and granted amnesty to political prisoners. In the spring of 1917 he called the parliament to session. Charles's reforms, although in many respects gratifying, called for more intensive activities abroad in order to convince the Allied leaders that partial concessions to the Czechs were inadequate to the problems of postwar reconstruction. The position of the Slovaks was not getting better, and the Hungarian government showed no inclination to reorganize the kingdom in accordance with the principle of nationality. Two major events coincided with Charles's new course in home affairs and with his discreet exploration of the chances of a separate peace: the Russian Revolution (March 1917) and the United States declaration of war on Germany. In May 1917 Masaryk left London for Russia to speed up organization of a Czechoslovak army. While small units of volunteers had been formed in the Allied countries during the early part of the war, thousands of prisoners of war were now released from Russian camps and trained for service on the Allied side. A Czechoslovak brigade participated in the last Russian offensive and distinguished itself at Zborov in July 1917.

United States encouragement

From the United States came moral encouragement, but Pres. Woodrow Wilson's early statements pertaining to the peace aims were rather hazy. Several weeks after the United States declaration of war on Austria-Hungary, President Wilson promulgated his celebrated Fourteen Points (January 8, 1918), the tenth of which called for "the freest opportunity of the autonomous development" for the peoples of Austria-Hungary.

After the Bolshevik Revolution, the National Council decided to transfer Czechoslovak troops from Russia to France. As other routes to the West were blocked, they started moving toward Vladivostok but got involved in struggles between the Bolsheviks and the Conservative forces for the control of the Siberian railroad. Their achievements, noticed favourably in the Allied press, gave the Czechoslovak cause wide publicity, and Masaryk left Russia for the United States, where, in May 1918, he gained solid support from Czech and Slovak organizations. A declaration favouring political union of the Czechs and Slovaks was issued at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on May 31, 1918 (called the Pittsburgh Convention).

In 1918, dealings with the Allies progressed more successfully. Not only the Siberian campaigns but also increased activities at home were used to get the struggle for independence endorsed by the Allied governments. A demand for a sovereign state "within the historic frontiers of the Bohemian lands and of Slovakia" was made in Prague at the Epiphany Convention (January 6, 1918) and repeated later with more vigour. In May 1918 not only the Czechs but also the Slovaks made statements to which Masaryk and his collaborators could point when pressing for an official recognition. The anti-Austria resolution, adopted at the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities at Rome (April 1918), helped in disarming conservative circles in the Allied countries who opposed a total reorganization of the Danubian region. After several encouraging statements came the recognition by France of the Czechoslovak National Council as the supreme body controlling Czechoslovak national interests; the other Allies soon followed the French initiative. On September 28, 1918, Beneš signed a treaty whereby France agreed to support the Czechoslovak program in the postwar peace conference. To preclude a retreat from the earlier Allied declarations, the National Council constituted itself as a provisional government (October 14, 1918). On October 18 Masaryk and Beneš issued a declaration of independence simultaneously in Washington and Paris. Events were moving rapidly toward total collapse of the Habsburg monarchy. The last attempt to avert it, the manifesto issued by Emperor Charles on October 16, 1918, brought no positive results. After that, Vienna had no choice but to accept President Wilson's terms. The surrender note, signed by Count Gyula Andrássy, last foreign minister, was accepted as a sanction of the idea of independence. The Prague National Committee proclaimed a republic on October 28, and, two days later, the Slovak National Council at Turčiansky Svätý Martin acceded to the Prague proclamation.

The establishment of Czechoslovakia (1918–25). Despite all efforts to maintain contacts between the leaders abroad and those at home, the early years of the republic were hindered by differences of opinion and occasional frictions. Masaryk returned to Prague on December 21, 1918. Beneš stayed in Paris and was joined by Karel Kramář, prime minister since November 1918. The Slovak leader Štefánik decided to return home but died in an air accident in May 1919. Masaryk and Beneš conducted external relations, and the leaders of five major parties controlled home affairs.

Boundary settlements after war

Of the many tasks facing the new government, negotiations at the peace conference, though complicated by dissensions among the great powers, were the least onerous. The frontiers separating Bohemia and Moravia from Germany and Austria were approved, with minor rectifications, in favour of the republic. The Slovak boundary was also felt to be satisfactory. The dispute over the Duchy of Teschen strained the relations with Poland; the partition of the duchy in 1920 was opposed by powerful Polish groups, and the Polish senate did not ratify the treaty. The northeastern counties of prewar Hungary (Carpathian Ruthenia) were attached to the new state. The area was inhabited by Slavic peoples, the majority of whom were keenly aware of their kinship with the Ukrainians.

Consolidation of internal affairs proceeded slowly. The winter of 1918–19 was critical. The most urgent task of the new government was to replace the wartime economy by a new system. The network of railroads and highways had to be adjusted to the new shape of the republic, stretching from the Cheb (Eger) region in western Bohemia to the Carpathians in the east. The first minister of finance, Alois Rašín, saved the Czechoslovak currency from catastrophic inflation, and his death in February 1923, after being shot by a young revolutionary, was a shock to the new republic.

In the chaotic conditions prevailing in central Europe after the armistice, a parliamentary election appeared to be impossible. The Czech and Slovak leaders agreed on the composition of the National Assembly. The Assembly's main function was the drafting of a constitution.

VOLUME 8

Corot to Desdemona

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

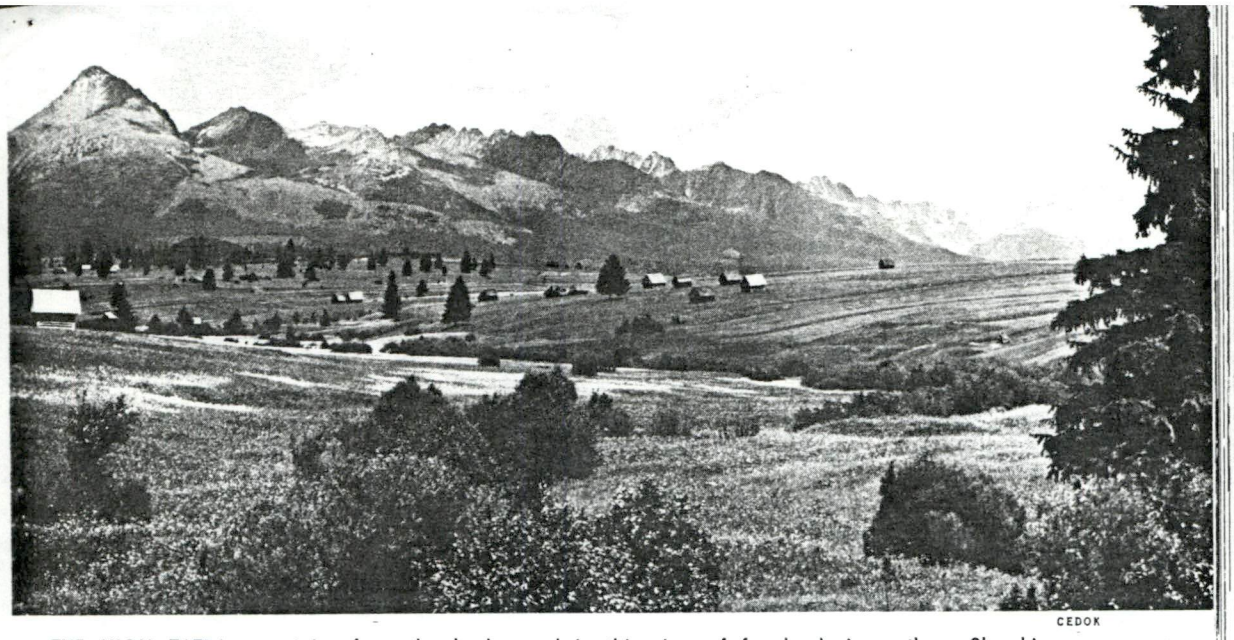
INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816



CEDOK

THE HIGH TATRA mountains form the background in this view of farmlands in northern Slovakia.

2. Land and Natural Resources

Czechoslovakia lies in the heart of Europe, almost equidistant from the Mediterranean, the North Sea, and the Baltic Sea. The western part of the country, Bohemia, is drained by the Labe (Elbe) River northwestward to the North Sea. Most of the remainder lies within the basin of the Danube, which borders the province of Moravia in the south. The Odra (Oder) River, which flows northward to the Baltic Sea, rises within northern Moravia.

Czechoslovakia is a very hilly and in parts a mountainous country. It is divisible on the basis of its relief into three distinct regions—Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. These regions have had quite distinct histories, and each retains its own folk culture.

Bohemia. The most westerly region corresponds with the historic province of Bohemia. It is made up of Paleozoic rocks, which rise around the margins of this diamond-shaped region into hill ranges. On the northwest these are known as the Ore Mountains (Czech, Krušné Hory; German, Erzgebirge). They rise to a high plateau at about 2,800 feet (900 meters). As their name implies, they have long been noted for their metalliferous minerals, and they contain one of Europe's foremost deposits of uranium. Czechoslovakia's boundary with East Germany runs through this region. On the southwest lie the high, forested hills of the Bohemian Forest (Česky Les and Šumava). The mountains that separate Bohemia from Poland are higher and more rugged than the others and rise at their highest point, Sněžka, to 5,258 feet (1,603 meters). Toward the southeast only the gentle uplands of the Moravian Hills (Česka-Moravska Vysočina) separate Bohemia from the plains of Moravia.

Within this ring of mountains and hills lie the Bohemian plains and plateaus, the most densely settled, the most highly developed, and historically the most important of all the regions of the country. In the north there are the plains of the Labe River, which, with their fertile soils, constitute one of the finest agricultural areas in the country. Farther south the Paleozoic rocks come to the surface. They yield a poorer soil, but this is compensated for by their mineral wealth. This includes the ores of iron and silver, though the latter is no longer important. The region also contains coal; large deposits of brown coal are found in a series of elongated basins lying close to the Ore Mountains.

Well endowed with both agricultural and industrial resources, Bohemia had an early economic development. The city of Prague grew up in the center of the region, and there are a number of industrial towns, notably Plzeň (Pilsen) and Hradec Králové, where modern industry has been grafted onto centers of medieval crafts and commerce.

Moravia. The second region of Czechoslovakia lies to the southeast of Bohemia. Moravia is a lowland area, drained to the Danube by the Morava River. The Moravian lowlands separate the Bohemian region from the Carpathian Mountains of Slovakia, and in so doing create a corridor, known at its narrowest as the Moravian Gate (Moravská Braná), between the plains of Poland and the Danube Valley.

Moravia is, in the main, an agricultural region, with some areas of rich soils, but toward the north it includes within its borders an extension of the Silesian coalfield of Poland. This is the most important source of power within Czechoslovakia and has given rise to a complex industrial region that centers on the city of Ostrava. Moravia also includes two other important urban industrial centers, Olomouc and Brno.

Slovakia. Lying farthest to the east, Slovakia is the most mountainous, the poorest, and the most distinctive region of the country. It consists mainly of the curving line of the Carpathian Mountains, here made up of a series of parallel ranges. To the southwest their direction is continued into Austria, where they link up with the Alpine system. To the east they extend through Soviet Ruthenia into Rumania. The highest of the ranges is the High Tatra (Vysoké Tatry), a small area of rugged mountain peaks, which rise to 8,737 feet (2,663 meters). To the south lie the Low Tatra (Nízké Tatry), rising to more flattened summits between 5,900 and 6,500 feet (1,800-2,000 meters). Farther south again are the Slovak Ore Mountains (Slovenské Rudohorie), which have for many years been an important source of silver, as well as of iron and nonferrous metals.

CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY

CARLSBAD, in Bohemia, retains the aura of its past as one of Europe's most fashionable spa resorts.

The mountain valleys of Slovakia open toward the Hungarian Plain and are mostly drained by the Váh, Hron, and Hornád rivers to the Danube. South of the mountains are several areas of lowland, extensions of the Hungarian Plain itself. The largest of these borders the Danube to the east of Bratislava, and is crossed by the Váh and Hron. There are smaller areas of lowland in the east, including the plain of which the city of Košice is the center.

The direction of the valleys gives Slovakia an orientation toward Hungary, and from the 10th century until 1918 it was generally considered part of the Hungarian state. Thus, the Slovaks were cut off from the Czechs, with whom they were ethnically closely related, and they did not share in the economic development of the Czechs. When, in 1918, Slovakia was joined to the Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, it was a relatively backward province.

Much, however, has been done to develop Slovakia. Its capital, Bratislava, has become an important industrial city as well as a Danube port. The rivers of Slovakia have been developed as sources of hydroelectric power, and the small iron ore and brown coal reserves have been exploited. Many of the small towns within the mountain valleys, notably Žilina, Zvolen, and Ružomberok, have become important manufacturing centers, and the city of Košice developed after World War II into an important steel center.

Climate. Czechoslovakia as a whole has a climate of continental extremes. Prague has an average January temperature of 24°F (−2°C), but the winters are much colder in the hills, and snow lies in the Tatra for most of the year. Summers, by contrast, are hot in the lowlands, especially those of southern Moravia and Slovakia, though moderate in the mountains.

Rainfall occurs throughout the year, but it is generally heaviest in the summer. Southern Slovakia has an average annual rainfall of less than 23 inches (600 mm), but the mountain areas receive twice this amount.

3. The Economy

When the Czechoslovak state was formed in 1918, its two major components, Bohemia-Moravia and Slovakia-Ruthenia, were derived respectively from the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary. Not only were they very different in their resource bases, but they also had had radically different histories. The Austrians had encouraged industrial development in Bohemia and Moravia; and the level of education and standard of living were very much higher in these areas than in those formerly under Hungarian rule. The latter were in all respects much more backward, and were almost wholly lacking in manufacturing industries, except those associated with the exploitation of the local lumber and mineral resources.

Even communication between the two segments of the new state was difficult. Roads and railways in Slovakia were oriented toward Budapest; in Bohemia-Moravia, to Prague and Vienna. One of the foremost tasks of the Czechoslovak republic was to make the Slovaks and Ruthenes truly a part of the state. It was relatively easy to build roads and railways linking the two sectors, but more difficult to raise the educational and technical levels of the Slovaks and Ruthenes to that of the Czechs. Despite the efforts of the government, which was predominately Czech, this was not achieved before the beginning of World War II.

Economic Development After 1918. The 20 years that elapsed between the creation of the state and its dismemberment in 1938–1939 was a period of steady economic growth, interrupted only by the depression of the early 1930's. Measures of land reform were introduced; the large and mainly Austrian-owned estates were broken up and the land distributed to the peasants. At the same time the coal-mining, metallurgical, and mechanical industries were developed, as was the manufacture of consumer goods, such as glass and ceramics.

The dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and the war that followed interrupted this economic growth. Though the industrial plants were poorly maintained by the Germans, few were actually destroyed. The first postwar government introduced a 2-year reconstruction plan in 1946, and, although a socialist economy had not at this time been fully established, the government was able to direct a large part of its investment capital into heavy industry. After the Communist assumption of power in 1948, over 90% of all productive capacity was absorbed into the socialized sector, and the government was able to intensify its control of economic development.

The first 5-year plan (1949–1953) called for a very large investment in capital goods industries. A degree of imbalance resulted, and the second 5-year plan laid somewhat greater stress on consumer goods industries and on the needs of agriculture. Nevertheless, manufacturing continued to receive the main emphasis, and this resulted in sharply rising industrial outputs. In the late 1960's the total value of industrial production was four times that of 1948.

The collectivization of agriculture was begun in 1949. Almost half the farmland had passed into the socialized sector when the first 5-year plan ended in 1953. Collectivization then moved more slowly, in keeping with the change in planning objectives, but was subsequently carried to its conclusion in the early 1960's.

HRADČANY CASTLE, once the palace of the kings of Bohemia, dominates the city of Prague. It is now the residence of the president of the Czechoslovak republic.

MINORU AOKI, FROM RAPHO GUILLUMETTE

though the complaint is often made that they are inadequate.

6. History

The Czechs and Slovaks both belong to the western branch of the Slavic peoples. About the 5th century A. D. the two tribes abandoned the original Slavic homeland north of the Carpathian Mountains and migrated south to the regions they still inhabit in present day Czechoslovakia—the Czechs to Bohemia in the west and Moravia in the center, the Slovaks to Slovakia in the east. The Czechs became part of the first historical Slavic state, founded by Samo in the 7th century.

Czechs and Slovaks were first politically united, together with other Slavs, in the Great Moravian Empire in the 9th century. In 863 the ruler of this state, Rastislav, invited the famous Byzantine Christian missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, to come to his lands. The two developed here the first written Slavic language, Old Church Slavonic. When the Great Moravian Empire disintegrated under the attacks of the Germans and Magyars (Hungarians) in 907, the Czechs and Slovaks parted for a thousand years. The Slovaks fell under the control of the Magyars.

THE CZECHS UNTIL 1918

The Czechs, under their first and only native dynasty, the Přemyslids, built the important medieval kingdom of Bohemia. Centered at Prague, the Czech kingdom came to include not only Bohemia and the margravate of Moravia, but also Upper and Lower Lusatia and much of Silesia in the north. The Přemyslid rulers developed feudal ties with the Holy Roman Empire, and under such kings as Přemysl Ottokar II (reigned 1253–1278), Bohemia became a powerful political and military force in central European affairs. Under this dynasty, large numbers of German immigrants were invited to settle among the Czechs, especially along the western and northern frontiers of Bohemia. They brought with them superior skills in agriculture, crafts, mining, and commerce. The native Czechs soon came to resent them as arrogant interlopers, however, and the well-known Czech-German antagonism, which exists to the present day, originated at this time.

Charles I. When the Přemyslid dynasty died out in 1306, it was replaced by the foreign house of Luxembourg. King Charles I (reigned 1346–1378) of this family, who also ruled the Holy Roman Empire as Emperor Charles IV, was devoted to his Czech lands. His reign was considered a "golden age" for Bohemia and earned him the title of "Father of the Country" from his grateful subjects. Prague became the political capital of Charles' empire and was beautified to fit the role. In 1348, Charles University, the first university in central Europe, was founded in Prague, and it helped make the city a major cultural center.

Even before he came to the throne, Charles had secured an independent archbishopric for Prague in 1344. A devout Christian, he gave lavish support to the Roman Catholic Church in Bohemia, which became a prestigious, wealthy institution. An unforeseen result of this was the Hussite Revolution, which the Czechs consider to be the "first Protestant reformation" and a proud epoch of their history.

The Hussite Revolution. In the last quarter of the 14th century a series of popular vernacular preachers began to attack abuses by the church hierarchy and certain church practices (such as the sale of indulgences) and to insist upon the freedom of individual conscience in religious matters. The most important of these was Jān Hus (1371–1415), rector of Charles University, who was much influenced by the doctrines of the English reformer John Wycliffe. In 1414, Hus appeared before the Council of Constance to be examined on his controversial views. There he was declared a heretic, and although he had been guaranteed safe-conduct by Emperor Sigismund, he was burned at the stake on July 6, 1415.

Hus' death made him a martyr to the Czech nation and provoked a mass revolt in Bohemia that was both anti-Catholic and anti-German. (The Germans still dominated the hierarchy of the church in Bohemia.) Led by the brilliant general and military innovator Jan Žižka, the Hussite forces threw back five great armies of "crusaders" mustered by the pope and the emperor against them. Hussite raids and Hussite beliefs penetrated far beyond the frontiers of the country.

Slovak Discontent. The Slovaks were also dissatisfied. In 1918, American Slovaks had signed the "Pittsburgh Agreement" with Masaryk in which Slovakia had been promised political autonomy and the use of its own language in the forthcoming joint state. Instead, the Czech-dominated regime ignored the informal agreement and set up a Czech ruling complex to administer underdeveloped Slovakia until the Slovaks could be trained to do so themselves. Such paternalism provoked the Slovaks to consider extreme solutions, even secession, with dissident elements collecting about the Slovak (Roman Catholic) People's party led by Father Andrej Hlinka.

Munich and Dismemberment. The restlessness among the population frustrated the growth of a Czechoslovak state patiotism and encouraged the interference of Germany and Hungary in the domestic situation. Both these countries were determined not only to incorporate their separated nationals but to destroy completely the "synthetic" Czechoslovak state. By systematically encouraging the escalating complaints and demands of Hlinka and especially Konrad Henlein, leader of the Sudeten German party, they ultimately succeeded. At a Great Power conference in Munich, on Sept. 29–30, 1938, Britain, France, and Italy—fearful of the outbreak of general military hostilities—agreed to Adolf Hitler's demand that Czechoslovakia cede her vital western border areas to Nazi Germany. Shortly afterward, Hungary and Poland also seized disputed frontier areas. For six months longer, the "Second Republic" (the Czechoslovak state after Munich) lingered on. During this time President Beneš, who had succeeded Masaryk in 1935, resigned, and the Slovaks and Ruthenes gained their autonomy at last. Then, on March 15, 1939, Hitler's armies invaded the country, setting up the "Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia." The Slovaks were pressured by the Nazis to proclaim an independent Slovak republic. Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia was annexed by Hungary.

World War II. For the Czechs, World War II was in many ways like World War I, with small numbers of Czech diplomats and soldiers fighting abroad and a coerced majority of the population passively resisting the occupiers and waiting for liberation. Now, however, the population faced the terrible threat of complete cultural and physical destruction. The Nazis were determined to settle the age-old Czech-German conflict permanently by completely assimilating or exterminating the Czech nation. Only the exigencies of the war prevented the execution of this design. Nonetheless, Czech cultural and educational endeavor was severely restricted, and the Czech intelligentsia constituted a disproportionate number of the hundreds of thousands of Czechs who were sent to concentration camps and of the total of 250,000 Czechs who died during the war.

Except for the assassination of the "protector," Reinhard Heydrich, in May 1942 and the uprising in Prague in May 1945 at the war's end, the Czech resistance movement was not given to spectacular acts of violence. It consisted of a steady program of intelligence collection, work delays, sabotage, and strikes. In reprisal for Heydrich's death, the Germans completely obliterated the Czech villages of Lidice and Ležáky. The perfidious behavior of the Sudeten Germans in the late 1930's and this tragic wartime experience resulted in the Czech population's demand in 1945 for the mass expulsion of the Germans from liberated Czechoslovakia.

Probably only a minority of the Slovaks had approved of outright separation from the Czechs in 1939. The clericofascist Slovak republic they received, ruled by Monsignor Jozef Tiso, was simply a puppet of Nazi Germany, burlesquing its ideology and dominated by it in its foreign and military policies. Nevertheless, it helped the Slovaks preserve a precarious national identity and even provided them with a symbol of their ability to run their own affairs.

As Axis fortunes began to wane, so did Slovak enthusiasm for the republic. In August 1944 a broad coalition of left- and right-wing opponents of the Tiso regime organized the unsuccessful Slovak national uprising and proclaimed the desire of the Slovak nation to return to a revived Czechoslovak state, though on condition of absolute equality with the Czechs. When the German troops were finally evicted from the Czech and Slovak lands in the spring of 1945, largely by the Soviet Army, this reunion took place. However, the Slovaks failed to receive more than the trappings of regional autonomy in the postwar Czechoslovak state.

The Third Republic. During World War II the Czech government-in-exile led by President Beneš had made plans for the postwar period. After negotiations with Polish representatives for a future Czechoslovak-Polish confederation were terminated, Beneš decided to seek security for a revived Czechoslovakia through other means. The country was to be a friendly intermediary between the political and economic systems of the East and West, and its foreign policy was to be reoriented toward the USSR. Under the Third Czechoslovak Republic (1945–1948), much of the economic system was nationalized.

Czech and Slovak Communists, exploiting the widespread friendship of the populace for the Soviet Union immediately following the war as well as the continuing presence of the Soviet armies nearby, began to gain increasing control over the organs of local administration and strength in the central government coalition. In the parliamentary elections of May 1946, they won more than one third of the Czech and Slovak popular vote. Together with the allied Social Democrats, they controlled a slight electoral majority. Thus a Communist party leader, Klement Gottwald, was named premier of the government.

From mid-1947, however, the Communists clearly began to lose popular support. They therefore began to concentrate upon other techniques to secure their position, such as the use of terror, control over the police, the judiciary, and the army, and the building of an armed workers' militia. A crisis developed in February 1948, when 12 non-Communist members of the cabinet resigned in protest against the Communist actions, hoping to bring down the government. To prevent this, the Communists organized a massive show of force throughout the country. The fearful President Beneš was persuaded to accept a new cabinet consisting almost entirely of Communists and their sympathizers. (He resigned and died soon afterward, in September 1948, and was replaced by Gottwald.) In this way, Czechoslovakia became the last of the Soviet "satellites" to be established in Europe.

The Communist Regime. First as a "people's democracy" and then (after 1960) as a more advanced "socialist republic," Czechoslovakia was rapidly transformed into a small copy of the

Soviet Union. Agriculture
Transport, commerce, and i
pletely nationalized, and heav
nomic central planning empha
attacked and cultural-intelle
censored and regulated. One-
control of the state was insti
policy of Czechoslovakia wa
USSR, and the country was f
the Soviet bloc economically
1949 it joined the Council for
Assistance and in 1955 the W

Even after Stalin's death
slovakia de-Stalinized slowly
of the most docile of Soviet
and uneconomical exploitatio
rich productive resources for
USSR and the international
threatened an economic crisis
1960's attempts to introduce
elements as decentralized pl
profit incentive, and market
economic system were frustra
party bureaucracy. Demands
dard of living, greater persona
end to the police state grew
pitch among writers and stude

Reform and Repression. Fin
ning of 1968, a progressive fac
oslovak Communist leadership
changes were necessary to avoi
In January, Alexander Dubček,
first secretary of the Czecho
party, replacing Antonín Nov
symbol of rigid, unimaginative
upon Dubček initiated a wid
to liberalize and democratize
munism in Czechoslovakia an
independence from Moscow.
Czechs and Slovaks, Commun
unist, rallied to his support.

Despite assurances that Cze
remain Communist and would
viet political sphere, the Sovi
other satellites looked with incr
the Czechoslovak experiment,
tagion in their own domestic af
attacks, military threats, and di
Czechoslovak leaders failed to
liberalization, they resorted to
21, 1968, some half-million troo
Pact armies swiftly invaded
country, ostensibly to prevent
tion backed by the "Western in
Nationwide passive resistance
and an overwhelmingly negati
invasion throughout the rest o
cluding adverse reaction by
Communists) forced the Soviet
ček and his associates to resum
October 1968, most of the occu
drew. Soviet influence contin
Czechoslovakia's internal affai
In April 1969, Dubček lost hi
secretary. He was replaced b
who attempted to maintain a
liberalization and orthodox com

Husák was elected presiden
In 1975, succeeding Ludvík Sv
been in that office since 1968.
retained his position as first
Communist party.

State University of Neu

Soviet Union. Agriculture was collectivised. Transport, commerce, and industry were completely nationalized, and heavy industry and economic central planning emphasized. Religion was attacked and cultural-intellectual life heavily censored and regulated. One-party (Communist) control of the state was instituted. The foreign policy of Czechoslovakia was dictated by the USSR, and the country was fully integrated into the Soviet bloc economically and militarily; in 1949 it joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and in 1955 the Warsaw Pact.

Even after Stalin's death in 1953, Czechoslovakia de-Stalinized slowly and remained one of the most docile of Soviet allies. The heavy and uneconomical exploitation of the country's rich productive resources for the benefit of the USSR and the international Communist camp threatened an economic crisis. But in the mid-1960's attempts to introduce such modernizing elements as decentralized planning, a limited profit incentive, and market conditions into the economic system were frustrated by a dogmatic party bureaucracy. Demands for a higher standard of living, greater personal freedom, and an end to the police state grew, rising to a high pitch among writers and students in 1967.

Reform and Repression. Finally, at the beginning of 1968, a progressive faction of the Czechoslovak Communist leadership decided that basic changes were necessary to avoid general collapse. In January, Alexander Dubček, a Slovak, became first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist party, replacing Antonín Novotný, a long-time symbol of rigid, unimaginative Marxism. Thereupon Dubček initiated a wide-ranging program to liberalize and democratize all aspects of communism in Czechoslovakia and to gain greater independence from Moscow. The masses of Czechs and Slovaks, Communist and non-Communist, rallied to his support.

Despite assurances that Czechoslovakia would remain Communist and would not leave the Soviet political sphere, the Soviet Union and its other satellites looked with increasing alarm upon the Czechoslovak experiment, fearing its contagion in their own domestic affairs. When press attacks, military threats, and discussions with the Czechoslovak leaders failed to halt the process of liberalization, they resorted to force. On Aug. 21, 1968, some half-million troops of the Warsaw Pact armies swiftly invaded and occupied the country, ostensibly to prevent a counterrevolution backed by the "Western imperialist powers." Nationwide passive resistance to the occupiers and an overwhelmingly negative reaction to the invasion throughout the rest of the world (including adverse reaction by great numbers of Communists) forced the Soviets to permit Dubček and his associates to resume their offices. In October 1968, most of the occupying troops withdrew. Soviet influence continued to be felt in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs, however, and in April 1969, Dubček lost his position as first secretary. He was replaced by Gustav Husák, who attempted to maintain a balance between liberalization and orthodox communism. Husák was elected president of the republic in 1975, succeeding Ludvík Svoboda, who had been in that office since 1968. Husák, however, retained his position as first secretary of the Communist party.

JOSEPH F. ZACEK
State University of New York at Albany

CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY

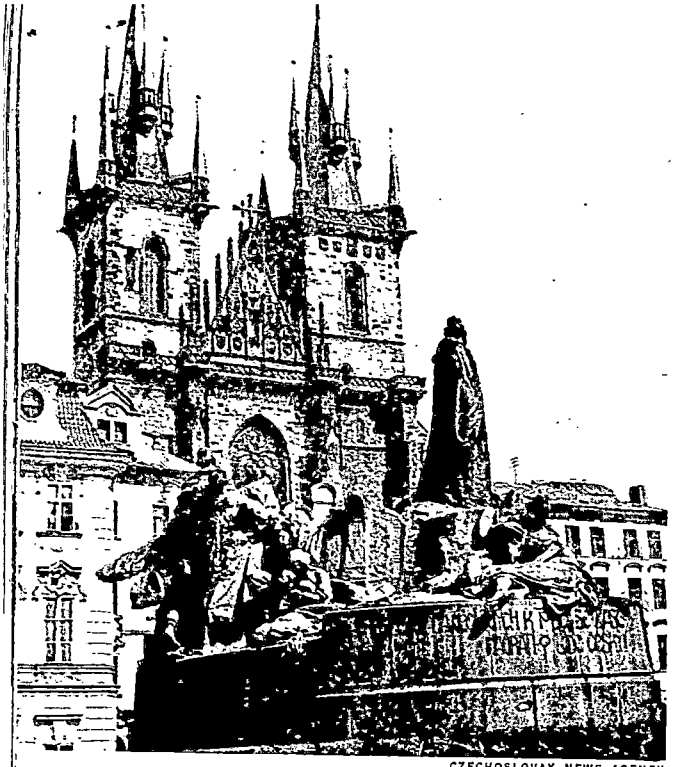
ST. WENCESLAS, the famous 10th century Bohemian ruler, is portrayed by the sculptor Josef Myslbek in this equestrian statue, which stands in Wenceslas Square, the main thoroughfare of modern Prague.

7. Culture

The most significant Czechoslovak cultural contributions to world civilization were made either during the Middle Ages or from the late 18th century onward. This is due to the fact that for a period of nearly 300 years, beginning in the early 16th century, Germanization largely stifled native Czechoslovak culture. Czechoslovak cultural achievements during the Middle Ages were best exemplified by the founding of Charles University in 1348 by Charles IV, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and King of Bohemia. This was not only the first Slavic university, but also the first university in all central Europe. Two great religious leaders of this period—Jan Hus and Petr Chelčický—were also important literary figures. In art, the Czechoslovaks produced the famous 14th century Master of Vyšší Brod and a distinctive style of architecture called "Vladislav Gothic."

Between the Middle Ages and the late 18th century, Czechoslovak cultural contributions are best represented by three men—the educator and theologian Comenius (Jan Amos Komenský), the artist Václav Holar (Wenceslas Hollar), and the composer Josef Mysliveček. Because of the harsh Germanization of their homeland and the imperial support of the Roman Catholic Church, all three lived most of their lives abroad.

Toward the end of the 18th century, and especially during the 19th century, Czechoslovak cultural life began to flourish once again through



CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY

PRAGUE'S Tyn Cathedral, of distinctive Czech Gothic style, stands behind a statue of the reformer Jan Hus.

the efforts of such patriots as the scholar and philologist Josef Dobrovský. Highlights of 19th and 20th century cultural achievements include the works of two musicians, Bedřich Smetana and Antonín Dvořák; the writings of the historian František Palacký; the poems of Jaroslav Vrchlický and Ján Kollár; the dramas of Karel Čapek; the sculpture of Josef Myslbek; the writings of the philosopher and statesman Tomáš G. Masaryk; and the work of at least one scientist, Jan E. Purkyně (Purkinje), a biologist who in the middle of the 19th century coined the term "protoplasm" to describe the essential matter of cells.

Painting. The major personalities in Czechoslovak painting include the unknown Master of Vyšší Brod, who flourished toward the end of the 14th century and who was one of the most important Gothic painters. Between the Middle Ages and modern times, the best-known Czechoslovak artist was the 17th century Václav Holar who became painter to the English court. Thereafter, the Czechoslovaks produced few notable figures until the 19th century, when such artists as Josef Mánes and Mikoláš Aleš freed themselves from foreign influence and based their work on native types and folklore.

Sculpture. The Czechoslovaks were more productive in sculpture than in painting. The Middle Ages are best represented by Petr Parler, a 14th century artist whose major sculpture is a row of marble busts of kings and queens in St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague. Czechoslovak sculpture during the Renaissance and Reformation was not outstanding. However, in the 19th century real contributions were made by such sculptors as Josef Myslbek and Jan Štursa. Among the most important works by Myslbek is the heroic-sized equestrian statue of St. Wenceslas (Václav), the Czech patron saint, on the great Wenceslas Square in Prague. Štursa, a student of Myslbek, did many busts of prominent Czechs.

Architecture. The Cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague represents the zenith of Czechoslovak Gothic architecture. It was begun in 1344, and displays a mixture of German and French styles. The Czechs also created their own style, sometimes called Vladislav Gothic, which favored square towers and was less elaborate than the French Gothic style. The Tyn Cathedral and the Charles Bridge towers in Prague are excellent examples of this style.

During the Renaissance and especially during the baroque era, Italian influence was strong—so much so that Prague is sometimes called the "Rome of the North." The best known of post-baroque Czech architects is the 19th century Josef Zítek, renowned for his neo-Renaissance National Theatre in Prague (completed in 1883), and for his colonnade at the famous spa of Carlsbad (Karlovy Vary).

Literature. These achievements in art, sculpture, and architecture notwithstanding, probably the most significant Czechoslovak contributions have been in the fields of literature and music. Among the first outstanding works of Czech literature were those of the 14th century philosopher Tomáš of Štítný, who wrote mainly on religious topics. His most important work is *Řečí besední* (*Learned Entertainments*).

Between Tomáš of Štítný and the national revival of the 19th century, three Protestant clergymen made the most significant contributions to literature. The first and most famous was the reformer Jan Hus, who raised the tongue of the people to the level of a literary language and simplified Czech spelling and grammar. Among his many writings, his *Postilla* (1413; *Sermons*) is the largest and most popular. The second figure was Petr Chelčický, a 15th century pacifist considered to be the spiritual father of the Bohemian Brethren, a Protestant group. He has been considered a more original thinker than Hus, and was described by Leo Tolstoy as the greatest philosopher in the world. His major works are the *Postilla* of 1434–1441, and the *Siet viery* (1440–1441; *The Net of Faith*). The third of this triumvirate was Comenius (Jan Amos Komenský), the last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, who had to flee his homeland during the early 17th century when the Roman Catholic Church regained the ascendency there. Comenius lived most of his life abroad, writing over 100 books, of which the most popular is *Labyrint světa a ráj srdce* (1631; *Labyrinth of the Heart and the Paradise of the Heart*), an allegory similar to John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

After the death of Comenius in 1670, Czech literature nearly expired and was not revived until the late 18th century when two great Czech philologists, Josef Dobrovský and Josef Jungmann, laid the foundations for a literary revival.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, several periods of literature can be distinguished. The pre-romantic school, which flourished in the first third of the 19th century, is best exemplified by the Slovak Ján Kollár, who wrote in Czech; his poetry has been regarded as among the most magnificent in all Czech literature. His greatest work is *Slávy dcera* (1824; *Daughter of Slava*) which could be thought of as a Slavic *Divine Comedy*. Nearly as prominent as Kollár was F. L. Čelakovsky, a poet who published several volumes of folk songs, some of which are his own.

The leader of the romantic school, which dominated in the second third of the 19th century, was Karel Hynek
many to be the greatest of
His most important work
Máj (1836; *May*). Othe
were the poet Karel Jaro
male novelist Božena Ně
compared to the French G
talgic picture of country
The Grandmother), becan
in Czech and in several tr

Czech writing in the h
World War I reflected var
known writers from this pe
Jan Neruda, most famous
stránské (1878; *Tales of*
series of sardonic stories a
and the cosmopolitan Jaro
donym of Emil Frída).
Vrchlický's work—over 10
drama, and prose, and mo
translations—he may be u
tory. He is best known,
poetry, such as his *Eklogy*
logues and Songs). Also w
the nationalist Alois Jirásek,
the greatest of Czech nov
in historical novels set in t
turies; one of the most hig
is *Proti všem* (1893; *Again*
Czech symbolist poet was
donym of Václav Jebavý),
volumes of philosophic and
tween 1895 and 1901. Pro
ficant representative of th
decadent school was Vikt
journalist who wrote mainl
lems. Noteworthy Slovak w
and early 20th centuries incl
ist Martin Kukučín (pseudon
and the poet Hviezdoslav
Országh).

During the interwar yea
ature lost most of its provinc
The best-known Czech write
was Karel Čapek, whose d
mous. (See below.) Also im
Hašek, especially well know
Dobrý voják Švejk (1920–19
Schweik). Among the new
literature in this period was
principal poet was Jiří Wol

Theater and Film. Czech
drama, probably the oldest in
an honorable beginning in-the
ever, only a few fragments
extant. Throughout the Huss
period, drama was used for
by both Protestants and Ca
very original. Nor was Czech
drama of great significance.
into its own until the early

The first important m
playwrights were Václav Klim
student Josef Kajetán Tyl; the
lar and nationalistic plays i
But it was not until the 20th c
Slovakia produced a dramat
This was Karel Čapek, wh
known for his expressionis
(1921; *Rossum's Universal*
Makropoulos (1922; *The Ma*
play about eternal life. Wit
Čapek (better known as a
wrote *Ze života hmyzu* (1921;

VOLUME 29

Wilmot Proviso to Zygote

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

(12) The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

(13) An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

(14) A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

Bulgarian Armistice.—In June 1918, Radoslavov resigned as premier of Bulgaria and was replaced by Alexander Malinov, whose enthusiasm for war had always been lukewarm. Through its official press the Bulgarian government began at once to express an interest in negotiations for a separate peace. Meanwhile, morale in the Bulgarian Army was disintegrating, and resistance to continued fighting was evident in Sofia and in the countryside. Fearing revolution, King Ferdinand left for Austria, where he pleaded with his allies to give him reinforcements and to reaffirm their earlier promises with regard to the future enlargement of Bulgaria's frontiers. His appeals went unheeded, and, after long and anguished debate, a crown council in Sofia decided to send an armistice commission to treat with the advancing French force commanded by Gen. Louis Franchet d'Esperey. On Sept. 29, 1918, an armistice was signed at the general's headquarters (it was accepted the next day). By its terms, Bulgaria promised to evacuate all Allied territory; permit the occupation of portions of her own land by French, British, and Italian troops; grant the Allies free passage through Bulgarian territory; give them free control of the Danube River and of Bulgarian shipping on that waterway; demobilize the Bulgarian Army; and turn over to the Allies all rolling stock and other means of transportation.

Turkish Armistice.—With Bulgaria's surrender, Turkey was isolated; the Allies were pressing northward from Syria and Mesopotamia; elements of the Turkish Army were throwing down their arms; and bands of deserters, aggregating perhaps half a million men, were terrorizing the countryside. Shortly after the Bulgarian armistice, therefore, the government of Enver Pasha resigned and gave way to a nonpartisan cabinet headed by Ahmet İzzet Pasha. On Oct. 14, 1918, this new cabinet appealed for an armistice. Negotiators then met on the island of Lemnos, and on October 30 signed an armistice. Under its terms the Turks agreed to open the Dardanelles and facilitate the clearing of mine fields from the straits; surrender officers and garrisons in Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia; withdraw all forces from northern Persia and Transcaucasia; permit the occupation by the Allies of strategic points in Turkey and, if necessary to prevent disorder, of the Armenian vilayets; give the Allies free use of Turkish merchant shipping; demobilize most of the army; and surrender the fleet.

Austrian Collapse.—*Beginnings of Disintegration.*—Within the Austro-Hungarian Empire conditions had steadily deteriorated since the beginning of the war. Even before the accession of Emperor Charles I on Nov. 21, 1916, the government had begun urging Germany to seek peace, and in 1917 in the Sixte affair it had sought ineffectually to bring about negotiations with the Allies. Only the Bolshevik Revolution and the treaties with Russia and the Ukraine prevented starvation and probably internal collapse in the winter of 1917–1918. When the summer of 1918 came and Ludendorff's desperate offensives in the west failed, the Austrian ruler and his ministers concluded that they would have to seek peace even if it meant acting independently of Germany. If they did not, they feared, the empire would simply disintegrate, for the various nationalities of which it was composed were already threatening to break away.

A Czech committee had issued a declaration of war against the empire on Nov. 14, 1915; the Czechoslovak National Council, headed by Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, had been formed in 1916; Czech units had deserted en masse to fight with the Allies; representatives of the Czechs and Slovaks had met in congress at Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1918 to proclaim the formation of a Czechoslovak state; this state had quickly been recognized by the Allies; and the Czech and Slovak delegates in the Austrian Reichsrat practically demanded that independence be accorded them.

Nationalism had manifested itself ever more strongly since the outbreak of war. In November 1916, the Austrian and German governments had sought to appease the Poles by declaring their support of a united, autonomous Poland and creating a 25-man Council of State to exercise some governing power within the region, but this council had dissolved itself in 1917 when confronted with the refusal of the two powers to allow the creation of an independent Polish Army. A Polish National Committee in Paris, led by Roman Dmowski, won recognition from the Allies, which, on June 3, 1918, made Polish independence a war aim. Poles in the Reichsrat indicated that they too might support this committee.

In the south numerous local councils of Croats and Slovenes had endorsed a declaration issued at Corfu on July 20, 1917, in which representatives of these two groups had joined with Serbs in calling for creation of a united south Slav (Yugoslav) state. Separatist sentiment was growing in Hungary, and numbers of German Austrians were calling for the dissolution of the empire and the creation of a separate Austrian state.

Appeals for Peace.—After having failed in renewed efforts to obtain German agreement for a joint peace effort, the Austrian government on Sept. 14, 1918, dispatched a note through neutral capitals to all the belligerent governments, inviting them to send delegates for a meeting in some neutral state where there could be "a confidential and noncommittal exchange of views." This appeal was rejected almost instantly by the United States and soon afterward by Britain and France. The convening of the Reichsrat on Oct. 1, 1918, showed the government that its condition was desperate. All the nationality groups, including the German, issued declarations in favor of independence. On October 4, therefore, the Austro-Hungarian government dispatched a note to the United States requesting an armistice and offering to make peace on the

basis of the Fourteen Points and subsequent declarations by President Wilson, but the United States Department of State replied on October 18 that the president could no longer agree to mere autonomy for the nationalities within the empire.

Fragmentation of the Empire.—While officials in Vienna awaited this response and then anxiously meditated their reply to it, the Austro-Hungarian Empire fell apart. At Agram (now Zagreb) on Oct. 19, 1918, an assembly of Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs asserted its sovereignty over the south Slav portions of the Dual Monarchy, and most of the districts south of the Drava River accepted this decree. In Warsaw, on October 7, a three-man Regency Council, which had been installed late in 1917 as the successor to the disbanded Council of State, proclaimed Poland an independent state; on October 15, the Polish deputies in the Reichsrat declared themselves "subjects and citizens of the free and united Polish State"; and by October 31, the Austrian garrisons had been ousted from Polish Galicia. On October 16, Emperor Charles had made a last effort to regain the loyalty of these groups by offering to transform the monarchy into a federation of self-governing nations, but the Yugoslavs and the Poles rejected the proposal. From the United States, Masaryk proclaimed the independence of Czechoslovakia, and the Czechs in Prague held a bloodless revolution on October 28 and removed all officials of the old empire. A Hungarian National Council, which had taken office in Budapest on October 25, appealed to the emperor to release them from their vows of fealty, and he regretfully did so on November 1. Meanwhile, the German Austrian members of the Reichsrat had resolved in favor of independence for German Austria, and assemblies in Bucovina had announced the secession of that region and its adhesion to Rumania.

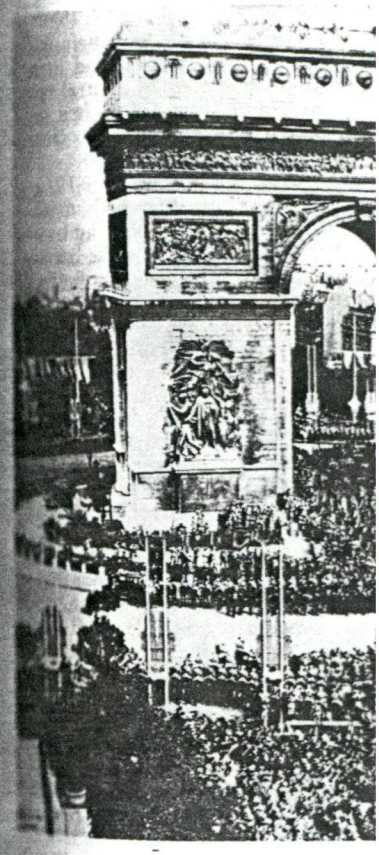
The Armistice.—Confronted with these dismaying events, the emperor and his officials abandoned all hope of negotiating for peace. On October 27, they offered to accept an armistice on almost any terms, and on November 3, at the Villa Giusti near Padua, their delegates signed an armistice providing for the immediate cessation of hostilities; demobilization of all Austro-Hungarian forces; evacuation of the Tirol, the Dalmatian coast, and the territory claimed by the Yugoslavs; surrender of all railway equipment and most of the fleet; and a grant to the Allies of power to move freely through the empire, occupy any part of it, and requisition supplies for their troops.

German Armistice.—In August 1918, when the Allied armies assumed the offensive in the west, the German High Command concluded that all hope of victory had disappeared. The state of morale on the home front had been revealed by the Reichstag peace resolution of July 1917 and, despite the termination of fighting in the east, by a wave of strikes in munitions plants in January 1918. Under the pressure of the Allied advance the morale of troops in the field began to crack. Consequently, in a conference held at Spa on September 29, General Ludendorff asked the civil officials of the government to arrange an armistice "without delay." By that time the Austrian government had issued its first appeal for peace, Bulgaria had sued for terms, and members of the Reichstag were calling for extensive changes in the German cabinet.

First Exchange of Notes.—Chancellor Georg von Hertling, who had succeeded Michaelis on Nov. 1, 1917, resigned almost as soon as the high command made its demand. His successor, Prince Max of Baden, was ordered by the kaiser to comply with the generals' wishes, and on Oct. 4, 1918, he dispatched through neutral channels a message to President Wilson, asking him "to take in hand the restoration of peace," and declaring that the German government accepted "as a basis for the peace negotiations" the Fourteen Points and others of Wilson's pronouncements. The American public, through its newspapers and spokesmen in Congress, greeted this message hostilely and called for "unconditional surrender," however, and the Allies advised Wilson that its aim was merely to divide Germany's enemies. Though Wilson decided not to dismiss it, as he had the Austrian appeal of September 14, he responded to it coolly, asking in a message of October 8 whether the German government would agree that his points and principles were to be the bases of peace so that negotiations would merely concern their application and, secondly, "whether the Imperial Chancellor is speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the Empire who have so far conducted the war."

Second Exchange of Notes.—This answer surprised the new chancellor. He was forming a cabinet representative of the majority parties in the Reichstag, and he had declared that it would be responsible to that body and not, as in the past, only to the kaiser. After conferring with military leaders and finding them little changed in their views, he and his advisers agreed that Wilson's questions should be answered in the affirmative. On October 12, therefore, the German Foreign Office replied that Germany "accepted the terms laid down by President Wilson in his address of January 8 and in his subsequent addresses as the foundations of a permanent peace of justice," and that the chancellor now spoke "in the name of the German Government and of the German people." This message, too, had a cold reception in the United States. Wilson, now under intense criticism both at home and abroad for entering into any negotiations at all, answered with four conditions: (1) the terms of the armistice were to be determined by the military advisers of the American and Allied governments; (2) no arrangement could be accepted "which does not provide absolutely satisfactory safeguards and guarantees of the maintenance of the present military supremacy of the armies of the United States and of the Allies in the field"; (3) submarine operations would have to cease immediately; and (4) the German government would have to show evidence that it had reformed its character.

Third Exchange of Notes.—This second American note was puzzling. The chancellor summoned a conference of the nation's principal civil and military officials to consider how it should be answered. He found to his astonishment that Ludendorff had changed his mind: the army could fight on, the general now said; an armistice on Wilson's terms was unnecessary and undesirable. The Admiralty opposed acquiescence to Wilson's third demand, but most of the civil ministers contended that the public desire for peace was so great and the state of civilian morale so low that the government could not break off negotiations. Endeavoring to effect a compromise among these wholly divergent



Troops of the victorious Allies parc

opinions, Max drafted and dispatch
tion on October 20 a note agree
conditions of an armistice should
the judgment of the military advis
the actual standard of power on bot
shall has to form the basis for arran
guarding and guaranteeing this stan
that submarine commanders had be
stop attacking passenger vessels;
that the German government wa
military and irresponsible influen
supported by the approval of the
majority of the German people."
Wilson replied on October 23
of the concessions made by the
could not decline to take up with
question of a possible armistice. Bu
he declare "that the only armisti
that justified in submitting for
would be one which should leav
States and the powers associated
position to enforce any arrangement
entered into and to make a renewa
by the part of Germany impossib
asserted harshly that he remained
that the German government re
German people, and that if the
must deal with the military ma
autocratical autocrats of Germany
likely to have to deal with them lat
demand, not peace negotiations, b
German Collapse.—On October
new government replied with a sim

VOLUME 18

M to Mexico City

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

MASARYK, mä'sä-rik, **Jan Garrigue** (1886–1948), Czechoslovak diplomat and statesman. He was born on Sept. 14, 1886, in Prague, the son of Czechoslovakia's first president, Tomáš Masaryk. After graduating from the University of Prague, he went to the United States, where he attended Boston University. In World War I he served in the Austro-Hungarian Army.

After the war he entered the diplomatic service of the new Czechoslovak state. Following assignments in Washington, London, and Prague, he was appointed in 1925 the Czechoslovak minister to Britain. He resigned in 1938 in protest over the Munich Agreement.

During World War II he served as minister for foreign affairs and deputy premier in the government-in-exile headed by Eduard Beneš. He became well known both in Britain and the United States for his public lectures, radio broadcasts, and writings.

In 1945 he represented Czechoslovakia at the United Nations drafting conference in San Francisco, Calif., and became minister for foreign affairs and vice premier in the new government in Prague. He managed to remain in office after the Communist coup that occurred in Prague in February 1948, but on March 10, 1948, he died as a result of a fall from his apartment window. After his death it was never discovered whether he committed suicide or was the victim of a murder.

JOSEPH F. ZACEK
State University of New York at Albany

THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

Tomáš Masaryk, the founding father and first president of the Czechoslovak republic, proclaimed in 1918.

MASARYK, mä'sä-rik, **Tomáš Garrigue** (1850–1937), Czechoslovak philosopher and statesman, who was the principal founder and first president of Czechoslovakia.

Early Life. Masaryk was born on March 7, 1850, into a poor Roman Catholic family in Hodonín, Moravia, then part of the Austrian Empire. His father was Slovak, his mother Czech. After earning a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Vienna, he continued his studies at the University of Leipzig, where he met Charlotte Garrigue, an American music student. They were married in 1878. He taught at the University of Vienna until his first major publication, *Suicide as a Mass Social Phenomenon of Modern Civilization* (1881), brought a professorship at the Czech University of Prague.

Philosopher in Action. Accepting the offer, Masaryk quickly became one of the most popular teachers at Prague. Not only his Czech students but also many young South Slavs were influenced by his ideas and personality. He steadily added other roles to his academic one: social and political critic, prosecutor of falsehood and injustice in public life, mentor and gadfly to the Czechs themselves. His views and actions were based on a set of clearly articulated principles. He was dedicated to the search for scientific truth; he adopted a pragmatic approach to life based on a willingness to face reality; he rejected all force and extremism in human affairs; and he believed that the proper basis for the conduct of human relations was a moral one.

As an author of numerous books and pamphlets and as a muckraking journalist (especially in periodicals he edited), Masaryk ranged widely and provocatively over the leading social issues of his day. Through his writings and actions he managed to alienate all the vested interests of the Habsburg monarchy; ultimately he alienated the Czech public itself. Deeply religious and inclined toward the ideals and doctrines of the Protestant Bohemian Brethren, he was repelled by what he viewed as the dogmatic, authoritarian nature of the Roman Catholic Church. He was opposed to Austro-Hungarian imperialism in the Balkans. In 1909, during the notorious "Zagreb Treason Trial," he demolished the Austrian government's case against a group of Serbian and Croatian political leaders labeled "agents of Pan-Slavism" by exposing the documentary evidence as a forgery. His own Czechs fared no better. In 1886 he and other experts demonstrated that certain manuscripts, revered by Czech nationalists since they seemed to prove the Czechs had a superior culture in the Middle Ages, were in fact modern forgeries. In 1899–1900, defending a Jew accused of "ritual murder," Masaryk denounced Czech anti-Semitism.

Educator and Defender of the Czechs. Many of Masaryk's writings and most of his political activities were devoted to the education of the Czechs and to their political advancement. He depicted Czech history as essentially a moral crusade, an enduring defense of democracy in church and state from the time of the Hussite Reformation in the 15th century. He tried to orient the Czechs toward the democratic and ethical ideals of the Western tradition and remained wary of Pan-Slavic and Communist appeals emanating from Russia. In his *Philosophical and Sociological Foundations of Marxism* (1898) he was critical of Communist ideology, and he scored the unprogressive, "retarded" nature of Russian society in his authoritative study *The Spirit of Russia* (1913).

From 1891 to 1893, as a member of the Young Czech party, and from 1907 to 1914 as the leader of his own small Realist (Progressive) party, Masaryk served as a deputy in the Austrian Reichsrat. There he sought to improve his political position by working for universal suffrage, the official equality of Czechs and Germans, the federalization of the empire, and the Czechs would enjoy political

Founding Father and President. During World War I, Masaryk for the Allies to consider the establishment of a Czechoslovak state as a realistic war aim. He went abroad in December 1914 as a diplomatic negotiator for the Czechs and spent the next four years in France, Russia, and the United States working for the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and the creation of the new state. Using his influence with Allied public opinion to his cause, he won recognition by the Allied governments for the Czechoslovak National Council.

After the proclamation of the Czechoslovak republic on Oct. 28, 1918, Masaryk was then in the United States. He was elected first president. He was reelected in 1927 and 1934, resigning in 1935 because of ill health. As "philosopher-president" he played a major role in establishing Czechoslovakia's democracy. Masaryk died in Prague, on Sept. 14, 1937.

State University of New York

Further Reading: Beld, Antonie J. *The Political and Social Philosophy of T.* Mouton, The Hague, 1975); Capek, K. *Masaryk Tells His Story,* tr. by Dora Round Arno 1970); Selver, Paul, *Masaryk: A* reprint; Greenwood Press 1975); Szporluk *Political Thought of Thomas G. Masaryk* Monographs 1981); Zeman, Zbynek, *The* & Noble 1976).

MASBATE, mäs-bä'tā, one of the of the central Philippines, lying and south of Luzon. Masbate's square miles (3,269 sq km) ma largest of the Philippine Islan an arm of the Visayan Sea, dee southern coast, giving the islan shape. In 1970, Masbate had about 375,000. The local dialec Masbate.

Masbate has a hilly to moun that reaches a maximum elevation feet (600 meters). The grassy u large herds of cattle. The narrow densely populated and intensi The chief crops are rice, maize nuts, and coconuts. Fishing and important to the island's economy copper are mined.

The city of Masbate, a seapor coast, is the main commercial ce and. It also serves the smaller is and Burias, to the north. The ci port. Mandaon, on the west coast, largest urban center of Masbate.

MASCAGNI, mäs-kä'nyē, **Pietro** Italian opera composer, whose bes is *Cavalleria Rusticana.* He was born on Dec. 7, 1863, and briefly Milan Conservatory. The premiere in Rome on May 17, 1890, raised from obscurity to a leading positio composers of his generation and made for *verismo* in opera.

None of Mascagni's other opera success of *Cavalleria.* The most

rat. There he sought to improve the Czechs' political position by working for universal suffrage, the official equality of all languages, and the federalization of the empire, in which the Czechs would enjoy political autonomy.

Founding Father and President. At the outbreak of World War I, Masaryk for the first time began to consider the establishment of a separate Czechoslovak state as a realistic goal. He went abroad in December 1914 as the self-appointed diplomatic negotiator for the Czechs and Slovaks and spent the next four years in western Europe, Russia, and the United States agitating for the dissolution of the Habsburg empire and the creation of the new state. Ultimately he won Allied public opinion to his cause and de facto recognition by the Allied governments for his Czechoslovak National Council.

After the proclamation of the new Czechoslovak republic on Oct. 28, 1918, Masaryk, who was then in the United States, was elected its first president. He was reelected in 1920, 1927, and 1934, resigning in 1935 because of his age. As "philosopher-president" he was instrumental in establishing Czechoslovakia's credentials as a genuine democracy. Masaryk died at Lány, near Prague, on Sept. 14, 1937.

JOSEPH ZACEK
State University of New York at Albany

Further Reading: Beld, Antonie van den, *Humanity: The Political and Social Philosophy of Thomas G. Masaryk* (Mouton, The Hague, 1975); Capek, Karel, ed., *President Masaryk Tells His Story*, tr. by Dora Round (1935; reprint, Arno 1970); Selver, Paul, *Masaryk: A Biography* (1940; reprint; Greenwood Press 1975); Szporluk, Roman, *The Political Thought of Thomas G. Masaryk* (East European Monographs 1981); Zeman, Zbynek, *The Masaryks* (Barnes & Noble 1976).

MASBATE, mäs-bä'tā, one of the Visayan Islands of the central Philippines, lying west of Samar and south of Luzon. Masbate's area of 1,262 square miles (3,269 sq km) makes it the 11th-largest of the Philippine Islands. Asid Gulf, an arm of the Visayan Sea, deeply indents the southern coast, giving the island a boomerang shape. In 1970, Masbate had a population of about 375,000. The local dialect also is called Masbate.

Masbate has a hilly to mountainous interior that reaches a maximum elevation of nearly 2,000 feet (600 meters). The grassy uplands support large herds of cattle. The narrow coastal plains are densely populated and intensively cultivated. The chief crops are rice, maize (corn), edible roots, and coconuts. Fishing and lumbering are important to the island's economy, and gold and copper are mined.

The city of Masbate, a seaport on the north coast, is the main commercial center of the island. It also serves the smaller islands of Ticao and Burias, to the north. The city has an airport. Mandaon, on the west coast, is the second-largest urban center of Masbate.

MASCAGNI, mäs-kä'nyē, **Pietro** (1863–1945), Italian opera composer, whose best-known work is *Cavalleria Rusticana*. He was born in Leghorn on Dec. 7, 1863, and briefly attended the Milan Conservatory. The premiere of *Cavalleria*, in Rome on May 17, 1890, raised him overnight from obscurity to a leading position among the composers of his generation and started the vogue for *verismo* in opera.

None of Mascagni's other operas equaled the success of *Cavalleria*. The most important of these works include *L'amico Fritz* (1891), an idyll set in Alsace; *Le maschere* (1901), which features traditional comic types; *Isabeau* (1911), a variant of the Lady Godiva story; *Parisina* (1913), on a Renaissance subject; *Il piccolo Marat* (1921), a tale of the French Revolution; and *Nerone* (1935), an implicit comparison of ancient Rome and Mussolini's Italy. All have interesting passages, but none the concentrated impact of *Cavalleria*.

Mascagni had undoubted melodic gifts and a keen ear for instrumental effect. However, his demanding vocal music, particularly for tenors, makes his operas difficult to perform, with the result that they are seldom heard.

The final years of Mascagni's life were clouded by his espousal of fascism. He died in Rome on Aug. 2, 1945.

WILLIAM ASHBROOK
Author of "The Operas of Puccini"

MASEFIELD, mās'fēld, **John** (1878–1967), English poet, who was poet laureate from 1930 until his death. The author of numerous volumes of poetry, Masefield also wrote novels and plays. His writing reflected his interest in English rustic life and the sea, and he is best known for his sea lyrics and early narrative poems.

Masefield was born in Ledbury, Herefordshire, on June 1, 1878, and lived with an uncle after his parents died. At 13 he began training as a seaman aboard a merchant ship and later made a voyage around Cape Horn. He abandoned his maritime career in 1895 and worked at humble jobs in and around New York City until 1897. Returning to England, he wrote for the *Manchester Guardian* and other newspapers. His first volume of poetry, *Salt-Water Ballads*, was published in 1902. Masefield was awarded an honorary degree from Oxford in 1922 and admitted to the Order of Merit in 1935. He died in Abingdon, Berkshire, on May 12, 1967.

Salt-Water Ballads, in which appeared his popular *Sea-Fever* ("I must down to the seas again, . . ."); *Ballads* (1903); and *Ballads and Poems* (1910) contain Masefield's most memorable verse. In *The Everlasting Mercy* (1911), he turned to the long, colloquial, narrative poem. Although some critics considered the language and the scenes of drunkenness in this story of a profligate's conversion to be too coarse for serious literature, the poem was extremely popular and influential. His other narrative poems include *The Widow in the Bye Street* (1912), *Dauber* (1913), and *Reynard the Fox* (1919). The latter has a prologue similar to Chaucer's in *The Canterbury Tales*.

Among Masefield's plays are *The Tragedy of Nan* (1909) and *The Tragedy of Pompey the Great* (1910). His love of storytelling naturally led him to fiction, and the best of his novels is *Sard Harker* (1924), an adventure tale. His literary criticism includes *Shakespeare* (1911), *Ruskin* (1920), and *Chaucer* (1931).

As a poet, Masefield was influenced by Yeats and Synge. He attempted to create a poetic voice that would reach a wide audience, and, with his interest in the emotions, customs, and language of common people, he achieved popularity, if not greatness.

JANIS RICHARDI, *Coauthor of "The American Novel Through Henry James: A Bibliography"*

Further Reading: Sternlicht, Sanford, *John Masefield* (Twayne 1977).

The New Encyclopædia Britannica

in 30 Volumes

MICROPÆDIA
Volume VIII

Ready Reference
and
Index

FOUNDED 1768
15TH EDITION

Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.
William Benton, Publisher, 1943–1973
Helen Hemingway Benton, Publisher, 1973–1974
Chicago/Geneva/London/Manila/Paris/Rome
Seoul/Sydney/Tokyo/Toronto

·knowledge, truth, and concepts **6**:943c
·Logical Positivist verification criterion **14**:880a
·noncognitivist meta-ethical theories **6**:987e
·Peirce's contribution and relationship **13**:1108b
·Positivist science philosophy as parallel **14**:878e
·reaction against Hegelianism **14**:271c
·religious and secular experience **15**:648b
·religious study trends of 20th century **15**:623a
·value and naturalistic meta-ethics **6**:985e

Prägnanz, in Gestalt theory of perception, holds that the particular perceptual configuration achieved will be as good as prevailing conditions permit.
·properties of good configuration **14**:42b

Prague 14:944, Czech PRAHA, capital of Czechoslovakia and that nation's leading cultural and economic centre, lies in the heart of Europe on the Vltava River. Pop. (1972 est.) 1,083,717.

The text article covers the history of Prague and the economy, demography, services, and educational and cultural life of the contemporary city.

50°05′ N, 14°26′ E

REFERENCES in other text articles:
·Bohemian political development **2**:1186a
·Gothic cathedral architectural developments **19**:376a
·Gothic visual art developments **19**:373g
·Holy Roman Empire status elevation **4**:47d
·Hus's career and city's interdiction **9**:64e
·map, Czechoslovakia **5**:412
·population and location **5**:414d
·population change from 1870–1925 map **6**:237

Prague, Battle of (May 6, 1757), Austrian defeat of Prussian forces during the Seven Years' War.
·Austrian losses and Prussian seige **16**:577g; map

Prague, Congress of (1813), resulted in Austrian and Russian union against France.
·Austrian generous peace terms **12**:836e

Prague, Defenestration of (May 23, 1618), an incident of Bohemian resistance to Habsburg authority that preceded the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. In 1617 Catholic officials in Bohemia closed Protestant chapels that were being constructed by citizens of the towns of Broumov and Hrob, thus violating the guarantees of religious liberty laid down in the Letter of Majesty (Majestätsbrief) of Emperor Rudolf II (1609). In response, the defensors, appointed under the Letter of Majesty to safeguard Protestant rights, called an assembly of Protestants at Prague, where the imperial regents, William Slavata and Jaroslav Martinic, were tried and found guilty of violating the Letter of Majesty and thrown from the window of the Hradčany Castle (May 23, 1618). Although inflicting no serious injury on the victims, that act, known as the Defenestration of Prague, was a signal for the beginning of a Bohemian revolt against the Habsburg emperor Ferdinand II, which marked the opening phase of the Thirty Years' War.
·Bohemian religious wars **2**:454h
·Calvinist perpetration and consequences **15**:559d
·Ferdinand II and the Bohemian crown **8**:91h
·Prague-centred movements of Reformation **14**:946b

Prague, Peace of (May 30, 1635), treaty that ended the Swedish (1630–35) phase of the Thirty Years' War and reconciled the emperor Ferdinand II with the elector of Saxony and the other German princes who had opposed his Edict of Restitution (1629).
·Ferdinand II's diplomacy **2**:455d
·religious division settlement **8**:92e
·Thirty Years' War lands affected **18**:339d

Prague, Treaty of (Aug. 23, 1866), pact that formally ended the Seven Weeks' War, a conflict between Austrian- and Prussian-led German states in the summer of 1866. By its terms, Austria transferred its rights in Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia and was precluded from membership in a new, Prussian-dominated Germany.
·Bismarck and Prussian diplomacy **8**:111b
·Bismarck's isolation of Austria **2**:467f

Praguerie, a revolt of princes and other nobles against Charles VII of France in 1440; named in allusion to similar contemporary movements in Prague and elsewhere in Bohemia. As early as April 1437, a number of princes, excluded from the royal council, had unsuccessfully plotted to reassert their influence. When the King issued an ordinance forbidding the raising or maintenance of troops without his permission (1439), the first of his great ordinances for military reform, mercenary captains who felt their livelihood threatened joined with the rebellious princes. Led by Charles I, duc de Bourbon, and Jean II, duc d'Alençon, with the 16-year-old dauphin, later Louis XI, as their figurehead, the rebels began the revolt in Poitou in February 1440. Soon outgeneraled by Constable de Richemont, they withdrew to Bourbon territory, where they were again defeated and in July made peace, on very generous terms, at Cusset.

Although the rebels proposed peace with England and a lessening of taxation, the towns and the people stood loyally by the King. An attempt to renew the Praguerie through an assembly at Nevers in 1442 was thwarted by Charles VII's diplomacy.

Prague school, school of linguistic thought and analysis established in Prague during the early 20th century by the Russian linguist Nikolay Trubetskoy (1890–1938) and the Czech-born U.S. linguist Roman Jakobson (born 1896); the school was most active during the 1920s and 1930s. Linguists of the Prague school stress the function of elements within language, the contrast of language elements to one another, and the total pattern or system formed by these contrasts. The work of the Prague school in the study of phonology (sound systems) has been especially significant. Linguists of the school developed the distinctive-feature analysis of sounds; by this analysis, each distinctive sound in a language is seen as composed of a number of contrasting articulatory and acoustic features, and any two sounds of a language that are perceived as being distinct will have at least one feature contrast in their compositions. The concept of distinctive-feature analysis in studying the sound systems of languages has also been adopted by transformational and generative linguists.

The concept of marked and unmarked categories in grammatical analysis was also first formulated by Prague school linguists. A marked form is the least common, most specialized, or most limited form. Thus, the word woman, applicable only to females, is considered as the marked form in an analysis of English gender, in contrast to the word man, which is applicable in many contexts to both males and females and is consequently unmarked.
·development and methodological features **10**:996b
·methodology, theories, and concepts **10**:1005g

Prague Spring (January–August 1968), period marked by popular initiatives and efforts of Alexander Dubček, the first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, to institute political, economic, and cultural reforms in Czechoslovakia and to give a "human face" to Socialism; the Prague Spring was ended when five Warsaw Pact nations invaded Czechoslovakia.

Prague Spring Music Festival, Czechoslovakia, yearly festival commemorating Czech composers.
·time and content **14**:944g

Prague Symphony, musical composition by Mozart (1719–87).
·general characteristics **17**:913f

Praha (Czechoslovakia): *see* Prague.

Prahlāda, a hero in Hindu mythology. He was the pious son of Hiraṇyakaśipu, a demon in Hindu cosmology.
·Gandhi's heroic models of behaviour **7**:874h
·Holī festival's mythical tradition **8**:902g

Prahlāda-caritra, Assamese text by Mena Sarasvati (13th century).
·literary style and theme **17**:143f

Prahova, administrative district (*județ*), Romania.
·area and population, table 1 **15**:1051

Praia, capital and port of the Portuguese Cape Verde Islands on the south shore of São Tiago (Santiago) Island, in the Atlantic Ocean, about 400 mi (600 km) off the West

Praia, capital of the Cape Verde Islands
Walter Imber

African bulge. The port ships agricultural products (bananas, coffee, sugarcane, castor beans) and is a submarine cable station. Pop. (1970 prelim.) city, 4,054; metropolitan area, 21,494.

14°55′ N, 23°31′ W
·map, Cape Verde Islands **3**:797

prairie, common name for level or rolling grassland, especially that found in central North America. Decreasing amounts of rainfall, from 100 centimetres (about 40 inches) at the forested eastern edge to less than 30 centimetres (about 12 inches) at the desert-like western edge, affect the species composition of the prairie grassland. The vegetation is composed primarily of perennial grasses, with many species of flowering plants of the pea (Fabaceae or Leguminosae) and composite (Asteraceae or Compositae) families. Most authorities recognize three basic subtypes of prairie: tallgrass prairie; midgrass, or mixed-grass, prairie; and shortgrass prairie, or shortgrass plains. Regional areas such as coastal prairie, Pacific or California prairie, Palouse prairie, and desert plains grassland are primarily combinations of mixed-grass and shortgrass species.

Tallgrass prairie, sometimes called true prairie, is found in the eastern, more humid region of the prairie that borders deciduous forest. Many small ponds or potholes are scattered throughout the area. The rich soil is laced with the deep roots of sod-forming tallgrasses such as big bluestem (*Andropogon gerardii*) and prairie cordgrass, or slough grass (*Spartina pectinata*), in the wet lowlands and the shorter roots of bunchgrasses such as needlegrass, or porcupine grass (*Stipa spartea*), and prairie dropseed (*Sporobolus heterolepis*) on the drier upland sites.

Midgrass, or mixed-grass, prairie, composed of both bunchgrasses and sod-forming grasses, is the most extensive prairie subtype and occupies the central part of the prairie region. Species of porcupine grass, grama grass (*Bouteloua*), wheatgrass (*Agropyron*), and buffalo grass (*Buchloë*) dominate the vegeta-

VOLUME 22

Photography to Pumpkin

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

emergence of statistical inference, the pragmatists rejected the traditional view that science is a fixed body of knowledge. Instead, they emphasized the experimental and cooperative character of scientific *method*.

Peirce. Each of the pragmatists made his distinctive contribution to their shared themes. Peirce attacked Cartesian epistemology, which represented knowledge as an edifice built on a foundation of indubitable beliefs. He espoused a "contrite fallibilism," in which inquiry begins with the beliefs of common sense, submits them to critical scrutiny, and concludes with hypotheses that claim no more than provisional acceptance. For Peirce, a pioneer of modern logic, only the scientific method can satisfy the aim of inquiry, namely the establishment of a stable belief or a settled habit of action. And the truth is that opinion on which the users of the scientific method would eventually agree.

James. As Dewey shrewdly observed, Peirce was primarily a logician, James a humanist. This difference appears in James' celebrated elaboration of the pragmatic concept of truth as the verifiable, satisfactory, expedient, or useful belief. Applied to straightforward empirical beliefs, James' view is close to Peirce's: the truth of a belief is marked by its consistency with new experience, and it is its continued verification that makes it satisfactory. But James also argues that a belief—in God, for example—is at least partially verified if it provides comfort to the believer; the satisfactory consequences of holding the belief, as well as of the proposition believed, are to constitute verification.

Dewey and Mead. Dewey, in describing experience as the result of interaction between the organism and its environment, experiment as deliberate change in the environment, and truth as warranted assertibility, developed themes initiated by Peirce and James. Like Peirce, Dewey stressed the social character of knowledge. Peirce, however, found Dewey's naturalistic approach to logic too psychologistic.

Peirce had suggested that one's concept of self is not intuitive, as Descartes had argued, but is developed through one's experience of error. Mead, in his theory of gesture, contributed a detailed account of the development of the self out of social interaction. Mead's theory of gesture is reminiscent of Peirce's preoccupation with the theory of signs, of the behaviorism of the American psychologist J. B. Watson, and of Charles Darwin's account of the expression of emotions.

Evaluation. Pragmatism's emphasis on purposeful action, on the interplay of theory and practice, and its stress on what James called the "cash value" of beliefs, led Bertrand Russell to call it an "engineers' philosophy," bound to lead to cosmic impiety, if not to fascism. The criticism is as crude as James' identification of the truth with "the expedient in our way of thinking" was incautious. Pragmatism is rich in subtle and fruitful philosophical ideas, unified by its theme of mediation between science and philosophy, theory and practice.

SUSAN HAACK
University of Warwick

PRAGUE, präg, is the capital of Czechoslovakia and the country's industrial, commercial, and cultural center. A city of hills, it lies on both banks of the Vltava (German, Moldau) River. Prague (Czech, Praha) is widely admired for the harmonious aspect of the city—an effect created by the juxtaposition of its castle, churches, palaces, parks, and gardens.

Economy. Prague is the nation's manufacturing and trading center. Its major manufactures include heavy machinery, machine tools, rolling stock, chemicals, iron and steel, textiles, and leather goods. Construction, food processing, brewing, printing and publishing, and the production of motion pictures are also among the leading industries.

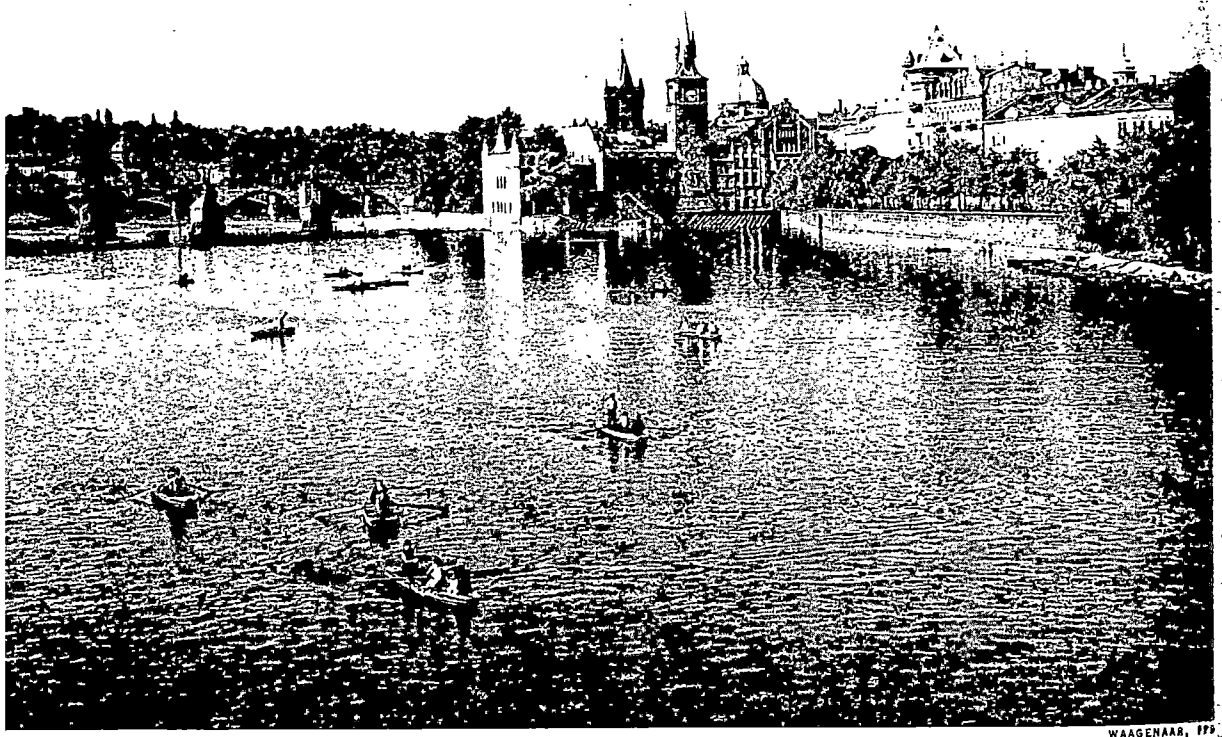
The industrial sections of Prague are situated outside the central city's historic districts. The film industry has its headquarters in Prague's southern district of Barrandov.

History. There is ample evidence that the site of the modern city was an important trading crossroads as early as Paleolithic times. But the honor of founding the actual city is traditionally accorded to the possibly legendary Princess Libuše who, with her plowman husband Přemysl, is the reputed founder of the first Bohemian dynasty.

In the 9th century, if not earlier, a wooden fortress was built in the district now called Vyšehrad on the east bank of the Vltava. At about the same time another was raised on the Hradčany heights on the west bank. In the following centuries, as Prague established itself as a trading center, stone fortresses replaced the wooden ones. The Staré Město (Old Town) rose across the river from the Hradčany fortress, or castle. In the latter half of the 13th century, Malá Strana (Lesser Quarter) was founded below the castle on the west bank.

It was in the next century that Prague acquired its status as a leading central European city, and it owed this in large part to Emperor Charles IV of the Holy Roman Empire (who ruled Bohemia as Charles I) and to his son Wenceslas. Charles, who made Prague the capital of his empire, established Charles University (1348), the first university in central Europe. During his reign and that of his son, Nové Město (New Town) was planned and settled south of Staré Město, the Charles Bridge was built across the Vltava, St. Vitus Cathedral was begun, and the Carolinum was constructed as the main building of Charles University.

In 1402 the religious reformer Jan Hus was appointed preacher at Prague's Bethlehem Chapel, which became the center of the Hussite movement. After his death in 1415, his follower Jan Žižka in 1420 occupied the Prague heights called Vítkov (now known as Žižkov) and successfully defended the city against the much larger forces of Emperor Sigismund. Two centuries later, on Nov. 8, 1620, the Bohemians were defeated at White Mountain (today within the city limits) by the Catholic League in one of the early battles of the Thirty Years' War. The Catholic Habsburg emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, who had ruled Bohemia since 1526, proceeded to stamp out Protestantism, with the help of the Jesuits, and renewed their efforts to Germanize Bohemia. Though the Czechs suffered under this repression, the economy soon resumed its growth. Prague was transformed in the 18th century by the construction of the palaces and churches of the pro-Habsburg nobility and the Jesuits, both of whom built in the baroque and rococo styles of the day. It was during this period that Prague became "the city of 100 spires."



Prague, Czechoslovakia's capital, has grown up over the centuries on both sides of the Vltava (Moldau) River.

Prague soon became a cultural center to rival Vienna. It gave Mozart, who lived there for a time, the acclaim that Vienna had denied him. In the 19th century it was the home of such distinguished composers as Bedřich Smetana and Antonín Dvořák and, at the turn of the century, of writers like Franz Kafka and Jaroslav Hašek, author of *The Good Soldier Schweik*.

During the last century Prague has expanded rapidly as it developed into a large industrial and commercial city. It became the capital of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918. In 1920 the districts that had grown up on the outskirts of the city were merged with the old districts to form Greater Prague. The city was occupied by the Germans in World War II but suffered little damage.

Description of the City. Of the four historic districts in central Prague, Staré Město and Nové Město are on the east bank of the Vltava, and Hradčany and Malá Strana are on the west bank.

Staré Město (Old Town). At the center of Staré Město is the Gothic Old Town Hall in Old Town Square. In front of the hall is a 20th century statue of Jan Hus. It has been the focus of many public demonstrations. Facing the square is Týn Church, a 14th century Gothic church, with baroque interior decorations. Next to the church is the rococo Kinský palace.

The former Prague Ghetto lies between the square and the river. It lost its autonomy in 1848 when the segregationist laws were abolished. The most impressive synagogue is the early Gothic Old-New Synagogue, begun toward the end of the 13th century. The 16th century Jewish Town Hall was remodeled in the baroque style in the 18th century. The story of the virtual extinction of the Czech Jews under the Nazis can be studied in the exhibits of the Jewish State Museum in the Klaus Synagogue.

South of the Old Town Square is the Bethlehem Chapel, where Jan Hus preached. Though the original chapel was demolished in 1798, it was painstakingly reconstructed after World War II. To the southeast of the square is the restored Carolinum, Charles University's oldest building.

Crusaders' Square commands the approach to the Charles Bridge. It is bounded by the entrance to the Clementinum, a complex that once belonged to the Jesuits; by two churches; and by the Bridge Tower, built in the 14th century by the same architect who built the bridge. The bridge gained in beauty when 26 statues, in the baroque style, were added in the late 17th century and the 18th century. Today they total 30. The Bridge Tower frames Prague Castle on the Hradčany height above the river. There are two towers at the western end of the bridge.

Hradčany. The castle, in medieval times the home of the kings of Bohemia and in modern times the presidential palace, is a vast complex of buildings and courtyards. The presidential reception halls are reached from the first courtyard, which dates from the time of Maria Theresa (1717–1780). The second courtyard, to the east, was constructed in the 16th century, remodeled in the 18th century. The third courtyard contains St. Vitus Cathedral, part of which dates from the time of Charles IV, part from later periods. Wenceslas IV (ruled as king of Bohemia 1378–1419) was the first Bohemian king to be crowned there. Nearby is the great Gothic Vladislav Hall and the Czech Chancellery. It was from one of the chancellery windows that a group

P

of Protestant nobles threw t
cillors in 1618, an act that be
revolt that led to the Thirty Y
east in the castle is one of t
esque churches in Prague, t
George.

The castle fronts on Cast
the entrance to the baroque Ste
latter contains the art collecti
Gallery. The collection is o
Gothic art. Nearby is Loretto
nín Palace, Prague's largest, s
side, and the Counter Refor
Loretto along another. Farthe
monastery, which contains th
tional Literature. South of th
large Strahov Stadium, one of
ums in the world.

Malá Strana (Lesser Quarter) of twisting streets and barc
ters on Lesser Quarter Square
Church of St. Nicholas, prob
ample of Prague's baroque ecc
ture. On the river side of t
Kampa island, the southern p
park. To the west of Malá
Hill, a large park with garde
(1891) rises on its crest. At t
is the Church of Our Lady
contains the miraculous Infan
Maltese Square and Grand Pri
noteworthy for their historic b
the Gothic Church of Our
Chain." Below the castle an
river is the baroque Valdštejn
ace, built for the famous gene
the Thirty Years' War.

Nové Město (New Town). No
commercial center, developed
ted walls of Staré Město on
the river. The broad aver
ceslas Square, which is bordere
shops, leads Staré Město to
Memorial and the neo-Renaiss
seum. The latter contains a li
and history exhibits. Like C
Wenceslas Square has often
celebrations and demonstratio
the square is the 18th centur
Museum. A tavern in Nové
Kalicha (At the Sign of the C
the site of an inn where Jarosla
writers of his day met. The 17
of St. Ignatius and the much re
e New Town Hall dominate
Prague's largest square. In the
the district the neo-Renaissanc
er overlooks the river and
which, like the Kampa, is larg
Population: (1970 census)

PRAGUE, University of. See
RTY.

PRAIA, prī'ə, is the capital of
ated on the southeastern co
(Santiago) Island, the town is
and trading center. Its major
sugarcane, and oranges.

Praia was the capital of th
lands when they formed an ov
Portugal. It remained the capit
elago became an independent
Population: (1970) 21,494.

of Protestant nobles threw two imperial councillors in 1618, an act that began the Bohemian revolt that led to the Thirty Years' War. Farther east in the castle is one of the oldest Romanesque churches in Prague, the Basilica of St. George.

The castle fronts on Castle Square, as does the entrance to the baroque Sternberk Palace. The latter contains the art collection of the National Gallery. The collection is outstanding for its Gothic art. Nearby is Loretto Square. The Černín Palace, Prague's largest, stretches along one side, and the Counter Reformation Church of Loretto along another. Farther on is the Strahov monastery, which contains the Museum of National Literature. South of the monastery is the large Strahov Stadium, one of the biggest stadiums in the world.

Malá Strana (Lesser Quarter). This old district of twisting streets and baroque palaces centers on Lesser Quarter Square and its beautiful Church of St. Nicholas, probably the finest example of Prague's baroque ecclesiastical architecture. On the river side of the Malá Strana is Kampa island, the southern part of which is a park. To the west of Malá Strana rises Petřín Hill, a large park with gardens. Petřín Tower (1891) rises on its crest. At the base of the hill is the Church of Our Lady of Victory, which contains the miraculous Infant Jesus of Prague. Maltese Square and Grand Priory Square are also noteworthy for their historic buildings, including the Gothic Church of Our Lady "Below the Chain." Below the castle and overlooking the river is the baroque Valdštejn (Wallenstein) palace, built for the famous general who fought in the Thirty Years' War.

Nové Město (New Town). Nové Město, Prague's commercial center, developed beyond the fortified walls of Staré Město on the east bank of the river. The broad avenue called Wenceslas Square, which is bordered with fashionable shops, leads Staré Město to the St. Wenceslas Memorial and the neo-Renaissance National Museum. The latter contains a library and science and history exhibits. Like Old Town Square, Wenceslas Square has often been a center for celebrations and demonstrations. Southwest of the square is the 18th century Antonín Dvořák Museum. A tavern in Nové Město called U Kalicha (At the Sign of the Chalice) is built on the site of an inn where Jaroslav Hašek and other writers of his day met. The 17th century Church of St. Ignatius and the much reconstructed Gothic New Town Hall dominate Charles Square, Prague's largest square. In the northwest part of the district the neo-Renaissance National Theater overlooks the river and Slovanský Island, which, like the Kampa, is largely a park.

Population: (1970 census) 1,078,096.

PRAGUE, University of. See CHARLES UNIVERSITY.

PRAIA, prī'ə, is the capital of Cape Verde. Situated on the southeastern coast of São Tiago (Santiago) Island, the town is an important port and trading center. Its major exports are coffee, sugarcane, and oranges.

Praia was the capital of the Cape Verde Islands when they formed an overseas province of Portugal. It remained the capital when the archipelago became an independent republic in 1975.

Population: (1970) 21,494.

PRAIRIE, a large expanse of natural temperate-zone grassland that is level or nearly level. Tall-grass prairies are distinguished from short-grass prairies, which are also called steppes. Flat expanses of tall grass in the tropics are called savannas.

Although prairies occur in every continent except Antarctica, the term is most closely associated with the large area of the North American interior that once was covered with tall grasses. Originally this prairie extended from central Illinois southwest into Oklahoma and northwest into Saskatchewan and Alberta. The area as a whole has a semihumid continental climate. In the summer the air and soil are hot, and there is adequate moisture for deep-rooted grasses. On the east the prairie was bounded by humid forestlands. On the west, roughly along the 100th meridian, it merged into the semiarid short-grass zone of the high plains.

The tall-grass prairie of North America now has largely disappeared. Because the land is fairly level, has excellent soil, and is favored with a good climate, practically all of it has been taken over for agricultural use. Little is left for wild plants and animals.

The prairie grasses often grew as tall as a man. At the end of each summer the heavy grass cover died away, restoring nutrients to the soil. The deep roots of the grasses played an important part in the building of soils. They formed a fibrous mass of vegetable material that constantly added humus, not only at the surface of the ground but well down into the soil.

Vegetation was not limited to grass alone. A great variety of flowers grew on the prairie—phloxes, shooting stars, prairie lilies, black-eyed Susans, and wild prairie roses. Edging into the prairie from the east, especially along streams, were strips of typical central woodland, with oaks, hickories, elms, sycamores, cottonwoods, and butternuts. Today all these trees, and many others also, grow in towns and around farmhouses where prairie formerly flourished.

Some of the animals that were abundant on the prairie—such as the elk, or wapiti, and the badger—seem to have been adapted to both a prairie and a woodland environment. But the pocket gopher, prairie chicken, and quail were especially well suited to prairie life. The American bison was also found on the prairie but preferred the short-grass country farther west.

Many of the crops that have replaced the native prairie grasses are grasses themselves—corn, oats, wheat, timothy, sorghums, and millets. Among the legumes successfully introduced are soybeans, sweet clover, and alfalfa. The American prairie has become corn belt and wheatland, one of the most productive regions of crop cultivation and mixed livestock raising in the world.

PRAIRIE CHICKEN, either of two species of grouse that live in the grasslands of central North America. They are chickenlike ground birds remarkable for their courtship displays.

The greater prairie chicken, *Tympanuchus cupido,* found from southern Canada to Texas, is about 18 inches (46 cm) long and brownish. In the courtship display males gather on a flat grassy area or ridge and begin to stamp their feet. With heads down and tails raised, they extend long tufts of feathers on either side of the neck while inflating the two orange air sacs underneath these tufts. The ballooning air sacs

VOLUME 4

Birmingham to Burlington

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

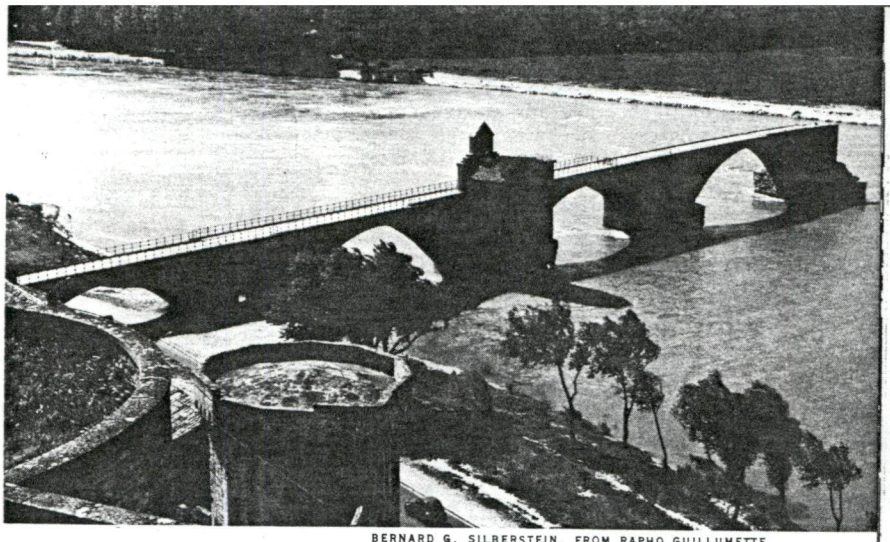
INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816



PONT D'AVIGNON, a stone arch bridge on the Rhône River, was built by St. Bénézet during the period 1177–1188.

BERNARD G. SILBERSTEIN, FROM RAPHO GUILLUMETTE

MEDIEVAL BRIDGES

The decline of the Roman Empire also meant the decline of the art of building arch bridges in Europe for hundreds of years, but about the 11th century the art began to be revived. The credit for this revival is generally given to the Christian church. It had preserved most of the written documents of technology in its monasteries and had taken the lead in educating and training craftsmen. In addition, brotherhoods were founded whose primary tasks were to minister to travelers, to build hospices, and to build bridges.

One of the most famous of the brotherhood-built bridges is the Pont d'Avignon, part of which is still standing. It was built by St. Bénézet in the period 1178–1188. For his arches, he followed the Roman technique of using carefully cut stones without mortar, but he shaped his arches elliptically rather than circularly. This shape permitted him to span as much as 110 feet (34 meters) per arch. Twenty such continuous arches comprised this beautiful bridge over the Rhône River in France. As a tribute and memorial, St. Bénézet was buried in the bridge tower.

Another famous medieval bridge, the old London Bridge, was constructed by Peter of Colechurch. Although it was built in the same period (1176–1209) as the Pont d'Avignon, it was much less elegant in design. It had pointed stone arches that spanned unequal distances, and its piers and foundations were so massive that the waterway in the Thames River was reduced to about one fourth of its original dimension. The bridge consisted of 19 pointed stone arches, with a drawbridge near one end. Numerous shops and dwellings were superimposed in makeshift fashion on the bridge and piers, making the bridge almost a city in itself. Although graceless in form, the sheer mass of the structure enabled it to survive for 600 years. A new London Bridge replaced it in 1831, but the old London Bridge remains famous in legend and history.

By the 13th century the art of stone-arch bridge building had spread throughout most of the civilized world, including all of western Europe, the Middle East, and China. The Chinese had developed the style of their bridges to a high degree, using a humpback bridge form. It was less massive and more graceful than the European bridges, but the shape was less suitable for vehicular traffic. The humpback bridge often was made even less massive by the use of open spandrel arches between the main arch and the roadway.

Examples of 13th century medieval bridges still standing in Spain include two Moorish bridges, near Toledo, the Puente de San Martín and the Puente d'Alcantara, and the Minho River bridge at Orense. Another notable 13th century bridge is at Bern, Switzerland.

By the 14th century, notable stone-arch bridges were also being built in Italy. The Ponte Vecchio (1345), a 3-span arch bridge over the Arno River at Florence, is one of the medieval bridges still standing. It has spans ranging from 90 to 100 feet (27–30 meters) long. Its arches are circular segments that are flatter than the full semicircles of the Roman stone arches, indicating that builders were learning to cope with the greater thrusts of the flattened arch form. Like the old London Bridge, the Ponte Vecchio is both a thoroughfare and a shopping center, with shops and stores built on top of the bridge.

Although a few wooden bridges were built in the medieval period, most bridges were of the masonry arch type. Compared to that of Roman bridges, the construction generally was less skillfully executed, and the stones were less carefully cut (line mortar was used for bonding), but the medieval bridges did have more variety even though decorations were kept to a minimum.

RENAISSANCE BRIDGES

As Europe slowly became more stable and prosperous, embellishments began to appear on bridges. The Karlsbrücke (Charles Bridge) at Prague, which was started in the middle of the 14th century, is one of the first to show this trend. The bridge piers and tower have both the solid form of medieval construction and the embellishments of the early Renaissance. Statues and tracery are liberally placed on this bridge.

Very few basic advances in bridge engineering were made in the Renaissance, when most bridge builders were preoccupied with decorative features. The bridge builders modified the shape of the arch to flatter and more graceful proportions, but the old stone arch still controlled the structure.

There are charming examples of Renaissance bridges in Italy and France. The well-known Rialto Bridge (1591) over the Grand Canal in Venice, designed and built by Antonio da Ponte, has a single arch span of 88 feet (27 meters).

VOLUME 9

Desert to Egret

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

distances, many of them on the backs of thousands of Vietnamese. Attempts to help the besieged garrison failed. The French, under Gen. Christian de Castries, held out from March 13 to May 7. They lost over 15,000 men, killed, wounded, imprisoned, and missing.

The defeat discouraged France from continuing the war. Negotiations already begun in Geneva led, on July 21, 1954, to a cease-fire and to the international recognition of the independence of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

ELLEN J. HAMMER
Author of "Vietnam: Yesterday and Today"

DIENCEPHALON. See BRAIN—2. *Major Divisions of the Brain.*

DIENTZENHOFER, dēn'tsən-hō-fər, a family of baroque architects, active in Bavaria and Bohemia during the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

JOHANN DIENTZENHOFER (1665?–?1726), called "Dientzenhofer of Bamberg," designed three major early 18th century works. The Cathedral of Fulda (1701–1712), Hesse, is a rather severe design, derived from Roman baroque work of the early 17th century. The abbey church at Banz (1710–1719), Franconia, is much more venturesome, with a plan based on a series of overlapping ovals. Only portions of the third work, the baroque Castle of Weissenstein (1711–1718), at Pommersfelden, are attributed to him.

CHRISTOPH DIENTZENHOFER (1655–1722), brother of Johann, designed the Margarethenkirche (1708–1715), at Prague, a good example of a figure 8 plan, with heavily emphasized diagonal vaulting ribs. His facade for the Church of St. Nicholas in the Little Town (1703–1711), Prague, has an undulating plan that divides the west front into three concave elements.

KILIAN IGNAZ DIENTZENHOFER (1698–1751), son of Christoph, was the most talented of the family. He settled in Prague about 1720. Among his major works in Prague are the Villa Amerika (1720), a mansard-roofed house with delicate ornamentation; the Church of St. Johann Nepomuk am Felsen (1730), with towers set at angles to the facade; and the Church of St. Nicholas in the Old Town (finished 1737), with a vertical, almost cramped facade. His finest work is the completion (1737–1752) of his father's St. Nicholas in the Little Town, in which he repeated the undulations of the facade in the illusionistically painted nave vaults. The cupola, placed close to a single slender tower, is one of the finest compositions of the baroque period.

WALTER KIDNEY, *"Progressive Architecture"*

DIEPPE, dyep, is a city in France, on the English Channel, 105 miles (170 km) northwest of Paris, in the Seine-Maritime department of Haute-Normandie. Lying in a break in the chalk cliffs of the Caux coast, astride the Arques River, Dieppe is an important commercial and fishing port. It has daily ferry service to the English port of Newhaven. Its location at the point on the Channel coast nearest to Paris has aided the city's commercial development and its popularity as a seaside resort. Dieppe's commercial port handles a large turnover of such varied goods as wood, fibers, fuels, fruits, wines and spirits, and machinery. Its brisk trade has led to the establishment of considerable manufacturing.

The interesting historical past of Dieppe is evoked by its many churches and monuments, its fortress, and its museum. The 15th century fortress, which houses the museum, overlooks the town from a cliff and is partially surrounded by walls dating from the 16th century. Though severely damaged in 1944, it has been repaired. The museum contains many sculptures from the Middle Ages and Renaissance, some maritime maps of the 16th and 17th centuries, and a beautiful collection of Dieppe ivory ware. The most notable churches are those of St. Jacques (13th and 14th centuries) and St. Rémy.

Dieppe has figured prominently in French military history. Its first castle was probably built by Charlemagne in 800. An important naval base in the 17th century, the town was destroyed by the English and Dutch in 1694. It was occupied by the Germans both in 1870–1871 and in World War II. On Aug. 19, 1942, Dieppe was raided by the Allies in the first, costly expedition to test German coastal defenses. Population: (1968) 29,829.

HOMER PRICE, *Hunter College*

DIES, Martin, Jr. (1901–1972), American congressman from Texas, who was the first chairman (1938–1945) of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. A Democrat, he served in the House in 1931–1945 and 1953–1959.

Dies was born on Nov. 5, 1901, in Colorado, Texas. Like his father, who had served in Congress for a decade, he represented a constituency which was suspicious of the changes wrought by the Roosevelt administration. The reiterated charge of the Dies committee was that the New Deal and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) were infiltrated by Communists and that liberals were being duped by Communist-controlled organizations. Dies exposed Communist influence in many areas, but he weakened his own case by his publicity seeking, his vendetta against New Deal programs and personalities, and his pioneering use of the technique of guilt by association.

Although his committee won support around the country—notably from veteran and fundamentalist groups—Dies' political career never advanced. He failed in a try for a Senate seat in 1941; the U. S.-Soviet wartime alliance undermined his anticommunism theme, and he resigned from the House in 1944. On his return in 1953, he was denied a place on the committee he had sired. His apologia, *The Martin Dies Story*, was published in 1963. He died on Nov. 14, 1972, in Lufkin, Texas.

WALTER GOODMAN, *Author of "The Committee"*

DIES IRAE, dē'ās ē'rā, is a sequence (hymn said or sung between the Epistle and Gospel at Mass) of the Roman Catholic Church. It was formerly appointed for masses for the dead but is now optional. It is named for its opening words, meaning "Day of Wrath," and is a description of the day of judgment and a prayer for mercy. It was probably first used for private devotion, and some have thought its original liturgical use was for Advent. Thomas of Celano, a 13th century Franciscan, is generally given as the author, but this is now contested. Many composers have written settings for the poem.

The New Encyclopædia Britannica

in 30 Volumes

MACROPÆDIA
Volume 19

Knowledge in Depth

FOUNDED 1768
15TH EDITION

Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.
William Benton, Publisher, 1943–1973
Helen Hemingway Benton, Publisher, 1973–1974
Chicago/Geneva/London/Manila/Paris/Rome
Seoul/Sydney/Tokyo/Toronto

Vol. 19

"Fan-vaulting"

tension of the Rayonnant idea appears in the Cloisters of Gloucester cathedral (begun 1377), where tracery panels were inserted into the vault to form the "fan-vaulting" characteristic of late medieval English architecture (Figure 149).

Of all the European buildings of this period, the most important is probably the cathedral of Prague (founded in 1344). The plan was devised according to routine French principles by the first master mason, Mathieu d'Arras. When he died in 1352, his place was taken (1353–99) by Petr Parléř, the most influential mason in Prague and a member of a family of masons active in south Germany and the Rhineland. Parler's building included the start of a south tower and spire that clearly continued the traditions of the Rhineland. His originality lay in his experiments with vault designs, from which stem much of the virtuoso achievement of German masons in the 15th century.

Late Gothic art. In the years around 1400, when International Gothic flourished, Italian and northern artists had achieved some sort of rapprochement. Under the renewed influence of antique art, Italy drew away again, and it was not until the 16th century that the north showed any real disposition to follow suit in the imitation of Classical models. While painting and architecture of the 15th century have a reasonably well-defined development, sculptural development is harder to trace—partly because much vital work (once again, especially in the Low Countries) has been destroyed. It is clear, however, that elaboration rather than restraint was the rule—indeed, the exceptions to the rule (mainly in France) stand out. This taste for the highly complicated and elaborate—especially in Spain and Germany—was encouraged by the dual influences of painting and architecture. Like the painters, the sculptors enjoyed giving extremely realistic detail and expression to their figures; and, like the architects, they enjoyed complicated tracery work, often encasing their compositions in tabernacle-like enclosures of brilliantly fantastic architecture. To 20th-century eyes, the result may seem overloaded and the total impression exhausting; but in its time the work of, say, Michael Pacher or Veit Stoss must have been admired precisely for the way in which the sculptor used every conceivable opportunity to display his virtuosity.

One interesting characteristic of the late Gothic period deserves comment: the increase in the amount of art produced by foreign artists for countries such as Hungary, Poland, and Scotland. Competition between countries for the work of the best artists was not new. Throughout the Middle Ages artists travelled widely. In the 13th century Villard de Honnecourt went from northern France to Hungary, and Roman marble workers journeyed to Westminster. In the period *c.* 1400 there was much interchange between northern and southern Europe. In the 15th century, this general pattern was confirmed; the Netherlandish sculptor Gerhard Nicolaes van Leyden, for instance, became court sculptor in Vienna, and the Italian sculptor and architect Andrea Sansovino served the Portuguese court in the 1490s. There is also the work of the Franconian sculptor Veit Stoss for the Polish court at Cracow (*c.* 1480) and the work of Bernt Notke of Lübeck for Aarhus (Denmark), Tallinn (Estonia), and Stockholm (*c.* 1470–90). Numerous other objects could be added. More specifically, there is the altar executed by Meister Francke of Hamburg for Helsingfors (1420s) and Hugo van der Goes' panels for the Palace of Holyrood, near Edinburgh (1470s).

Painting. The key to much north European 15th-century painting lies in the Low Countries. The influence of Paris and Dijon decreased, partly because of the renewal of the Hundred Years' War between England and France and partly because of the removal of the Burgundian court, around 1425, from Dijon to Flanders, which became the centre of an extensive court patronage.

The Flemish school of painting

The founder of the Flemish school of painting seems to have been Robert Campin of Tournai. The works of Campin, his pupil Rogier van der Weyden, and Jan van Eyck remained influential for the whole century. One of the most significant discoveries of the period *c.* 1430—especially in the work of van Eyck—was the multifarious effects a painter can achieve by observing the action of light (Plate VIII). These early Flemish artists found that light can define form, shape, and texture, and, captured in a landscape, it can help to convey a mood. Rogier van der Weyden also explored the problems of conveying emotion (Plate VIII). A development in the rendering of the drapery—the so-called crumpled style of hard angular folds—is particularly clear in the paintings of Campin. Portraiture made dramatic progress during this period. Portraits were obviously not new; sculptors were already experimenting in the 14th century with life—and death—masks. But the brilliant use of lighting gives the portraits of Jan van Eyck, for instance, a vivid life hitherto quite unknown.

Much subsequent Flemish 15th- and 16th-century art seems to play variations on these themes. Although there were painters with distinctly individual styles, such as Hugo van der Goes (*c.* 1440–82), a more typical representative of late 15th-century Flemish art would certainly be Hans Memling (*c.* 1430/35–95).

The influence of van Eyck's paintings was felt to a limited extent outside of Flanders; for example, by Konrad Witz of Basel, Switzerland (*c.* 1400–*c.* 1445), by the Master of the Annunciation of Aix-en-Provence, France (1442), and by the Neopolitan artist Colantonio and his illustrious pupil Antonello da Messina. In the course of the century, however, it was the style of Rogier van der Weyden and his immediate successors, such as Dirck Bouts (*c.* 1400–75), that became extraordinarily influential in Germany, England, Spain, and Portugal. Evidence of his influence can be seen in the works of Hans Pleydenwurff of Nürnberg (active *c.* 1457–72); in the wall paintings in Eton College Chapel (*c.* 1480); and in the paintings of Nuno Gonçalves in Portugal (active 1450–67). This new "international style" also influenced the great German engraver Martin Schongauer and, ultimately, the outstanding representative of the German Renaissance school of painting, Albrecht Dürer.

In this general context, individualists were usually extremists who chose to emphasize the weird, the bizarre, or the horrifying. Hugo van der Goes veered in this direction. More disquieting is the painting of Hieronymus Bosch (*c.* 1450–1516), whose strange scenes still puzzle and perplex (Plate VIII). More grotesque and horrifying is the work of Matthias Grünewald (1480–1528), whose main surviving work is the altarpiece for a hospital ward at Isenheim, Germany (extant at Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar, France; Plate VIII).

A very different sort of extremism is found in the work of the Tyrolean painter and sculptor Michael Pacher (*c.* 1435–98). His pictorial work is so strongly marked by a concern with the structure of the composition and with effects of perspective—particularly foreshortening—that it seems clear he knew the work of Andrea Mantegna of Padua. Although virtually free of antique motifs, Pacher's painting demonstrates the growing fascination of Italian Renaissance art for northern artists.

Rather different were the French painters of the 15th century (Plate VII). Court art revived, especially during the reign of Louis XI (1461–83), as exemplified by the illuminated manuscript *Le Livre du coeur d'amours espris* (1465; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek). The most interesting painter was probably Jean Fouquet (*c.* 1420–81), who, apparently early in his career, visited Italy. Italian details certainly appear in his work, but, as is evident in the *Hours of Étienne Chevalier* (Musée Condé, Chantilly) and the "Melun Diptych" (now divided between Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, and Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Antwerp), he still painted within the northern tradition. The restrained and somewhat reticent character of much French painting is interestingly similar to much of the sculpture.

Sculpture. Sluter's work for the court of Burgundy lasted about 15 years. During this time, he worked on three major items: the main portal of the chapel of the Charterhouse near Dijon; inside the chapel, the tomb of his patron, Philip the Bold (Figure 150); and a large

Figure 150: Claus Slute Musée des P. Remy

Calvary died in 14 the emplo until his c complete diately an The for ures is co canopy o similar d carved D bination the Gothi The spre the most the centu Gerhard Strasbour (Tirol; 14 virtuoso s berg (acti chneider Adam K northern Notke of of the fan now seem well illust George a holm), wh lers.

On the v more dec works sur Tonnerre schemes in the figures Restraint ard Beauc which has

VOLUME 8

Corot to Desdemona

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

Impregnable against its enemies, the Hussite movement ultimately turned upon itself and disintegrated into warring factions. The moderate Utraquists (named after a central tenet of Hussitism, the taking of communion in both kinds, *sub utraque specie*), based in Prague, fell out with the more radical Taborites, centered about their southern Bohemian stronghold of Tábor. At the Battle of Lipany, in 1434, the Utraquists crushed the Taborites. Remnants of the latter were absorbed into a pacifist, utopian sect called the Unity of Bohemian Brethren (Unitas fratrum) led by the gentle philosopher Petr Chelčický. The moderate Hussites, the majority of the nation, arranged an uneasy compromise with the Roman Catholic Church and managed to preserve their creed almost two centuries longer. The last native king of Bohemia, George of Poděbrady (reigned 1458–1471), was a Utraquist.

Decline of the Bohemian Kingdom. The failure of George to found a dynasty destroyed the last hope of creating a strong national monarchy in Bohemia. Foreign dynasties (the Polish Jagiellonians, the Austrian Habsburgs), who were generally indifferent to the welfare of their Czech subjects, followed upon the throne. Control of the state fell to the Bohemian nobility, which systematically pressed the masses of the population into serfdom. Difficulties multiplied after 1526, when the ambitious Roman Catholic Habsburgs came to the throne. Religious and political squabbling between the alien kings and the Bohemian nobles culminated in 1618 in the famous Defenestration of Prague, when the nobles rebelled and elected a new sovereign, Frederick the Elector Palatine. Two years later, at the Battle of White Mountain (Nov. 8, 1620), the rebel forces were crushed, and the country and its inhabitants were delivered for three centuries to the unsympathetic rule of the Habsburgs.

Habsburg Repression. In the ensuing century and a half, the Czechs lost a large part of their native leadership, their chosen religion, the widespread use of their language, and their historic right to self-rule. The rebel leaders were executed, and a large part of the nobility, the middleclass, and the intelligentsia were exiled or emigrated voluntarily. Among those exiled were the members of the Unity of Bohemia Brethern, including their last bishop, Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius), the great pedagogue and philosopher. The estates of the rebels were confiscated and given to foreigners—Germans, Walloons, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Irishmen—who had little feeling for their Czech subjects. The Thirty Years' War reduced the population of Bohemia-Moravia by two thirds. These losses were made up by massive German settlement in the land.

The Jesuits zealously introduced the Counter Reformation to Bohemia. In the process they developed an elaborate baroque culture in the land, but they also destroyed much of the Czech-Protestant cultural heritage. The German language was favored in official and polite circles; Czech became the mutilated language of servants and peasants. The Bohemian crown was declared to be hereditary in the Habsburg dynasty. The Bohemian state and the Czech nation gradually began to disappear. But the systematic attempts of the Habsburg "enlightened despots," Empress Maria Theresa and her son Emperor Joseph II, to hasten the total absorption of Bohemia in the 18th century finally provoked Bohemian resistance.

The Czech National Revival. A coalition of Bohemian nobles, resentful of the attack on their inherited privileges, and a small group of Czech intellectuals, intent upon reviving the Czech language and literature, were responsible for the Czech national revival at the end of the 18th century. Such men as Josef Dobrovský, Josef Jungmann, and František Palacký compiled grammars and dictionaries, wrote works of belles lettres and scholarship, published periodicals and newspapers, and established a Czech character for old Bohemian cultural institutions or founded new ones. Through their efforts, by the mid-19th century, Czech culture and Czech national consciousness had been revived.

In 1848, the year of revolutions throughout Europe and particularly within the Habsburg empire, the Czechs made political demands, requesting not simply the restitution of the historic rights of Bohemia but a federalization of the entire Habsburg monarchy into ethnic units enjoying political and cultural equality; Czechs and Slovaks were to be merged into the same unit. The revolution, however, was suppressed, and the demands were rejected.

Thereafter until 1918, political concessions came piecemeal and slowly, but the Czechs made great cultural and economic progress. Many illustrious intellectuals and artists (such as Smetana, Dvořák, Mánes, Aleš) devoted their talents to the national cause. Through participation in the intensive industrialization of the Habsburg lands, the Czechs increased in wealth, social position, and urban sophistication. Their gains were violently opposed by the Bohemian German minority, fearful of losing its privileged position in the kingdom. Among these "Sudeten Germans" the rabid racial concepts developed that were to find their way into Nazi ideology.

Creation of Czechoslovakia. At the outbreak of World War I, a handful of Czech leaders seized the opportunity to try to achieve complete independence from the Habsburg empire. Abroad, the philosopher-statesman Tomáš G. Masaryk, his disciple Eduard Beneš, and the Slovak astronomer-aviator Milan Štefánik worked to gain the sympathy and diplomatic recognition of the Entente powers. Great numbers of Czech soldiers deserted the Habsburg army and formed legions that fought on the Entente side in Russia, Italy, and France. At home, passive resistance was led by Karel Kramář and his underground group called the "Maffia." The many-sided national effort proved successful. On Oct. 28, 1918, an independent Czechoslovak republic was proclaimed and quickly recognized by the Allies.

THE SLOVAKS UNTIL 1918

From the fall of the Great Moravian Empire at the beginning of the 10th century and the subsequent incorporation of Slovakia into the kingdom of Hungary, the Slovaks had no independent history of their own and maintained a very weak sense of national consciousness. They were largely reduced to serfdom under the rigorous control of the Magyars.

By the 15th century some contact with the Czechs had been resumed. Slovak students studied at Charles University in Prague, and the Hussites, whose armies occupied parts of Slovakia for a time, attracted some Slovak followers. When the Turks occupied most of the Hungarian lands after the Battle of Mohács in 1526, both Slovakia and Bohemia came under Habsburg

...tional Revival. A coalition of ... resentful of the attack on ... ges, and a small group of C... tent upon reviving the C... erature, were responsible for ... revival at the end of the ... men as Josef Dobrovský, ... František Palacký comp... ictionaries, wrote works of ... arship, published periodicals ... established a Czech char... ı cultural institutions or foun... gh their efforts, by the mid-1... ulture and Czech national ... een revived.

year of revolutions through... cularly within the Habsburg ... nade political demands, requ... the restitution of the histo... ia but a federalization of ... monarchy into ethnic units ... d cultural equality; Czechs ... be merged into the same un... wever, was suppressed, and ... ected.

til 1918, political concessio... ıd slowly, but the Czechs ma... economic progress. Many ill... and artists (such as Smetan... Aleš) devoted their talents ... Through participation in th... lization of the Habsburg land... sed in wealth, social positio... ication. Their gains were vi... the-Bohemian German mino... ing its privileged position ... ong these "Sudeten Germans" ... oncepts developed that were ... ıto Nazi ideology.

hoslovakia. At the outbreak of ... ndful of Czech leaders seized ... try to achieve complete inde... e Habsburg empire. Abroad ... esman Tomáš G. Masaryk, his ... eneš, and the Slovak astron... Štefánik worked to gain the ... omatic recognition of the En... ıt numbers of Czech soldiers ... urg army and formed legions ... Entente side in Russia, Italy ... ne, passive resistance was led ... and his underground group ... The many-sided national ... ssful. On Oct. 28, 1918, an ... oslovak republic was pro... recognized by the Allies.

VAKS UNTIL 1918

... the Great Moravian Empire ... the 10th century and the ... ation of Slovakia into the ... y, the Slovaks had no inde... heir own and maintained a ... ational consciousness. They ... to serfdom under the rigor... lagyars.

...tury some contact with the ... med. Slovak students stud... versity in Prague, and the ... s occupied parts of Slovakia ... some Slovak followers. ... pied most of the Hungarian ... e of Mohács in 1526, both ... ia came under Habsburg ...

The Reformation drew the two peoples ... together for a period. Protestantism spread ... ely in Slovakia, and some Czech Protestants ... there when the Habsburgs introduced the ... nter Reformation into Bohemia after 1620. ... Protestant books circulated, and Czech ... ually became the written language (replac... Latin) of educated Slovaks. However, the ... nter Reformation was eventually applied also ... Slovakia, and both populations were again ... nally Roman Catholic.

The first undisputed sign of national stirring ... urred in the late 18th century, when a Roman ... Catholic priest, Anton Bernolák, tried to develop ... Slovak literary language separate from the ... mmonly employed Czech. He failed, but an... ther attempt in the 1840's by L'udovít Štúr was ... ccessful. Though some leading Slovak scholars, ... ch as Pavel Josef Šafařík and Jan Kollár, con... ued to use Czech and even contributed to the ... Czech national revival, the new language re... ived general acceptance by the Slovaks. ... Though intended primarily to unite the Slovaks ... and to give them a sense of national identity, ... Štúr's act struck a heavy blow at the fragile ties ... still existing between the Slovaks and the Czechs ... and set the Slovaks firmly upon their separate ... path. During the Hungarian revolution of 1848, ... Štúr and other Slovak patriots demanded political ... and cultural rights for the Slovaks, provoking a ... Slovak rising that was crushed by the Magyars.

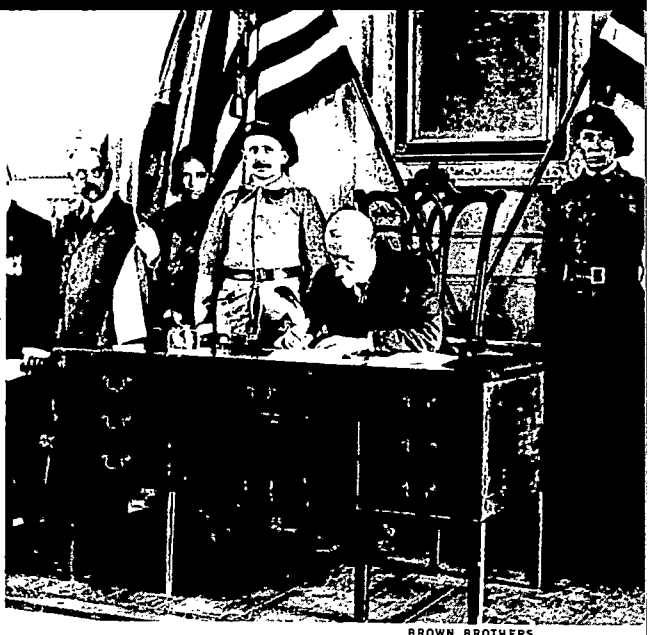
Subsequent national affirmations and attempts ... to establish their own cultural institutions by ... the Slovaks met with little success. The situation ... became even more difficult after the Austro-... Hungarian Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867, ... the Magyars were given unchecked control over ... half of the Habsburg empire. The policies of ... magyarization were intensified. All Slovak sec... ondary schools were closed, and the number of ... primary schools reduced. The electoral system ... was heavily weighted against the Slovaks, and ... few Slovak deputies sat in the Budapest Diet.

The collapse of the Habsburg state during ... the World War I saved the Slovaks from com... plete assimilation by the Magyars. Nevertheless, ... only a handful of nationally conscious spokesmen ... led the passive Slovak masses into the joint state ... with the Czechs in 1918.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK STATE

The new Czechoslovak state was a republic based on American and French models, with a parliamentary government elected on the basis of universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage. A wide spectrum of political parties representing the different nationalities and a variety of economic and political viewpoints were granted proportional representation. This included the Czechoslovak Communist party, which was founded in 1921. Though the multiplicity of parties resulted in a series of coalition governments during the next two decades, Czechoslovakia enjoyed a remarkably stable government in the hectic period between the two world wars.

The Advantages of the New State. The country was an outstanding democracy, in which the fundamental civil rights of all citizens were constitutionally guaranteed and genuinely respected in practice. Perhaps the single most important factor behind this enviable record was Masaryk himself, the widely respected president of the "First Republic" (the term used for the Czechoslovak state before Munich) from 1918 to 1935.



BROWN BROTHERS

TOMÁŠ MASARYK, first president of Czechoslovakia, signs the republic's declaration of independence on Oct. 26, 1918, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

The new state had other advantages as well. It had inherited a wealth of economic resources from the Habsburg monarchy, including the greater part of its industry. Together with sound monetary and fiscal policies, and extensive redistribution of farm lands, and an elaborate program of social insurance, this resulted in a well-balanced, well-managed economy that spread its benefits widely among all classes of society.

The Paris Peace Conference had given the new state generous, perhaps overly generous, boundaries, including not only Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, and Slovakia but also Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia in the east (although the Ruthenes possessed no linguistic, cultural, or historic ties with either Czechs or Slovaks). This removed any incentive for Czechoslovakia to seek additional land or population, but it also posed the continuing threat of revisionism and irredentism on the part of its neighbors. To counter this threat, the Czechoslovak government created a network of defensive military alliances with other powers—with Yugoslavia and Rumania (the Little Entente) in 1920–1921, with France in 1924, and with the USSR in 1935.

The National Minorities. The external danger was closely linked with the country's chief domestic problem, that of large dissatisfied national minorities. Czechs and Slovaks made up only about 67% of the total population. Of the remainder, Germans constituted about 22%, Magyars 5%, Ruthenes 6%, Jews 1.5%, and Poles 0.5%. The new regime unwisely rejected the suggestion of a federation of nationalities. Instead, it proclaimed a highly centralized, unitary "Czechoslovak national state," the domain of a "Czechoslovak nation" with an official "Czechoslovak language." To be sure, the national minorities, although not officially "state peoples," enjoyed full civil rights and generous cultural privileges and suffered only mild discrimination. However, the Germans, Magyars, and Poles had not wished to become part of the new state, and the Ruthenes had joined in the expectation of being granted autonomy. They refused to accept an inferior status and agitated for union with their contiguous motherlands.

Embassy of the United States of America

90 OCT 6 A8:54

Havel long address

UNCLASSIFIED
TELEFAX TRANSMITTAL

DATE: 11-6-90
TIME: 11:45 am

TO: Chriss Winston
(Name & Office)

FAX NUMBER: 19.1.202-456-6218
(Country code + City code + FAX #)

Transmittal + 7 pages

FROM: Bob Simon
(Name, Office, Agency Code)

AMERICAN EMBASSY PARIS
APO New York 09777-9200
TEL: 33-1-4296-1202, ext. _____
FAX: 33-1-4266-9783 or _____

AMBASSADE DES ETATS-UNIS
2, Avenue Gabriel
75008 Paris - France
(1) 42 96 12 02 poste: _____
(1) 42 66 97 83 ou _____

SUBJECT: _____

REF: _____

MESSAGE: more info later today

It's unclear what is needed for the radio address with Havel. Sig & Keller did not negotiate details. Havel has a weekly radio program. This could be an interview, talking pts. or brief remarks. NSC should have our Embassy work out details with Czechs.

NOTE: ADDITIONAL SHEETS MUST BE OF BOND PAPER OR PHOTOCOPIER PAPER WEIGHT --
-- TRANSMISSION TIME: COST: AGENCY CHARGED:

EMB-35 / August 90

11/6 8 am Prague

PROPOSED SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NOVEMBER 16 - 18, 1990

6:30 pm — MARINE ONE departs White House en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

6:40 pm — MARINE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

6:45 pm — AIR FORCE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base en route Prague, Czechoslovakia.

(Flying Time: 8 Hours 15 Minutes)
(Interchange: Yes)
(Time Change: Ahead 6 Hours)

9:00 am — AIR FORCE ONE arrives Prague, Czechoslovakia.

* ARRIVAL CEREMONY
(9:00 am - 9:10 am)
-Anthems
-No Statements

9:15 am — MOTORCADE departs Prague Airport en route Castle.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

9:25 am — MOTORCADE arrives Castle.

* ARRIVAL CEREMONY
(9:25 am - 9:35 am)

* MEETING WITH PRESIDENT HAVEL
(9:40 am - 9:55 am)
-Photo Opportunity
-One on One

* EXPANDED BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT HAVEL
(10:00 am - 10:30 am)
-Photo Opportunity

* MEETING WITH FEDERAL LEADERS
(10:35 am - 10:55 am)
-Photo Opportunity

* MEETING WITH CZECH LEADERS
(11:00 am - 11:20 am)
-Photo Opportunity

* MEETING WITH SLOVAK LEADERS
(11:25 am - 11:45 am)
-Photo Opportunity

11:50 am MOTORCADE departs Castle en route Federal Assembly.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

12:00 pm MOTORCADE arrives Federal Assembly.

* INFORMAL MEETING WITH FEDERAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT DUBCEK
(12:05 pm - 12:15 pm)

* ADDRESS FEDERAL ASSEMBLY
(12:20 pm - 12:50 pm)
-Expanded Pool
-Remarks teleprompter

12:55 pm MOTORCADE departs Federal Assembly en route Castle.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

1:00 pm MOTORCADE arrives Castle.

* WORKING LUNCHEON WITH PRESIDENT HAVEL
(1:05 pm - 2:20 pm)
-Photo Opportunity
-Ten on Ten

no toasts

* PRESS AVAILABILITY
(2:25 pm - 2:45 pm)
-Open Press

2:50 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Castle, via foot, en route Archbishop's Palace.

2:55 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Archbishop's Palace.

* COURTESY CALL ON CARDINAL TOMASEK
(2:55 pm - 3:10 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

3:15 pm MOTORCADE departs Archbishop's Palace en route Wenceslas Square.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

3:20 pm MOTORCADE arrives Wenceslas Square.

* FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF VELVET REVOLUTION
(3:25 pm - 3:55 pm)
-Expanded Pool
-Brief Remarks

4:00 pm MOTORCADE departs Wenceslas Square en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

4:10 pm MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

* PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 55 MINUTES
(4:35 pm - 6:00 pm)

6:05 pm MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route Castle.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

6:15 pm MOTORCADE arrives Castle.

* RADIO TAPING WITH PRESIDENT HAVEL
(6:20 pm - 6:25 pm) ?

* RECEPTION HOSTED BY PRESIDENT HAVEL
(6:30 pm - 7:20 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

7:25 pm — MOTORCADE departs Castle en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

7:35 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

* DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT BUSH
(8:00 pm - 10:00 pm)
-Pool Coverage
-Brief Remarks/Toasts
-Business Suit

RON Prague, Czechoslovakia

Sunday, November 18, 1990

* AMERICAN EMBASSY GREETING
(8:30 am - 8:55 am)
-Closed Press
-Brief Remarks

9:00 am — MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route Prague Airport.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

9:15 am — MOTORCADE arrives Prague Airport.

* DEPARTURE CEREMONY
(9:15 am - 9:25 am)

9:30 am — AIR FORCE ONE departs Prague, Czechoslovakia en route Ramstein Air Base, Germany.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 30 Minutes)
(Time change: None)
(Interchange: Yes)

SIGHTSEEING

The best place to begin sightseeing is Hradcany Castle, atop one of Prague's hills. This has been the seat of government for more than 1,000 years. The first castle was built when Prague was founded in 850. Within the Hrad is also St. Vitus Cathedral. The choir and tower were built between 1352 and 1419 while the nave and west front were added in the early 20th century. There were thirty coronations held in this cathedral, the last being that of King Ferdinand V in 1836 and several kings are buried here. Of the seven cathedral bells, "Zikmund" is the largest and was made in 1548. The cathedral has beautiful stained glass windows and a rosette over the main entrance. There are many paintings and precious works of art in the cathedral, among them being the solid silver tomb of St. John Nepomucene (d.1736). It is surrounded by silver statues and contains relics of the Saint.

St. George's Church, located behind St. Vitus, has two white spires and is the oldest church in Prague. The original romanesque church was founded in 915 and has remnants of frescos from the 12th century. The neighboring monastery is an art gallery displaying a unique collection of Gothic art.

Golden Lane ("Zlata ulicka") in the Hradcany is said to be where the alchemists tried to make the philosopher's stone, the elixir of life and gold. It has existed for over four centuries, and the dwellings are little bigger than doll houses. It originally housed about 100 inhabitants with only one water faucet. Many of the houses are now shops and one house is a museum furnished in the style of it's original inhabitants.

The Strahov Monastery is one of the best preserved medieval libraries in Europe, with the original manuscripts and ancient globes. The presbytery has beautiful frescoes.

The Prague Loretto is an architectural Baroque gem. The Loretto was founded in 1626 by a member of the powerful Czech feudal family, the Lobkovics. It is a copy of the Italian Santa Casa, which according to legend, was the cottage in which Christ lived with his mother in Palestine, and which was miraculously transferred by angels to a hilltop in Loretto, Italy. In 1664, again at the expense of the Lobkovic family, the walls of the Loretto were provided with stucco decoration exactly like the Italian model, by three famous Italian plasterers. Although they didn't attain the high standards of the Italian Santa Casa, they did bring the great Renaissance art of southern Italy to Prague.

The most valuable and notable article in the Loretto treasury is a diamond monstrance made in Vienna in 1696-1699. The total weight of the diamonds in the monstrance is 752 3/8 carats.

PRAGUE: A LIVING MUSEUM

Prague, situated on the Vltava River and surrounded by numerous hills, has enjoyed fame as an imposing and beautiful city since the Middle Ages. It has been called "golden", "royal", "hundred-spired" (marking the many churches) and "the town of towns". Many architectural styles reflect its thousand-year history; Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, Neo-Classic, Empire, Art Nouveau and Modern.

Prague is considered by many the best preserved Medieval, Baroque and Byzantine capital in Europe. The sun glints across the curves of the Vltava River, reflecting on the Charles bridge, the medieval towers where alchemists tried to turn lead into gold, and the roof of the National Theatre. It has been 600 years since the death of Charles IV, but his legacy of culture remains.

To discover Prague you should be prepared to walk extensively. A pair of comfortable shoes is absolutely essential. By walking the city, you can explore the crooked, narrow streets with old houses, magnificent old palaces with beautifully designed gardens, terraces and gloriettes, the breath-taking view of the city from the Charles Bridge or from the courtyard of the Hradcany.

Within the grand palaces and hidden in narrow passages you will find many antique stores, museums, old book and print vendors, and art galleries. And you will also find that the performing arts exist in great abundance, with a wide choice of concerts, operas, pantomimes, plays and puppet shows.

Prague offers something for most everyone. We hope you will enjoy your stay.

The Church of St. Nicholas in Malostranske namesti, has what many claim to be the best Baroque interior in Europe. Continuing along Mostecka Street you come to Charles Bridge. Built by King Charles IV in 1357, it is said to be so sturdy because peasants donated eggs which were added to the cement. The bridge is 516 meters long, with beautiful Gothic towers at each end, and 30 Baroque statues of saints which were added three centuries later. Of special interest is the sculpture of the Crucifixion with Hebrew lettering, built with the proceeds of a fine levied against a Jew for blasphemy .

On the far side of the bridge, the winding Karlova Street leads to the Old Town Square ("Staromestske namesti"). This is the ancient marketplace of the Old Town, where many historical events have taken place. It was from the balcony of Kinsky Palace that Klement Gottwald declared the new political regime in 1948. The statue in the center of the square is of Jan Hus, the Czech religious reformer and martyr. This is also where the famous astrological clock, "Staromestsky Orloj" stands. The clock tells not only the standard Prague time (it is not moved for daylight saving time), but the day of the week, date, month, phase of the moon, and sign of the zodiac. Each hour, on the hour, figures of the apostles twirl to the chimes, other figures (including a skeleton) perform, and a cock crows to signal the end of the performance.

Toward the river on Parizska Street, with its unique Art Noveau houses, is the Jewish Quarter. Here is the old-new synagogue and the Jewish Cemetery, the oldest in Europe. Nearly 2,000 tombstones are scattered among the gnarled trees -- a sea of stone slabs, standing at all angles and partly sunk, some roughly chiselled. Some graves are ten layers deep. The oldest tombstone is that of Rabbi Abigdor Kar, buried in 1389 and the most recent tombstones are dated to the end of the 18th century. A number of persons of cultural and historical importance are buried in the cemetery, such as Jehuda ben Bezalel, called Rabbi Low, who according to a legend, created an artifical human being, Golem. Others buried here include the Mayor of the Jewish Town and patron of arts, Mordechaj Maisel; the physician and physicist Josef Delmedigo and the connoisseur of the Talmud, David Oppenheimer (ancestor of the atomic scientist, David Oppenheimer). The Bethlehem Chapel ("betlemske Kaple") is located on Betlemske namesti in the Old Town. It was built in 1391, in opposition to the Church authorities, so that preaching might be heard in Czech. From 1402 until his death in 1415, Jan Hus preached here. His message, that each should read the Bible and determine its meaning for himself, provided the foundation for the first Protestant movement and country. (Bohemia was independent and Protestant for two centuries, until it lost the Battle of White Mountain in 1620). In 1786, with the exception of three walls, the chapel was demolished.

In 1950-53 it was rebuilt and copied from old engravings and pictures. During reconstruction, parts of the original inscriptions from the writings of Jan Hus and Jakoubek were discovered on a wall of the original building. They now decorate the walls of the interior, together with copies of old paintings representing the life of Jan Hus and the Hussites.

Nearby on Jungmannovo namesti is the Church of Our Lady of the Snows, founded in 1347 by Charles IV. In 1419 this was also a Hussite Church. One day the congragation arrived to discover they were locked out. To protest this flagrant disregard of their religious rights they went to the Town Hall in Karlovo namesti to speak to the town counselors who were unwilling to discuss the matter. The crowd then threw them out of the Town Hall windows (the first Prague defenestration).

The Tyl Theater, built in the 18th century, is known for the first performance of Mozart's Don Giovanni" on October 29, 1787, with the composer conducting. (Mozart's friends locked him in a room the evening before this performance to compel him to compose the overture to this opera.) Mozart dedicated the opera to the people of Prague. The theater is now closed for renovation.

The Powder Tower ("Prasna Brana") is one of the thirteen former gates of the Old Town fortifications. It was built in 1475 and used to store gunpowder.

Undoubtly one of the most interesting walks in Prague is the Royal Road of coronation processions of Bohemian kings. It begins at the Prasna Brana (Powder Tower) and leads along recently renovated Celetna Street with its many beautiful palaces. It continues through Old Town Square to Karlovo Street, across Charles Bridge to Mala Strana Square and via [illegible] Street up to Prague Castle.

Vaclavske namesti (Wenseslas Square), originally the horse market, is considered the center of town, the main boulevard, offers the best shopping. At the top of the square is the National Museum built in 1890 and Myslbek's Equestrian statue of St. Wenceslas, the Czech patron saint. At the bottom of the square is the Mustek (Bridge) pedestrain area.

At the same time Prague Castle is open to an unlimited number of home and foreign visitors, who make their way to it in search of information and knowledge and to enjoy the inimitable experience of seeing its inexhaustible wealth of cultural monuments. To an ever greater extent Prague Castle is also a place of active rest, its interiors resounding with music not only during the Prague Spring Music Festivals, but also throughout the whole year. The most important exhibitions of creative art take place here regularly. And the wide-scale programme of architectural restoration counts with the opening of other buildings and interiors to the public and their use for cultural purposes. In many places, amidst the bustle of the building activity under way at the Castle, ever new and new testimonies to the past are being revealed after having been hidden by the plaster and masonry of later reconstructions or blocked up below ground and in cellar buildings by the passing centuries.

In presenting this volume to the reader today we are aware that it will not be for long, because the coming months and years will bring new discoveries and knowledge. The present and future modifications of the Castle will afford new, unusual views, new places for walks and new locations for the installation of relics of art and history.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRAGUE CASTLE

1 PRAGUE CASTLE AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

The beginnings of Prague Castle emerge only in mat outlines from the twilight of myths and legends, in which pagan and Christian elements and the features of the genealogical representation of the ruling dynasty combined with the celebrating biographies of the first saints. Along with the sometimes more, sometimes less plausible writings of chroniclers, both home and foreign, they supplement and help to create the picture of the troublous period of the beginnings of the history of the Czech state, verified by more than fifty years of systematic archeological research on the territory of the Castle.

According to the oldest Czech chronicle, written by Cosmas (died 1125), dean of the Chapter of St. Vitus, Prague Castle is alleged to have been founded by the legendary Princess Libuše, consort of Prince Přemysl, with whom she founded the dynasty which ruled in Bohemia up to the High Middle Ages (1306). In a deliberate endeavour to celebrate the ruling dynasty Cosmas connected the founding of the Castle with the person of the legendary first mother of the family. His tale of Libuše and Přemysl is thus poetic fiction treating the motif of the home tradition and arraying it in the vesture of Antique heroes. Cosmas's chronicle, more eloquent and rich as a source of Czech history than any other, is in these parts only a captivating work of the Early Middle Ages which, in view of its ethical and patriotic message, has never lost its significance for the passing generations. The prophetic words pronounced by Libuše when messengers were sent to proclaim the foundation of the Castle – "I see a big city whose glory touches the stars..." ("urbem conspicio fama quae sidera tanget" in the Latin original) – was a source of inspiration to later Czech historical literature and at the time of the national revival it incited the wide sphere of Czech poetry, music and creative art.

During his long life the cultured and much-travelled canon Cosmas experienced more than one difficult moment and was therefore able to appreciate the strategically advantageous position of the Castle on the ridge of the Hradčany headland above the Vltava valley. He stressed just this advantageous aspect and compared the shape of the castle hill to the backbone of "a dolphin or sea pig".

It was unquestionably strategic aspects, both military and commercial, that compelled the princes of the tribe of Czechs, then inhabiting the central region of present-day Bohemia, to transfer their seat permanently from Levý Hradec, situated further north along the stream of the River Vltava, to Prague in the late ninth century.

At the same time Prague Castle is open to an unlimited number of home and foreign visitors, who make their way to it in search of information and knowledge and to enjoy the inimitable experience of seeing its inexhaustible wealth of cultural monuments. To an ever greater extent Prague Castle is also a place of active rest, its interiors resounding with music not only during the Prague Spring Music Festivals, but also throughout the whole year. The most important exhibitions of creative art take place here regularly. And the wide-scale programme of architectural restoration counts with the opening of other buildings and interiors to the public and their use for cultural purposes. In many places, amidst the bustle of the building activity under way at the Castle, ever new and new testimonies to the past are being revealed after having been hidden by the plaster and masonry of later reconstructions or blocked up below ground and in cellar buildings by the passing centuries.

In presenting this volume to the reader today we are aware that it will not be for long, because the coming months and years will bring new discoveries and knowledge. The present and future modifications of the Castle will afford new, unusual views, new places for walks and new locations for the installation of relics of art and history.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRAGUE CASTLE

1 PRAGUE CASTLE AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

The beginnings of Prague Castle emerge only in mat outlines from the twilight of myths and legends, in which pagan and Christian elements and the features of the genealogical representation of the ruling dynasty combined with the celebrating biographies of the first saints. Along with the sometimes more, sometimes less plausible writings of chroniclers, both home and foreign, they supplement and help to create the picture of the troublous period of the beginnings of the history of the Czech state, verified by more than fifty years of systematic archeological research on the territory of the Castle.

According to the oldest Czech chronicle, written by Cosmas (died 1125), dean of the Chapter of St. Vitus, Prague Castle is alleged to have been founded by the legendary Princess Libuše, consort of Prince Přemysl, with whom she founded the dynasty which ruled in Bohemia up to the High Middle Ages (1306). In a deliberate endeavour to celebrate the ruling dynasty Cosmas connected the founding of the Castle with the person of the legendary first mother of the family. His tale of Libuše and Přemysl is thus poetic fiction treating the motif of the home tradition and arraying it in the vesture of Antique heroes. Cosmas's chronicle, more eloquent and rich as a source of Czech history than any other, is in these parts only a captivating work of the Early Middle Ages which, in view of its ethical and patriotic message, has never lost its significance for the passing generations. The prophetic words pronounced by Libuše when messengers were sent to proclaim the foundation of the Castle – "I see a big city whose glory touches the stars..." ("urbem conspicio fama quae sidera tanget" in the Latin original) – was a source of inspiration to later Czech historical literature and at the time of the national revival it incited the wide sphere of Czech poetry, music and creative art.

During his long life the cultured and much-travelled canon Cosmas experienced more than one difficult moment and was therefore able to appreciate the strategically advantageous position of the Castle on the ridge of the Hradčany headland above the Vltava valley. He stressed just this advantageous aspect and compared the shape of the castle hill to the backbone of "a dolphin or sea pig".

It was unquestionably strategic aspects, both military and commercial, that compelled the princes of the tribe of Czechs, then inhabiting the central region of present-day Bohemia, to transfer their seat permanently from Levý Hradec, situated further north along the stream of the River Vltava, to Prague in the late ninth century.