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Remarks at Wenceslas Square [Czechoslovakia], 11/17/90 [OA 8318] [2]

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(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 12, 1990 2 p.m.
PRAGUE

90 OCT 13 P1:54

Note RE: translation of quotes w/ Czech original to provide right w/ Czech original
Is it a sin not to mention HUS?

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAS SQUARE, PRAGUE
November 17, 1990

Thank you, my Czech and Slovak friends. It is a tremendous honor for me to be the first American President to visit your proud and beautiful country -- and to be able to join you on the 1st anniversary of your extraordinary Velvet Revolution.

What a powerfully moving sight. There are no leaves on the trees -- **and yet it is Prague spring**. There are no flowers in bloom -- **and yet it is Prague spring**. The calendar says November 17 -- **and yet it is Prague spring.** As your legendary Tomas (TOMASH MASARICK) Masaryk wrote in your Declaration of Independence: "The forces of darkness have served the victory of light. The longed-for age of humanity is dawning." Together, the freedom-loving people of the world say to you: we rejoice that this age of humanity has now finally -- and truly -- dawned for this splendid nation.

I'm here today on a **pilgrimage**. One that began 7 decades ago with an unprecedented partnership between two presidents: the philosopher who liberated Czechoslovakia politically and intellectually, Tomas Masaryk -- and the idealistic scholar who led the United States through WWI, Woodrow Wilson. It was a long, hard road from their work on your Declaration of Independence to this celebration today. **I am proud to be the one to walk these last steps with you as this shared journey ends and a new one begins.**

For our countries share a past. We share a vision. We share a dream. A dream that became the torch held by our Statue of Liberty. A dream that is reflected in the soft shadows cast by

candles in this square. And we share friendship. A friendship Masaryk described to American soldiers here 70 years ago. He said: "Do not forget that the same ideals, the same principles ever unite us. Do not forget us, as we shall never forget you."

That is why I am here today. We will never forget you.

And the world will never forget what happened here. Wenceslas Square still reverberates with all the emotions your nation has felt for generations. The days of anguish. The days of hope. For so many years you came here bearing candles against the dark night, answering Comenius' call to follow "the way of light." Those brave flames came to symbolize your fiercely burning national pride. When I finally arrived in this square today, the first thing I looked for was the candle wax. Mounds of it, from the thousands of candles left here over the years.

Then I saw that church, Mary of the Snow, overlooking the square. And I thought of what happens at its Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness. Then he passes the flame to each worshipper's own individual candle. Soon the church is ablaze with flickering lights that shine together to defeat the dark and to herald the resurrection. You -- the proud Czech and Slovak people -- **you** are that candle. The light of your vision has redeemed you from darkness. **And that light is now spreading through the world.**

For nothing could stop a dream "whose time has come." A year ago the world saw you face barbaric totalitarianism. We saw the miraculously peaceful crowd swell day by day in numbers and in

resolve. We saw the few candles grow into a blaze. We saw this square burst into life with the explosion of dreams too long deferred. We listened as the words of your leader became "the axe for the frozen sea inside you." As this square gave birth to your "era of freedom," we rejoiced as if it the victory were our own.

A victory that owes its heart to two heroes who honor us by their presence. Alexander Dubcek. 22 years ago he led this nation in its first sweet taste of liberty. Through the dark years he inspired its spiritual and moral resistance. His is the will of steel and the heart of love that are the living Czechoslovakia

And Vaclev Havel. My friend. A man of warmth, compassion, wisdom, and tremendous moral courage. He blesses the lives he touches and the country he leads. In the dark years, on one side stood the state. On the other -- Vaclev Havel. On one side, the trappings of tyranny. On the other -- this man of vision. On one side, the cold jail. On the other -- this man **who even in prison was free** -- with the freedom that comes from **living in truth**. First, there was this man. Now there are millions.

Millions who answered, as Tomas Masaryk wrote: "Not with violence but with love. Not with the sword but with the plough. Not with blood but with work. Not with death but with life."

Yours was the light that led us out of the chill winter of the Cold War's darkness and sorrow - and to the brink of a Europe healed and whole. A Europe intrepid and free. We have seen a **New World of freedom** born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. In Pol-

and it took 10 years. In Hungary, 10 months. East Germany, 10 weeks. Here, 10 days. Ten days that shook your world. And ours.

A New World born of a revolution that linked this place with places like Budapest's Kossuth Square, and the Gdansk Shipyards in Poland. A revolution that joined together people fueled by bravery, defiance, and by humanity's essential quest for freedom.

You have done miraculous work. You have embodied one of my favorite sayings: "Whatever you can do, or dream you can, <u>begin it</u>! Boldness has genius, power, and magic in it."

And now you are at the threshold of a new era. But you do not stand there alone. For four decades, our two nations stood across the divide between East and West. Two peoples united in spirit -- cut off by conflict. Today we stand together, united once more in our devotion to the democratic ideal. Now, with the division of Europe ending, and the emergence of democracy in the east, the challenge is to move forward. **<u>In Czechoslovakia</u>**: from revolution to renaissance. **<u>Across this continent</u>**: toward a new Europe, in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. **<u>On both sides of the ocean</u>**: toward a **<u>new Atlantic partnership</u>** based on our shared heritage and common values.

A partnership inspired by words which are as true today as they were when your great Comenius wrote them 3 centuries ago: "<u>Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity</u>." If there is one thought I want you to take from this historic afternoon, it is that **<u>we must look beyond our own borders, to true global partnership</u>**. The situation in the Gulf teaches us

this harsh lesson. We know that Czechoslovakia was one of the first nations to endorse sanctions. We know how hard this has hit your economy. And we want you to know how your example inspires the rest of the world. **You show that aggression against another member of the international community -- be it next door or across the world -- is everyone's business**. You show that all peoples must defend the oppressed as they throw off the yoke of tyranny **which no man has the right to impose on another.**

Earlier, I told your Parliament we know this is a difficult time. As you undertake political and economic reform, we know you will draw on your strong industrial tradition -- your courage -- your strength -- and your indomitable spirit. But I want you to know one more thing. **You also have our pledge of friendship.**

I look forward to working with Vaclev Havel, and all of you, as we are finally able to continue along the road mapped out by our presidents more than 70 years ago. A road whose destination was described by Woodrow Wilson as: "A universal dominion of right by ... free peoples (to) bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

For the last 70 years, your Declaration of Independence -- on which these two men worked -- has been preserved and cherished in our Library of Congress. **It is time for Masaryk's words to come home**. As humanity, liberty and independence return to Czechoslovakia -- so will this treasured document.

President Havel, on behalf of the people of the United States of America, I have a very special gift for the people of Czechos-

lovakia. I am honored to announce that we will return to you your original Declaration of Independence. **May it be for future generations a reminder of the ties that bind our nations -- and the principles that bind all humanity**. God Bless Czechoslovakia!

# # # #

background notes

Czechoslovakia

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs (647-6575)

June 1987

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** (1986): 15.5 million. **Annual growth rate:** 0.28%. **Ethnic groups:** Czech (64%), Slovak (31%), Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian, German. **Religions:** Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Jewish. **Languages:** Czech, Slovak, Hungarian. **Education:** *Literacy*—99%. **Health:** *Life expectancy*—70 yrs. **Work force** (7.5 million): *Agriculture*—14%. *Industry, construction, and commerce*—64%. *Services and government*—22%.

Government

Type: Communist state (socialist republic). **Independence:** Czechoslovak state established 1918. **Constitution:** July 11, 1960.

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: Czechoslovak Communist Party, Slovak Communist Party, Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Czechoslovak People's Party, Slovak Freedom Party, Slovak Revival Party. **Suffrage:** Universal over 18.

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

Defense: 7.5% of 1986 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 (1984): $128 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1984 est.): 2.3%. **Per capita income** (1984): $8,300.

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

Agriculture (12% of GNP): *Products*—wheat, rye, oats, corn, barley, potatoes, sugar beets, hogs, cattle, horses.

Industry (45% of GNP): *Types*—iron and steel, machinery and equipment, cement, sheet glass, motor vehicles, armaments, chemicals, ceramics, wood, paper products.

Trade (1985): *Exports*—$18 billion: machinery, iron and steel, chemicals, raw materials, consumer goods. *Imports*—$18.1 billion: machinery, equipment, raw materials, consumer goods. *Partners*—USSR, GDR, Poland, Hungary, FRG, Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Austria.

Exchange rates (1985): *Official*—5.8 crowns = US$1. *Tourist*—10.5 crowns = US$1.

Membership in International Organizations

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

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- International boundary
- National capital
- Railroad
- Road
- International airport

0 25 50 75 100 Miles
0 25 50 75 100 Kilometers

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
POLAND
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY

PRAGUE
Dresden
Breslau
Kammienna Góra
Děčín
Teplice
Ústí nad Labem
Most
Chomutov
Ohře
Náchod
Kłodzko
Hradec Králové
Kladno
Cheb
Marktredwitz
Kolín
Elbe
Pardubice
Katowice
Ostrava
Krosno
Plzeň
Vltava
Olomouc
Písek
Tábor
Jihlava
Furth im Wald
Gottwaldov
Žilina
Brno
České Budějovice
Púchov
Poprad
Prešov
Hornád
Straubing
Znojmo
Dyje
Morava
Trenčín
Banská Bystrica
Košice
Břeclav
Danube
Uzhgorod
Chop
Freistadt
Zvolen
Hron
Linz
VIENNA
Nitra
Váh
Bratislava
Ipeľ
Miskolc
Malý Dunaj
Nové Zámky
Salzburg
Mosonmagyaróvár
Komárno
BUDAPEST
ROM.

BOUNDARY REPRESENTATION IS NOT NECESSARILY AUTHORITATIVE

GEOGRAPHY

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, and its largest city, Prague, is Czechoslovakia's capital. Its 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. Prior to World War II, Czechoslovakia encompassed a fourth region, Ruthenia, in the Transcarpathian Ukraine, which was annexed by the Soviet Union following the war according to a treaty between Prague and Moscow.

Czechoslovakia borders on Poland and the German Democratic Republic to the north, the Soviet Union to the east, Hungary and Austria to the south, and the Federal Republic of Germany to the west.

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

PEOPLE

The 15.5 million people of Czechoslovakia include about 65% Czechs and 30% Slovaks. Although the Slovaks are a group 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.

Religious activity is tolerated in Czechoslovakia but is rigorously regulated and limited by the state. All religious organizations must be approved by the government, and the clergy are licensed and paid by the state. Likewise, the government provides and controls the theological training received by all clergymen.

Eighteen religious organizations are permitted to operate in Czechoslovakia. 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 13,000 Jews remain of the 360,000 prewar population. Several religious groups are discouraged by the government, and the Jehovah's Witnesses are specifically prohibited by Czechoslovak law.

HISTORY

The Czechs lost their national independence to Austria in 1620 at the Battle of White Mountain and, for the following 300 years, were ruled by the Austrian monarchy. With the collapse of the monarchy at the end of World War I, an independent state of Czechoslovakia was formed with the assistance of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson. The Slovaks, ruled by the Hungarians for 1,000 years, joined in the common state 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 state that remained an effective parliamentary democracy throughout the 1918–38 period, 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 state by nationalistic elements urged on in large part by German Nazis and Adolf Hitler. Internal and external pressures culminated in September 1938, when, at Munich, France, Italy, and Great Britain acceded to Nazi pressure and agreed to force the Czechoslovak Government to cede the Sudetenland to Germany. Fulfilling Hitler's aggressive designs on all of Czechoslovakia, Nazi Germany invaded what remained of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939, established a German "protectorate," and created a puppet state out of Slovakia.

Slovak democratic forces, with the support of Slovak communists, engineered a revolt in the summer of 1944. It failed because of decisive German military intervention and the Soviet forces' refusal either to intervene or to permit more than token U.S. and British intervention (including a U.S. Air Force airlift of supplies and an Office of Strategic Services mission) in support of the insurgents. All of Slovakia and Moravia and much of Bohemia, including Prague, were liberated in the winter and spring of 1944–45 by Soviet Armed Forces. U.S. forces liberated the city of Plzen and most of western Bohemia in May 1945. Because of prior agreements

The High Tatras Mountains in eastern Slovakia.

with the Soviets as to which areas in central Europe Soviet and U.S. armies would liberate, U.S. forces did not advance further. In Prague, a civilian uprising against the German garrison had taken place in early May 1945. Following the defeat of Nazi Germany, 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 a period of 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

Although some relaxation was allowed under the orthodox communist leadership during the early- and mid-1960s, it was slight and rigidly controlled. 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. This discontent culminated with the removal of Novotny from party leadership in January 1968 and from the presidency of the republic the following March. He was replaced as party leader by a Soviet-educated, longtime 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.

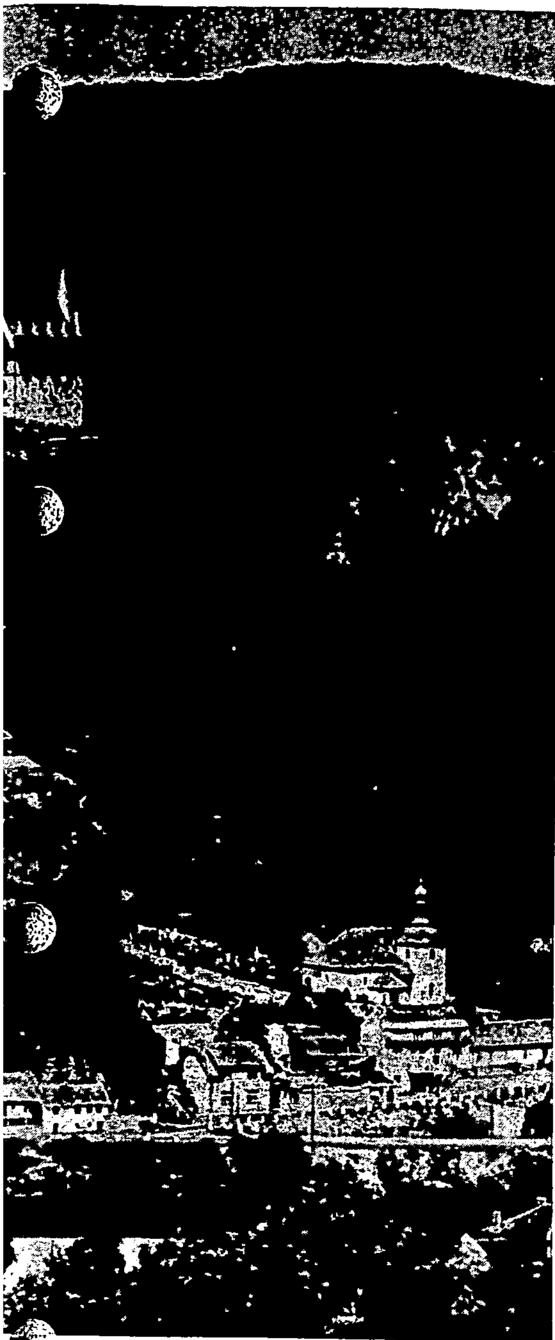
After January 1968, the Dubcek leadership began practical steps toward political, economic, and social reforms that promised a better life for the Czechoslovak people. In addition, it called for politicomilitary changes in the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact and Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). The leadership affirmed its loyalty to socialism and the Warsaw Pact but expressed also the desire to improve relations with all countries 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 began gradually 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 troops were withdrawn. In addition to accepting the "legalization" of stationing Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak leadership was forced to apply strict censorship to all public media and to curb virtually all of the reforms that Dubcek had promoted.

Alexander Dubcek was removed from the position of 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 massive 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 con-



Karlstejn Castle was built by Emperor Charles IV in the 12th century.

trol; 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.

GOVERNMENT

In Czechoslovakia, as in other countries with communist regimes, the Communist Party controls virtually all organized activity, including that of the government in all branches and at all levels.

The present constitution was promulgated on July 11, 1960. Sections were revised by a 1968 law that attempted 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 chairperson of the Federal Assembly and two deputies who chair the chambers. The consent of both chambers is required for passing of 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 new election law of July 1971 lengthened the terms of the deputies from 4 to 5 years to coincide with the Communist Party Congress, which convenes every 5 years. (The 17th Party Congress met in March 1986.) The candidates for election to the Chamber of the People are nominated by 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. Members of the Chamber of Nations 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. Czechoslovakia has no trial by jury.

Principal Government Officials

President; General Secretary, Czechoslovak Communist Party—Gustav Husak
Prime Minister—Lubomir Strougal
First Deputy Prime Minister—Rudolf Rohlicek
Deputy Prime Ministers
- Ladislav Adamec
- Peter Colotka
- Ladislav Gerle
- Karol Laco
- Matej Lucan
- Pavel Hrivnak
- Jaromir Obzina
- Svatopluk Potac
- Miroslav Toman

Ministers
Foreign Affairs—Bohuslav Chnoupek
National Defense—Lt. Gen. Milan Vaclavik
Finance—Jaromir Zak
Foreign Trade—Bohumil Urban
Interior—Jaromir Obzina
Premier, Czech Socialist Republic—Ladislav Adamec
Premier, Slovak Socialist Republic—Peter Colotka

Ambassador to the United States—Miroslav Houstecky

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

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

After assuming power in April 1969, Gustav Husak embarked on a difficult campaign to consolidate his position internally and to satisfy the require-

ments of the Prague-Moscow relationship. Under the circumstances, this policy enjoyed minimal public support. Travel to the West, relatively easy in 1968 and early 1969, was sharply curtailed. Priority was given to removing those reformers who had supported Dubcek from positions of power and influence and to bringing Czechoslovak domestic and foreign policies into line with Soviet policies. Party rolls were reduced by almost 300,000 between late 1969 and early 1971. Another 200,000 party members had resigned of their own accord in the months following the Soviet invasion. Party and government officials, educators, and journalists, among others associated with the reform movement, were replaced by individuals who were pro-Soviet in foreign affairs and orthodox in internal matters. No leading figures of the Dubcek leadership were arrested, however, due perhaps to Husak's own long imprisonment as a victim of the Stalinist period in the 1950s. Strict controls over the media were reinforced on the principle that their role was to support uncritically all regime policies and actions. Emphasis on centralized economic controls reduced gradually some of the authority that the Slovak national government had gained in constitutional reform.

Although multiple candidacies for the Federal Assembly had been under consideration in 1968, the election law of July 1971 reinforced the exclusive power of the National Front to nominate a single list of candidates for elective office—a procedure intended to ensure that the elected officials would support régime policies unanimously. When National Front candidates received 99% of the vote in 1971 elections, Czechoslovak leaders claimed that these results confirmed that their efforts since the ouster of Dubcek to "consolidate" the position of the Communist Party had been successful.

Nevertheless, in 1972 a series of subversion trials in connection with the elections resulted in sentences ranging from 9 months to 6½ years' imprisonment for 38 individuals, mostly members of the intelligentsia associated with the Dubcek reforms. Furthermore, a subsequent resurgence of protests from 1968 leaders such as Dubcek and then-Chairman of the National Assembly Josef Smrkovsky and increased activity among some dissident intellectuals led to strong condemnations by Husak and other government leaders as well as a spate of house searches and manuscript confiscations.

On January 1, 1977, more than 250 people signed a manifesto called "Charter 77" criticizing the Czechoslovak Government for failure to implement human rights provisions of documents it has signed, among which are the Czechoslovak 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. By early 1987, the charter had obtained over 1,200 signatures, and, although not organized in any real sense, does constitute something of a citizens' initiative. Its goal has been to induce the Czechoslovak Government to observe its formal obligations to respect the human rights of Czechoslovak citizens.

Charter 77 signatories have been subjected to periods of government harassment, disruption, and persecution. The Husak regime has used various measures, both judicial and nonjudicial—most notably loss of job, denial of educational opportunities for children, suspension of drivers' license, detention, trial, and imprisonment—to discourage the "dissident activity" of movement adherents. It has also induced or forced human rights activists into exile abroad and deprived them of their Czechoslovak citizenship. In October 1979, hoping to suppress further dissidence, the Czechoslovak 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 human rights activists. Later, government repression of religious activists—those involved with the charter and those outside the more prominent "dissident" circles—was increased. In March 1987, regime 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.

Travel Notes

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

Customs and currency: US citizens must have visas. Tourist visas, valid for one entry, can usually be obtained within 2 weeks. Former Czechoslovak citizens sometimes have difficulty obtaining Czechoslovak visas. Visas require the tourist, upon entry, to purchase 30 West German marks (about $16 at the exchange rate of early 1987) per 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. Due to substantially higher Czechoslovak rates, phone calls to the US should be made collect, if possible.

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

DEFENSE

Czechoslovak regular armed forces total about 204,000 members and are subdivided into the following:

- The army, with 147,000 members organized into 5 tank divisions, 5 motorized rifle divisions, 1 airborne regiment, and 1 artillery division; and
- The air force, with 57,000 members organized into 2 air armies, 2 air divisions, and 2 air defense divisions.

There are also the border and interior guards, with 35,000 members, and the people's militia, with 120,000 members. Compulsory military training for men requires 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. The Soviet Union stations about 80,000 ground troops and 5,000 air force personnel in Czechoslovakia.

ECONOMY

Czechoslovakia has a highly developed, 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 both an asset and a liability. Czechoslovakia has a well-educated population and a developed transport system, but much of its plant and equip-

ment, inadequately modernized in nearly 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 and is characterized by low growth, low technological sophistication, and structural imbalances caused by inappropriate investment decisions over the last 40 years.

Czechslovakia 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 $128 billion in 1984, amounting to about $8,300 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% per year in 1983.

At the time of the 1948 communist takeover, Czechoslovakia had a balanced economy and one of the highest 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 now negligible and involve 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.

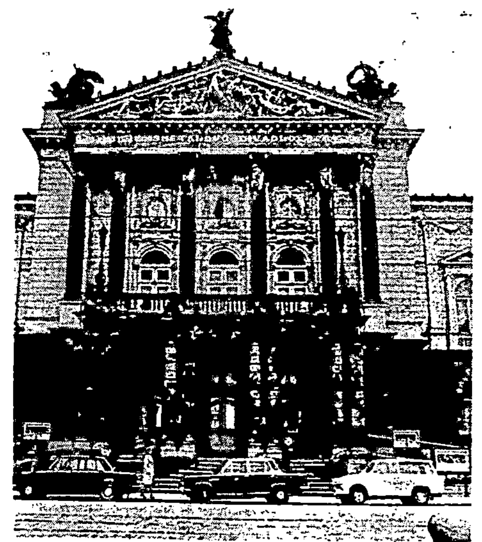
A period of de-Stalinization and economic reform was launched during 1963–67. Proposed reforms involved decentralized decisionmaking, including greater freedom for managers to set prices, production levels, investments, and wages. The new mechanisms were invoked without enough preparation and did not 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 found they could make windfall profits and undertake new investments without having to improve productivity or quality of output.

Hope for more wide-ranging economic reform came with the replacement of Novotny by Dubcek in January 1968. However, under Dubcek's 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, failure to modernize, and inferior quality of goods.

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 post-invasion period, inflationary panic-buying continued, and worker productivity fell as demoralization spread.

A series of price increases and wage controls implemented under Husak's leadership reduced inflationary pressures and, to some extent, increased productivity. Problems such as unfulfilled targets in housing construction and inadequate supplies of fuels and power continued, and an excess of new investments and tighter government supervision of enterprise production levels did not significantly reduce the problems. In addition, relatively high rates of absenteeism continued to reveal the attitudes of the labor force.

The economy grew steadily 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 individual enterprises and individual workers within them. Ideological campaigns were also kept up in an attempt to diminish workers' apathy and aversion to the incentive system. The leadership acknowledges that the "Set of Measures" has failed to stimulate improved export of efficiency or more rapid application of technological innovation to production.



The Smetana Theater in Prague presents operas and ballets.

Despite the ineffectual nature of the "Set of Measures," the economy managed to pick up after 1982, achieving annual average output growth of over 3% in 1983–85. Imports from the West were curtailed, exports boosted, and Czechoslovakia's hard-currency debt reduced substantially. Major new investments were made in electronics, chemicals, and pharmaceuticals, and these sectors were industry leaders by 1986. However, the economy remains troubled by serious sectoral imbalances, overbureaucratization and overcentralization, low export competitiveness, low productivity growth, and overreliance on the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries not only as sources of raw materials but also as markets for goods not saleable elsewhere.

An increasing proportion of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade—approaching 80%—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 the German Democratic Republic, Poland, and Hungary. Among

Western countries, the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland account for the largest share. In 1985, U.S. imports from Czechoslovakia totaled $84 million, and U.S. exports to Czechoslovakia totaled $63 million.

The Czechoslovak regime has justified itself and its activities largely by its efforts to improve the material welfare of the population. The standard of living is difficult to measure, but it is certainly one of the communist world's highest. Virtually no unemployment exists; about 7.5 million people are employed—roughly one-half of the population. There is high employment among women, who make up about 47% of the labor force. Workers enjoy 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.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The foreign policy of Czechoslovakia closely follows that of the Soviet Union. This is attributable to the outlook of the current leadership and foreign policy apparatus, the Soviet presence in Czechoslovakia, and the country's economic and military ties—CMEA and Warsaw Pact—to the Soviet bloc.

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

U.S.-CZECHOSLOVAK RELATIONS

President Woodrow Wilson and the U.S. Government 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 country and its first president, spent some months in the United States during World War I and worked closely with U.S. officials in developing the basis of the new state. 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 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 took over the Czechoslovak Government. Since then, relations between the United States and Czechoslovakia have been marked by persistent problems.

The Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 further complicated U.S.-Czechoslovak relations. At the time of the invasion, the United States promptly referred the matter to the UN Security Council as a violation of the UN Charter. Later, in a foreign policy report to Congress, Secretary of State William P. Rogers condemned the invasion as an infringement of Czechoslovakia's sovereignty and stressed that improvements 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 this overall coolness in U.S.-Czechoslovak relations, both sides decided in the fall of 1972 to undertake certain limited steps aimed at solving outstanding problems. Negotiations were begun on a consular convention, a trade agreement, an agreement on financial issues dating back to World War II, an exchanges agreement, and an agreement to open consulates in Bratislava and Chicago. For various reasons, these 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 relating to compensation from Czechoslovakia for the U.S. citizens and corporations whose properties were nationalized after the end of 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 close of the war. The gold was in the custody of a tripartite (U.S., U.K., and French) commission established by international agreement to allocate the pool of recovered gold among the countries from which gold was looted 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 brought to a conclusion in 1986 when the United States and Czechoslovakia signed the first exchanges agreement between the two countries. The agreement provides for exchanges in culture, education, science, technology, and other fields.

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 CMEA countries, has stagnated in recent years. Of $63 million in U.S. exports to Czechoslovakia in 1985, cattle hides, fertilizers, and superphosphates accounted for more than half, or $33 million. The United States purchased $11.2 million in steel products from Czechoslovakia in 1985, as well as leather footwear ($9 million), hops and beer ($5.3 million), small tractors ($3.5 million), and hams ($3 million).

The United States has sought to secure Czechoslovak exit permission for Czechoslovak citizens (mostly minor children) who wish to emigrate to the United States to join close relatives. Lists of such cases have been presented to the Czechoslovak Government, and a number of cases have been resolved.

Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—Julian M. Niemczyk
Deputy Chief of Mission—Carl W. Schmidt
Counselor for Political and Economic Affairs—Randolph M. Bell
Press and Cultural Affairs Officer (USIA)—Mary E. Gawronski
Economic/Commercial Affairs Officer—Clifford Bond
Consul—Frederick Polasky
Defense Attache—Col. Donald E. Kosovac
Administrative Officer—William F. Loskot

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

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CYTOMEGALOVIRUS, sī-tō-meg-ə-lō-vī'rəs, a member of the herpes family of viruses. Like chicken pox and other herpes viruses that infect humans, cytomegalovirus (CMV) is not eradicated from the body after infection. Instead, it remains in a latent, or inapparent, state for many years. Occasionally the virus may awaken from this latent state and reappear in its original infectious form.

Infection with CMV is common. In all parts of the world over 50% of the people are infected by the time they are adults; in some countries this figure approaches 100%. Even though most people are infected by the virus, few are aware of this because the infection is so mild that symptoms are not usually noticed. As far as is known, this virus assumes an important disease-producing role only for unborn babies and people with impaired immune systems. For these two groups, CMV infections are serious and frequent enough to warrant attempts at prevention or treatment. However, there are no drugs that can control CMV in the way that antibiotics can control many bacterial infections.

Unborn Babies. If CMV infection occurs during pregnancy, the virus does not harm the woman, but, like the virus that causes German measles (rubella), CMV can affect her developing baby. Babies with the severe infection called *cytomegalic inclusion disease* run a high risk of severe mental and physical retardation. Fortunately, very few babies are affected to this extent, and the majority appear to be normal at birth. However, as such children grow older, some of them (perhaps 10% to 20%) may develop abnormalities of hearing or intellect.

Impaired Immunity. Normally, a cytomegalovirus infection, like other virus infections, is kept under control by the body's immune response. But if a person's ability to mount an immune response is impaired by disease or by drugs required for the treatment of disease, a cytomegalovirus infection can cause serious disease affecting many organs, particularly the lungs. Patients at greatest risk are those undergoing organ transplantation, because their immune systems are suppressed by drugs to prevent transplant rejection.

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CYTOPLASM, the semifluid internal substance of a cell, excluding the nucleus. The cytoplasm includes the many organelles that synthesize proteins and carry out other cell functions. See also CELL—*Animal Cell Structure; Plant Cell Structure.*

CZAR, zär, the title of the former rulers of Russia. Applied first to Byzantine emperors, Tatar khans, and Bulgarian princes, the title was adopted by Ivan IV in the 16th century. "Czar" (or "tsar") is derived from the Latin *caesar.*

The fall of Byzantium to the Turks in 1453 and the Turkish conquest of the Balkans left Russia as the only surviving Orthodox land. Claims were soon made that Russia was the successor to Byzantium, the "Third Rome," and in 1547, Ivan IV crowned himself "Czar of all Russia," thus officially adopting the Byzantine religious messianic tradition of divine autocracy.

Peter the Great added the Western equivalent *imperator* to his title in 1721. He secularized the imperial ideal and asserted the primacy of state over church as part of his attempt to modernize the state and inject new vitality into Russian culture. Peter created a centralized system of government ministries and local administrators, and he staffed it according to a hierarchical table of ranks, in which rewards of titles and estates depended on service to the czar. The czars recruited talent in this manner to make Russia a strong multinational empire.

Czardom became a byword for personal autocracy, court intrigue, corrupt bureaucracy, national oppression, and the bondage of social classes and individuals to the state. The ideal of czardom, however, struck deep roots in Russian society. Peasant serfs looked for a "just czar" who would punish the oppressive nobility. From the 1830's romantic intellectuals known as Slavophiles idealized the czar as the embodiment of the popular will, claiming that bondage was the result of Peter the Great's reforms, which had placed an oligarchy of bureaucrats between the czar and people.

The last czar was Nicholas II, who was overthrown in the Russian Revolution of March 1917 and executed by the Soviets in 1918.

DAVID B. MILLER
Roosevelt University

CZARDAS, chär'däsh, a Hungarian dance derived from folk forms. It was stylized for the ballroom in the 1840's as part of the revival of Hungarian nationalism and became popular throughout Europe. The czardas (*csárdás*), usually in duple time to specially composed music, consists of a slow introduction (*lassu*) in a promenade and a violent main section (*friss*) involving wild whirling of couples, heel clicks, and other steps. The czardas also has been adapted for ballet.

CZARTORYSKI, chär-tō-ris'kē, **Adam Jerzy** (1770–1861), Polish diplomat. The son of Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, he was born on Jan. 14, 1770, in Warsaw. Educated in Poland and abroad, he was greatly influenced by English liberal toryism.

After the partitions of Poland, he was sent as a virtual hostage to St. Petersburg, where he became the friend of the future czar, Alexander I. Deputy foreign minister of Russia in 1802 and foreign minister in 1804, he served as the curator of the Wilno educational region and as a senator. He furthered the cause of the union of Poland with Russia, and advocated a system of European nation-states under the protection of Russia and England. As the Polish spokesman at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, he was responsible, with Alexander, for the creation of the kingdom of Poland under Russia.

Becoming estranged from the czar, he withdrew from public life, and in 1827 he published the *Essai sur la diplomatie,* in which he advocated a league of European nations. The Polish insurrection of 1830 thrust him back into politics as leader of the provisional government. A moderate, he counted on European support to promote his country's cause. After the defeat of the rising, he went into exile but continued to wage the political struggle for Polish independence in Paris. He promoted anti-Russian, national, and liberal movements throughout Europe, especially in 1848 and in 1854–1856. He died in Montfermeil, France, on July 15, 1861.

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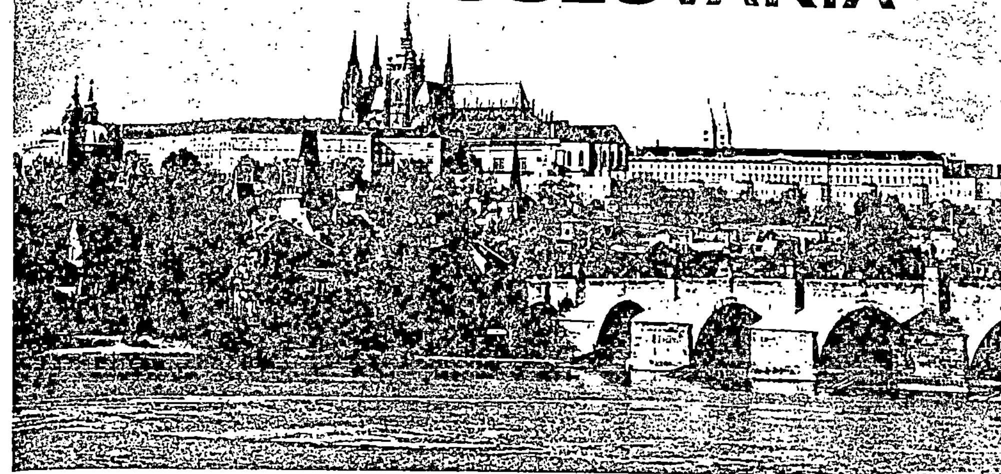
CZECHOSLOVAKIA



J.P. CHARBONNIER, FROM PHOTO RESEARCHERS

PRAGUE'S Charles Bridge over the Vltava (Moldau) River is backed by Hradčany Castle and St. Vitus Cathedral.

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Coat of arms of Czechoslovakia

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, chek-ə-slō-väk'ē-ə, a republic in central Europe, which was established as an independent state in 1918 after World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The country, which is elongated in shape, comprises from west to east the historic provinces of Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, and Slovakia.

The history of the Czechs and Slovaks, before and after their union in a common state in 1918, has been tinged with tragedy. It is punctuated by a series of dramatic events that have had the most unhappy consequences for the two peoples. The first of these events in modern historical times occurred in 1618, when representatives of the Protestant nobility of Bohemia rebelled against their Roman Catholic Habsburg king and threw his representatives out of a window of the Hradčany Castle in Prague. (The incident is known as the "Defenestration of Prague"). In 1620 the rebels were defeated, and the kingdom of Bohemia was returned to the hostile rule of the Habsburg dynasty for three centuries longer.

In 1848 the first significant revolt of the Czechs and Slovaks against their German and Hungarian masters was crushed. At Munich in 1938 the Czechoslovak republic, barely 20 years old, was dismembered by agreement between Nazi Germany and an intimidated France and Britain, Czechoslovakia's allies. In 1948, Czechoslovak Communists, with the aid of the USSR, took power in a classically executed coup d'état and created the "People's Republic of Czechoslovakia." Finally, in 1968, the widespread movement to de-Stalinize and democratize communism in Czechoslovakia was abruptly halted by the invading armies of the Warsaw Pact powers led by the USSR.

The basic factor behind these fateful occurrences is that two small peoples, who are only

INFORMATION HIGHLIGHTS

Official Name: Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (Československá Socialistická Republika).
Head of State: President.
Head of Government: Premier.
Legislature: Národní Shromáždění (National Assembly).
Area: 49,370 square miles (127,869 sq km).
Boundaries: *North,* East Germany and Poland; *east,* USSR; *west,* West Germany; *south,* Austria and Hungary.
Elevation: *Highest point,* Gerlach Peak (8,737 feet, or 2,663 meters).
Population: (1967 est.) 14,333,000.
Capital: Prague (Praha).
Major Languages: Czech and Slovak (both official), Hungarian, German, Polish, and Ruthenian.
Major Religious Groups: Roman Catholics, Czechoslovak National Church, Reformed, Lutheran.
Monetary Unit: 1 Czech crown (koruna) = 100 halers (heller).
Weights and Measures: Metric system.
Flag: An upper horizontal band of white and a lower band of red, with a blue triangle extending from the flagpole edge to the midpoint. See also FLAG.
National Anthem: The Czech *Kde domov můj* (*Where Is My Home?*) followed by the Slovak *Nad Tatrou sa blýská* (*Lightning over the Tatras*).

superficially united, inhabit a strategically important geographic position in the very center of Europe. Bismarck, speaking of the Czech-populated section, asserted that "whoever controls Bohemia controls Europe." Neither of Czechoslovakia's two powerful neighbors, the Germans and the Russians, have forgotten this.

Until 1945, the Germans presented the major danger. From their earliest history, the Czechs have been the western vanguard of the Slavs, forced to face the continual attempts of the Germans to expand eastward and to face the subtler threat of the Germans' well-developed culture. František Palacký, the famous historian of the 19th century who created the dominant philosophy of Czech history, regarded the Czech-German conflict as the "red thread" running through all of Czech history. But this rivalry is not to be viewed entirely in a negative sense: the Czechs learned much from the Germans and thus became the middlemen for an interchange between western European and eastern European culture. After World War II the president of Czechoslovakia, Eduard Beneš, intended that the country should continue to be "a bridge between East and West," this time between the capitalist and Communist systems of Europe.

The Slovaks have had to face the problem of historical accident, as well as the problems of geographical location. Conquered at the very beginning of their history by the Magyars, they lived a stunted national life for a thousand years before gaining their freedom in 1918.

Under continual external pressures, often in danger of losing not only their national identity but even their physical existence, the Czechs and Slovaks have been handicapped further by their inability to cooperate whole-heartedly as a single national community since 1918. Although many prominent Czechs and Slovaks have spoken of a "Czechoslovak nation," the historical record reveals, rather, two closely related peoples. Admittedly, Czechs and Slovaks are ethnically similar, have lived next to one another for a millennium, shared a common language until the mid-19th century, and were especially close in various periods of history. Nevertheless, a deep and broadly based "Czechoslovak" sentiment does not exist even today.

The two peoples had never been united politically before the end of World War I. Though the Slovaks had never had an independent state of their own or any significant political experience before then, the Czechs had had their own powerful kingdom of Bohemia before 1620 and had participated actively in the politics of the Habsburg monarchy in the 19th century. Pointing to the Hussite revolution of the 15th century, the Czechs claim a long and intimate acquaintance with the democratic and humanitarian traditions of Europe, from Jan Hus to their famous philosopher-president, Tomáš G. Masaryk. The ardently Roman Catholic Slovaks regard Hus merely as a Protestant heretic and are prone to mistrust the Czechs who, though themselves largely Roman Catholic, look upon Hus as a national hero.

From the Middle Ages on, the Czechs of Bohemia-Moravia have had close contact with the currents of Western thought and culture and have made their own worthy contributions to them through the work of Antonín Dvořák, Karel Čapek, Comenius, Jan Purkyně, and others.

The Slovaks, kept in a state of cultural backwardness by the Hungarians, have still to make their mark. The Czech regions experienced the socioeconomic effects of the heavy industrialization that took place in the Habsburg monarchy in the 19th century; they had developed a prosperous, urbanized, aggressive middle class and proletariat by 1918. In rural Hungary the Slovaks remained an impoverished society of peasants and mountain folk led by their clergy and a tiny intelligentsia.

Thus mismatched, the Czechs and Slovaks experienced considerable difficulty in living together after 1918. Forcibly separated during World War II, they nevertheless reunited voluntarily at the war's end. However, though the postwar Czech-dominated regime reluctantly recognized the Slovaks as a separate people, it did not adjust the political institutions of the country accordingly. Only during the wave of liberalization in 1968 was serious consideration given to federalizing Communist Czechoslovakia into Czech and Slovak units, each to enjoy domestic autonomy and to participate equally in the organs of the central government. In October 1968, the first legislative step was taken to implement the federalization plan.

Such federalization would go far toward placating old Slovak grievances and would probably strengthen the Czechoslovak state. Nevertheless, as a small state, it will always have to seek additional external means to guarantee its security. A proposal often made by authorities is that all of the states of central and eastern Europe, including Czechoslovakia, join in a single political federation. Such an entity would ensure the free development of each of its national constituents and yet be large and powerful enough to discourage periodic aggression by its large neighbors to the west and east, the Germans and Russians. However, given the number and variety of states in central and eastern Europe, such a plan would be difficult to realize, even if Soviet control were removed.

1. The People

Czechoslovakia has a population of 14,333,000 (1967), making it the 8th most populous state in Europe. Of this total, Czechs number 9,284,000; Slovaks, 4,196,000; Magyars (Hungarians), 563,000; Germans, 114,000; Poles, 72,000; and Ruthenes (Ukrainians and Russians), 58,000. Thus the Czechs and Slovaks form the great majority of the population. The Czechs live mostly in the western and central areas (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia). Small numbers of Germans live along the western border and Poles along the northern border. The Slovaks inhabit the eastern third of the country, together with a large Magyar minority in the south and a tiny Ruthene minority at the eastern tip.

The Czechs and Slovaks migrated southward into the land about the 5th century A.D. The Magyars came from Asia in the 9th century and remained as military conquerors of Slovakia. Large waves of German immigrants entered Bohemia-Moravia from the west from the 11th and 12th centuries on. The Germans and Magyars of today are the remants of these two non-Slavic nationalities, which dominated the area until 1918.

The large "national minorities" that posed such a grave problem for the republic between World War I and World War II were reduced

CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY

BAGPIPERS PERFORM in the traditional costumes of the region around the town of Domažlice in southwest Bohemia.

(with the exception of the Magyars) to insignificant numbers following World War II. Some 3 million Sudeten Germans were expelled; 700,000 Ruthenes, inhabiting Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, were transferred to the USSR when that region was ceded in 1945; and a population exchange was begun with Hungary. The minorities problem is by no means settled, however. The Sudeten expellees, settled and well organized in West Germany, have not accepted the expulsion as permanent and continue to agitate effectively against it. The large number of Magyars remaining in Czechoslovakia may provide fuel for difficulties with Hungary in the future.

The Czechs and Slovaks and Their Language. Superficially, the Czechs and Slovaks do not differ greatly in physical appearance or dress from their urban and rural counterparts in the modern, industrialized countries of western and central Europe. The Czechs are generally sober, diligent, rather quiet-mannered, and given to satirical humor. The Slovaks are less urbanized, more outgoing, and often volatile in their emotions. There are no discernible body types, though many Czechs do resemble the short, plump, round-faced hero of popular Czech literature, the "Good Soldier Schweik." The Slovaks are perhaps more classically Slavic, with sharp cheekbones and large, widely spaced eyes.

Czech and Slovak are the official languages of the state. They are both Western Slavic languages, use the Latin alphabet, and are divided into a variety of dialects. Basic differences between them in vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation are slight, so that the two peoples have no difficulty in communicating in speech or writing. The Czech language, representing a more complex and sophisticated culture and literature than the Slovak, is more highly developed. The Slovaks used Czech as their written language until the mid-19th century.

The national minorities use their own languages (German, Polish, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Russian) in everyday life. Most older Czechs have some knowledge of German, many Slovaks of Hungarian. As a required school subject, Russian is familiar to the young.

Religion. In interwar Czechoslovakia, all religions were equal before the law, and none were compulsory for or a bar to employment or promotion in public service. In Communist Czechoslovakia, freedom of religion is constitutionally guaranteed, as well as the performance of religious functions insofar as they do not conflict with the law. Since the Communist take-over, membership records of the various faiths have not been published. Estimates suggest, however, that the pattern of allegiance among the major religious groups is close to that of the interwar period: 9,300,000 Roman Catholics; 1 million Protestants (predominantly Reformed and Lutheran); 950,000 members of the Czechoslovak Church (a democratized and nationalized variant of Catholicism that was established in 1920); and 820,000 "without confession." Figures for the smaller groups (50,000 Jews, and 50,000 Orthodox), however, reflect the changes that occurred during and immediately after World War II. Most of the 357,000 Jews were exterminated by the Nazis, and roughly two thirds of the Orthodox were transferred to the USSR. In addition, some of the 585,000 Catholics of Byzantine Rite (the so-called Uniates) were absorbed by the USSR when the Ruthenian region was ceded to the USSR in 1945, and the remainder were forced in 1950 to merge with the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia.

However, the estimates given do not properly reveal the state of religion in Communist Czechoslovakia. In 1949 the new regime placed all churches under the administration of a state department of church affairs and undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy. Officially dedicated to atheism, the regime moved systematically to destroy religious convictions, to weaken church organizations, and to subvert what remained for Communist purposes.

The Roman Catholic Church, as the largest religious body in the country, was subjected to especially rigorous treatment. Its lands and property were confiscated, its monasteries closed, and its theological faculties and schools shut down or starved for students. All of the clergy were required to take an oath of loyalty to the regime. Those who refused were arrested, convicted of various crimes, and imprisoned. Their positions were either filled by "patriotic priests" who accepted governmental dictation or were left vacant. Out of some 7,000 priests in 1948, only 3,000 were still active in 1968.

The Protestant denominations (Lutheran, Reformed, Methodist, Baptist, and Czech Brethren), together with the Czechoslovak and Orthodox churches, have been merged in the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Czechoslovakia. The latter serves as a device for governmental control and, like the various Christian "peace commit-

tees" established in the state, as a religious mouthpiece for spreading Communist views among its many contacts throughout the world.

Way of Life. Czech cuisine closely resembles that of neighboring Austria. It leans heavily toward starchy and fatty foods—potatoes, poultry, pork, and lavish pastries. The unofficial Czech national dish is roast pork, dumplings, and sauerkraut. Czech Pilsner beer is world famous, and it is estimated that the average Czech male drinks a liter of it a day. *Slivovice* (plum brandy) is also very popular. Slovak cuisine is somewhat influenced by Hungarian cooking; the Slovaks prefer their excellent local wines to beer.

A high level of technology, urbanization, and rural collectivization have diminished the role of folk arts and folkways in Czechoslovak life. Traditional handicrafts (embroideries, ceramics, woodcarvings, textiles) are still fostered, but primarily to produce items marketable abroad. The elaborate, colorful costumes of the many regions are seldom seen except on special occasions and at festivals.

Czechs and Slovaks seek much of their recreation and entertainment outside their homes, and the government encourages this. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement operates a network of inexpensive rest and recreation centers for workers and their families. State travel organizations organize group travel abroad, usually to other parts of the Soviet sphere, such as the Black Sea coast. Individual travel abroad is highly restricted.

The Czechoslovak Physical Training Union, a "voluntary" mass organization with about 1.5 million members, guides the development of sports in the country. SVAZARM, the Union for Cooperation with the Army, supplies equipment and instruction for military-oriented activities such as flying, parachuting, marksmanship, and amateur radio operation. Every five years, up to half a million people take part in a Spartakiada, an exhibition of mass calisthenics and gymnastics. This is not a Communist innovation but part of a tradition dating back to the great mass displays of physical fitness organized from the mid-19th century on by the patriotic institution called the Sokols (Falcons). Popular tastes in sport and entertainment are eclectic. The country has excellent ice hockey and soccer teams and has produced champions in track and field and in figure skating. Motorcycling, camping, and skiing (especially in the Slovakian Tatras) are popular with the young.

The older generations are inveterate collectors and club joiners and flock to theaters, museums, and the numerous "parks of culture and rest." The country is historically a music center and supports everything from jazz (some of the best in eastern Europe) to performances of classical music at the world-famous Prague Spring Festival. Films are extremely popular. Small clubs featuring puppet shows, pantomime, or satire abound in Prague. Almost everyone takes part in the state-run lotteries.

Employment and Standard of Living. The introduction of a Communist regime has leveled the social structure and distribution of wealth considerably. According to official governmental estimates in the late 1960's, "workers" form about 87.7% of the total working population, cooperative farmers about 9.5%, small independent farmers about 2.4%, self-employed professional men about 0.1%, and craftsmen and tradesmen about 0.4%. The large majority of employees are engaged in basic industrial and agricultural production and in the related fields of transport and commerce. Women, who make up about 45% of the labor force, are concentrated chiefly in domestic trade and health services. Wages are generally higher in "material production," transport, scientific research, and administration than in the "nonproductive sectors," such as housing and social services, education, and cultural work.

The Czechoslovak standard of living is better than average for the countries in the Soviet sphere. Basic necessities such as food and clothing are available in sufficient supply and quality and the government provides adequate medical care and extensive leisure-time resources. Housing, however, is in seriously short supply and of poor quality. Dwellings average 2½ rooms and house 1½ persons in each room. Only a third of all flats have their own bathroom and toilet. Even newer buildings deteriorate rapidly because of poor construction and inadequate repairs. The government now encourages private and cooperative construction of dwellings, and the more affluent minority may even purchase weekend cottages. Old buildings still provide most of the available housing, however; many a historic facade conceals a governmental office or a tenement. When available at all, nonessentials and luxuries are very expensive and often require very long waiting periods for their purchase.

Population Changes. At the end of World War II, the population of Czechoslovakia dropped to a low of 12,075,000 (1946). Thereafter it climbed steadily but very slowly. The rate of natural increase is low (0.56% in the late 1960's); it is higher among the Slovaks than the Czechs. This is primarily due to a low birthrate, not a high death rate; the average life-span for both sexes is 70.4 years.

The low birthrate is worrisome to the government, reflecting a long-term tendency among young people to postpone marriage and among married couples to limit the number of their offspring deliberately.

The massive housing shortage and the high cost of providing a better-than-minimal standard of living discourages large families. Long starved for nonessentials and luxuries, which are in short supply and very expensive, young couples are prone to save for them rather than to assume the financial burden of supporting children. Most wives find it necessary to work in order to bring the family income to an acceptable level; the government, faced with a chronic labor shortage, encourages them in this. This, too, has an adverse effect upon childbearing. Unwanted pregnancies can be terminated by abortion, which is legal in Czechoslovakia and relatively easy to obtain. Housing and income problems also account partly for a steady rise in the country's divorce rate.

Population density in Czechoslovakia in the late 1960's was about 287 persons per square mile (111 per sq km); it was more than twice as great in Bohemia-Moravia as in Slovakia. The country was still one of small communities. About one third of its population lived in communities of under 2,000 people. There were only six cities with over 100,000 inhabitants—Prague, Brno, Bratislava, Ostrava, Plzeň (Pilsen), and Košice; only Prague had over a million.

JOSEPH F. ZACEK
State University of New York at Albany

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.

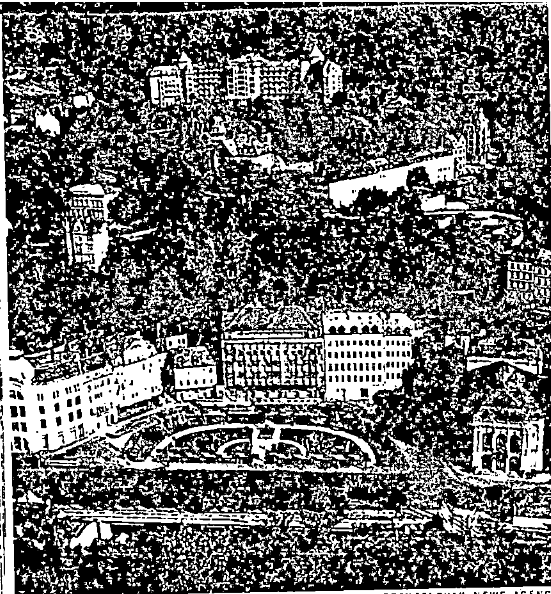
Within this ring of mountains and hills lie the Bohemian plains and plateaus, the most densely settled, the most highly developed, and historically the most important of all the regions of the country. In the north there are the plains of the Labe River, which, with their fertile soils, constitute one 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.

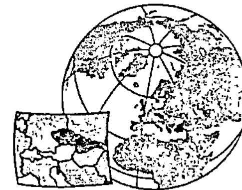
Economic Development After 1918. The 20 years that elapsed between the creation of the state and its dismemberment in 1938–1939 was a period of steady economic growth, interrupted only by the depression of the early 1930's. Measures of land reform were introduced; the large and mainly Austrian-owned 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.

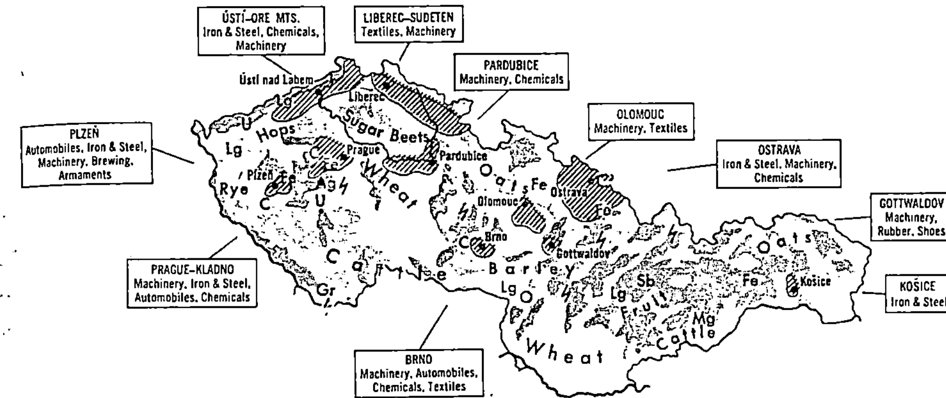
The dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and the war that followed interrupted this economic growth. Though the industrial plants were poorly maintained by the Germans, few were actually destroyed. The first postwar government introduced a 2-year reconstruction plan in 1946, and, although a socialist economy 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.

AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY and RESOURCES





DOMINANT LAND USE

- Cereals (chiefly wheat, corn)
- Other Cereals, Livestock, Dairy
- General Farming, Livestock
- Grapes, Wine
- Forests
- Nonagricultural Land

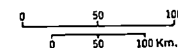
MAJOR MINERAL OCCURRENCES

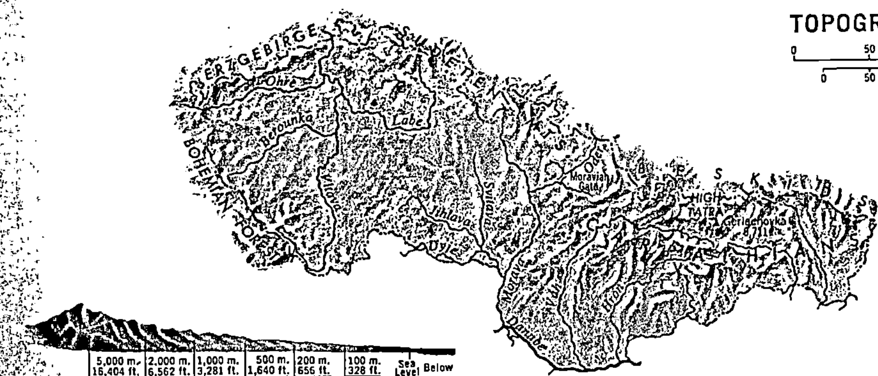
Ag	Silver	Mg	Magnesium
C	Coal	O	Petroleum
Fe	Iron Ore	Sb	Antimony
Gr	Graphite	U	Uranium
Lg	Lignite		

Water Power

Major Industrial Areas

TOPOGRAPHY





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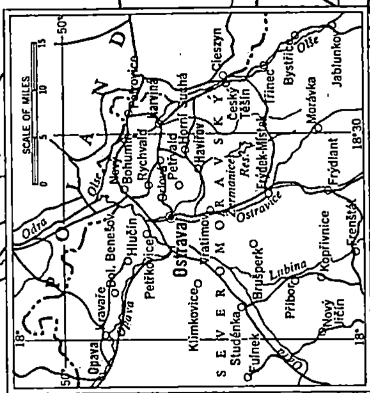
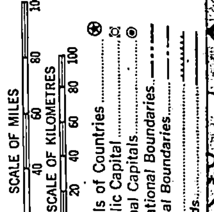
CZECHOSLOVAKIA





CZECHOSLOVAKIA is divided into two republics, ten regions (kraj) and the independent cities of Prague and Bratislava.

REGION	CAPITAL	REF.
(1) Severočeský	Ústí nad Labem	B 1
(2) Západočeský	Plzeň	A 2
(3) Středočeský	Prague	B 1
(4) Jihočeský	České Budějovice	B 2
(5) Východočeský	Hradec Králové	C 1
(6) Jihomoravský	Brno	C 2
(7) Severomoravský	Ostrava	D 1
(8) Západoslovenský	Bratislava	C 2
(9) Středoslovenský	Banská Bystrica	D 2
(10) Východoslovenský	Košice	E 2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Total Population, 14,486,000

REPUBLICS

Czech Socialist Rep., 9,779,000...B 1
Slovak Socialist Rep., 4,421,000..D 2

REGIONS

Bratislava (city), 272,000 ....C 2
Jihočeský, 659,000 ....B 2
Jihomoravský, 1,941,000 ....C 2
Prague (city), 1,025,000 ....B 1
Severočeský, 1,122,000 ....B 1
Severomoravský, 1,695,000 ....D 2
Středočeský, 1,271,000 ....B 1
Středoslovenský, 1,379,000 ....D 2
Východočeský, 1,213,000 ....C 1
Východoslovenský, 1,199,000 ....E 2
Západočeský, 853,000 ....A 2
Západoslovenský, 1,843,000 ....C 2

CITIES and TOWNS

Aš, 10,000 ....A 1
Banská Bystrica, 29,000 ....D 2
Banská Štiavnica, 10,381 ....D 2
Bardejov, 11,000 ....E 2
Benešov, 10,000 ....B 2
Beroun, 17,000 ....A 2
Bílina, 12,000 ....A 1
Blansko, 11,000 ....C 2
Blatná, 3,596 ....A 2
Boskovice, 6,396 ....C 2
Bratislava, 272,000 ....C 2
Břeclav, 13,000 ....C 2
Brezno, 11,000 ....D 2
Brno, 330,000 ....C 2
Bruntál, 9,000 ....C 1
Bystřice ....F 1
Čadca, 13,000 ....D 2
Čáslav, 10,000 ....B 2
Česká Lípa, 15,000 ....B 2
Česká Třebová, 14,000 ....C 2
České Budějovice, 70,000 ....B 2
Český Krumlov, 10,000 ....B 2
Český Těšín, 16,000 ....F 1
Cheb, 24,000 ....A 1
Chomutov, 37,000 ....A 1
Chrudim, 17,000 ....B 2
Čierny Balog, 5,978 ....D 2
Děčín, 42,000 ....B 1
Detva, 7,786 ....D 2
Dobřany, 4,905 ....A 2
Dolní Benešov ....E 1
Dolný Kubín, 5,000 ....D 2
Domažlice, 8,000 ....A 2
Dubnica nad Váhom, 11,250 ....D 2
Dunajská Streda, 9,000 ....C 3
Dvůr Králové nad Labem, 16,000 ....B 1
Fil'akovo, 5,950 ....D 2
Frenštát ....E 1
Frýdek-Místek, 32,000 ....E 1
Frýdlant nad Ostravicí, 4,178 ....E 1
Fulnek, 2,765 ....E 1
Galanta, 8,000 ....C 2
Gottwaldov, 63,000 ....C 2
Handlová, 16,000 ....D 2
Havířov, 72,000 ....F 1
Havlíčkův Brod, 16,000 ....B 2
Hlohovec, 14,000 ....C 2
Hlučín, 11,000 ....E 1
Hodonín, 19,000 ....C 2
Holíč, 5,881 ....C 2
Horní Suchá ....F 1
Hořovice, 4,697 ....B 2
Hradec Králové, 62,000 ....B 1
Hranice, 12,000 ....C 2
Hronov, 11,000 ....C 1
Humenné, 14,000 ....E 2
Humpolec, 5,083 ....B 2
Ivančice, 4,742 ....C 2
Jablonec nad Nisou, 33,000 ....B 1
Jablunkov, 4,467 ....F 1
Jaroměř, 12,000 ....B 1
Jeseník, 5,873 ....C 1
Jičín, 13,000 ....B 1
Jihlava, 37,000 ....B 2
Jindřichův Hradec, 12,000 ....B 2
Jirkov, 12,000 ....A 1
Karlovy Vary, 45,000 ....A 1
Karviná, 70,000 ....F 1
Kežmarok, 7,372 ....E 2
Kladno, 55,000 ....B 1
Klatovy, 16,000 ....A 2
Klimkovice ....E 1
Kolárovo, 11,000 ....D 3
Kolín, 25,000 ....B 2
Komárno, 26,000 ....D 3
Kopřivnice ....E 1
Košice, 106,000 ....E 2
Král'ovský Chl'mec, 3,410 ....E 2
Kralupy nad Vltavou, 14,000 ....B 1
Kravaře ....E 1
Krnov, 22,000 ....C 1
Kroměříž, 22,000 ....C 2
Kutná Hora, 17,000 ....B 2
Levice, 15,000 ....D 2
Liberec, 71,000 ....B 1
Liptovský Mikuláš, 14,000 ....D 2
Litoměřice, 18,000 ....B 1
Litvínov, 22,000 ....A 1
Louny, 13,000 ....A 1
Lučenec, 18,000 ....D 2
Malacky, 11,000 ....C 2
Mariánské Lázně, 13,000 ....A 2
Martin, 29,000 ....D 2
Mělník, 15,000 ....B 1
Michalovce, 18,000 ....F 2
Mikulov, 5,220 ....C 2
Mladá Boleslav, 27,000 ....B 1
Modřany, 12,000 ....B 2
Morávka ....F 1
Moravské Budějovice, 4,348 ....B 2
Most, 56,000 ....A 1
Náchod, 18,000 ....C 1
Nitra, 39,000 ....D 2
Nová Baňa, 5,113 ....D 2
Nové Mesto nad Váhom, 14,000 ....C 2
Nové Zámky, 24,000 ....D 3
Nový Bohumín, 12,000 ....F 1
Nový Jičín, 17,000 ....E 1
Nymburk, 13,000 ....B 1
Nýrsko, 4,124 ....A 2
Olomouc, 77,000 ....C 2
Opava, 46,000 ....E 1
Orlová, 22,000 ....E 1
Ostrava, 265,000 ....E 1
Ostrov, 19,000 ....A 1
Otrokovice-Kvítkovice, 11,000 ....C 2
Pardubice, 65,000 ....B 1
Pelhřimov, 8,000 ....B 2
Petřkovice ....E 1
Petrovice ....F 1
Petřvald, 10,810 ....E 1
Pezinok, 12,000 ....C 2
Piešťany, 21,000 ....C 2
Písek, 22,000 ....B 2
Plzeň, 141,000 ....A 2
Poděbrady, 13,000 ....B 1
Polička, 5,600 ....C 2
Poprad, 18,000 ....E 2
Považská Bystrica, 13,000 ....D 2
Prachatice, 6,000 ....A 2
Prague (capital), 1,025,000 ....B 1
Praha (Prague) (capital), 1,025,000 ....B 1
Přerov, 35,000 ....C 2
Prešov, 39,000 ....E 2
Přeštice, 4,616 ....A 2
Příbor, 5,491 ....E 1
Příbram, 29,000 ....A 2
Prievidza, 24,000 ....D 2
Prostějov, 35,000 ....C 2
Rakovník, 12,000 ....A 1
Rimavská Sobota, 12,000 ....E 2
Rokycany, 13,000 ....A 2
Rožňava, 11,000 ....E 2
Ružomberok, 20,000 ....D 2
Rychnov nad Kněžnou, 6,000 ....C 1
Rychvald ....E 1
Sabinov, 3,909 ....E 2
Senica, 8,000 ....C 2
Sered, 6,208 ....C 2
Slaný, 12,000 ....A 1
Snina, 5,000 ....F 2
Soběslav, 4,643 ....B 2
Sokolov, 20,000 ....A 1
Spišská Nová Ves, 20,000 ....E 2
Šternberk, 12,000 ....C 2
Strakonice, 16,000 ....A 2
Studénka ....E 1
Štúrovo, 4,032 ....D 3
Šumperk, 22,000 ....C 2
Svitavy, 14,000 ....C 2
Tábor, 21,000 ....B 2
Tachov, 8,000 ....A 2
Telč, 4,381 ....B 2
Teplice, 52,000 ....A 1
Topol'čany, 12,000 ....C 2
Třebíč, 21,000 ....B 2
Trebišov, 10,000 ....E 2
Třeboň, 4,663 ....B 2
Trenčín, 26,000 ....D 2
Třinec, 27,000 ....F 1
Trnava, 35,000 ....C 2
Trutnov, 24,000 ....C 1
Turnov, 12,000 ....B 1
Uherské Hradiště, 15,000 ....C 2
Ústí nad Labem, 72,000 ....B 1
Ústí nad Orlicí, 11,000 ....C 1
Valašské Meziříčí, 15,000 ....D 2
Varnsdorf, 14,000 ....B 1
Velké Meziříčí, 6,217 ....C 2
Veselí nad Moravou, 4,636 ....C 2
Vlašim, 5,066 ....B 2
Vranov, 3,964 ....E 2
Vratimov ....E 1
Vrchlabí, 11,000 ....B 1
Vsetín, 20,000 ....D 2
Vyškov, 13,000 ....C 2
Zábřeh, 5,847 ....C 2
Žatec, 16,000 ....A 1
Žd'ár nad Sázavou, 12,000 ....B 2
Žiar nad Hronom, 11,000 ....D 2
Žilina, 38,000 ....D 2
Znojmo, 25,000 ....C 2
Zvolen, 23,000 ....D 2

OTHER FEATURES

Bečva (river) ....C 2
Berounka (river) ....B 1
Beskids, East (mountains) ....E 2
Beskids, West (mountains) ....D 2
Bohemia (region), 6,115,000 ....B 2
Bohemian (forest) ....A 2
Bohemian-Moravian Heights ....B 2
Carpathians (mountains) ....D 2
Danube (Dunaj) (river) ....C 3
Dunaj (Danube) (river) ....C 3
Dunajec (river) ....E 2
Dyje (river) ....C 2
East Beskids (mountains) ....E 2
Erzgebirge (mountains) ....A 1
Gerlachovka (mountain) ....E 2
High Tatra (mountains) ....D 2
Hornád (river) ....E 2
Hron (river) ....D 2
Ipel' (river) ....D 2
Jihlava (river) ....B 2
Jizera (river) ....B 1
Labe (Elbe) (river) ....B 1
Laborec (river) ....E 2
Latorica (river) ....F 2
Lipno (reservoir) ....B 2
Lubina (river) ....E 1
Lužnice (river) ....B 2
Moldau (Vltava) (river) ....B 2
Morava (river) ....C 2
Moravia (region), 3,636,000 ....C 2
Mže (river) ....A 2
Nisa (Neisse) (river) ....B 1
Nitra (river) ....D 2
Odra (Oder) (river) ....C 2
Ohře (river) ....A 1
Olše (river) ....F 1
Ondava (river) ....E 2
Opava (river) ....C 1
Orava (reservoir) ....D 2
Ostravice (river) ....E 1
Otava (river) ....A 2
Poprad (river) ....E 2
Sázava (river) ....B 2
Slana (river) ....E 2
Slovakia (region), 4,421,000 ....D 2
Sudeten (mountains) ....B 1
Svitava (river) ....C 2
Svratka (river) ....C 2
Tatra, High (mountains) ....D 2
Tisza (river) ....F 2
Uh (river) ....F 2
Úhlava (river) ....A 2
Váh (river) ....C 2
Vltava (river) ....B 2
West Beskids (mountains) ....D 2
White Carpathians (mountains) ....C 2
Žermanice (reservoir) ....E 1

Total pop.—1970 off. est.; cap. & cities (over 12,000)—1966 off. est.; regions—1965 off. est.; other pops—1966 & 1962 off. est. & 1961 final census.

CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY

OSTRAVA, in northern Moravia, is an important industrial center on the edge of the Silesian coalfield.

Until 1965, economic control was securely vested in the State Planning Commission, which defined objectives, determined priorities, and allocated resources. In 1965 greater authority was given to the managers of individual factories and enterprises, while the Planning Commission retained control only over the plans. A year later the government introduced the so-called New Economic Model, which represented a slight movement in the direction of a market economy, with prices more closely reflecting production costs and the success of management measured by the profitability of its operations. Wage incentives were also introduced to stimulate production.

Industry. Manufacturing and mining are the dominant branches of the economy. They employ considerably more than a third of the labor force, as against about a fifth in agriculture.

Fuel resources are extensive. The most important bituminous coalfield lies in northern Moravia, but there are reserves of brown coal in western Bohemia and, to a smaller degree, in Slovakia. Production of bituminous coal rose from under 17 million tons in 1948 to over 27 million tons in 1965, while brown coal production rose to about 75 million tons. Much of the latter is used in electric power generation.

Mineral ores are less important than formerly, and Czechoslovakia must now import iron ore for its smelting industry. The iron and steel industry has become the most important branch of manufacturing. Pig iron production in the late 1960's was four times that of 1948, and the output of steel increased from 2.6 million tons in 1948 to 8.6 million tons in 1965. Most of the larger enterprises are in northern Moravia, but a large, integrated plant was built in eastern Slovakia in the early 1960's. Much of the metal produced is supplied to mechanical engineering and construction industries, which are widely distributed in Bohemia and Moravia and, more recently, in Slovakia. The chief centers of the metal industries are Prague, Plzeň, and Brno.

The chemical industries were also expanded after 1948. Most of the larger installations are in western Bohemia, where they use the local brown coal as a source of power and of raw material. The textile industries formed, before World War I, the largest branch of manufacturing. They have, however, received little capital investment under the development plans, and their output has not been greatly increased. They are generally carried on in small mills, most of which are located in the hills of northern Bohemia, where, at one time, they used the local waterpower. Glass and ceramic industries are important, especially in Bohemia, and food processing industries, including sugar refining from beets, are found in many parts of Bohemia and Moravia.

The most significant developments after World War II have been in Slovakia. It has been part of the government's policy to bring manufacturing to this region. The leather industry is important, and has been expanded in Slovakia. The town of Gottwaldov (Zlín) has grown up around the footwear factories established there by Tomáš Baťa.

The governmental policy of making Czechoslovakia a predominantly manufacturing country has in general succeeded. The emphasis on heavy industry, especially iron and steel, has necessitated not only large imports of ore, but has also detracted from the consumer goods industries. The government also set out to increase the volume of industrial production in Slovakia, and thus to create employment and to diversify the economy. Despite the paucity of resources and the difficulty of transportation and communication, the contribution of Slovakia to total industrial production rose from 7.3% before World War II to about 20% of a very much increased total in the mid-1960's.

HOP PICKING is a job most commonly performed by women in Czechoslovakia. Hops are widely grown in Bohemia and form an important agricultural export.

CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY

Agriculture and Forestry. Czechoslovakia is a mountainous country, and a relatively small part of its total area can be considered farmland. In fact, only 46% of the total area is cropland, and a further 10% is meadow and rough grazing. The best farmland lies in northern Bohemia, in Moravia, and in the plains of southern Slovakia. Agriculture was almost completely collectivized by the 1960's, and the cropping and number of farm animals conform with government policy. The effect of government planning has been to mechanize many of the farming operations, and thus to cut down on the amount of fodder grown for draft animals. The labor input has been very greatly reduced, but the productivity of agriculture has not been greatly increased, and in the case of some crops, is actually less than before collectivization.

Wheat has become the most important bread crop, with barley, used for brewing and as fodder, and rye next in importance. Potatoes are raised in quantity, and the production of industrial crops, notably sugar beets and flax, has been greatly increased at the expense of grain crops. Hops are widely grown in Bohemia, and vineyards are cultivated in a few climatically favored areas.

Grazing land makes up about 14% of the total area. Dairy farming is important in the more highly urbanized and densely populated western parts of Czechoslovakia, while sheep are numerous in the more mountainous Slovakia. On balance, the country is self-sufficient in meat, but imports some wool.

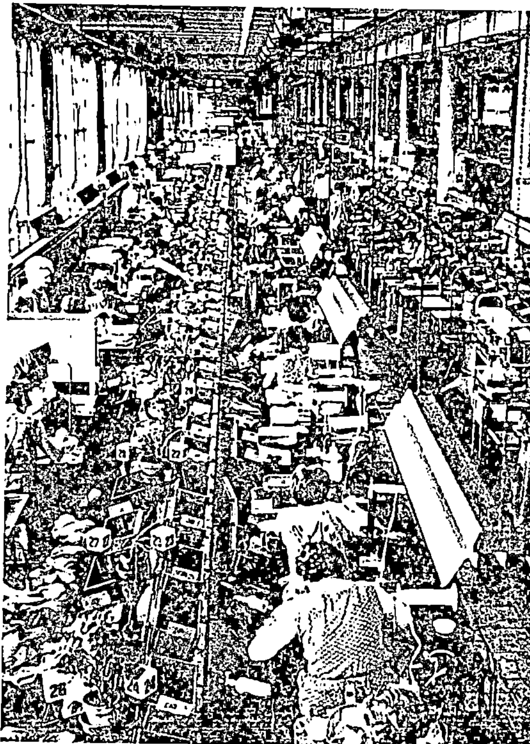
Forests are extensive, covering about 35% of the total area. They are efficiently maintained and supply materials for the lumber, plywood, and furniture industries.

Czechoslovakia has ceased to be self-sufficient in basic foodstuffs but has been able to produce more agricultural materials for the processing industries. The chief imports of agricultural goods, apart from oils and beverages of tropical origin and raw cotton, are bread grains.

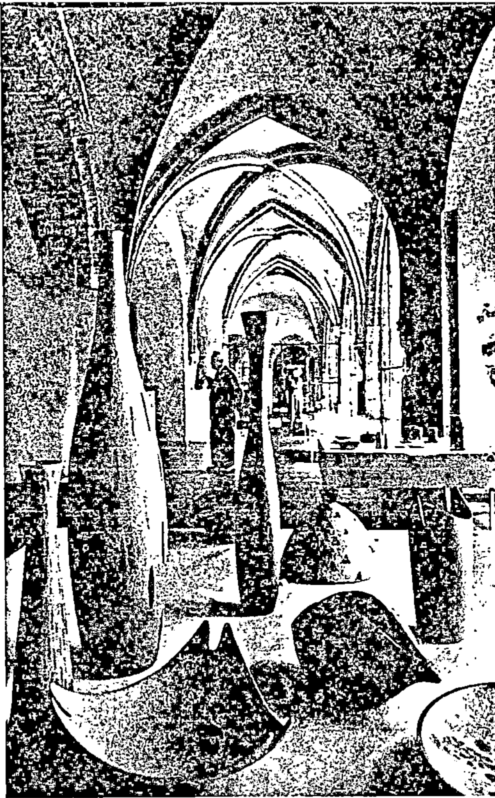
Labor. The labor force is estimated to comprise about 56% of the total population. Almost all are employed by the state, and until the reforms of 1966, it was difficult for any worker to change his job. Since the state represents the interests of the workers, trade unions in the Western sense have not been considered necessary. Workers do not have the right to organize and to strike, and in the past, efforts in this direction have been severely repressed.

Women form about 45% of the total work force. They are especially conspicuous in certain branches, such as field work in agriculture, in shops, offices, and transportation. They also appear in the ranks of manual labor in the heavy industries.

Transportation. After 1918, Czechoslovakia was faced with the task of developing a transportation system that would link together the two segments of the country. A good road network was built and railways were constructed to link


CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY

SHOES are made at the Baťa factory in Gottwaldov, which was founded toward the end of the 19th century as one of Slovakia's first industrial enterprises.



CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY

CERAMICS, for which Bohemia has long been famous, are exhibited here in contemporary forms at the Old Town Hall of Prague.

CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY

BOHEMIAN GLASSWARE is exported all over the world. This girl is a student at the glassmaking school in Kamenický Šenov.

the two systems that had been inherited from Austria and Hungary. The shape of the country, nevertheless, makes transportation difficult. Rivers are of little significance in internal transportation. Roads and railroads are better developed in Bohemia and Moravia than in Slovakia. In Bohemia roads and railways radiate from Prague throughout Bohemia. Brno is the center of a less dense network in Moravia. In Slovakia, however, the terrain is very much more rugged, and both road and railroad are obliged to follow the mountain valleys. Bratislava serves as a focal point but the valleys tend to be cut off from one another by the parallel ranges of mountains. The roads across the latter are often narrow and difficult, and sometimes impassable in winter. The only road that runs from Bratislava to eastern Slovakia follows the Váh and Hornád to Košice. It is closely followed by the railway.

The road and railroad systems of Czechoslovakia are linked with those of all neighboring countries, but there are few official border crossing points. Most used are those with East Germany to the northwest of Prague, with Austria on the roads to Vienna, and with Poland in the industrialized region of northern Moravia. The principal connection with the Soviet Union is by the railway from Eastern Slovakia to Uzhgorod in Ruthenia. Czechoslovakia has now been linked by way of Poland with the petroleum pipeline from the Soviet Union.

Most of the rivers of Czechoslovakia are not considered to be navigable, and, in fact, only the Labe and its tributary, the Vltava (Moldau) are much used. They carry heavy freight between Czechoslovakia and East Germany. The Danube, which borders Moravia and Slovakia, is much used, and a significant part of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade goes through the Danubian port of Bratislava. Czechoslovakia has privileges in the Polish port of Szczecin. A canal is projected across Moravia from the Odra in Poland to the Danube.

Czechoslovakia has a government-operated system of airlines that link the larger towns within the country, as well as operating to the capitals of all neighboring countries.

Trade. The foreign trade of Czechoslovakia is conducted mainly with the other countries of the Communist bloc. Over 40% of the total foreign trade by value is with the Soviet Union, and a further 35% with the other Communist countries of eastern Europe, notably East Germany, Poland, and Hungary. Foreign commerce is conducted by the government, and arises from commercial agreements negotiated between it and the governments of its trading partners. In general, these are barter agreements for exchange of commodities.

Though Czechoslovakia's trade has been primarily with its Communist neighbors, a partial shift to the West began in the mid-1960's. One of the objects of the New Economic Model was to expand trade with the countries of the West, so that Czechoslovakia might obtain the technical equipment needed to improve productivity.

Imports are dominated by industrial raw materials (especially raw cotton, iron ore and petroleum), foodstuffs, and machinery and mechanical equipment. Foremost among the exports of Czechoslovakia are coal and manufactured goods, particularly those types of machinery in which Czechoslovakia specializes.

NORMAN J. G. POUNDS, *Indiana University*

4. Education

As benefits a people who founded the first university in central Europe (Charles University, 1348) and produced the famous 17th century pedagogue Comenius (Jan Amos Komenský), the Czechs have traditionally stressed the importance of education for individual and national advancement. In the two decades between World Wars I and II the new state of Czechoslovakia virtually eliminated illiteracy through a comprehensive system of compulsory secular education. The various national minorities were even granted instruction in their own languages. During the Nazi occupation in World War II, all Czech universities were closed, many students and teachers were imprisoned or executed, and the remaining school system was subjected to heavy German control. Slovak institutions continued to function under the supervision of the clericofascist regime of the Slovak republic.

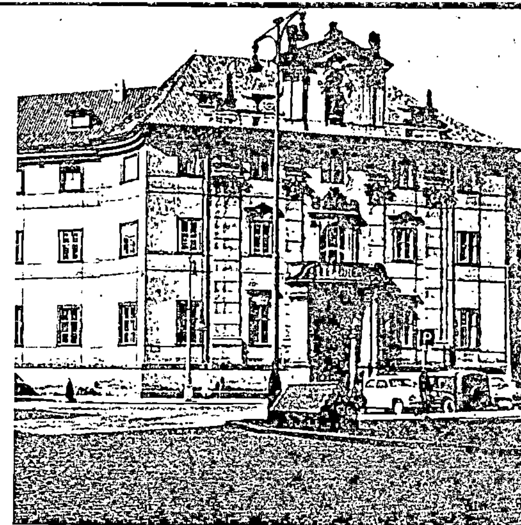
After the war the Czech and Slovak systems were reunited, and after the Communist coup d'etat in 1948 they were reshaped to suit the new political situation in the country. An elaborate, unified structure regulating all training from the preschool to the university levels was created under the control of the ministry of education. It includes not only all institutions directly administered by the state but also all programs of instruction offered by business enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and mass organizations (such as apprenticeship training and adult extension courses), and even the academies and conservatories of creative arts.

All citizens of Communist Czechoslovakia are constitutionally guaranteed the right to education. Accordingly, education at all levels is essentially free. This includes free textbooks and other study materials, free medical care, scholarships at the secondary and university levels for needy students with good academic records, and cheap lodgings and meals for university students. For education above the elementary level, the student must qualify on the basis of previous academic achievement. Another basic qualification, a proper "social-economic class origin," has become less important. Students of middle-class background form a slight majority at the university level.

The regime stresses that "the task of education is to prepare young people for life and work in the socialist society of Czechoslovakia." Considerable Marxist-Leninist ideological teaching is delivered through texts and classroom instruction. The USSR has often been copied uncritically; Russian language study is obligatory from the 4th elementary grade, and periods of work in industrial enterprises and agricultural cooperatives are required as part of the curriculum.

Organization. The current system was installed in 1960 and consists of two cycles, one designed to train a socialist intelligentsia, and the other to provide skilled technical personnel for the tasks of "socialist construction." At the bottom of both cycles are about 8,000 preschool nurseries and some 11,000 basic 9-year schools. The latter operate six days a week and provide compulsory elementary education for children aged 6 to 15.

In the approximately 1,000 secondary schools students begin to go three separate ways. The general secondary schools offer 3-year college preparatory courses, with specialization in the sciences or humanities. The vocational schools, with 2- to 3-year curriculums, teach the technical skills required for work in trades or factories. The secondary vocational school program takes four years, but graduates are eligible to enter university-level technical institutes. Citizens of Hungarian, Polish, and Ruthene (Ukrainian), but not German, descent may receive instruction in these languages.



CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY

THE CLEMENTINUM in Prague houses the library of Charles University, central Europe's oldest university.

There are about 35 institutions of higher learning in Czechoslovakia, including 8 universities and 14 technical institutes. The major universities are Charles in Prague, Purkyně (formerly Masaryk) in Brno, Palacký in Olomouc, Komenský in Bratislava, and Šafařík in Košice. The University of the 17th of November was established in 1961, primarily to train foreign students from the developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Despite the ambitious plans of the regime, the majority of young people are currently not receiving a full secondary education, and university students are still a small elite—in the late 1960's they totaled only 145,000. Of course, much education takes place outside the formal school system, through various cultural institutions. For example, the Czechs and Slovaks are served by more than 14,000 public libraries, headed by the National and University Library in Prague.

5. Government

The current form of government in Czechoslovakia is determined by the constitution of 1960. In that document the country is described as a unitary state of two equal nationalities, Czechs and Slovaks, and as "a socialist state based on the firm alliance of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, led by the working class." The new constitution is designed to recognize and proclaim the fact that Czechoslovakia completed the transition from a fledging "people's republic" to a fully "socialist republic" well on the way toward communism.

Legislature. The constitution vests all power in the "working people," who exercise it primarily by electing representatives to the National

Assembly. The federalization law of Oct. 30, 1968, transformed the formerly unicameral legislature, as of Jan. 1, 1969, into a federal legislature consisting of a popularly elected Assembly of the People and an Assembly of Nations. The Czechs and Slovaks have equal representation in the latter.

Every citizen at least 18 years old is eligible to vote, and those at least 21 years old may stand for office. Theoretically, the National Assembly, headed by a 30-member presidium, makes fundamental state policies, domestic and foreign, and has ultimate control over the executive and judiciary.

Executive. The president of the republic is elected for a 5-year term by the Assembly and is responsible to it. He is the official representative of the state rather than an effective executive. The "Government"—the premier and his cabinet—forms the supreme executive body in the state. The government is formally appointed by the president, and though it may legislate by decree, it is theoretically accountable to the National Assembly.

Slovak National Council. Although the legislative and executive organs sketched above have jurisdiction over all of Czechoslovakia, another legislative institution has been established for Slovakia, in an attempt to make it appear that that region enjoys significant autonomy. Located at Bratislava, the Slovak National Council consists of deputies chosen by the Slovak electorate every four years. It was, in its origin, a very minor concession to persistent Slovak demands for domestic self-rule. The Slovak National Council was empowered only to apply national laws and regulations specifically to Slovak conditions. In practice it was little more than a rubber stamp for the central government. However, by the federalization law of October 1968, the Slovak National Council was given new powers, enabling it to block some federal legislation; it was also to appoint the delegates to the Assembly of Nations.

Judicial System. The judicial branch of the government consists of the supreme court, regional and district courts, and the office of the general prosecutor. Justices of the supreme court, which supervises the lower courts, are elected by the National Assembly and can be recalled by it. Members of the inferior courts are elected by local organs of government or by direct popular vote. All judges serve 4-year terms and include both professional jurists and laymen who serve in a part-time judicial capacity. The lay judges are an attempt on the part of the regime to introduce direct popular participation into the judicial process and thus to ensure not simply "formal" but "socialist" legality. The same is true of the people's courts established in work enterprises and local communities, which apply a nontechnical, common-sense kind of "law" to minor disputes and petty misdemeanors. Every accused is ensured the right of defense.

Prosecution, as well as surveillance of the organs of government and the general citizenry for observance of the law, is the function of the office of the general prosecutor. Though nominated by the president, the prosecutor is responsible to the National Assembly and can be recalled by it.

Local Government. Local government in regions, districts, and municipalities is entrusted to national committees at these levels. Deputies are popularly elected to them for 4-year terms. As the committees at each level are subject to the supervision of those of the next higher level, and as all of the national committees receive operating funds from the national budget, they enjoy little independence.

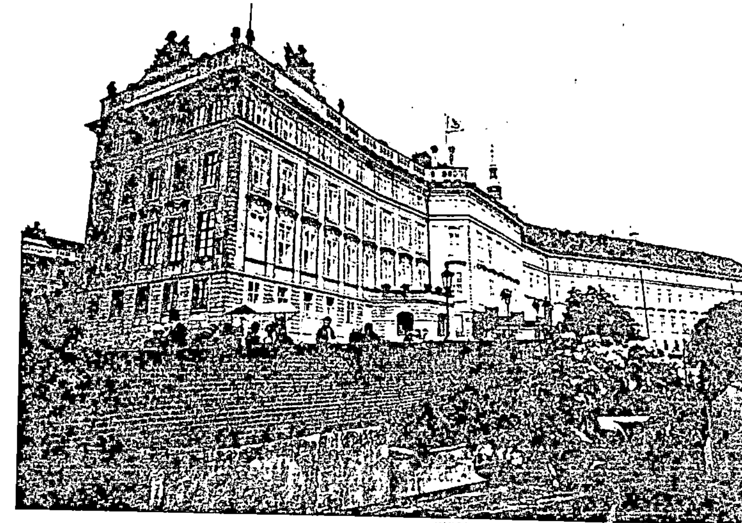
The Communist Party. Political authority in Czechoslovakia would seem to reside in the people as they are represented in the National Assembly. Actually, the entire governmental structure, including the National Assembly, is controlled by the Czechoslovak Communist party, described in the constitution as "the leading force in state and society." This "vanguard of the working class" has almost 2 million members, a large proportion of the total population. The leading members of the party determine all important state policies, internal and external, and hold most of the significant government posts. Theoretically, the supreme body within the party is the party congress, which meets every four years and elects a central committee to direct party work continuously. In practice, the central committee, with about 200 members, and especially its 21-member presidium headed by the first secretary, possesses ultimate political control over the country.

An identically structured Slovak Communist party also exists, although it is essentially a wing of the Czechoslovak party. Like the Slovak National Council, it provides a vehicle for the expression of a separate Slovak national consciousness.

The National Front. A few other parties—the Czechoslovak People's party, Czechoslovak Socialist party, Slovak Revival party, and Slovak Freedom party—are permitted to exist to support the appearance that varying political viewpoints can be maintained in the country. However, they and various mass nonparty organizations must work together, under the leadership of the Communist party, in a political coalition called the National Front. The Front regularly presents a single list of screened candidates for office at elections, so that voters have little or no real choice.

Rights of the Citizen. No significant aspect of the life of Czechoslovak citizens is exempt from government control. All citizens are, to be sure, constitutionally guaranteed an impressive list of freedoms and rights—freedom of speech, press, religion, and mobility, the right of work, leisure, education, and the like. However, these are officially interpreted "from the point of view of Socialism"; they cannot be exercised to the detriment of "the socialist way of life." The citizen really enjoys no safeguards against the will of the state.

One category of rights is, however, respected by the government and implemented as far as its resources permit. As befits citizens of a Communist state, Czechoslovaks share in a comprehensive social welfare program. Medical treatment is essentially free. The medical services of Czechoslovakia are highly rated, and patients may draw upon a sophisticated variety of such services, including treatment at the country's famous spas (such as Carlsbad and Marienbad in Bohemia), once the watering places of the wealthy. Prenatal and pediatric care is excellent. New mothers are given extensive paid leave from their jobs, and families are paid regular allowances for the support of unemployed children. There are also disability and old-age pensions, though the complaint is often made that they are inadequate.



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

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 Jan 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.

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 rule. The Reformation drew the two peoples closer together for a period. Protestantism spread widely in Slovakia, and some Czech Protestants fled there when the Habsburgs introduced the Counter Reformation into Bohemia after 1620. Czech Protestant books circulated, and Czech gradually became the written language (replacing Latin) of educated Slovaks. However, the Counter Reformation was eventually applied also in Slovakia, and both populations were again formally Roman Catholic.

The first undisputed sign of national stirring occurred in the late 18th century, when a Roman Catholic priest, Anton Bernolák, tried to develop a Slovak literary language separate from the commonly employed Czech. He failed, but another attempt in the 1840's by L'udovít Štúr was successful. Though some leading Slovak scholars, such as Pavel Josef Šafařík and Jan Kollár, continued to use Czech and even contributed to the Czech national revival, the new language received 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.

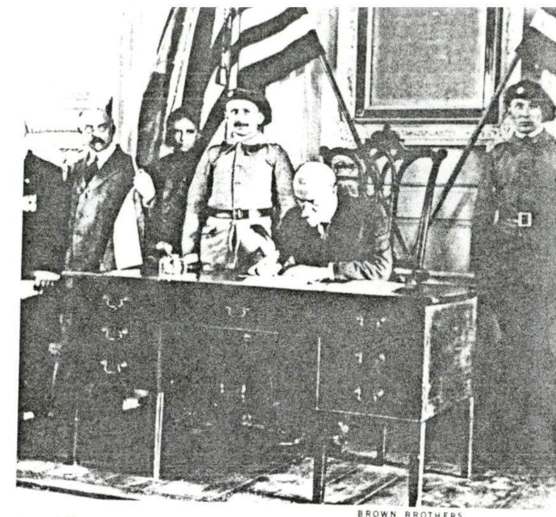
Subsequent national affirmations and attempts to establish their own cultural institutions by the Slovaks met with little success. The situation became even more difficult after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867, the Magyars were given unchecked control over half of the Habsburg empire. The policies of magyarization were intensified. All Slovak secondary 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 complete 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.

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 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.

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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

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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 Zitek, 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 *Řeči 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 first 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, which 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. Čelakovský, a poet who published several volumes of folk songs, some of which are his own.

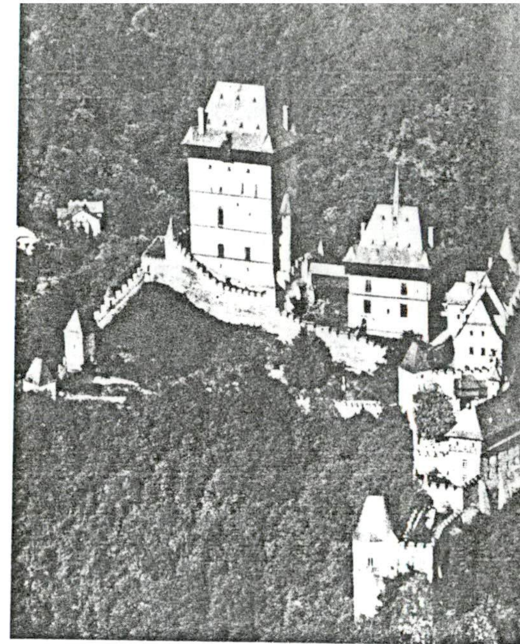
The leader of the romantic school, which dominated in the second third of the 19th century, was Karel Hynek Mácha, considered by many to be the greatest of Czechoslovakian poets. His most important work is a narrative poem *Máj* (1836; *May*). Other notable romanticists were the poet Karel Jaromír Erben, and the female novelist Božena Němcova, who has been compared to the French George Sand. Her nostalgic picture of country life, *Babička* (1855; *The Grandmother*), became immensely popular in Czech and in several translations.

Czech writing in the half century preceding World War I reflected various styles. The best-known writers from this period are the prerealist Jan Neruda, most famous for his *Povídky malostránské* (1878; *Tales of the Mala Strana*), a series of sardonic stories and character sketches, and the cosmopolitan Jaroslav Vrchlický (pseudonym of Emil Frída). By the sheer bulk of Vrchlický's work—over 100 volumes of poetry, drama, and prose, and more than 60 volumes of translations—he may be unique in literary history. He is best known, however, for his lyric poetry, such as his *Eklogy a písně* (1880; *Eclogues and Songs*). Also writing at this time was the nationalist Alois Jirásek, sometimes considered the greatest of Czech novelists. He specialized in historical novels set in the 15th to 18th centuries; one of the most highly regarded of these is *Proti všem* (1893; *Against All*). The leading Czech symbolist poet was Otakar Březina (pseudonym of Václav Jebavý), who published five volumes of philosophic and mystical poetry between 1895 and 1901. Probably the most significant representative of the late 19th century decadent school was Viktor Dyk, a poet and journalist who wrote mainly on political problems. Noteworthy Slovak writers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries include the realist novelist Martin Kukučin (pseudonym of Matej Bencúr), and the poet Hviezdoslav (pseudonym of Pavel Országh).

During the interwar years Czechoslovak literature lost most of its provincialism or nationalism. The best-known Czech writer of the 20th century was Karel Čapek, whose dramas are world famous. (See below.) Also important was Jaroslav Hašek, especially well known for his series about *Dobrý voják Švejk* (1920–1923; *The Good Soldier Schweik*). Among the new influences in Czech literature in this period was communism, whose principal poet was Jiři Wolker.

Theater and Film. Czechoslovak theater and drama, probably the oldest in central Europe, had an honorable beginning in the Middle Ages. However, only a few fragments from this period are extant. Throughout the Hussite and Reformation period, drama was used for propaganda purposes by both Protestants and Catholics and was not very original. Nor was Czechoslovak Renaissance drama of great significance. Drama did not come into its own until the early 19th century.

The first important modern Czechoslovak playwrights were Václav Kliment Klicpera and his student Josef Kajetán Tyl; they wrote many popular and nationalistic plays in the 19th century. But it was not until the 20th century that Czechoslovakia produced a dramatist of world fame. This was Karel Čapek, who is especially well known for his expressionistic drama, *R.U.R.* (1921; *Rossum's Universal Robots*), and *Věc Makropoulos* (1922; *The Makropoulos Secret*), a play about eternal life. With his brother, Josef Čapek (better known as a journalist), he also wrote *Ze života hmyzu* (1921; *The Insect Play*, or



CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY

KARLŠTEJN CASTLE, an impressive 14th century fortress and palace, lies southwest of Prague.

The Insect Comedy) in which the authors make distressing parallels between man and insects. Somewhat lesser known, but also important is František Langer, who wrote many plays, three of which are known in English—a comedy, *Velbloud uchem jehly* (1923; *The Camel Through the Needle's Eye*), *Periferie* (1925; *The Outskirts*), a sardonic drama of the criminal world, and *Jízdní hlídka* (1935; *Cavalry Patrol*, or *The Eastern Watch*), a drama of collective heroism during World War I.

Perhaps the most significant cultural achievements of Czechoslovakia in the two decades after it became a Communist state in 1948 were in the field of motion pictures. In the late 1950's and 1960's, Czechoslovak directors, such as Věra Chytilová and Milos Forman, won numerous international prizes for their films. The experimental films shown at the Canadian world's fair of 1967 and such widely exhibited and influential films as *The Shop on Main Street*, *The Loves of a Blonde*, and *Closely Watched Train*, established Czechoslovakia as a leading film producer.

Music. Aside from some powerful 15th century battle hymns such as *Ktož jsú boží bojovníci* (*Ye Warriors of God*), the first really significant Czechoslovak musical contributions were made in the 18th and early 19th centuries by such composers and teachers as Bohuslav Černohorský (Czernohorsky), Josef Mysliveček, and Antonín Rejcha (Anton Reicha). Černohorský, a great organist and master of counterpoint who lived in Prague, was the teacher of Gluck. Mysliveček, who lived in Italy after 1763 and was known there as Venatorini or "Il divino Boemo," composed operas, symphonies, oratorios, and masses, and was a friend of Mozart. Rejcha, a friend of Beethoven, spent many years in Paris; he taught Berlioz, Gounod, and Liszt, and wrote operas, symphonies, and piano pieces. Other notable composers of the 18th century were

Jan Stamic (Johann Stamitz) and Frantisek Xaver Richter, founders of the Mannheim school, and Jiří Benda, a prominent composer of operas.

The leading Czech composer during the middle of the 19th century was Bedřich Smetana, who is considered the founder of Czech opera and modern Czech music. More than anyone else he created the Czech national school of music. Smetana composed in many fields, but his best-known work was done in symphonic poems and in opera. His great six-part national cycle, *Má Vlast* (1876–1879; *My Fatherland*, or *My Country*) glorifies the past and future of his homeland. Of his eight operas the best known is the world-famous *Prodaná nevěsta* (1863; *The Bartered Bride*). Though not as popular, Smetana's *Dalibor* and *Libuše* excel in dramatic expression.

Of the many students of Smetana, the most renowned was Antonín Dvořák, the founder of the Czech symphonic style. His output includes 9 symphonies, 12 quartets, and 8 operas, and many other compositions. He is probably best known for his *Slavonic Dances* and for his Symphony No. 9, "From the New World," written in the United States in 1883.

Another major 19th century composer was Zdeněk Fibich, a romantic and Wagnerian composer of piano works, symphonies, and symphonic poems. Josef B. Foerster and Leoš Janáček, both of whom composed important operas, are transitional figures between the nationalist school and modern styles. Leading 20th century Czech composers include two of Dvořák's students, Vítězslav Novák and Josef Suk, and Otakar Ostrčil, a pupil of Fibich. Bohuslav Martinů, who composed in nearly every musical form, won international recognition after World War II.

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CZERNY, cher'nē, **Karl** (1791–1857), Austrian pianist and teacher, whose books of exercises are standard fare for piano students. He was born in Vienna on Feb. 20, 1791, and received his early musical training from his father. When he was nine years old, he began three years of study with Beethoven. He also met and was influenced by the pianist-composers Johann Hummel and Muzio Clementi.

When Czerny was only 15, he was entrusted with the musical education of Beethoven's nephew Karl. Czerny's teaching became famous, but he accepted only the most promising pupils—including Liszt—and left himself time to compose voluminously. He spent his whole life in Vienna, where he died on July 15, 1857.

Though Czerny is most widely known for his piano exercises, he also wrote concertos, symphonies, chamber works, and sacred music. His piano transcriptions of operas and orchestral works include some arrangements so complicated that they demand eight pianos with four hands at each piano.

SHIRLEY FLEMING
Editor of "Musical America"

CZĘSTOCHOWA, chen-stô-кнô'vä, is a city in Poland, lying 125 miles (200 km) southwest of Warsaw, on the Warta River, in Katowice province. The city is an important iron and steel center; the Bierut steelworking plant, built in the 1950's, is one of the largest and most modern in the country. Other industrial products include textiles (cotton, wool, and jute), paper, and chemicals. Częstochowa is also an important railroad junction on the Warsaw-Vienna line.

Częstochowa was founded in the 13th century, and in the following century a Paulist monastery was established on a nearby hill, known as the Jasna Góra ("Bright Hill"). The city first achieved renown in 1655, when the monastery was defended by the Poles against an invading Swedish army. This was a focal event in the wars of the 17th century, and the popular legend that the defenders were aided by the divine intervention of the "Black Madonna" of Częstochowa helped to inspire Poland's recovery. The Jasna Góra has since been a popular place of pilgrimage.

Częstochowa remained a small town into the 19th century, when the iron ores of the surrounding area began to be mined and to be smelted with fuel brought from Upper Silesia. The Raków ironworks, established at that time, is still in operation. Population: (1982) 237,700.

NORMAN J. G. POUNDS, *Indiana University*

CZOLGOSZ, chôl'gôsh, **Leon** (1873–1901), American anarchist and assassin. He was born in Detroit, Mich. While employed in a wire mill in Cleveland, he was attracted to radical doctrines, including anarchism. Rejecting the American system of government, he held that all rulers were enemies of the workers. On Sept. 6, 1901, he fired two shots at close range at President William McKinley, who was holding a public reception at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, N. Y., and fatally wounded the President. McKinley died on September 14, and Czolgosz, who had a history of emotional instability, although he was sane in the eyes of the law, was speedily brought to trial and sentenced to death on September 26. He was executed in the prison at Auburn, N. Y., on Oct. 29, 1901.

EARLY NORTH SEMITIC	PHOENICIAN	EARLY HEBREW	EARLY GREEK	CLASSICAL GREEK	EARLY ETRUSCAN	EARLY LATIN	CLASSICAL LATIN
							D

CURSIVE MAJUSCULE (ROMAN)	CURSIVE MINUSCULE (ROMAN)	ANGLO-IRISH MAJUSCULE	CAROLINE MINUSCULE	VENETIAN MINUSCULE (ITALIC)	N. ITALIAN MINUSCULE (ROMAN)
			d		d

A. C. SYLVESTER, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LETTER D is illustrated in the above chart, beginning with the early North Semitic letter. The evolution of the majuscule (capital) D is shown at the top; that of the minuscule (lower-case) at bottom.

D, dē, is the fourth letter of the English alphabet and related alphabets. From the time it first made its appearance, D retained the fourth position in the alphabet: so it was in the North Semitic, Greek, and Latin alphabets—the ancestors of the modern West European alphabets. Because in Etruscan speech there was no distinction between the voiced and breathed sounds *d* and *t*, the letter *d* never appeared in pure Etruscan inscriptions, though it must have appeared in the alphabet. The Romans borrowed their alphabet from the Etruscans, presumably before the Etruscans had time to reject the letter.

The shape of the letter D was slightly modified in the course of time. Originally, in the North Semitic alphabet, it was an irregular triangle (at a later stage, with a tail added at the right), and it became a regular triangle in the Greek alphabet. In the Latin alphabet, one leg of the triangle became rounded (D), and it was in this form that it passed into the modern alphabets. The minuscule *d* appears to be the result of the rapid handwriting of the character by the scribes. See the headpiece of this article for an illustration of the whole development of the letter.

The name of the letter in the North Semitic alphabet (as in modern Hebrew) was *daleth* ("door") but it is doubtful whether this name actually derived from the representation of a door. Indeed, the adoption of all the Semitic letter names seems to have been an artificial memory device, similar to those of modern ABC books for children. The Greeks changed the name *daleth* into *delta;* the modern name of the letter, *dee*, is of Roman origin, the Romans having coined it in imitation of other letter names (such as *bee* and *cee*), which seem to have been Etruscan.

The sound of *d* is a soft dental mute, the corresponding hard sound being *t*. As a matter of fact, in English it is not a true dental, being sounded by placing the tongue not against the teeth but against the top of the gum. In Cockney and American English the intervocalic *d* (as in *lady* or *rodent*) often is pronounced so rapidly that it becomes a mere alveolar flap. In certain verbal inflections, after breathed consonants, the final *d* becomes hard; thus, *dropped*, *fixed*, *jumped* are pronounced with *t*, not *d* ("dropt," "fixt," "jumpt"). D is sometimes mute, as in *handkerchief* or *handsome*.

In Roman notation, D signifies 500, being the right-hand half of the symbol CD, the earlier form of M (1,000).

In school and college grading systems, D signifies below average achievement.

In music, D is the second note of the natural scale of C major.

In chemistry, D is the symbol for deuterium.

In the British monetary system, *d* stands for "penny," from the Latin *denarius*, a Roman coin.

DAVID DIRINGER, *Author of "The Alphabet"*

Further Reading: See the bibliography for ALPHABET.

DABLON, dȧ-blôɴ', **Claude** (1618–1697), French Jesuit missionary to Canada. He was born in Dieppe, France, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1639. Arriving in New France in 1655, he set up a central mission among the Iroquois at Onondaga, near present-day Syracuse, N. Y. His subsequent reports to Jesuit superiors form an important part of the *Jesuit Relations*, which contain the early chronicles of the missionaries.

Dablon took part in an expedition with Father Gabriel Druillettes in search of the Northwest Passage. He was also the first to describe the copper deposits near Lake Superior. During one of his two terms as superior general of the Jesuit missions in New France, he sent Father Marquette with Louis Joliet on the expedition that discovered the upper Mississippi. Dablon's chronicle of the expedition in the *Jesuit Relations* preserved Marquette's maps and letters for posterity. Father Dablon died in Quebec, Canada, on May 3, 1697.

CLEMENT J. ARMITAGE, S. J.
Jesuit Missions, N. Y.

DACCA, dak'ə, became the capital of Bangladesh in 1971. It had been the capital of East Bengal (from 1947) and of East Pakistan (from 1956). It is located in Dacca district (2,882 sq mi, or 7,464 sq km), on the Burhi Ganga River, near the geographical center of Bangladesh. Dacca is really three cities in one. One part is the old city, a congested area of narrow streets choked with pedestrian, animal, and vehicular traffic, crowded bazaars, and decaying slums. Across the main rail line to the north is Ramna, the modern section, which was laid out in 1905 with wide roads and open spaces. Here are the government buildings, the hotels, the diplomatic colony, the educational institutions, the hospitals, and many fine residences. The third part of Dacca, much of it new since partition (1947), consists of residential and industrial communities north and west of Ramna.

Dacca is filled with buildings of historical, architectural, and religious interest. They include Lal Bagh Fort, the tomb of Pari Bibi, and over 700 Muslim mosques. Dacca University (founded in 1921), a medical college, libraries, museums, and agricultural and jute research institutes are also located here. The city is the major commercial center of Bangladesh. With Narayanganj, a suburb 10 miles (16 km)

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Cyrus, as told by Herodotus with echoes in Xenophon and the Greek historian Ctesias, may be called a Cyrus legend since it obviously follows a pattern of folk beliefs about the almost superhuman qualities of the founder of a dynasty. Similar beliefs also exist about the founders of later dynasties throughout the history of Iran. According to the legend, Astyages, the king of the Medes and overlord of the Persians, gave his daughter in marriage to his vassal in Persis, a prince called Cambyses. From this marriage Cyrus was born. Astyages, having had a dream that the baby would grow up to overthrow him, ordered Cyrus slain. His chief adviser, however, instead gave the baby to a shepherd to raise. When he was 10 years old, Cyrus, because of his outstanding qualities, was discovered by Astyages, who, in spite of the dream, was persuaded to allow the boy to live. Cyrus, when he reached manhood in Persis, revolted against his maternal grandfather and overlord. Astyages marched against the rebel, but his army deserted him and surrendered to Cyrus, about 550 BC. So much for the Cyrus legend.

Cyrus' conquests

After inheriting the empire of the Medes, Cyrus first had to consolidate his power over Iranian tribes on the Iranian plateau before expanding to the west. Croesus, king of Lydia in Asia Minor, had enlarged his domains at the expense of the Medes when he heard of the fall of Astyages, and Cyrus, as successor of the Median king, marched against Lydia. Sardis, the Lydian capital, was captured in 547 or 546, and Croesus was either killed or burned himself to death, though according to other sources he was taken prisoner by Cyrus and well treated. The Ionian Greek cities on the Aegean Sea coast, as vassals of the Lydian king, now became subject to Cyrus, and most of them submitted peacefully. Several revolts of the Greek cities were later suppressed with severity. Next Cyrus turned to Babylonia, where dissatisfaction of the people with the ruler Nabonidus gave him a pretext for invading the lowlands. The conquest was quick, for even the priests of Marduk, the national deity of the great metropolis of Babylon, had become estranged from Nabonidus. In October 539 BC, the greatest city of the ancient world fell to the Persians.

In the Bible (*e.g.*, Ezra 1:1–4), Cyrus is famous for freeing the Jewish captives in Babylonia and allowing them to return to their homeland. Cyrus was also tolerant toward the Babylonians and others. He honoured Marduk and conciliated the local population by supporting local customs and even sacrificing to local deities. The capture of Babylon delivered not only Mesopotamia into the hands of Cyrus but also Syria and Palestine, which had been conquered previously by the Babylonians. The ruler of Cilicia in Asia Minor had become an ally of Cyrus when the latter marched against Croesus, and Cilicia retained a special status in Cyrus' empire. Thus it was by diplomacy as well as force of arms that he established the largest empire known until his time.

Cyrus seems to have had several capitals. One was the city of Ecbatana, modern Hamadan, former capital of the Medes, and another was a new capital of the empire, Pasargadae, in Persis, said to be on the site where Cyrus had won the battle against Astyages. The ruins today, though few, arouse admiration in the visitor. Cyrus also kept Babylon as a winter capital.

No Persian chauvinist, Cyrus was quick to learn from the conquered peoples. He not only conciliated the Medes but joined them with the Persians in a kind of dual monarchy of the Medes and Persians. Cyrus had to borrow the traditions of kingship from the Medes, who had ruled an empire when the Persians were merely their vassals. It is probable that a Mede was traditionally made an adviser to the Achaemenid king, as a sort of chief minister; on later reliefs at Persepolis, a capital of the Achaemenid kings from the time of Darius, a Mede is frequently depicted together with the great king. The Elamites, indigenous inhabitants of Persis, were also the teachers of the Persians in many ways, as can be seen, for example, in the Elamite dress worn by Persians and by Elamite objects carried by them on the stone reliefs at Persepolis. There also seems to have been little innovation in government and rule, but rather a willingness to borrow, combined with an ability to adapt what was borrowed to the new empire. Cyrus was undoubtedly the guiding genius in the creation not only of a great empire but in the formation of Achaemenid culture and civilization.

Little is known of the family life of Cyrus. He had two sons, one of whom, Cambyses, succeeded him; the other, Bardiya (Smerdis of the Greeks), was probably secretly put to death by Cambyses after he became ruler. Cyrus had at least one daughter, Atossa (who married her brother Cambyses), and possibly two others, but they played no role in history.

When Cyrus defeated Astyages he also inherited Median possessions in eastern Iran, but he had to engage in much warfare to consolidate his rule in this region. After his conquest of Babylonia, he again turned to the east, and Herodotus tells of his campaign against nomads living east of the Caspian Sea. According to the Greek historian, Cyrus was at first successful in defeating the ruler of the nomads—called the Massagetai—who was a woman, and capturing her son. On the son's committing suicide in captivity, his mother swore revenge and defeated and killed Cyrus about 529 BC. Herodotus' story may be apocryphal, but Cyrus' conquests in Central Asia were probably genuine, since a city in farthest Sogdiana was called Cyreschata, or Cyropolis, by the Greeks, which seems to prove the extent of his Eastern conquests.

The legacy of Cyrus

It is a testimony to the capability of the founder of the Achaemenid empire that it continued to expand after his death and lasted for more than two centuries. But Cyrus was not only a great conqueror and administrator; he held a place in the minds of the Persian people similar to that of Romulus and Remus in Rome or Moses for the Israelites. His saga follows in many details the stories of heroes and conquerors from elsewhere in the ancient world. The manner in which the baby Cyrus was given to a shepherd to raise is reminiscent of Moses in the bulrushes in Egypt, and the overthrow of his tyrannical grandfather has echoes in other myths and legends. There is no doubt that the Cyrus saga arose early among the Persians and was known to the Greeks. The sentiments of esteem or even awe in which Persians held him were transmitted to the Greeks, and it was no accident that Xenophon chose Cyrus to be the model of a ruler for the lessons he wished to impart to his fellow Greeks.

In short, the figure of Cyrus has survived throughout history as more than a great man who founded an empire. He became the epitome of the great qualities expected of a ruler in antiquity, and he assumed heroic features as a conqueror who was tolerant and magnanimous as well as brave and daring. His personality as seen by the Greeks influenced them and Alexander the Great, and, as the tradition was transmitted by the Romans, may be considered to influence our thinking even now. In the year 1971, Iran celebrated the 2,500th anniversary of the founding of the monarchy by Cyrus.

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(R.N.F.)

Czechoslovakia

The position of Czechoslovakia in the heart of Europe has been of great significance, affecting the economic, political, and cultural development of a country in which the most varied of influences and traditions have encountered one another. The elongated shape of the country—its east–west extent is more than 465 miles (748 kilometres), whereas its maximum north–south extent is barely 171 miles—has further differentiated its internal physical and human geography, western European influences being strong in Bohemia while those of eastern Europe predominate in eastern Slovakia. The nation's position on the boundary between Communist and capitalist systems has added a new element to this situation.

An inland country, Czechoslovakia (formally the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic) lies across the great ancient trade routes of Europe, following the Elbe (Labe) River to the North Sea, the Oder (Odra) River to the Baltic, and the Danube (Dunaj) River to the Black Sea. There were also routes to the Mediterranean. Modern Czechoslovakia came into being at the end of World War I, following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. By the mid-1970s its area of 49,374 square miles (127,877 square kilometres) held a population of well over 14,850,000. It is subdivided into the Czech Socialist Republic (ČSR), of about 30,450 square miles (78,863 square kilometres), comprising the historic lands of Bohemia and Moravia (often called the Czech Lands) and the Austrian portion of Silesia; and the Slovak Socialist Republic (SSR) of about 18,920 square miles (49,014 square kilometres), which before World War I was a part of Hungary inhabited mainly by Slovaks.

Czechoslovakia is a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), the Communist-bloc trade group, and also of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Three-quarters of its frontiers are with other Communist countries—the German Democratic Republic in the northwest, Poland in the north, the Soviet Union in the east, and Hungary in the southeast—the remaining borders being with Austria in the southwest and the Federal Republic of Germany in the west. The capital is Prague.

This article is concerned with the contemporary country. For history, see BOHEMIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HISTORY OF. For information on related subjects, see CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS; DANUBE RIVER; and PRAGUE.

THE LANDSCAPE

The natural environment. *Topography.* Czechoslovakian geographers divide the country into two large provinces, the Bohemian Massif (České masív) in the west and the Carpathian Mountains in the east; each of these provinces is divided into several smaller regions.

Bohemian Massif

The Bohemian Massif, also called the Bohemian Highlands (Česká vysočina), forms a large elevated basin (the Bohemian Plateau, or Česká tabule) encircled by mountain ranges that occasionally reach heights exceeding 3,000 feet (900 metres) above sea level. These include the Šumava, Český les (Bohemian Forest), Krušné hory (Ore Mountains), Krkonoše, Hrubý-Nizký, Hrubý Jeseník, Nizký Jeseník, and the Bohemian-Moravian Uplands.

The massif may be divided into seven major orographic units. The largest is the Southern Bohemian Highlands (Jihočeská vysočina), which comprise the older, crystalline core of the massif and of which the most important parts are the Bohemian-Moravian Uplands, the Central Bohemian Highlands (Středočeská pahorkatina), the Southern Bohemian Basin (Jihočeské pánve; centred on the lake district to the east of České Budějovice), and, encircling the southwestern end of the country, the Šumava Subsystem (Podsoustava Šumavy; comprising the Český les and Šumava proper).

Northwest of the Southern Bohemian Highlands are the Berounka River Highlands (Poberounská vrchovina). The city of Plzeň lies at the centre of this region. To the northwest of these ranges are the Krušné hory, which form the frontier with the German Democratic Republic, comprising two elongated subsystems paralleling the border. The lowest point in the Bohemian Highlands (384 feet [117 metres]) is found here, where the Elbe (in Czechoslovakia called the Labe) breaches these ranges as it enters East Germany.

To the east of the Krušné hory are the Sudeten (Czech and Polish Sudety) mountains, which form most of the border between these two countries west of Ostrava and in which is found the greatest altitude in the Bohemian Highlands, 5,256 feet (1,602 metres), at Sněžka in the Krkonoše range.

The Brnenska (Brno) Highlands, south of the central Sudeten, are the fifth and last of the uplands which enclose the Bohemian Plateau; here is found the spectacular Moravian Karst.

The plateau itself, also called the Labe plain, or Polabí, after the Labe River, which traverses it from east to west, receives the Vltava on its left bank, about 18 miles (30 kilometres) below Prague, which stands among the hills at the southern edge of the Polabí.

The seventh, and smallest, region is the Oder Lowland (Oderska nížina), a small fringe along the Polish border that may be considered to be a small foreland of the eastern Sudeten.

Carpathian Mountains

The Carpathian Mountains dominate the eastern part of the country; they comprise a system of east–west ranges separated by valleys and intermontane basins. The highest ranges are the Nízke Tatry (Low Tatras), reaching about 6,000 feet, and the Vysoké Tatry (High Tatras), containing the highest point in the republic, Gerlachovský štít (Gerlach Shield), 8,711 feet (2,655 metres).

Four orographic regions are recognized in this province: the Outer Carpathian Depressions (Vnékarpatské sníženiny), the Inner Carpathian Depressions (Vnitrokarpatské sníženiny), the Outer Carpathians, and the Inner Carpathians.

The Outer Carpathian Depressions, from the geographer's viewpoint called the Moravian Corridor, are the narrow lowlands that separate the Bohemian Massif from the easternmost Carpathians; these include the valleys of the upper Oder (Odra) and Morava rivers and the headstreams of the Dyje (although not the lower courses of the last two, as these belong to the Inner Carpathian Depressions). Two other large lowland areas comprise the remainder of the Inner Carpathian Depressions region; these are the Danubian Lowland (Podunajská nížina) and the Eastern Slovakian Lowland (Východoslovenská nížina), which are probably better classified as outliers of the Hungarian Plain, to the south, than as intermontane basins.

The Carpathian Mountains proper consist of two regions, the Outer Carpathians, to the north, composed of flysch, with a well-developed nappe (horizontally overthrust and folded sedimentary beds) structure; to the south, the Inner Carpathians, composed of a crystalline core mantled by Mesozoic sediments and, farther south, by Neogene volcanic series.

According to the definitions of Czechoslovak geographers, mountains and high mountains (lands above 600 metres [1,968 feet]) occupy 23 percent of the country, uplands (200 to 600 metres [656 to 1,968 feet]) occupy 67 percent, and lowlands (below 200 metres [656 feet]) only a scant 9 percent.

Temperature and precipitation

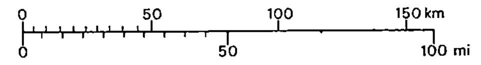
Climate. The Czechoslovak climate is mixed, its continental tendencies being masked by large fluctuations in both temperature and precipitation and oceanic influences diminishing from west to east. Relief variations show up in temperature figures: the mean annual temperature drops to 25.4° F (—3.7° C) in the High Tatras, rising to 50.9° F (10.5° C) in the Danube lowlands. Average July temperatures exceed 68° F (20° C) in the Danube lowlands, and average January temperatures can be as low as 23° F (—5° C) in mountain basins. The growing season is about 200 days in the south and less than half that in the mountains. Annual precipitation ranges from 18 inches (450 millimetres) in the central Bohemian basins, to more than 60 inches (1,500 millimetres) on windward mountain slopes in the Krkonoše (Giant Mountains). Maximum precipitation falls in July, minimum in February. There are no recognizable climatic zones but rather a succession of small and varied districts; climate thus follows the topography in contributing to the diversity of the natural environment.

Soils. Rich, black chernozem soils (10 percent of the total) and good-quality brown soils (another 20 percent) occupy the drier and lower portions of the country. The soils known as podzols, occurring in regions with more than 23 inches (600 millimetres) of rainfall annually, constitute 50 percent of all of the soils in the country but only a third of the agricultural land. Stony mountain soils in the highest regions and rich alluvial soils alongside river courses are characteristic. This soil variety is again further complicated by topographic variations, with loamy-sandy soils commonest in the Bohemian Massif and heavy clay soils predominant in peripheral zones of the Carpathians.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Size of symbol indicates relative size of town

Elevations in metres



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Vltava, *river*......50·21n 14·30e
Vysoké Tatry, *mountains*......49·12n 20·05e

Drainage. Czechoslovakia lies in the headwater area of the main European watershed, with the Elbe draining 39 percent of the country, the Oder and Vistula 7 percent, and the Danube 54 percent. There are many small rivers of little economic importance, and only five rivers have a mean annual discharge of more than 3,500 cubic feet (100 cubic metres) per second. Only the Danube, which barely touches Czechoslovak territory, stands comparison with the great rivers of the world, with a discharge of 78,000 cubic feet (2,200 cubic metres) per second at Bratislava. The greatest flows generally occur in spring, when the rivers are swollen by melting snow, and the lowest in summer. Weather variations can seriously affect water supply, as the ratio of minimum to maximum flow can approach 1:250. The country is rich in mineral springs, and good use is made of the groundwater reserves.

Danube River

Plants and animals. Czechoslovakia's vegetation may be divided into three major groups: Hercynian (central and western European), Pannonian (steppe), and Carpathian (eastern Europe and Siberian). Each of these groups is modified by altitudinal and other climatic influences. Although large areas of original forest have been cleared for cultivation, forests still cover more than a third of the country. The major forest types include the oak (*Quercus robur*), steppe oak (*Q. pubescentis*), and oak-grove assemblages of the lowlands and uplands adjoining the Danubian Plain; the beech forests of the Carpathians (*Fagus sylvatica*); and the spruce (*Picea abies*) forests of the Carpathians and adjoining areas of Bohemia and Moravia. In the very highest elevations can be found taiga and tundra assemblages characteristic of more northerly or more elevated regions elsewhere in Europe. Since cultivation is mostly restricted to areas of level terrain, the proportion of original forest cover is highest in mountainous areas.

The timberline runs at about 4,500 feet above sea level in the west, rising to about 5,000 feet in the east. At these higher elevations, particularly in the Tatras, the tree cover below the timberline consists of little more than dwarf pine (*Pinus mugo*). The alpine zone contains grass and bushes (*Vaccinium, Calluna, Salix retusa*, and others); above 7,500 feet, lichens predominate.

Czechoslovakia's wildlife is extensive and varied; the High Tatra National Park probably shelters the most exceptional collection of wild animals, including bear, wolf, lynx, wild cat (*Felis silvestris*), marmot, otter, marten, and mink. Most of these may be hunted, although the parks themselves are fully protected. Certain other animals, however, are protected everywhere; the chamois, for example, very near extinction for many years, now appears to be increasing in numbers. Birdlife is everywhere; game birds are common in forests and marshes, especially pheasant, partridge, wild goose, and duck. All may be hunted, but larger species such as eagle, vulture, osprey, stork, eagle owl, bustard, and capercaillie are much rarer and often protected.

Although the history of wildlife protection in Czechoslovakia is not long, and although tourism is one of the major purposes of these areas, much attention is devoted to the preservation of the natural heritage. Game reserves exist for the breeding of rare or endangered species such as the mouflon. Nature reserves have been created to preserve especially important landscapes: the Šumava Forest, Moravian Karst, and Jizerské hory (mountains and peat bogs) are among the most significant.

The two largest and most important areas, however, are the High Tatra and Krkonoše (Giant Mountains) national parks. The former, established in 1948 and occupying 190 square miles (500 square kilometres), is an international area, being contiguous with, and jointly administered with, the Polish Tatrzański Park Narodowy. It preserves most of the species of wildlife mentioned above, together with a glacial landscape, alpine flora and fauna, and relict species from the Pleistocene glaciations. Krkonoše National Park, established in 1963 and occupying some 147 square miles (380 square kilometres), protects glacial and alpine landscapes and vegetation and some relict boreo-Arctic species, such as the alpine shrew (*Sorex alpinus*); it is most extensively developed, however, as a ski resort.

Traditional regions and the human imprint. Industrialization and urbanization have wiped out many of the former traditional regions of Czechoslovakia, although, reflecting differing national and cultural heritages, Bohemia, Slovakia, and to a lesser extent Moravia are still recognizable entities. Local traditions are preserved in the mountainous parts of Slovakia in the wearing of folk costumes on holidays and in the preparation of local dishes, the making of cheese, and the preserving of fruits and vegetables. Similar traditions have been preserved in southern Bohemia and in southeastern Moravia.

The country has a high density of settlement, with communities lying, on average, only a few miles apart. The total number of separate settlements exceeds 20,000, but there are fewer than 11,000 communes. Rural settlements are characteristically compact, but in the mountainous regions, colonized during the 13th and 14th centuries, straggling row villages are common. Dispersed rural settlements tend to be exceptional, occurring mostly on the Moravian–Slovakian boundary and in central Slovakia and reflecting the later colonization of the 17th and 18th centuries. Rural settlements with fewer than 500 inhabitants tend to prevail except in south Moravia and southwest Slovakia. The collectivization of farmland that took place in the decades following World War II has resulted in a pattern of large, regularly shaped fields, replacing the centuries-old division of land into small, irregular, privately owned plots.

Urbanization in Czechoslovakia is not particularly high for an industrialized country, only 47 percent of the population residing in communes with more than 5,000 inhabitants (1970) and 15 percent living in communes with 2,000–5,000. Even the smallest urban centres, however, usually contain some manufacturing industry. There are six cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants (accounting

Czechoslovakia, Area and Population

	area		population	
	sq mi	sq km	1970 census	1976 est.
Republics (*republiký*)				
Czech Socialist Republic				
Capital city (*hlavní město*)				
Prague	191	496	1,078,000	1,170,000*
Regions (*kraje*)				
Jihočeský (South Bohemia)	4,381	11,348	653,000	670,000
Jihomoravský (South Moravia)	5,802	15,027	1,938,000	1,992,000
Severočeský (North Bohemia)	3,015	7,810	1,103,000	1,140,000
Severomoravský (North Moravia)	4,273	11,067	1,800,000	1,883,000
Středočeský (Central Bohemia)	4,248	11,003	1,192,000	1,136,000†
Východočeský (East Bohemia)	4,340	11,240	1,202,000	1,227,000
Západočeský (West Bohemia)	4,198	10,872	849,000	875,000
Slovak Socialist Republic				
Capital city				
Bratislava	142	368	284,000	341,000*
Regions				
Středoslovenský (Central Slovakia)	6,941	17,976	1,403,000	1,462,000
Východoslovenský (East Slovakia)	6,247	16,179	1,256,000	1,324,000
Západoslovenský (West Slovakia)	5,595	14,491	1,599,000	1,636,000†
Total Czechoslovakia	49,374‡	127,877	14,358,000‡	14,857,000‡

*Change partly attributable to increase in area.
†Change partly attributable to decrease in area.
‡Figures do not add to totals because of rounding.
Source: Official government figures.

for 16 percent of the national population, and nearly half of this is attributable to Prague), but there are 64 in the 20,000–100,000 range (15 percent). Urbanization is greater in Bohemia than in Slovakia, although postwar industrialization in the latter has reduced the disparity. Prague, with a population of 1,170,000 (1976), is the national capital, historically occupying a predominant role. Bratislava, capital of Slovakia, has a population of 341,000, and Brno, chief city of Moravia, 360,000. The other large cities are Ostrava (301,000), the leading Czech coal-mining and steel centre; Košice (174,000), with its large steel complex; and Plzeň (156,000), with old established engineering and brewing industries.

THE PEOPLE

Composition. Archaeological findings confirm that what is now Czechoslovakia contains regions with some of the oldest settlements in Europe; in particular, a continuous agricultural settlement of the forest–steppe areas, up to 900 feet above sea level, can be dated back to the 4th millennium BC. An ensuing series of invading waves of population was brought to an end by the West Slavs, who settled the whole territory—with the exception of the mountainous regions—in the 5th and 6th centuries AD. The later German and Hungarian minorities were the result not only of immigration but also of some assimilation of the native population.

The Czechs and the Slovaks

Differing economic and political developments resulted in a differentiation of the originally uniform Slav population into Czech and Slovak components, the latter people forming one of the youngest such entities in Europe. The very similar Czech and Slovak languages belong to that group of Slavic languages that uses the Roman rather than the Cyrillic alphabet. The literary Czech language dates from the beginning of the 15th century, Slovak from the 19th.

Anthropologically, the population of Czechoslovakia is very mixed, about half the people exhibiting the physical traits of the Alpine local race and thus reminiscent of western Europe, while east European Baltic elements predominate farther east, and Dinaric elements manifest themselves in Slovakia. Cultural exchanges resulting from dependence on the Austro-Hungarian monarchy until 1918 resulted in an influx of German and west European influences, whereas the linguistic affinity, together with political developments since World War II, has cemented ties with eastern Europe.

Czechs and Slovaks form the great majority (more than 94 percent) of the population, in contrast to the situation before World War II when minorities made up 39 percent. The postwar expulsion of Germans, an exchange of populations with Hungary, and the cession of Ruthenia (with a Ukrainian population) to the Soviet Union brought about the present homogeneous state. By the mid-1970s Czechs numbered 9,500,000 and Slovaks 4,400,000. There were about 580,000 Hungarians in southern Slovakia, small groups of Ukrainians near the Soviet frontier, and a few Poles in northeastern Moravia. Fewer than 80,000 Germans remain, living in northwestern Bohemia. Gypsies—who have no legal status as an ethnic group—are estimated to number between 200,000 and 300,000; according to some sources, they constitute the largest Gypsy population in any one country.

Religion. No official statistics on religion are kept, though the activities of the churches have been financed by the government since the nationalization of all church property in 1949. Roman Catholics are preponderant, but there is an Evangelical element in Slovakia, and a significant number of people have no formal religion. Atheism is the official government philosophy, and the churches' role is largely restricted to religious rites. Clergy are civil servants and required to take an oath of loyalty to the government.

Demographic trends. Although Slovakia shows a natural increase that is higher than that in the ČSR, the country as a whole has a moderate to low rate of natural increase. The annual rate decreased from nearly nine per thousand in 1955–59 to only five in 1965–69, essentially because of a falling birth rate. The rate of natural increase had recovered significantly by the mid-1970s, however, to about eight per thousand, owing to a rising birth rate (19.5 per thousand in 1975), which is attributable in large part to pro-natalist government policy. The mortality rate, about 11.5 per thousand, conceals an important difference between the ČSR (12.4) and Slovakia (9.5), this being largely attributable to the more youthful age structure of the latter. Infant mortality, at about 21 per thousand, is comparable to that of the more advanced countries.

A serious demographic problem is created by the fact that there are few families with more than two or three children, and the number of children per family is decreasing. Although the marriage rate is rather high, the divorce rate is climbing; by the 1970s (as in other European countries) it exceeded 20 percent of new marriages. This factor, together with the changes in way of life associated with urbanization and employment of women in the labour force, helps to explain the rather low rate of population increase.

Population movement

Internal movements of population are of increasing significance with the further modernization of the economy. Migration is directed from the country to the towns and from the smaller towns to the larger cities. In fact, there is a net decline in the number of local inhabitants in most Czechoslovakian communes. Although the lower natural growth rate in the west has been supplemented by immigration from Slovakia, this movement has declined with the growth of urbanization in Slovakia itself.

In the past, population growth was slowed by emigration to the urban centres of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and farther afield, especially to the United States. The main emigrant regions were eastern and central Slovakia, and by the 1970s it was estimated that there were about 1,000,000 Czech and 1,500,000 Slovak emigrants and their descendants living in the United States, although only fragile ties were retained with the homeland after the second generation. Emigration now is a mere trickle.

The most complicated demographic problems in contemporary Czechoslovakia stem from the fact that, with only moderate birth rates and a prolongation of average life-span (approaching 67 for men, 74 for women), the population is aging. In 1950 less than 12 percent of the people were over 60; in 1975 the figure exceeded 17

percent. The highest percentage of old people occurs in central and eastern Bohemia; the Slovak population is generally younger because of the higher birth rate.

Female employment

Half of the total population is in the labour force, a total of 7,435,000 people. The female employment rate is among the highest in the world, almost half of all the employed people being women. Industry and construction take up about 48 percent of the total labour force, with agriculture, transport and trade, and services taking almost 52 percent of the remainder. There are considerable regional variations to this pattern, with industry predominating in urban areas and the number of persons engaged in agriculture increasing eastward, although only a third of the rural population works, on the average, in agriculture. Independent small producers and cooperative farmers represent only 2 percent and 11 percent, respectively, of the labour force.

Geographic conditions make possible the settlement of almost the whole of Czechoslovakia, but the population tends to be concentrated at lower altitudes, more than half the population living below about 1,300 feet above sea level. There is an abrupt decline in population density with increasing altitude. A notable feature is the low density in some frontier areas, partly reflecting the induced emigration of minorities in the post-World War II years; the ČSR was one of the few European political entities to have fewer people (9,800,000) in 1970 than in 1910 (10,080,000), a circumstance explained by war losses and the expulsion of 2,500,000 Germans.

The demographic outlook for Czechoslovakia is not dynamic; the total population will grow only slowly, and the aging of the population will continue unless the recent revival of the birth rate can be maintained. The situation is most serious in agricultural areas and the interior of the ČSR, and there are prospects that the Slovak share of the national population will increase, shifting the demographic centre of gravity eastward. (M.Bl./R.H.O.)

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Although Czechoslovakia is not rich in natural resources, its economy is one of the most advanced in eastern Europe. It uses more chemical fertilizers and machinery per acre and boasts higher agricultural yields than most other east European countries. Its industry is highly developed, providing a substantial share of total east European production. It is a very important supplier of a wide range of machinery for fellow Comecon members and is eastern Europe's largest manufacturer of a number of engineering products. National income has grown relatively slowly since World War II, if compared with the performance of other European countries in the Communist bloc, but in the 1970s it was estimated that, after the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia was the second most prosperous country in the entire Communist world. It is also eastern Europe's largest foreign trader in per capita terms.

Natural resources. *Mineral resources.* Black and brown coals are produced in significant quantities, output in relation to population being high by world standards, but deposits of petroleum and natural gas are small.

Coals

Most of the black coal is derived from the Ostrava–Karviná coalfield, though it is also mined near Kladno, in the Plzeň basin, near Trutnov, and near Brno. A high proportion of the black coal is of coking quality. Production of brown coal (including small quantities of lignite) increased rapidly up to the mid-1960s but remained static thereafter; open-pit methods are used. The main mining areas are around Chomutov, Most, Teplice, and Sokolov. The brown coal is used extensively for thermal power stations and for domestic fuel, and large quantities are also utilized as raw material in the chemical industry. New investment should lead to increased brown coal output by the late 1970s. Petroleum and natural gas are produced near Hodonín, but only in small quantities. There is a great reliance on pipelines importing Soviet oil and natural gas, the latter supplementing existing coal gas supplies.

Czechoslovakia has a limited endowment of metallic ores. Iron ore is mined chiefly in the Slovak Ore Mountains (Slovenské Rudohorie), while areas between Prague and Plzeň are historically important. Because of the gradual exhaustion of reserves, annual production fell after 1960 and remained static through the late 1960s and mid-1970s at about 1,700,000 tons. There is a great reliance on imported iron ore, especially from the Ukrainian S.S.R. Copper and manganese ores are also mined in the Slovak Ore Mountains. Lead and zinc ores are mined near Kutná Hora, Příbram, and Banská Štiavnica and in the Jeseník Mountains. Uranium is also mined near Příbram. The Ore Mountains (Krušné hory) of Bohemia yield small quantities of tin. Imported bauxite and nickel ore are refined at Žiar nad Hronom and Sered', respectively. Other mineral resources include salt in east Slovakia, graphite near České Budějovice, and kaolin near Plzeň and Karlovy Vary.

Biological and hydroelectric resources. Just under 55 percent of the country's total land area consists of agricultural land, and the bulk of this is arable land, with few meadows and pastures. On the lowlands the soil is generally fertile, but in the mountainous regions it is considerably less productive. More than one-third of the country's surface is wooded (see also above *Soils; Plants and animals*). Hydroelectricity plays a small part in the country's total energy supplies. Power stations are located on the Váh and Vltava rivers, but their output represents less than a tenth of total electricity production.

Sources of national income. *Agriculture.* At the beginning of the 1960s, agriculture accounted for 16 percent of total net material product, but by the end of the decade its share had dropped by a quarter. Growth in this sector —which employed only about 14 percent of the economically active population by the mid-1970s—has been adversely affected by the government planners' emphasis on industry and, in the opinion of Western observers, by the disincentives associated with collectivization. Commentators also avow that another weakness of the authorities' farm policy has been the low prices paid to farmers and that, although these have been revised upward, there is still a considerable difference between rural and urban incomes.

Declining share of agriculture

Czechoslovak agriculture is, nevertheless, unquestionably one of the most advanced in the Communist bloc, and yields tend to be better than the average for eastern Europe as a whole. The program of rural collectivization was completed by 1961, although much consolidation of cooperative farms took place afterward (between 1971 and 1976 their total number fell from 6,200 to 2,200, while land held by them rose by 7 percent). Production is organized on the basis of these 2,200 cooperatives and a small number of state farms. Cooperatives in 1975 owned 63 percent of the total agricultural land (including 2.4 percent that is allotted to personal use of individual members) and accounted for 61 percent of total farm output (in addition, private production, 5 percent). State farms worked 30 percent of the land and provided 27 percent of food production. For private farms and plots, the percentages were 6.7 and 7, respectively.

On the fertile lowlands, wheat, barley, sugar beets, maize (corn), and fodder crops are the most important, but on the relatively poor soils of the mountains the principal crops are rye, oats, and potatoes. Cereals lead in total production, with wheat, barley, oats, and rye, in that order, as the most important crops. Other important agricultural items include potatoes. The country also raises a sizable amount of livestock.

Industry. By the mid-1970s industry accounted for nearly two-thirds of the country's net material product and employed nearly 40 percent of the economically active population. The period from 1955 to 1970 was characterized by a very rapid growth in industry, the index of industrial production advancing more than 160 percent. Growth tended to be fastest in heavy industry, but it fell behind—in terms of both quality and quantity —in light industry and in consumer goods. Engineering is the largest branch of industry, constituting more than a quarter of total industrial production. In close second place is the food industry, followed by ferrous metallurgy (about 10 percent of the total), fuel mining and process-

ing, and the chemical, rubber, and asbestos industries. Czechoslovakia's iron and steel industries are the second largest in eastern Europe, after the Soviet Union, based largely on imported ores. Steel production is centred on the plants of the Ostrava area, with lesser amounts produced at Kladno, Plzeň, and Chomutov (all in Bohemia); the major centre in Slovakia is Košice.

Czechoslovakia is eastern Europe's largest producer of a number of engineering products, including electric and diesel locomotives and passenger cars.

Energy. Czechoslovakia is dependent on solid fuels for 70 percent of its energy supplies, which are not adequate to meet domestic requirements. The importance of liquid fuels and natural gas is expected to grow, while it is estimated that the share of hydroelectricity will remain unchanged at 1.5 percent. Electricity output has risen substantially, but shortages still pose a serious problem. The bulk of this output is derived from brown coal. There is a nuclear power station near Trnava. Oil and natural gas imports from the Soviet Union are necessary.

The financial sector and foreign trade. Banking is nationalized, with the State Bank of Czechoslovakia (Státní banka československá) as the most important of the country's financial institutions; it is the sole bank of issue, provides credit to enterprises, manages the foreign-exchange reserves, and administers the government's overall financial policy. Some loans are also provided by the Investment Bank, while the Commercial Bank of Czechoslovakia (Československá obchodní banka) specializes in trade and related transactions. There are also the Czech and Slovak State Savings Banks (Česká i Slovenská státní spořitelna) and the Trade Bank (Živnostenská banka), which provides banking service for foreigners.

The country is highly dependent on foreign trade; in per capita terms it is the largest foreign trader in the Communist bloc. The foreign-trade account has generally been in surplus, although trade with the advanced capitalist world usually yields a deficit. The rising prices of raw material imports had become an adverse factor by the mid-1970s. The lion's share of foreign trade—about 70 percent—is accounted for by Communist countries, including the Soviet Union (about one-third), followed by the German Democratic Republic and Poland. Outside the Communist bloc, its largest trading partner is the Federal Republic of Germany, which accounts for more than 6 percent of total imports and exports.

About 47 percent of all of the imports are raw materials, of which fuels, minerals, and metals are the most important. The second largest group consists of machinery and tools, followed by food and consumer goods. On the export side, about one-half is made up of sales of machinery—including motorcars and machine tools, electric-power machinery, switchgear, and textile and leather machinery—much of which is shipped to fellow Comecon countries. This is followed by sales of raw materials (*i.e.*, wood, metalliferous ores and scrap, and some chemicals), which accounted for about 30 percent of the total, and consumer goods (about 18 percent).

The management of the economy. The state plays an extremely important role in the economy. Approximately 90 percent of all of the agricultural land is in the hands of the state farms and the cooperatives, and industry, banks, and most trading and service enterprises are owned and closely controlled by the government. Private enterprise is tolerated on a very small scale only and mainly in certain specified areas such as handicrafts, some service trades, and some farming activities. All in all, the private sector accounts for less than 5 percent of the net material product and employs no more than 4 percent of the country's labour force. Economic planning is based on detailed five-year plans, which lay down a large number of targets in all the areas of the economy but, as elsewhere in the Communist bloc, are less centralized than they were in earlier years.

Taxation. As the state derives substantial revenue from the profits of the state enterprises, taxes play a relatively small role in the budget—less than 15 percent of total budgeted revenue. The principal tax is the turnover tax on consumer goods that is levied on producer, wholesaler, retailer, and ultimate buyer and that accounts for 63 percent of all tax receipts. This is followed by the payroll tax on enterprises, with a 28 percent share; the remainder is made up of a large number of different levies, the yield of which is insignificant.

Trade unions. Most workers belong to the trade-union movement, which is organized by industry and, as in other Communist countries, plays a central role in implementing national economic policy. The major function of the unions is to mobilize the working force to support the regime.

Economic policies, problems, and prospects. Up to 1960, economic progress was fairly rapid, but the subsequent years brought a slowdown in growth, and the authorities drew up an extensive program for reforming the system of economic management. In broad terms, the avowed aim was to reduce reliance on rigid central regulation of the economy—which had proved to be unable to match supply and demand or to ensure maximum efficiency—and to replace it with greater emphasis on a balancing of economic forces. A program embodying these goals came into effect from 1966; its principal features were a revision of the pricing system, which freed some prices from central control, and the granting of greater independence to individual enterprises.

By 1968, however, it became apparent to both Czechoslovak economists and Western commentators that the reform program had run into serious trouble. It led to a much faster rise in prices than anticipated, and it expanded consumer and investment demand to levels that could not be satisfied. After the invasion of the country by Warsaw Pact forces in August 1968, the newly installed government introduced firmer control over prices, investment, and the whole economy; according to the new plans, trade with the Soviet Union would grow faster than that with the West. As a result of these and other changes, the system of economic management is, in the opinion of Western observers, somewhat more rigid than that of some other east European countries, although it is generally accepted that it is still more flexible than it was before the ill-fated reform program.

Continuing problems of the economy

It is also generally accepted that the Czechoslovak economy, like the economies of many other countries, both East and West, is faced with a number of difficulties in the 1970s. The reforms outlined by the Dubček regime of January–August 1968, along with earlier defects in the economic system, have been decisively rejected. Yet a new, comprehensive strategy was, not unexpectedly, slow to evolve. The difficulties of the 1960s left a heritage of lack of purpose and confidence, a problem made even more serious by widespread industrial apathy and poor labour discipline. Among the more pressing specific problems acknowledged by both Czechoslovak economists and outside observers in the 1970s were the low level of productivity, the lack of advanced equipment in many industries, the shortage and poor quality of consumer goods, and the neglected state of the country's infrastructure.

In spite of such difficulties, the Five-Year Plan for 1971–75 was a notable success, national income rising by about one-third. The plan for 1976–80 envisaged further economic expansion, aided by selective industrial re-equipment, a continued export drive, and greater collaboration within the Comecon bloc. (E.I.U./R.H.O.)

TRANSPORTATION

Czechoslovakia has a typical inland transport system, the modernization of which has taken place only in recent decades. Transit functions, whereby the country was merely a link in trans-European trade, lost much of their importance in the new political and economic conditions that prevailed on the Continent after 1945.

The railways. The most important element of the transport system is the railways, which are especially important in freight transport, notably of coal (about 40 percent of the total), ores, metals, and building materials. Density of the railway network is fairly high at 26.8 miles per 100 square miles (10.3 kilometres per 100 square kilometres) but is not always effective. The rail-

ways developed in the second half of the 19th century and mostly ran from north to south, to Vienna and to Budapest, whereas the main trend of present-day transportation runs east–west. Communications with the main trading partner of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, have been facilitated by an extensive program of reconstruction and electrification; more than 20 percent of all lines had been electrified by 1975. Most freight moves along main-line routes, but short journeys in the vicinity of the larger towns are of decisive importance in passenger traffic.

Road, water, and air transport. The density of roads and the number of scheduled bus routes are also high, and the transport of passengers and freight by state-owned vehicles predominates. Again, the urban centres are the focus of the most intensive road networks. Although Czechoslovak roads are of good quality, there are few of the throughways and expressways familiar in the West, and the Western visitor is surprised by the small number of private cars seen on the Prague–Brno road. Only in Prague and its surroundings and on weekends in other large cities does traffic flow approach the west European level; the emphasis on cheap mass transportation is an attempt to forestall in Czechoslovakia the traffic paralysis that plagues many countries.

Waterways

Czechoslovakia's position in the headwater area of the main European watershed means that the potential of water transport is small; of the rivers flowing through the country, including the Danube, only small portions actually in the country are navigable. Freight is transported on the Elbe to Hamburg, which functions as a port for mixed cargo, but Danube river transport, with Komárno the largest Czechoslovak port, now predominates, carrying raw materials imported from the Soviet Union and its neighbours. Although natural conditions would facilitate the construction of canals linking the Danube, Oder, and Elbe, such projects would be very expensive, and their construction—which would make Czechoslovakia the centre of European waterway routes—would also require international cooperation.

Air connections between Prague, Bratislava, and other regional centres are of considerable importance, and Prague itself is a major international air centre. Finally, major changes in freight transportation have been introduced by the Druzhba (Friendship) oil pipeline running into the country from the Volga River region of the Soviet Union, and also by a gas line from Siberia, which runs beyond Czechoslovakia to western Europe.

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The constitutional framework. According to the constitution of 1960, as modified by the Constitutional Law of 1968 and by subsequent amendments in 1970 and 1975, Czechoslovakia is a Socialist federative republic, with all power derived from the people. The head of the federation is the president, elected by the two-chamber Federal Assembly, which consists of the Chamber of the People (Sněmovna lidu) and the Chamber of the Nations (Sněmovna národů). The latter consists of equal delegations from the national councils; *i.e.*, the legislative bodies of the Czech and Slovak Socialist republics.

The government of the federation (*i.e.*, the president, with the premier, deputy premiers, and ministers), appointed by the president, is theoretically responsible to the Federal Assembly. In practice, however, the power of the government is greater than that of the assembly; and the power of the Communist Party is greater than that of either. Individuals often occupy seats of rank in both government and party.

The Communist Party

Political life is organized by the National Front, a union of political parties and mass organizations, including the trade unions and women's and youth groups. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunistická Strana Československa, or KSČ), with more than a million members, is the dominant element in the National Front, and its leading position is embodied in the constitution. It thus has an effective monopoly of political power. Though there are several other political parties, they function as auxiliaries to the KSČ rather than as an opposition. Organizations that are not members of the National Front are not permitted to function.

The president of the Central Committee of the National Front is also the general secretary of the Communist Party, and the front controls elections at all levels, presenting single lists of candidates, one candidate for each seat. All of the component organizations of the front have constituent branches representing the local government units, as well as individual plants and economic enterprises.

Local government. Local administration is controlled by "national" committees that operate on three levels. Czechoslovakia is divided into seven Czech and three Slovak *kraje* (regions), the capitals, Prague and Bratislava, each occupying independent positions; the regions are subdivided into *okresy* (districts); and these, in turn, are subdivided into numerous *obce* (local communities, or communes). The last named came into being in the 18th century as basic groups of settlements and are being merged. The administrative division underwent changes in 1948, 1960, and 1968.

Justice. In the civil division, the lawcourts are most concerned with family affairs, including divorce cases; the criminal courts deal with crime and traffic accidents. Conflicts in the sphere of economic law between the various components of the Communist system are dealt with by independent, government-organized arbitration.

The armed forces. The four military forces are integrated as the National People's Army, including ground forces, air and air defense forces, frontier guards, and interior guards (the two last under the Ministry of the Interior till 1965). Their numbers were estimated by Western experts at 180,000 in 1976. Two years of service in the military forces are required from men over age 18 who are physically and otherwise fit and who are called. Discharged conscripts usually remain in the reserves till age 50.

Services. The management of houses and apartments is one of the more critical areas of social policy in Czechoslovakia. Local "national" committees control the housing policy, including the 60 percent of apartments that are in private homes as well as the state-owned urban housing projects. Cooperative housing projects are increasingly popular, and private ownership remains important.

The housing problem

The housing problem continues to be one of the most severe afflicting the country; by the early 1970s, the average age of housing units was about 60 years, and 10 percent or more of the apartments were more than a century old, although almost a quarter had been built since 1945. About eight new apartments per 1,000 inhabitants are built each year. Almost all housing units are now supplied with electricity, two-thirds with water, and about half with bathrooms and gas connections. There is little regional variation in this regard.

A centrally organized police force, the National Security Corps, under the Ministry of the Interior, takes care of public safety and is supplemented by the voluntary organization of the People's Militia in factories and similar enterprises. The police also combat unauthorized political activity.

Consumer goods and services are made available through national and cooperative retail stores; more than half of the 70,000 or so shops are food outlets. Large department stores and shopping centres are found in the cities and in the new housing developments, and remote settlements are served by travelling stores. Specialized stores and service centres tend to be concentrated in larger urban areas.

Education. The system of schools in Czechoslovakia has been built up in the tradition of the great 17th-century European educational reformer John Amos Comenius, who was born in Moravia. Compulsory education, which has existed since the middle of the 18th century, lasts nine years. Preschool education is an important consideration with the children of employed mothers, and there are some day nurseries in operation. Study in secondary schools lasts three or four years. The secondary schools are so located as to be accessible from all the districts. Specialized schools include technical, agricultural,

and commercial schools and schools of social hygiene (which hold nursing classes). The larger towns, as well as traditional cultural centres, are the areas served best.

Colleges and universities

Eight undergraduates per 1,000 inhabitants attend the nearly 40 universities and colleges. In the mid-1970s, most students were studying teaching, medicine, engineering, social sciences, and agriculture. The leading educational institutions, providing four to five years of intensive study, have very ancient traditions. Charles University (Universita Karlova, founded 1348) and the Czech Technical University in Prague (České vysoké učení technickév Praze, founded 1707) are the oldest in central Europe. After World War II, however, higher educational institutions increased in number, especially in Slovakia, where by 1975 about two dozen universities and colleges existed, in comparison with one university before the war. The largest student populations are at Prague (about 51,000) and Bratislava (36,000).

In small nations, instruction in languages is very important. Language teaching starts in Czechoslovakia with Russian in the third year of school, followed later by another major language, usually German or English.

The emphasis on adult education is not so strong as it was in the early years of the Communist regime, but the opportunities are still good.

Research work in Czechoslovakia is organized not only in the universities but also in special research institutions. Basic research is carried out by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, which has institutes in Prague, Brno, and Bratislava.

Health, recreation, and tourism. Czechoslovakia is traditionally among the very best equipped countries medically, although Slovakia is somewhat less well served than the Czech Lands. One-half of all of the doctors work in specialized medical establishments and in district and regional hospitals. Czechoslovakia has more than 50 sanatoriums, most of them in the Czech Lands, where more than 360,000 patients, including children and pensioners, as well as more than 19,000 visitors from abroad, are treated each year. For most patients, treatment is free. Half of the spas are in northwestern Bohemia, in such internationally known resorts as Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lázně, and Františkovy Lázně.

Football (soccer), ice hockey, track-and-field sports, and skiing are among the most popular sports, and playgrounds and gymnasiums can be found in all of the larger communities. The larger towns have winter stadiums and sports grounds. Camping is also popular. The rest centres run by the trade unions are visited by 400,000 persons annually and their summer camps for children by more than 250,000. The main tourist regions are the Krkonoše, the Tatras, and other scenic mountain regions, although many citizens continue to be attracted by the beauty of Prague and other ancient centres.

Half of the families of Prague, Ostrava, and Bratislava have a cottage or cabin in the country near the city. Excursions into the country and the picking of wild berries and mushrooms are favourite forms of recreation, as is gardening: not surprising, as much of the urban population of Czechoslovakia originally came from the country.

Foreign tourists numbered some 8,500,000 annually in the mid-1970s, not a great number considering the attractions of the country. There were about 13,000,000 foreign visitors every year (including those coming for reasons other than holiday), two-thirds of them from other Communist countries, notably the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, and Poland. A considerable number of tourists also come from the Federal Republic of Germany. Czechoslovak citizens themselves mostly visit Hungary, Yugoslavia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, and Bulgaria.

Wages and pensions

Living standards. Czechoslovakia has a generally good standard of living as compared to the other Communist-bloc countries, about 52 percent of the real national income going to personal consumption. The mean monthly wage shows some variation, industrial workers as a whole getting above-average wages, though lower wages can be found, for example, in the clothing industry and in some services; coal miners receive maximum wages. Farmers' incomes are about average. Unearned income is forbidden. All workers participate in pension insurance, and the retirement age is 60 years for men and 55 for women. Old-age pensions, however, remain low, approaching only 50 percent of mean wages. Regional variations in income may be up to 40 percent above or below the average, as, for example, between mining districts and cities, on the one hand, and predominantly agricultural districts, with families with many children, on the other; some peasants in remote areas of Slovakia live at subsistence level.

In the average Czechoslovak household of the 1970s, the greater part of the family income is provided by the husband and his working wife. Sick benefits, old-age and disability pensions, and child allowances represent most of the remainder. In farmers' families, the income structure is different, about 15 percent of the income coming from crops they grow and sell privately. In addition, medical care, medicines, and education are free, and there are reduced fares for transportation to and from work. Vacations range between two and four weeks per year, and there is generous paid maternity leave.

About 30 percent of average family expenditure goes to relatively costly food and drink; about 30 percent to manufactured goods; and 30 percent to services, rent, and taxes. As much as 10 percent of the income is reserved for savings. The national beer consumption per capita is the highest in the world. The high rate of calorie intake is largely accounted for by consumption of bread and wheat products, including the ubiquitous national dish, dumplings, of which no fewer than 345 pounds (156 kilograms) per person are eaten each year.

CULTURAL LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS

The setting. The rich cultural milieu in contemporary Czechoslovakia is rooted in history and the geographic position of the Czechs and Slovaks in Europe. The earliest preserved writings in Czech are hymns dating from the 13th century. The most varied artistic schools have penetrated the country, and Prague and other historic cultural centres exhibit a mixture of architectural styles. The threat of doom to the Czechs and Slovaks as peoples in the 18th and 19th centuries gave national cultural life a strong patriotic element.

Literature and the theatre. Literature has occupied an important position in Czechoslovak cultural life since the late 18th century, when the development of an urban middle class created a public for it. Romanticism in the early 19th century was best exemplified by Karel Hynek Mácha, whom some regard as the greatest Czech poet of all time. Janko Kral' was a major Slovak poet of this period. The reaction to Romanticism came in the 1840s with the Realist writings of the Czech novelist Božena Němcová and the political journalist Karel Havlíček. National traditions were reasserted by the Czech poets Jan Neruda and Svatopluk Čech and by the Slovak poet Pavel Országh (whose pen name was Hviezdoslav). After independence in 1918 came the plays and novels of Karel Čapek, well known in the West for *R.U.R.* (*Rossum's Universal Robots*), and the plays of František Langer. Jaroslav Hašek's novel *The Good Soldier Schweik* is still highly popular. After the establishment of the Communist regime in 1948, Socialist Realism became dominant stylistically, and interest in literature declined. The period of the "thaw" brought a number of writings critical of the events of Stalin's era, the first success among which was that of *The Taste of Power*, by Ladislav Mňačko. From 1969, literature again declined.

Translations

Editorial activities are concentrated in numerous specialized government publishing houses, and books are among the cheapest goods in Czechoslovakia. Translations of foreign literature predominate, and there is interest in both Western and Soviet literature. Asian and Latin-American books and publications from other parts of the developing world are also available.

Music and films. The Czechs and Slovaks are traditionally musical, and operas and symphonies have a high place in cultural life. Such composers as Bedřich Smetana, Antonín Dvořák, Leoš Janáček, and Bohuslav Mar-

tinů have international reputations, and their works are often played in the annual spring music festival in Prague. In addition, jazz and related musical forms, and their performers, are also very popular, as is folk music.

Czechoslovak motion pictures are noted for their delicate and sympathetic treatments of basic human situations. In fact, modern Czechoslovak literary, theatrical, and film creations are all characterized by an interest in everyday life combined with the application of new forms of expression. A notable example of this has been the continued success of the combination of film, ballet, and theatre known as Laterna magica, which first attracted international attention at the world expositions in Brussels (1958) and Montreal (1967).

Fine, applied, and popular arts. In painting and in sculpture, abstract schools have made themselves felt, but Realism generally prevails. One of the best known painters before independence was Josef Mánes, and after his time Alphonse (Czech, Alfons) Mucha gained world renown, as did the half-Czech Oskar Kokoschka. The glass designer and sculptor René Roubíček is also world renowned in his restricted field. In the applied arts, manufactured glass ornaments, the traditional north Bohemian costume jewelry, and toys are probably best known. Popular art has been preserved above all in useful objects in ceramics and wood; embroideries and traditional costumes are now of less importance.

State library

Libraries and museums. The largest library is the State Library of the Czech Socialist Republic in Prague, created in 1958 by merger of several older libraries (one of which, the University Library, was founded in 1348); its collections include 4,600,000 volumes. The National Museum Library, also in Prague and founded in 1818, has about 2,400,000 volumes. Other major collections are in the Slovak National Library in Martin (4,000,000 volumes), the Slovak Technical Library of Bratislava (2,200,000), the University Library in Bratislava (1,500,000), and the State Scientific Library in Brno (4,000,000). Public lending libraries are found in every community.

Among the many museums, in both Prague and the provinces, may be mentioned three in Prague: the National Museum (founded 1818), the National Gallery (1796), and the Museum of Decorative Arts (1885), the last housing one of the world's largest glass collections.

The media of mass communication. Among the more than 1,000 varied periodicals published in Czechoslovakia, there are only 30 newspapers, the leader of which is the KSČ organ *Rudé Právo*. The national television network reaches the whole country; about two-fifths of the programs are devoted to the arts and about one-third to news and reportage.

PROSPECTS

Czechoslovakia, a rather small country situated in the centre of Europe, is characterized by a great internal variation, a fact that Czechoslovaks feel justifies the words of the national anthem, which claim that the country is "a paradise to look at." Complicated natural conditions, limited resources of raw materials, and a landlocked position are reflected in the national character, demography, and economy. Czechs and Slovaks entered the modern period as peoples without a large noble class and higher social order, and subsequent developments have made them cosmopolitan, with social consciousness and a strong democratic spirit. Their prospects centre on the intensification and modernization of the national economy, but also important are the improvement of surviving backward areas and the smoothing out of regional differences.

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(M.Bl./R.H.O./Ed.)

Dahomey (Benin)

The Republic of Dahomey—which in 1975 was renamed the People's Republic of Benin (République Populaire du Bénin)—is one of the smallest independent states of West Africa. With an area of 43,500 square miles (112,600 square kilometres), it consists of a long wedge of territory extending for about 420 miles (675 kilometres) from the Niger River, which forms part of its northern frontier, to the Atlantic Ocean in the south, on which it has a 75-mile (120-kilometre) seaboard. Its population was estimated to be 3,338,200 in 1979. Benin is bounded to the west by Togo, to the northwest by Upper Volta, to the northeast by Niger, and to the east by Nigeria. The capital is Porto-Novo (population, according to the 1979 census, 132,000). Cotonou, with a population of 327,000, is the largest city and the chief port. Other important towns are Ouidah, Abomey, and Parakou.

A grouping of ancient kingdoms

A former French colony, Dahomey became an independent republic within the French Community in 1958 and gained full independence in 1960. Thereafter, Dahomey underwent more than a decade of political instability, caused partly by its diverse ethnic composition and traditions. The majority of the people inhabiting the southern one-third of the country are related Adja peoples (including the Fon), who migrated into the region in the 13th century and later founded, among others, the Porto-Novo Kingdom and the Dahomey (or Dan-homey: "on the stomach of Dan") Kingdom. The Dahomey Kingdom—also called the Abomey Kingdom after its capital city of Abomey—conquered smaller kingdoms in the south in the 18th century and was directly involved in the transatlantic slave trade, then controlled by Portuguese settlers from the port of Ouidah. Dahomey's warriors, including the famed corps of female soldiers known as the Amazon warriors, fought heroically against, but were defeated by, French colonizers in 1893. The kingdom then lent its name to the whole country, which became a division of the federation of French West Africa (Afrique Occidentale Française; AOF) in 1904. Descendants of Portuguese settlers, returning slaves, and the French colonialists were instrumental in spreading Christianity and Western education in the south; by the 1950s, Dahomey was known as the "Latin Quarter" of West Africa.

Large sections of the population in the northern part of the country had migrated from the inlands of the continent to form several kingdoms or to settle in small communities. They were predominantly Muslim, and until independence they had relatively little contact with their neighbours in the south. This cleavage between the north and the south, and that in the south between Abomey and Porto-Novo, fueled conflict among political leaders. Another factor contributing to political instability was the failing economy, which was largely dependent upon the export of palm oil and palm kernels and upon external aid, primarily from France. Eleven government changes, including five military interventions, occurred during the 12 years between 1960 and 1972. The government of a three-member Presidential Council, adopted in 1970, was overthrown in 1972 by Maj. (later Lieut. Col.) Mathieu Kérékou, who has since been the president of the country. In 1975 the country was proclaimed a Marxist-Leninist state. (For further coverage of historical aspects, see WEST AFRICA, HISTORY OF.)

(D.Ro.)

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been assailed. Concerning an idea or belief, James had held that one can say: " 'It is useful because it is true' or that 'it is true because it is useful.' " "Both phrases," he added, "mean the same thing." Most scholars, however, have denied this equivalence. His position may seem, moreover, to allow for an idea to be true (*i.e.*, useful or expedient) for one person and false (inexpedient) for others. Finally, James was accused of reducing truth to a subjective play of opinions that one happens to relish or find useful to believe. To these charges James replied that "what immediately feels most 'good' is not always most 'true' when measured by the verdict of the rest of experience." He also warned: "Woe to him whose beliefs play fast and loose with the order which realities follow in his experience."

As a single movement, Pragmatism is no longer extant; but as a body of ideas it contributes a heritage that is destined for future analysis and development. Chief among these are the interpretation of thought and meaning as forms of purposive behaviour, of knowledge as evaluative procedure in which normative and descriptive materials are integrally related, and of the logic of scientific inquiry as a norm of intelligent conduct in the affairs of men. Finally, Pragmatism has succeeded in its critical reaction to the 19th-century philosophy from which it emerged. It has influenced the current conception of philosophy as a critical method of investigating problems and clarifying communication rather than as a universal synthesis of knowledge. Pragmatism thus has certain affinities with the critical philosophizing of G.E. Moore and Bertrand Russell, as well as with the thought of the French intuitionist and vitalist Henri Bergson and his disciple Édouard Le Roy, of Blondel, of the early Positivists Mach and Duhem, of the fictionalist Hans Vaihinger, of the Vienna Circle and the philosopher of logic and language Ludwig Wittgenstein, and also of the founder of Phenomenology, Edmund Husserl, and some of the continuing forms of Phenomenology and Existentialism. It has recognized the relative, contingent, and fallible (yet still authentic) character of human reason, rather than perpetuating the dubious ideal of philosophy as a system of eternal truths. In so doing, and in thus altering the philosophical scene, Pragmatism has become vitally implicated in the practices of current intellectual life; and in the light of this fact, a more pragmatic justification of Pragmatism is difficult to imagine.

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(H.S.T.)

Prague

One of the finest cities of Europe, Prague (Czech Praha), the capital of Czechoslovakia and that nation's major economic and cultural centre, lies at the heart of the continent and was the home of some 1,173,000 people by the mid-1970s. Spread like Rome on seven hills, the city has a rich architectural heritage that reflects both the uncertain currents of history in Bohemia and an urban life extending back more than a thousand years. The physical attractions of the city are many. The winding course of the Vltava River, with its succession of bridges and changing vistas, contrasts with the ever-present backdrop of the great castle of Hradčany (or Prague Castle), which dominates the left-bank region of the city from behind massive walls set high on a hill. The narrow streets and little taverns and restaurants of the older quarters contrast with the broad sweep of Václavské náměstí (Wenceslas Square) and modern parks and housing developments, while the great 18th-century Baroque palaces have their own elegance and splendour. Seen from the surrounding hills, the many church towers make up a unique perspective, giving Prague its description as the "city of a hundred spires." This architectural harmony has been enhanced by post-1945 planning, which has preserved the ancient core of the city as one major monument and has carefully supervised all modern building.

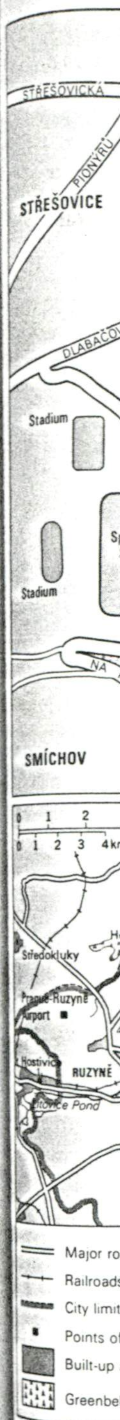
The character of the city

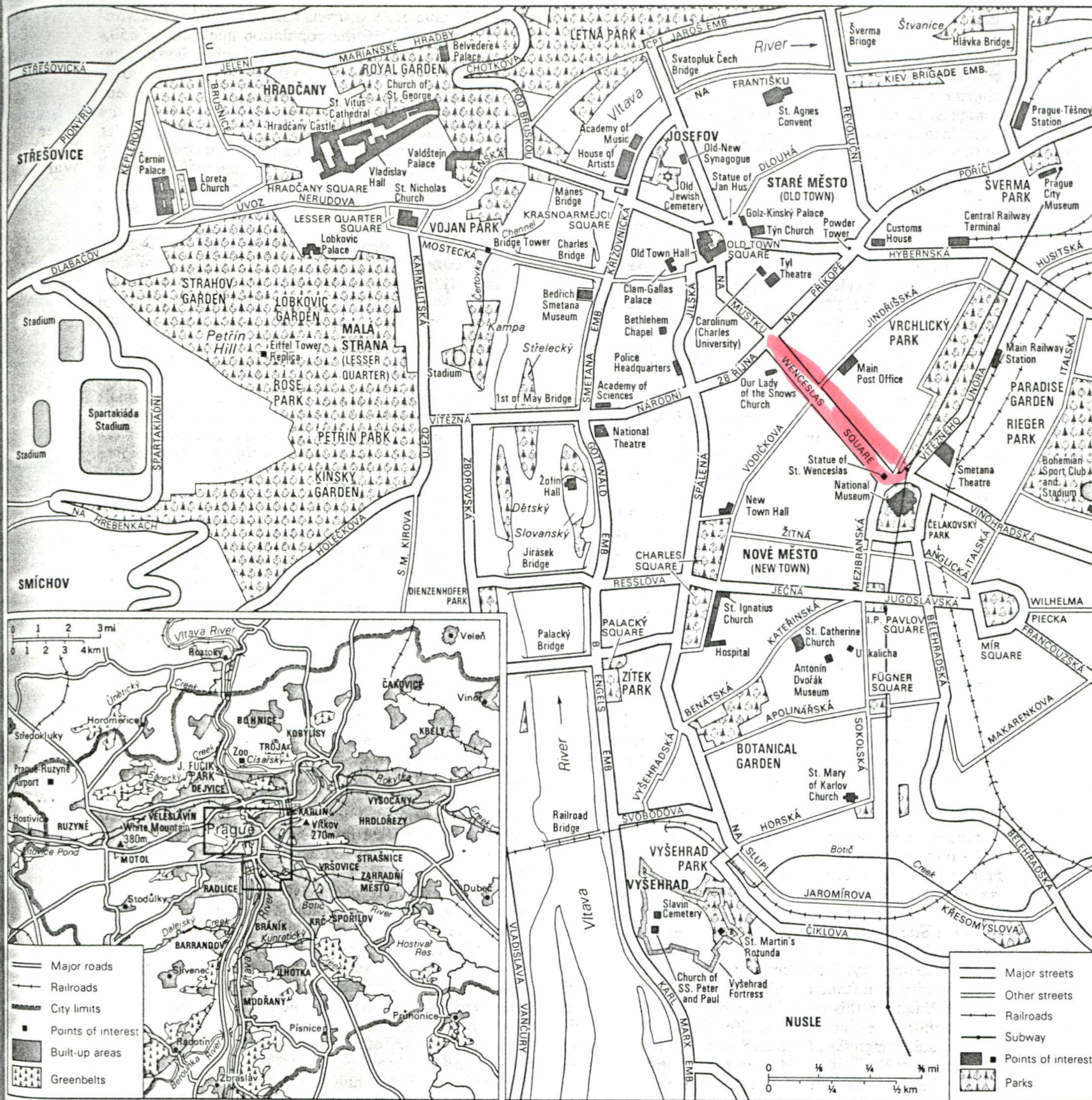
Prague is also famous for its cultural life: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart lived there, and his *Prague Symphony* and *Don Giovanni* were first performed there; the lyric music of the great Czech composers Bedřich Smetana, Antonín Dvořák, and Leoš Janáček is commemorated each year in the spring music festival. In literature, the *U kalicha* ("At the Chalice") beer parlour, still popular with local residents and tourists alike, provided the setting for the humorously anti-authoritarian activities of Schweik, immortalized by the novelist Jaroslav Hašek in *The Good Soldier Schweik;* the writings of Franz Kafka, dwelling in a different way on the dilemmas and predicaments of modern man, also seem indissolubly linked with life in this city. For related information see BOHEMIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HISTORY OF; and CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

THE HISTORY OF PRAGUE

The foundation of the city. For thousands of years that portion of the Vltava's course where Prague was to rise was crossed by trade routes linking northern and southern Europe. The region is replete with Paleolithic relics, and Neolithic farmers inhabited the region from around 5000 to 2700 BC. Celts had settlements in the region from about 500 to 200 BC, including the fortified Závist, to the south of Prague. From the 4th century AD to the 6th, Slavs appeared on the Vltava banks, followed by the Avars.

The first settlement at what is now Prague has been traced to the second half of the 9th century. The oldest building was Vyšehrad Castle (*hrad*, "castle"), set on a commanding right-bank hill. It was soon followed by what was to become Hradčany Castle, set on an equally commanding left-bank site a little downstream. Legend (stirringly told in Smetana's opera *Libuše*) ascribes the foundation of Prague to a Princess Libuše and her husband Přemysl, a plowman and founder of the Přemyslid dynasty; legend notwithstanding, the Přemyslids, in power from *c.* 800 to 1306, consolidated a political base centred on Prague that was to be the nucleus of the Bohemian state and that enabled the natural trade advantages of the city site to develop under defensive protection. The dynasty included St. Wenceslas (Václav), who was murdered by his brother Boleslav *c.* 936 and whose statue now looks down upon the square to which his name was





Central Prague and (inset) its metropolitan area.

later given; and Boleslav I, whose reign (*c.* 936–967) witnessed the consolidation of power against a German threat. The little community began to flourish, and in the year 965 the Arab merchant and traveller Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb was able to describe it as a "busy trading centre." In 973 the bishopric of Prague was founded.

Medieval growth. The economic expansion of the community was soon reflected in the topography of the city. A market centre on the right bank, opposite Hradčany Castle, developed into the Staré Město (Old Town), particularly after the construction of the first stone bridge over the river in 1170. By 1230 the Staré Město had been given borough status and was defended by a system of walls and fortifications. On the opposite bank, under the walls of Hradčany, the community known as Malá Strana (Lesser Quarter; literally, Small Side) was founded in 1257. Following the eclipse of the Přemyslids, the House of Luxembourg came to power when John of Luxembourg, son of the future emperor Henry VII, became king of Bohemia. His son, Charles IV, Bohemian king and Holy Roman emperor, had his capital at Prague from 1346 to 1378 and took considerable personal interest in the development of the city. In 1348 he founded the Charles University (Universita Karlova), the first in central Europe, which was later to attract scholars and students from all over the Continent. His reign also saw the growth of the planned Nové Město (New Town) adjacent to the Staré Město; construction of the Karlův most (Charles Bridge; 1357, reconstructed in 1970) linking the Staré Město and the Malá Strana; and the beginning (1344) of the great St. Vitus' Cathedral, which was not completed until 1929. Other buildings included the Carolinum (the central hall of the university), the town hall (destroyed in 1945), and several churches and monasteries in Nové Město. The Jewish ghetto was also developed, and the bishopric was raised to an archbishopric in 1344.

The role of Charles IV in planning the city

By the 14th century Prague had become a major central

European city, with the Czech money minted at nearby Kutná Hora serving as the hard currency of the entire region. Foreign merchants, notably Germans and Italians, became economically and politically powerful in uneasy alliance with the kings. The social order, however, became less stable because of the emergent guilds of craftsmen, themselves often torn by conflicts between masters and journeymen. The town paupers added a further volatile element.

The Reformation and the Thirty Years' War. Prague played a significant role in the Reformation. The sermons of Jan Hus, a scholar at the university, begun in 1402 at the now-restored Bethlehem Chapel and carrying forward the criticisms of the church developed by the English reformer John Wycliffe, endeared him to the common people but brought him into conflict with Rome; he was burned at the stake in the town of Constance (Konstanz, West Germany) in 1415. Popular uprisings in 1419, led by the Prague priest Jan Želivský, included the throwing of city councillors from the windows of the New Town Hall in the incident known as the first Defenestration of Prague. The next year Hussite peasant rebels, led by the great military leader Jan Žižka, joined forces with the Hussites of Prague to win a decisive victory over the Catholic king (later emperor) Sigismund at nearby Vítkov Hill.

During the next 200 years, the rich merchants became ascendant once more, and the late Gothic architectural style flourished in many churches and buildings, reaching a peak in the fine Vladislavský sál (Vladislav Hall) of Hradčany Castle. In 1526, however, the Catholic Habsburgs became rulers of Bohemia and attempted to crush Czech Protestantism. The second Defenestration of Prague (1618), when the governors of Bohemia were thrown from the windows of the council room in Hradčany Castle—one of the major events precipitating the Thirty Years' War—was followed by the decisive defeat of Protestant forces at the Battle of the White Mountain (Bílá Hora), near the city, in 1620. Twenty-seven Prague commoners and Czech noblemen were executed on the Staroměstské náměstí (Old Town Square) in 1621; the city ceased to be the capital of the empire, was occupied by Saxons (1631) and Swedes (1648), and went into a decline hastened by two outbreaks of plague.

The modern period. *The 18th century.* The return of more settled conditions in central Europe was marked by renewed economic growth, and Prague's population grew from 40,000 in 1705 to more than 80,000 by 1771. In 1784 the Staré Město, the Nové Město, the Malá Strana, and the Hradčany Castle complex were administratively united into one city. The merchants and the mostly German, Spanish, and Italian nobility who were active in and around Prague in this period had an enormous effect on both architecture and cultural life. Outstanding architects created magnificent palaces and gardens, often in the shadow of the castle, and churches in the Prague version of the Baroque style sprang up throughout the city.

The 19th century. The onset of the Industrial Revolution had major effects in Prague. The first suburb (Karlín) was established in 1817, and in the next 20 years many factories sprang up, often in association with the coal mines and ironworks at Kladno and Králův Dvůr, not far away. The population passed 100,000 by 1837, and expansion continued after the city received its first railway eight years later. The rise of a working class and of strong nationalistic sentiments had a profound effect on the city; students, artisans, and workers took to the barricades against the ruling Austrians when revolution flared briefly in 1848. Within 20 years Czechs had won a majority on the City Council, and Czech cultural life was experiencing a renascence centred on Prague. The Neoclassical building of the National Museum and the National Theatre are only two examples of the building that took place in this period. By the 1890s the first electric streetcars (trams) were running in the city, urban services were being reorganized, and a replica of the Eiffel Tower in Paris overlooked the city from Petřín Hill.

Effects of the Industrial Revolution

The 20th century. In 1918 Prague became the capital of the newly independent Czechoslovak republic, and a Greater Prague of 19 districts had been established within two years. By 1930 the population had reached 850,000. The city suffered a severe setback following the surrender of large parts of Bohemia and Moravia to Germany under the Munich Agreement of 1938. The citizens rose in revolt on May 5, 1945, and held the city until the Red Army arrived four days later. The post-World War II period was marked by economic reconstruction and by careful planning with a view to restoring and preserving the historic monuments of the city centre. There is also an increasing emphasis on the development of new satellite communities. The city continued to grow (although most of its recent population growth is attributable to annexation rather than to natural growth or immigration), reaching 1,173,000 inhabitants by the mid-1970s. In spite of the political vicissitudes of the 20th century, Prague had established a growing international reputation and had become a major tourist centre.

After World War II

THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

Topography and environment. From its original small riverside settlements, Prague has spread over its seven or more hills and also up tributary valleys and along riverside terraces. By the mid-1970s, the whole administrative area had grown to 191 square miles (496 square kilometres).

The lowest point in the city is 623 feet (190 metres) above sea level and the highest is 1,247 feet (380 metres), on the White Mountain. The climate of Prague is typically midcontinental, with the July average reaching 67° F (19.5° C), while that of January falls to 31° F (−0.5° C).

Demography. Prague has a number of demographic peculiarities stemming mainly from the effects of World War II. The basic problem is that there are more women than men (53.4 percent to 46.6 percent by the mid-1970s), and a sizable proportion of the female population is past the age of fertility; for example, 26 percent of the women but only 19.6 percent of the men were over 60 years of age by the mid-1970s. The natural rate of increase is very small—2.3 per 1,000 in 1975, from a birth rate of 16.5 and a death rate of 14.2 per 1,000.

A tendency toward smaller families reflects both difficulties in housing and increased participation by both parents in the work force. Out of every 100 births in Prague by the early 1970s, about 65 percent were of a first child, 29 percent of a second child, and only 4 percent and 2 percent, respectively, of a third or later child. Future trends in the city population will depend critically on the rate of in-migration, but it appears that increase will continue through the 1970s and beyond.

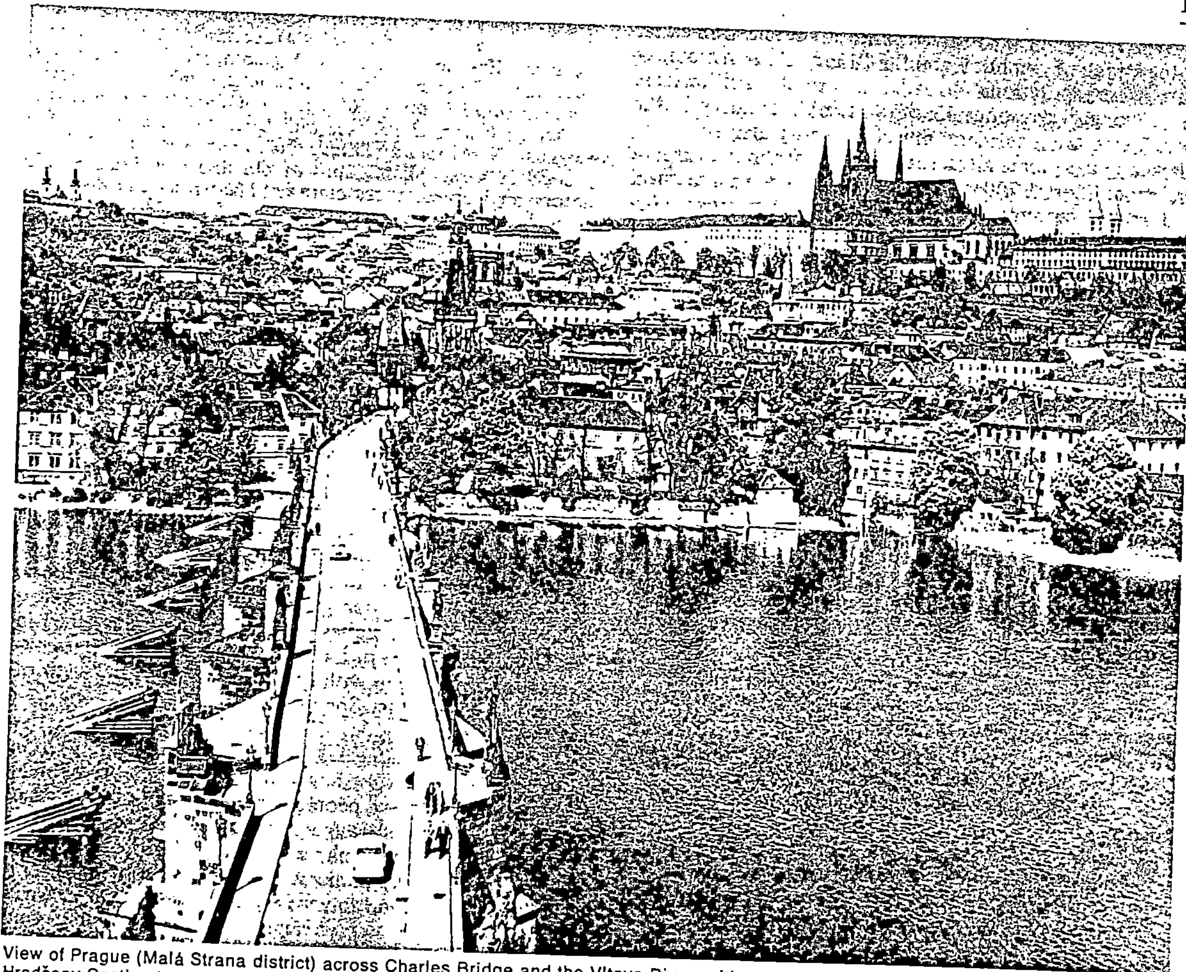
Economic life and administration. Though Prague is justly renowned for its cultural life and monuments, it has played a very important role in the economic life of Czechoslovakia since the early and intensive development in the 19th century of such industries as those producing textiles and machinery. About 28 percent of the total labour force of more than 640,000 is employed in manufacturing, about 14 percent in construction, 12 percent in trade, 8 percent in education and culture and in transport and communications, and 7 percent in science and research. Nearly half the labour force is female, the proportion of women reaching 44 percent in manufacturing, 57 percent in education and culture, 66 percent in trade, and no less than 80 percent in the health field.

Women in the labour force

In manufacturing, production of machinery occupies the majority of workers, followed, in about equal numbers, by food production (including brewing of the famous Prague beer), textiles, and printing. By the end of the 1960s, 38 percent of manufacturing production was of consumer goods—a 50 percent increase over the beginning of the decade.

Since 1945 the municipal administration has been carried out by the 150-member National Committee of Prague, with power residing in an 18-member council headed by a mayor with cabinet rank in the national government. The mayor has three deputies in charge of city planning, scientific development, and cultural life. A dozen or so specialized committees deal with particular aspects of city administration and services. A similar ad-

Housing shortage



View of Prague (Malá Strana district) across Charles Bridge and the Vltava River, with Hradčany Castle at upper right and the spires of St. Vitus' Cathedral rising behind it.
H. Armstrong Roberts

ministrative structure operates, on a smaller scale, in each of the 10 city districts, which range in size from the smaller inner-city districts—which are losing population to the suburbs but nevertheless maintain a high population density and hold most of the employment opportunities—to the much larger outer residential districts.

Municipal services. The standard municipal services—the supply of gas, electricity, and water—have been consolidated under state control since World War II and have been considerably modernized and expanded as part of overall urban planning. The high percentage of employed women has caused the authorities to turn their attention toward the provision of nurseries for the children of working mothers; there were 138 of these by the mid-1970s, supplying places for more than 7,400 children. Other facilities include swimming pools, often run in conjunction with sports organizations. On the river, the city provides mooring positions for pleasure boats.

Housing shortage

The housing problem continues to cause difficulties in the city, in spite of a building program. Of the more than 380,000 separate housing units in the city by the beginning of the 1970s, about a quarter had been built since 1945. Tourist accommodation has also expanded, and more than a million people a year (half of them from abroad) now visit the city.

As in other cities of the Communist bloc, all retail establishments—food stores, department stores, and self-service establishments—are publicly owned and part of the municipal system. There are numerous small restaurants and taverns, many of which—especially in the Malá Strana—have an intimate and historic atmosphere and offer fine views over the city and the winding river.

Public transportation is handled by buses and streetcars, or trams. More than 1,800,000 people are carried daily on this system, which is cheap and subsidized; only 12 to 15 percent of commuters use their own cars. The defects of this long-established public system have been evident for some time, and in 1966 construction started on a subway system, very deep in places; the first section was opened in 1974. Under a related reorganization, two of the large Prague railway stations were to be abolished and the main station reconstructed and enlarged to handle all rail traffic entering the city. The international airport at nearby Ruzyně, because of its favourable location in the centre of the continent, has become of major significance. A fleet of passenger boats on the Vltava is also an element in transportation.

Health services

Health services in the city are provided by some 270 health districts, each serving some 3,500 people. The 13 major hospitals in the mid-1970s (including a new hospital complex in the Motol district) had about 8.5 beds per 1,000 inhabitants.

Education and cultural life. There are nine institutions of higher education in Prague, including two universities with more than 34,000 students, but by far the most famous is the Charles University, founded in 1348, the oldest in central Europe. The Academy of Arts and the Academy of Music (with a conservatory founded in 1811) are also important. The other notable university institution is for foreign students, the University of the 17th of November (a reference to the killing of a number of Czech students by occupying forces on that date in 1939), founded in 1961, which has about 4,000 students from more than 90 countries, many of them from the developing world. The activity of the Academy of Sciences is supplemented by many specialized institutions; the academy sponsors an increasing number of international congresses. Higher education in the city benefits from a tradition that can count among its scholars and teachers the great 17th-century astronomers Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler and the noted modern physicist Albert Einstein, who taught in Prague in 1911–12.

Prague has a renowned and active musical life, which reaches a high point each year in the internationally

known spring music festival. The city's fine orchestras—the Prague Symphony and the Prague Philharmonic—have won reputations abroad. Theatrical traditions are also strong, with about 15 well-attended theatres in the city. There are also many museums and galleries.

Architecture

Perhaps the greatest treasures of the city, however, are the more than 1,700 officially recognized architectural and artistic monuments, ranging in period from the Romanesque through the Gothic to the Baroque, Rococo, Classical, and Neoclassical. The interiors of these buildings, which often house major art collections, have been restored since 1945. The most notable Romanesque monument is probably the simple but striking 10th-century Church of St. George, behind the north wall of Hradčany Castle. To the west of it is its more massive successor, the basically Gothic St. Vitus' Cathedral, the twin spires of which dominate the city skyline. Other Gothic monuments include the Týn Church on Old Town Square; the elegant Prašná brána (Powder Tower), marking the former city walls in what is now the busy Příkopy shopping area; the restored Bethlehem Chapel, where Hus preached; and the St. Agnes Convent, built in 1234 and notable for its collection of 14th-century paintings. The Old-New Synagogue and the tumbling, crowded gravestones of the Old Jewish Cemetery—Europe's oldest—serve as a reminder of the strong Jewish tradition in Prague life.

Baroque buildings are the city's greatest single artistic treasure, among them the splendid Valdštejn and Clam-Gallas palaces, St. Nicholas Church, and the Antonín Dvořák Museum. The geometric tiling of the Golz-Kinský Palace facade provides a distinctive glimpse of the Rococo style. Classical buildings include the Bedřich Smetana Museum on the riverside and the elegant Belvedere Palace (the former Royal Summer Palace). The National Museum and the National Theatre are the main Neoclassical buildings.

The beauty of the city is enhanced by its many parks and gardens, including a major cultural and entertainment centre in the park named for Julius Fučík (a slain resistance leader of World War II) and a large zoo in suburban Troja.

Recreational facilities also include the vast Strahov sports complex—containing three stadiums, the largest of which, Spartakiáda Stadium, holds 250,000 spectators and is used for the mass gymnastic display known as the Spartakiáda—as well as a number of other sports and cultural centres, with emphasis on facilities for youth. The film studios at Barrandov, on the city outskirts, have produced a number of high-quality motion pictures and there is a museum of modern sculpture at Zbraslav.

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

The 1976–80 Five-Year Plan, approved at the 15th Congress of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party in 1975, is primarily a long-term plan, dealing with developmental problems of the city (through the year 2000 in some respects, although for the most part only through 1980 or 1990). Housing is a matter of critical concern, and the plan calls for construction of some 58,000 new apartments to be completed by 1980. These are to be built as 11 new residential developments on the outskirts of Prague; remodelling and reconstruction are planned for the older, more historic parts of the city. The other areas of strongest concern are public services, especially health care, education, public buildings, and transportation. It was expected that by 1980 major new hospital facilities would be completed at Bulovka and Motol, the Vysočany Hospital would have been reconstructed, and 10 lesser facilities would be built or expanded. Some 32 schools, mostly in the newer, outlying districts of the city where the younger population is concentrated, were to be built. Among the projects involving public buildings, two of the most important are the new Czechoslovak Palace of Congresses and a modernized National Theatre. The principal transportation projects include completion of some 12 miles (20 kilometres) of new subway lines and the construction of the first links in a major system of circular and radial roads.

Hospitals

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(Ja.K./R.H.O.)

Prayer

Prayer is an act of communication by man with the sacred or holy—God, the gods, the transcendent realm, or supernatural powers. Found in all religions in all times, prayer may be a corporate or personal act utilizing various forms and techniques. Prayer has been described in its sublimity as "an intimate friendship, a frequent conversation held alone with the Beloved" by St. Teresa of Ávila, a 16th-century Spanish mystic.

NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Prayer as the primary mode of expression in religion

Prayer is a significant and universal aspect of religion, whether of primitive peoples or of modern mystics, that expresses the broad range of religious feelings and attitudes that command man's relations with the sacred or holy. Described by some scholars as religion's primary mode of expression, prayer is said to be to religion what rational thought is to philosophy; it is the very expression of living religion. Prayer distinguishes the phenomenon of religion from those phenomena that approach it or resemble it, such as religious and aesthetic feelings.

Historians of religions, theologians, and believers of all faiths agree in recognizing the central position that prayer occupies in religion. According to the American philosopher William James, without prayer there can be no question of religion. An Islāmic proverb states that to pray and to be Muslim are synonymous, and Sadhu Sundar Singh, a modern Christian mystic of India, stated that praying is as important as breathing.

Of the various forms of religious literature, prayer is considered by many to be the purest in expressing the essential elements of a religion. The Islāmic Qur'ān is regarded as a book of prayers, and the book of Psalms of the Bible is viewed as a meditation on biblical history turned into prayer. The *Confessions* of the great Christian thinker St. Augustine (354–430) are, in the final analysis, a long prayer with the Creator. Thus, because religion is culturally and historically ubiquitous, if prayer were removed from the literary heritage of a culture, that culture would be deprived of a particularly rich and uplifting aspect.

From its primitive to its mystical expression, prayer expresses a desire on the part of men to enter into contact with the sacred or holy. As a part of that desire, prayer is linked to a feeling of presence (of the sacred or holy), which is neither an abstract conviction nor an instinctive intuition but rather a volitional movement conscious of realizing its higher end. Thus, prayer is described not only as meditation about God but as a step, a "going out of one's self," a pilgrimage of the spirit "in the presence of God." It has, therefore, a personal and experiential character that goes beyond critical analysis.

Prayer is also linked to sacrifice, which seems to support prayer as a cultic—as well as a personal—act and as a supplement to the bare word of man in his attempts to relate to the sacred or holy. In any case, the sacrificial act generally precedes the verbal act of prayer. Thus, the presentation of an offering often prolongs prayer and is viewed as a recognition of the sovereignty and benefi-

cence of the deity or supe
man (in prayer), howeve
sacrificial act, is itself view
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thus believes that he can a
sacred or supernatural pow
tion become, in effect, "or
effectiveness of such magica
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tion, a tendency that is to
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expression of a desire to er
cred or holy.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

Theories of the origin of prayer

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development of religion fro
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magical incantations to pray
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er. The origin of prayer is t
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French psychologist in the e
tempted to trace prayer back
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it and without explaining its
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as fear, joy, and sadness dou
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Bible; but they do not explai
self, which is explained by a
fective elements. The cause a
not be confused.

Moral sentiments also are in
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William James and psycholo
describe prayer as a "subcons
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"inexpressible laments," and
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Among what are called the hi
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spiritual behaviour. Though pr
belief, that belief is, to a great e
Society creates and regulates so
liturgies to express its beliefs, b
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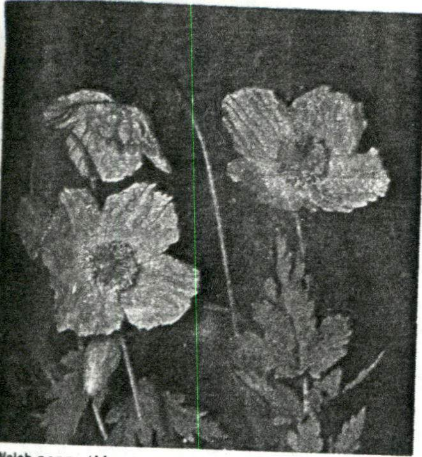
Welsh poppy (*Meconopsis cambrica*), a 38-centimetre- (about 15-inch-) tall, somewhat hairy, yellow-flowering perennial plant of the



Welsh poppy (*Meconopsis cambrica*)
G.E. Hyde—EB Inc.

poppy family (Papaveraceae) native to western Europe and grown as a garden ornamental. There are orange and double varieties.

Welsh terrier, breed of terrier native to Wales, where it has been used as a hunter of foxes, otters, and badgers. Once known as the Old English, or black-and-tan wirehaired, terrier, the Welsh terrier is a small, Airedale-like dog with a characteristically game and energetic nature. It has a hard, wiry coat, usually black-and-tan, stands about 38 centimetres (15 inches) high, and weighs about 9 kilograms (20 pounds). Wide-set eyes and a flat skull give the breed a distinctive, "intelligent" expression.

Welt, Die, German daily newspaper founded in Hamburg by British occupying authorities after World War II. In 1950 *Die Welt* was sold to Axel Springer and it has been published as a national paper since that time. Its Sunday version is *Welt am Sonntag*.

Welti, (Friedrich) Emil (b. April 23, 1825, Zurzach, Switz.—d. Feb. 24, 1899, Bern), statesman, six times president of the Swiss Confederation, a champion of federal centralization.

Political leader and *Landammann* (chief executive) of his native canton of Aargau in 1858, 1862, and 1866, Welti entered the federal Ständerat (council of cantons) in 1857 and subsequently served as assembly president (1860, 1866). Elected to the federal executive (Bundesrat) in December 1866, he served six terms as president of the confederation (1869, 1872, 1876, 1880, 1884, 1891) and successively headed the departments of the military, posts and telegraphs, justice, and railways. He supported and directed the trend toward centralization of political and military administration in a federal executive, pressed for revision of the constitution, inaugurated a plan of military reorganization (1874–75), and advanced plans for railway nationalization.

Welt ist schön, Die (1928), English THE WORLD IS BEAUTIFUL, book of photographs by Albert Renger-Patzsch.
·aesthetic concerns of photography **14**:319g

Weltschmerz (German: "world grief"), the prevailing mood of melancholy and pessimism associated with the poets of the Romantic era that arose from their refusal or inability to adjust to those realities of the world that they saw as destructive of their right to subjectivity and personal freedom—a phenomenon thought to typify Romanticism. The word was coined by Jean Paul in his pessimistic novel, *Selina* (1827), to describe Lord Byron's discontent (especially as shown in *Manfred* and *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*). *Weltschmerz* was characterized by a nihilistic loathing for the world and a view that was skeptically blasé. In France, where it was called the *mal du siècle*, *Weltschmerz* was expressed by Chateaubriand, Alfred de Vigny, and Alfred de Musset; in Russia by Pushkin and Lermontov; in Poland by Juliusz Słowacki; in America by Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Welty, Eudora (b. April 13, 1909, Jackson, Miss.), short-story writer and novelist whose work is focussed with great precision on the regional manners of people inhabiting a small Mississippi town that resembles her own birthplace. Her work is noted for the accuracy of its presentation of local speech; its subtlety of plot development, which often appears at first to be arbitrary in direction; and the extraordinary occurrences that her characters encounter and engender. Her work early obtained widespread critical acclaim, and her readership grew steadily after the publication of *A Curtain of Green* (1941), a volume of short stories. Her novels include *Delta Wedding* (1946), *The Ponder Heart* (1954), *The Bride of the Innisfallen* (1955), *Losing Battles* (1970), and *The Optimist's Daughter* (1972). *The Wide Net* (1943) and *The Golden Apples* (1949) are collections of short stories.
·literary style, works, and recognition **10**:1226g

Welwitschiaceae, a family of southwestern African desert plants in the order Gnetales, named for its single genus, *Welwitschia*. Tumboa plants (*W. mirabilis* or *W. bainesii*), constituting the only species, have deep taproots and resemble giant radishes, 60 to 120 centimetres (about 25 to 50 inches) in diameter

Tumboa (*Welwitschia mirabilis*)
Sima Eliovson

and projecting about 30 centimetres (12 inches) above the ground. From the base of the cone-shaped trunk, two broad, flat, straplike leaves grow throughout the life of the plant (100 years or more) but are kept about 3 metres (about 10 feet) in length by erosion at the tips.

The male and female flowers are carried in scales of scarlet cones that grow in a ring above the leaves. In the male flower is a female flower component, an ovule. Although the ovule is rudimentary and abortive in *Welwitschia*, its presence suggests a hermaphroditic condition more typical of angiosperms.
·gymnosperm classification and features **8**:524f
·Namib Desert's vegetation **12**:820f
·reproductive system variations **15**:722a
·size and structure features **8**:521f; illus. 519

Welwyn Garden City, new town in Hertfordshire, England, on the northern periphery of London. It was founded in 1920 by Sir Ebenezer Howard as a planned town to provide for both industry and pleasant living conditions. Across a main railway line a large concentration of light industrial factories has developed, but many of the inhabitants commute daily to London (23 mi [37 km] south). Since World War II, Welwyn has been designated and administered as a new town and has grown rapidly. The town lies on the A1 road from London to the north. Pop. (1973 est.) 39,900.
51°50′ N, 0°13′ W
·garden city planning concepts **18**:1083f

Wembere River, Tanzania.
4°10′ S, 34°11′ E
·location and flow **17**:1025h
·map, Tanzania **17**:1027

Wembley, former municipal borough of the former county of Middlesex, England; since 1965, part of Brent (*q.v.*).

Weme River (Dahomey): *see* Ouémé River.

Wemyss, East and West, also known as WEMYSS, villages on the north shore of the Firth of Forth in Kirkcaldy district, Fife region, Scotland, adjacent to the Fife coalfield. The name derives from the caves (*weems*, Gaelic *uaimh*, "cave"), noted for their prehistoric wall carvings, between East and West Wemyss. Above the shore is Wemyss Castle (rebuilt 1880). There are also remains of Macduff's Castle, an ancient dovecote, and an old tollbooth at West Wemyss. Pop. (1971) East Wemyss, 2,138; West Wemyss, 1,068.
56°15′ N, 3°05′ W

Wen-Amon (fl. 11th century BC), Egyptian temple official.
·prophetic incident at Byblos **15**:63e

Wenatchee (North American Indians): *see* Salish.

Wenatchee, city, seat (1899) of Chelan County, central Washington, U.S., in the foothills of the Cascade Range, just below the confluence of the Wenatchee and Columbia rivers. It was founded in 1888 by Don Carlos Corbett and moved in 1892 1 mi (2 km) east to be on the Great Northern Railway. The city developed as a packing and shipping centre for a large irrigated fruit-growing district and sponsors an annual apple blossom festival. Growth has been influenced also by the establishment of lumber mills and an aluminum reduction plant. The city is the headquarters of the Wenatchee National Forest and is a base for the resort areas of the eastern Cascades. It is the site of the North Central Washington Museum (containing Indian and pioneer relics), Wenatchee Valley College

Apple harvest in Wenatchee, Wash.
Josef Scaylea—Shostal

(1939), and a Washington State University horticultural experiment station. Inc. village 1892; city, 1901. Pop. (1980) 17,257.
47°25′ N, 120°19′ W
·map, United States **18**:908

Wenceslas, German WENZEL, Czech VÁCLAV (b. Feb. 26, 1361, Nürnberg, now in West Germany—d. Aug. 16, 1419, Prague), German king and, as Wenceslas IV, king of Bohemia, whose weak and tempestuous, though eventful, reign was continually plagued by wars and princely rivalries that he

was unable to control, plunging his territories into a state of virtual anarchy until he was stripped of his powers altogether by a rebellious nobility.

Son of the Holy Roman emperor Charles IV, Wenceslas was crowned king of Bohemia in 1363 and king of the Romans in 1376, proving a largely incompetent ruler after his father's death in 1378. He was a peace-loving man and held frequent diets in Germany from 1378 to 1389, but he could not prevent the continuing wars between town leagues and princes that reduced Germany to anarchy for almost a decade. The diet at Eger (Cheb, now in Czechoslovakia) in 1389 finally settled most conflicts by a general peace, but, because the King spent most of his time in Prague to the detriment of Germany, the empire's princes repeatedly demanded the appointment of a *Reichsverweser* (imperial governor) for Germany, a request consistently refused by Wenceslas.

Wenceslas, detail from an illumination in the Golden Bull, 1400; in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

By courtesy of the Bild-Archiv, Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

After 1389 Wenceslas left Germany largely to its own devices, returning only in 1397 to hear the princes' complaints before travelling to France to attempt to resolve the Great Schism that was dividing Western Christianity. Finally, in August 1400, when Wenceslas refused to attend another meeting of the princes, they deposed him and elected Rupert (Ruprecht) III, elector Palatine, king of the Romans. Wenceslas was, however, able to retain the title of German king for the rest of his life.

Wenceslas' reign in Bohemia was even less successful than that in Germany. Constantly beset by jealous and ambitious relatives, he was in 1394 faced by a revolt of magnates led by his cousin Jobst, margrave of Moravia, who held the King prisoner in Austria. Wenceslas was shortly restored with German help but was stripped of virtually all his power in 1396, when he was forced to appoint Jobst governor of the realm and to entrust the government to a royal council mainly consisting of nobles. In 1402 his younger brother Sigismund (later Holy Roman emperor), whom the King had aided in his successful quest for the Hungarian crown (1387), deposed Wenceslas in Bohemia. Once more imprisoned, Wenceslas was able to restore himself in the next few years, but at the price of yielding real power to the royal council. Subsequently, he grew inert and found solace in drinking. Although he initially supported the Bohemian religious reformers around Jan Hus, after the reformer's condemnation by the church, characteristically, the King did nothing to prevent his execution as a heretic (1415). Wenceslas was married twice, first to Joanna of Lower Bavaria (died 1386) and, from 1389, to Sophia of Bavaria. He had no children, and the Bohemian crown passed to Sigismund on his death.

·Bohemian religiopolitical conflicts 2:1188a
·civil war between princes and cities 8:81g
·Hus's initial political support 9:64h

Wenceslas (WENCESLAUS), **Saint,** Czech VÁCLAV, (b. *c.* 907, Stochov, near Prague—d. *c.* 936, Stará Boleslav), prince-duke of Bohemia, martyr, and patron saint of the Czechs. He was raised a Christian by his grandmother St. Ludmila (*q.v.*), who acted as regent when he became ruler of Bohemia *c.* 921. His ambitious mother, Drahomíra (Dragomir), a pagan, had Ludmila murdered and acted as regent herself until Wenceslas came of age in 924 or 925. Her court intrigues and the wishes of the people to end the conflicts between Christian and non-Christian factions in Bohemia led Wenceslas to take the reins of government. As duke he was pious, reportedly taking the vow of virginity, and encouraged the work of German missionary priests in the Christianization of Bohemia. His zeal in spreading Christianity exacerbated the hostility of his non-Christian opponents.

Faced with German invasions in 929, Wenceslas submitted to the German king Henry I the Fowler. His submission provoked some of the nobles to conspire against him, and they prompted his younger brother Boleslav (Boleslaus) to murder him. Waylaid by Boleslav en route to mass, Wenceslas was killed at the church door. Frightened by the reports of miracles occurring at Wenceslas' tomb, Boleslav had his remains transferred in 932 to St. Vitus' Cathedral in Prague, which became a great pilgrimage site during the Middle Ages. Almost from the time of his murder, Wenceslas was regarded as Bohemia's patron saint. His virtues are extolled in the Christmas carol "Good King Wenceslas" (19th-century English version from the Czech). September 28 is his feast day.

F. Dvornik's *Life of St. Wenceslas* appeared in 1929.

·Bohemia's German orientation 2:1186b

Wenceslas I, Czech VÁCLAV (b. 1205—d. Sept. 23, 1253), king of Bohemia who brought Austria under his dynasty while using the influence of German colonists and craftsmen to keep Bohemia strong, prosperous, and culturally progressive.

Succeeding his father, Přemysl Otakar I, in 1230, Wenceslas prevented Mongol armies from attacking Bohemia (1241) but could not defend Moravia, which was ravished by the Mongols before they moved into Hungary. The King's main foreign policy objective then became the acquisition of Austria. On the death (1246) of the last Babenberg duke of Austria, Frederick II, Wenceslas secured the hand of the Duke's niece for his son Vladislav. But Vladislav soon died, and Wenceslas lost Austria. After suppressing a Bohemian revolt in 1248–49, however, he forced the Austrian estates to accept his son Přemysl Otakar II as their duke in 1251. Bohemia prospered under Wenceslas' reign. Towns grew and German merchants and colonists added considerably to the wealth of the country, while German influence at the court caused a rich flowering of the arts, especially literature and early Czech Gothic architecture.

Wenceslas II, Czech VÁCLAV, Polish WACŁAW (b. Sept. 17, 1271—d. June 21, 1305), king of Bohemia from 1278 and king of Poland from 1300 who ably ruled his Bohemian kingdom and spread his influence not only into Poland but also into Hungary.

Succeeding to the throne at the age of seven on the death of his father, Přemysl Otakar II, in 1278, Wenceslas lived at the court of his cousin Otto IV of Brandenburg, who acted as regent for Wenceslas until 1283. When Wenceslas then returned to Prague, he found that his country was dominated by the ambitious Záviš of Falkenstein, his mother's lover and later her husband. Wenceslas arrested Záviš in 1289, destroyed the dissident faction, and executed his rival in 1290. Thereafter he governed his kingdom successfully, exploiting its natural resources and increasing its wealth. After annexing most of Upper Silesia, Wenceslas occupied Cracow in 1291 and finally became king of Poland in 1300. Offered the Hungarian crown, he declined and placed his son Wenceslas (later King Wenceslas III) on the throne in 1301 but was forced to withdraw him in 1304.

·Bohemian territorial expansion 2:1187b; map

Wenceslas III, Czech VÁCLAV, Polish WACŁAW (b. Oct. 6, 1289—d. Aug. 4, 1306, Olomouc, Moravia), last ruler of the Přemyslid dynasty of Bohemia, king of Hungary from 1301 to 1304, and claimant to the Polish throne; his brief reign in Bohemia was cut short by his assassination, which also prevented him from asserting his right to Poland.

Wenceslas renounced his hereditary rights to Austria and his Hungarian crown before succeeding his father, Wenceslas II, on the throne of Bohemia in 1305. Intelligent and well educated but dissolute, he determined to enforce his claim to Poland and was raising an army when he died at the hand of an unknown assassin. The male line of the Přemyslid dynasty, which had ruled Bohemia for nearly four centuries, died with him.

·Přemysl dynastic decline 2:1187c; map

Wenceslas IV (king of Bohemia): *see* Wenceslas (king of Germany).

Wen Ch'ang (Chinese god): *see* Wen Ti.

Wen-ch'eng (1472–1529): *see* Wang Yang-ming.

Wen-cheng (1811–72): *see* Tseng Kuo-fan.

Wen Cheng-ming, originally WEN PI (b. 1470, Heng-yang, Hunan Province, China—d. 1559), painter, calligrapher, and scholarly figure who was a student of Shen Chou, the two being considered the leading figures of the much honoured Wu school (*q.v.*) of scholar-artists. Born to an established family, Wen Cheng-ming was brought up in a strongly Confucian home, and he met many of the learned people of his time. He was by nature sensitive and withdrawn, and it was not until the age of 53 that he emerged from his scholarly isolation, receiving the recognition of the court with his appointment to the Hanlin Academy. He stayed there for only three years and then retired to produce his best-known works.

Wen Cheng-ming was expert at the four major styles of calligraphy: seal, official, regular, and "running." He was also known as a collector and connoisseur, especially of calligraphy. In painting he admired the great literati (*wen-jen*) of the Yüan dynasty (1279–1368) as well as earlier artists from the Sung (960–1279) and Five Dynasties (907–960) periods. He followed no single style, but throughout his paintings there is a spirit of studied antiquarianism and cautious consideration. In technique, the paintings range from the highly detailed to the more freely washed. His students included his son, Wen Chia (1501–83), and his nephew, Wen Po-jen (1502–75).

·Ming dynasty's expressive art 4:353b
·style reinterpretation and teaching role 19:201d

Wen Ch'i (Chinese poet): *see* Wen T'ing-yün.

Wen Chia (1501–83), Chinese painter.

·landscape style contrast 19:201e

Wenchow, Western conventional for Chinese WEN-CHOU, also known as YUNG-CHIA, Pinyin romanization, respectively, WEN-ZHOU and YONG-JIA, a city and port in southeastern Chekiang Province (*sheng*), China. It is an autonomous subprovincial-level municipality (*shih*) and the administrative centre of the Wenchou Area (*ti-ch'ü*).

Wenchow is situated on the south bank of the Ou Chiang (river), some 19 mi (30 km)

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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.

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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.

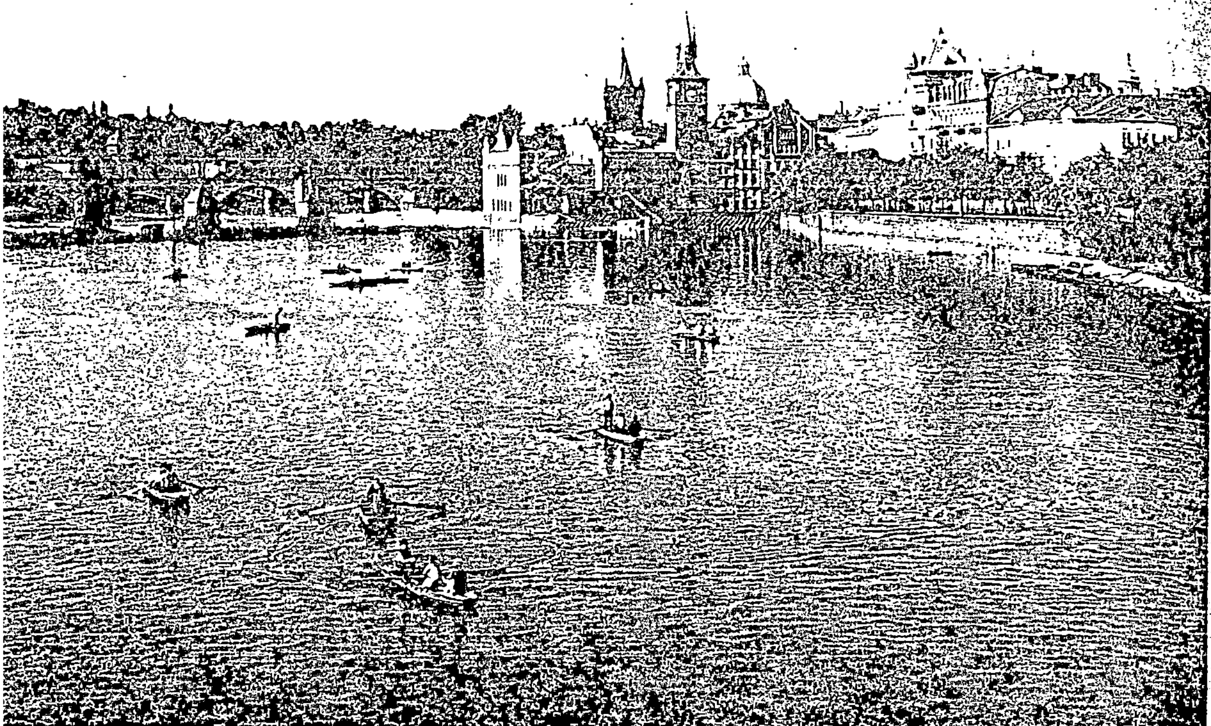
The industrial sections of Prague are situated outside the central city's historic districts. The film industry has its headquarters in Prague's southern district of Barrandov.

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."



WAAGENAAR, PIX

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 1786, 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

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

The castle fronts on Castle the entrance to the baroque Sternb latter contains the art collection Gallery. The collection is outs Gothic art. Nearby is Loretto Sq nin Palace, Prague's largest, stre side, and the Counter Reforma Loretto along another. Farther o monastery, which contains the N tional Literature. South of the n large Strahov Stadium, one of th ums in the world.

Malá Strana (Lesser Quarter). T of twisting streets and baroqu ters on Lesser Quarter Square a Church of St. Nicholas, probabl ample of Prague's baroque ecclesi ture. On the river side of the Kampa island, the southern part park. To the west of Malá Stra Hill, a large park with gardens. (1891) rises on its crest. At the is the Church of Our Lady of contains the miraculous Infant Je Maltese Square and Grand Priory noteworthy for their historic build the Gothic Church of Our Lad Chain." Below the castle and o river is the baroque Valdštejn (W ace, built for the famous general the Thirty Years' War.

Nové Město (New Town). Nové M commercial center, developed bey fied walls of Staré Město on the the river. The broad avenue ceslas Square, which is bordered w shops, leads Staré Město to the Memorial and the neo-Renaissance seum. The latter contains a libra and history exhibits. Like Old Wenceslas Square has often been celebrations and demonstrations. the square is the 18th century A Museum. A tavern in Nové M Kalicha (At the Sign of the Chali the site of an inn where Jaroslav H writers of his day met. The 17th c of St. Ignatius and the much recon the New Town Hall dominate Ch Prague's largest square. In the nor the district the neo-Renaissance N ter overlooks the river and Slov which, like the Kampa, is largely a

Population: (1970 census) 1,0

PRAGUE, University of. See CHA RITY.

PRAIA, prī'ə, is the capital of Cap cated on the southeastern coast (Santiago) Island, the town is an i and trading center. Its major expo sugarcane, and oranges.

Praia was the capital of the Ca lands when they formed an oversea Portugal. It remained the capital wh tiago became an independent repu 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

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WENATCHEE, wə-năch'ē, city, Washington, seat of Chelan County, on the Columbia River just below the mouth of the Wenatchee River (Wenatchi is Indian for "river issuing from a canyon"); at an altitude of 636 feet. Situated at the geographical center of the state, it is almost equidistant from Spokane and Seattle. The city claims the title of "Apple Capital of the World" because of the extensive apple orchards in the district, for which it is the shipping and processing center, and it is host to the annual Washington State Apple Blossom Festival. A balmy sun and cool nights also give Wenatchee an ideal climate for producing soft fruits, such as cherries, apricots, and peaches. There is an aluminum plant and a flour mill. Its airport is named after Clyde Pangborn, a native son who landed in Wenatchee after his nonstop transpacific flight in 1931.

As a gateway to central Washington's recreational facilities in the Cascade Range—swimming, boating, fishing, camping, and skiing—Wenatchee receives a large number of tourists. It is the site of Wenatchee Valley College, Washington State University Tree Fruit Experiment Station, the United States Public Health Service Toxicology Laboratory, the North Central Washington Museum, and the North Central Regional Library serving a five-county area of 15,000 square miles. Founded in 1888, the city was incorporated on a new site in 1892. It has a commission form of government. Pop. 17,257.

ANNIE KOINZAN.

WENCESLAS, wĕn'səs-lôs, SAINT and DUKE OF BOHEMIA (Czech SVÁTÝ VÁCLAV; Ger. WENZEL): b. about 907; d. Stará Boleslav (Bohemia), Sept. 28, 929. Václav was descended from the Přemyslid dynasty, the origin of which is shrouded in legend. The Přemyslids acquired control over a Slav tribe, the Czechs, who were settled in the area around Prague (now in Czechoslovakia). During the 9th century the Přemyslids gradually united most of Bohemia (western Czechoslovakia). Historical records mention the grandparents of Václav: the duke Bořivoj and his wife Ludmila, already Christians. Václav's father, Vratislav (r. about 915–920), married Drahomíra, daughter of a prince of the still heathen Lutices (a tribe in Lusatia, East Germany). Upon Vratislav's death, when Václav was only about 13, his mother, Drahomíra, ruled. Drahomíra, resenting the influence that Václav's grandmother, Ludmila, exercised on her son's upbringing, had Ludmila murdered. Ludmila had been responsible for the thorough Christian education of Václav. Following Ludmila's reburial in 925 at the St. Vitus Church in Prague there spread legends about her, culminating in her sainthood. Drahomíra's rule caused strife which resulted in the 15-year-old Václav's assuming power about 922. He was killed by his brother, Boleslav, in 929 while visiting the latter's castle.

His seven-year rule was marked by relatively good relations with the German neighbors, in spite of a military defeat administered by the German king Henry I, and by the spread of Christianity among his subjects, as evidenced by the construction of many stone churches. Acceptance among his Christian German neighbors as a Christian Slavic ruler gave Václav sufficient prestige to combat centrifugal forces in his lands, thereby continuing the Přemyslids' efforts at unifying the Slavs in Bohemia. Václav became a symbol of the Czech nation as well as the patron saint of Czechoslovakia. The crown of subsequent Czech rulers was named in his honor. His statue occupies a dominant position in Václavské Náměsti (Wenceslas Square), the main thoroughfare in Prague. His efforts to Christianize his people at a time when Bohemia had only a thin Christian veneer, coupled with his dramatic murder, gave rise to many legends leading to his sainthood. His murderer and brother, Boleslav, who succeeded him as ruler (929–967), had Václav's relics brought to the St. Vitus Church in Prague about 932. The well-known English Christmas carol, *Good King Wenceslaus*, written by John Mason Neale in the 19th century, is based on a somewhat far-fetched legend about the deeds of the martyred king.

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WENCESLAS or **VÁCLAV** (Ger. WENZEL), four kings of Bohemia. Although Wenceslas is the name most familiar to English-speaking readers, Václav is the preferred Czech form and will be employed in the text.

WENCESLAS OR VÁCLAV I: b. 1205; d. Sept. 22, 1253. A member of the Přemyslid dynasty, he was the son of Otakar I and the father of Otakar II, both stronger rulers than he. He married Kunigunde of Hohenstaufen in 1224 and was crowned king of Bohemia in 1228 while his father was still ruler, thereby preventing a battle over the succession, a perennial plague of the Přemyslid dynasty.

Václav became sole ruler on his father's death, Dec. 15, 1230. Under his father's reign Bohemia's position within the Holy Roman Empire had been considerably strengthened, the Bohemian kingdom having been given permanent recognition by the German Emperor Frederick II. Under Václav's reign there was substantial economic growth and cultural development, especially in art, poetry, and chivalry. German settlers were attracted to Bohemia and were granted special rights, and towns were founded. All this occurred in spite of frequent warfare. Václav aligned himself at one time with the emperor, at another with the pope, and in 1241 he succeeded in repelling the Mongols who had invaded Moravia. The years 1248–1250 were marred by an insurrection of his nobles in which his son, Otakar, joined forces with the insurgents, but Václav held the throne until his death.

WENCESLAS OR VÁCLAV II: b. 1271; d. June 21, 1305. He was only seven when his father, Otakar II, the most powerful of the Přemyslid kings, was decisively defeated at the Battle of Marchfeld, Aug. 26, 1278. Neighboring rulers interfered in Bohemian affairs, and Václav spent five years as a prisoner of Otto of Brandenburg. In 1283, though only 12, Václav nominally assumed the government of Bohemia, but the real ruler was Zaviš, a nobleman who married Václav's mother. In 1287, Václav assumed full control, banishing and then killing Zaviš. Václav married Guta of Habsburg in accordance with a political arrangement made by his father in 1276. After her death in 1298 he married a Polish princess and became king of Poland (1300). In spite of the inauspicious beginning and his premature death, Václav's reign was marked by territorial expansion and economic prosperity. Mining towns prospered, and riches in ore resulted in coinage re-

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*Professor of Political Science, U
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form. The mining industry was also organized at this time.

WENCESLAS or VÁCLAV III: b. 1289; d. Olomouc, Moravia (now Czechoslovakia), Aug. 4, 1306. He was the son of Wenceslas (Václav) II. In 1301 he assumed the Hungarian crown, which he kept until 1304. On his father's death in 1305, he took the Bohemian crown and was about to deal with a revolt by the Polish nobility when he was murdered. With him the Přemyslid dynasty ended.

WENCESLAS or VÁCLAV IV, German emperor (1378–1400) and king of Bohemia (1378–1419): b. Feb. 26, 1361; d. Prague (now in Czechoslovakia), Aug. 16, 1419. He was the son of Charles I (Charles IV as German emperor) of the Luxemburg dynasty under which Bohemia had prospered economically and culturally. In 1394 the Bohemian nobility formed a conspiracy against him, holding him a prisoner for three months. Through the influence of the archbishop of Mainz, whose enmity he had aroused, he was deposed as German emperor by the imperial electors in 1400. He continued as king of Bohemia until his death. His reign in Bohemia was marked by a widespread reaction against the excesses of the nobility and clergy and the rivalry between Czechs and Germans which led to the meteoric rise of Jan Hus. Václav lacked the inclination and power to break the Hus heresy, and violent civil war followed in the wake of Václav's death.

CURT F. BECK,
Professor of Political Science, University of Connecticut.

WENCHOW or **WEN-CHOU,** wĕn'chou, Chin. wŭn'jō', municipality (*shih*) and city, China, in southeastern Chekiang Province. The principal commercial center for the province, Wenchow is a port on the south bank of the Wu Kiang estuary, 15 miles inland from the East China Sea, and 160 miles south-southeast of Hangchow. It is an important timber and bamboo shipping port, and also manufactures paper umbrellas, leather goods, and straw mats. Wenchow was opened to foreign trade in 1876, and the city was a major tea-exporting port during the latter part of the 19th century. During the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945, Wenchow was occupied briefly by the Japanese (1944–1945), but control of the area subsequently passed to the Chinese Communists in 1949, when it became a municipality. Pop. (1982 census) 325,000.

NORTON GINSBURG.

WENDELL, wĕn'dəl, **Barrett,** American teacher and man of letters: b. Boston, Mass., Aug. 23, 1855; d. there, Feb. 8, 1921. He was graduated from Harvard University in 1877 and prepared himself for a law career, but found that the prospect did not appeal to him. He was asked to help Professor Adams Sherman Hill teach English composition to Harvard undergraduates; he accepted the position, and stayed at Harvard until his retirement in 1917 as professor emeritus of English.

An inspired teacher and critic, Wendell introduced the first course in American literature at Harvard in 1898, publishing *A Literary History of America* in 1900. He also inaugurated the exchange of professors between Harvard and French universities in 1904–1905 and wrote *The France of Today* (1907), considered by many his best work. Other books are *Cotton Mather, the Puritan Priest* (1891) and *The Traditions of European Literature from Homer to Dante* (1920).

WENDS, wĕndz, the name of a group of Slavonic tribes which, by the 5th century A.D., occupied the region in Germany between the Oder River on the east and the Elbe and Saale rivers on the west. They constituted the western rim of the great mass of Slavic peoples who had pressed in behind the Germans south of the Baltic, as the latter moved westward and southward during the period of the *Völkerwanderung*. Even before the time of Christ small bands may have begun to infiltrate among the Germans. Later it became a mass movement as the Germans vacated the land.

The German reaction against the Slavs had its inception in the rise of the Frankish kingdom, which conquered Thuringia in 531. The real offensive began with the founding of the mission posts of Boniface in the 8th century; and the military and religious subjugation of the pagan Wends got into full swing after the completion of Charlemagne's conquest of the Saxons in 804. Halted in the later 9th century, the movement was resumed under Henry I in the 10th century. In 929 a coalition formed by the threatened Wendish tribes was defeated and crushed, and German military control was quickly extended to the Oder and the Erzgebirge. But the success was only temporary. German power east of the Elbe, except in Nordalbingia and Holstein, collapsed during the Wendish rebellion of 983. Not until the accession of Lothar II in 1125 did German eastward expansion resume, this time involving a great movement of colonization by German peasants into the lands wrested from the Wends. Merchants and princes also moved in to found towns that began the commercial development of northern Germany. In 1147 the church authorized a crusade which furthered the work of destruction of the Wends.

Great numbers of the Wends were exterminated in the centuries-long conflict; the rest were Christianized and reduced to serfdom. Some were absorbed by the Germans who surrounded them, but scattered groups held tenaciously to their ancient language and customs. Today the Wends are mostly confined to a small territory in the Upper Spree Valley, in Lusatia. Their dialects (Upper and Lower Lusatian, with subdivisions based on minor shades of pronunciation) belong to the western stem of Slavonic languages, which also includes Polish and Czech. Many German words have entered the present language of the Wends, and German letters are used in their publications. Early writings are generally of a religious nature, but since the revival of national feeling about the middle of the 19th century a number of writers, chiefly poets, have appeared. The recognized literary leader in Lower Lusatian is Mato Kósyk (1853–1940). Outstanding in Upper Lusatian is Handrij Zejleř (1804–1872) and Čišinski (Jakub Bart, 1856–1909). Their works reflect the peasant milieu as well as the heroic and tragic history of the medieval Wends. Čišinski, generally considered the finest of the Lusatian poets, exhibits an intense preoccupation with the problem of the national survival of his people. These writers, and others, have also produced some prose works in the Lusatian dialects, but they are of lesser significance.

FRED C. HAMIL
Professor of History, Wayne State University

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THE ETHNIC ALMANAC

by Stephanie Bernardo

Dolphin Books
Doubleday & Company, Inc.
Garden City, New York
1981

Facts About Cuban-Americans

1970 Census

Foreign-born Cubans	439,048
Native-born, 2nd generation	121,580
Total Foreign-stock population	560,628
Estimated Cuban-American population	800,000

Cubans represented 1.7% of the foreign-stock population of the United States in 1970.

Main Ethnic Epicenters:

According to the latest census report in 1970, there were 252,520 Cubans living in Florida; 98,479 living in New York; 71,233 in New Jersey; 47,699 in California; and 19,649 in Illinois. The states with the least number of Cubans were Vermont with only 7 and Montana with 45.

Who's Cuban?

Entertainment Desi Arnaz, bandleader and comedy star for more than two decades on *I Love Lucy*.

Dance Fernando Bujones (1955–), Miami-born dancer with the American Ballet Theater.

Sports baseball's Tony Oliva, Luis Tiant, Pedro Ramos; featherweight boxer Kid Chocolate.

Business Former president and current chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Company, Cuban-born Roberto C. Goicueta.

THE CZECHS IN AMERICA

In the 1600s Czech Protestants fled their homeland because of religious persecution following the Thirty Years War. Some settled in Sweden, Holland and England, and from there they made their way across the sea to colonies established in America.

The first Czech in America was probably Augustine Herrmann (1605–1686), who arrived in New Amsterdam in 1633. Herrmann later settled in Maryland, and in the early 1920s one of his descendants, U.S. Senator Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, built his home on the tract of land where Herrmann, Bayard's first American ancestor, had once lived.

During the 1730s members of the Moravian Brethren religious sect began emigrating to America in fairly large numbers. Although their first colony was in Georgia, they eventually settled in the towns of Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz in Pennsylvania.

The Czechs didn't start mass migrations until the 1840s when a potato famine, poor economic and social conditions and political uprisings in 1848 led many disgruntled Czechs to seek greener pastures in the New World. There were large Czech settlements in Iowa, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Texas. Even today, there are almost 90,000 Czechs (still speaking the language of their ancestors) scattered throughout 100 Texas towns.

Modern Czechoslovakia was formed in 1918 when the Czechoslovak national council was recognized by the Allied Powers. The movement for Czech independence from the Hapsburg Empire was directed, from the United States, by Thomas Masaryk. During the war, Masaryk did research work at the New York Public Library with the help of his American-born wife, and in 1918 he was installed as President of a "new" Czechoslovakia that was basically identical in territory to the original Czech kingdom destroyed in 1620. There was one addition, however: Carpathian Russia, or Ruthenia, requested transfer to Czech jurisdiction in 1918. Ruthenia was ceded to Russia in 1945, and in 1948 Communists gained control of the Czechoslovak government.

♦ The first Czech-language newspaper in America was *Slovan Amerikansky*, published in Racine, Wisconsin, in 1855.

14th century
as a house

- how old is square
  - any festivals trad tales
    place there
- nat festivals
  involving light
- is there a church there
- Does it have any ceremonies
  in it that deal w/ light

- Anything that can be
  rooted in square

- Has Bush ever been to
  Prague

♦ The first American Sokol organization, dedicated to physical, mental and cultural development, was founded in 1865 at St. Louis, Missouri. It was an outgrowth of an 1862 movement that originated in Prague. (*Sokol* means "falcon.")

♦ The Gothic pinnacles of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City were designed by Joseph Svak, an immigrant architect from Czechoslovakia.

♦ In 1880 there were over 85,000 Bohemians living in the United States. Thirty years later, in 1910, there were almost 500,000 first- and second-generation Americans of Bohemian and Moravian stock.

♦ The first Czech congressman was Adolph Sabath, a Jewish lawyer who came to America in 1881 at the age of fifteen.

♦ Antonin Cermak, the Czech-born mayor of Chicago, died as a result of an assassination attempt made on the life of President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt in February 1933. An unemployed bricklayer mortally wounded Cermak instead of his real target, FDR.

♦ *First American Man Canonized* Bohemian-born Jon Nepomucene Neumann, the Bishop of Philadelphia from 1852 to 1860, was the first American male to be canonized as a saint. On June 19, 1977, Pope Paul VI declared "that Jon Newmann . . . is in heaven and is worthy of honor and imitation by all the faithful."

♦ Chicago is the most "Czech-ered" city in the United States, with over 79,000 first- and second-generation Czech-Americans. Milwaukee, one of the oldest Czech communities in America, was first settled by immigrants because the climate was similar to that of the old country, the soil was suited for the crops they were familiar with and the land was cheap at $12.50 for 10 acres. (There were almost 5,000 foreign-stock Czechoslovakian Americans living in Milwaukee at the time of the 1970 U.S. Census.)

♦ *Places With Czech Names* Bohemia, New York; New Prague and Moravia, Minnesota; Prague, Nebraska; Moravia, Texas; and Slovaktown, Arkansas.

Facts About the Other Side:

Country:	CZECHOSLOVAKIA A 1968 amendment to the Czech constitution divided Czechoslovakia into two sections: the Czech Socialist Republic, consisting of Bohemia and Moravia; and the Slovak Socialist Republic.
Capital:	Prague
Motto:	*Pravda vitezi* (The Truth Will Win) Adopted by the Czech Republic in fifteenth century.
Official Name:	Ceskoslovenska Socialisticka Republika (Czechoslovak Socialist Republic)
Official Languages:	Czech and Slovak
National Anthem:	"Kde domov muj?" (Where Is My Homeland?) and "Nad Tatrou sa blyska" (Lightning Flashes over the Tatra)
National Flag:	A blue triangle on the left intersects two horizontal bands of white over red. The three colors represent the regions of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia.
Major Religions:	Roman Catholic, Czechoslovak National Church and Czech Brethren.
Ethnic Mix:	When the independent state of Czechoslovakia was formed in 1918, it incorporated Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia and Carpathian Russia (Ruthenia). Formerly, Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Today, Czechs comprise 65% of the population and Slovaks 30%. In addition, there are Hungarians, Germans, Gypsies, Ruthenian-Ukrainians and Poles living in Czechoslovakia.

Facts About Czech-Americans:

Immigration to the U.S. (1920–1975): 135,995

Figures are only available for Czechoslovakia since 1920. Prior to that, immigrants were recorded as Austro-Hungarians.

Recent Immigration:

The peak decade for Czechoslovakia was 1921–1930, when 102,194 immigrants reached our shores. Between 1941 and 1950, 8,347 Czechs came to America, but after Communist control began in 1948 only 918 immigrants came between 1951 and 1960. Czech immigrants numbered 3,444 between 1971 and 1975.

1970 Census

Foreign-born Czechs	160,899
Native-born, 2nd generation	598,628
Total Foreign-stock Population	759,527
Estimated Czech-American Population	1,750,000

Main Ethnic Epicenters:

Pennsylvania	118,855
Ohio	93,187
New York	90,641
Illinois	88,259
New Jersey	51,599

U.S. Cities with Most Czechs:

Chicago	79,982
New York	66,466
Cleveland	53,049
Pittsburgh	50,447
Los Angeles	21,110

Who's Czech?

Entertainment Betsy Palmer (Betsy Hrunek); Walter Slezak; Jon Voight, the grandson of an immigrant coal miner from Czechoslovakia.

Art Andy Warhol, the artist who turned soup cans into money-making canvases, was born sometime between 1927 and 1932 in Pennsylvania. His father was a Czechoslovakian coal miner and his mother was an immigrant from Mikova.

Sports George Blanda, pro-football player.

Politics Ralph H. Perk, former mayor of Cleveland, Ohio; Richard Bassett, a signer of the Constitution.

Science Carl and Gerty Cori, 1947 Nobel Prize winners for Physiology and Medicine; Zdenek Kopal, astronomer.

Astrology Svetlana Godilla, President Carter's astrologer.

Theater Martin Beck (1867–1940), a theatrical manager born in Lipto, Szent Miklos (now a part of Czechoslovakia), is no longer with us, but his name lives on: it identifies a Broadway theater that he built in 1924 on 45th Street.

THE DANES IN AMERICA

Immigration statistics were not kept until 1820, so there aren't any records of the Danes who came to our shores between 1600 and 1820. It is certain, however, that Danish immigrants came to America as early as the seventeenth century—one of them being Jonas Bronck, the man who gave his last name to one of New York City's five boroughs.

By 1850 the U.S. Census reported 1,837 Danes living in America. During the 1850s, almost 3,700 Danish immigrants were recruited to American shores by Mormon missionaries, and at the time of the next U.S. Census in 1860 there were more than 10,000 Danes living in America. The majority lived in the Midwest, on farms in Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota.

By 1920 there were almost half a million first- and second-generation Danish-

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.

Is there a joke in this

- 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

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November 18, 1989, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 986 words

HEADLINE: Largest Rally in Prague Since '69 Ends Violently

BYLINE: Mary Battiata, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: PRAGUE, Nov. 17, 1989

BODY:

The largest, most politically charged demonstration here since 1969 ended in violence tonight as police attacked student demonstrators in what observers said was also the worst episode of police violence against a citizen protest in 20 years.

Riot police used armored personnel carriers and truncheon-wielding troops to pen in more than 1,500 students who were attempting to make their way to the city's Wenceslas Square after a massive and peaceful demonstration elsewhere in the city in which an estimated 30,000 to 50,000 people took part.

The demonstrations, in which participants chanted for free elections and the ouster of Communist Party chief Milos Jakes, posed the largest and most open challenge thus far to the hard-line party leadership here.

After setting attack dogs on the crowd, witnesses said, police beat the students and dragged them away as they were let through the police line in twos and threes. Police beat demonstrators repeatedly on the head and shoulders.

"They hit me once, picked me up and just kept hitting," said Paula Butturini, a correspondent for the Chicago Tribune who required several stitches to close head wounds received as she attempted to make her way past the police line showing her American passport and press credentials.

The police action began at about 9:45 p.m., after the demonstrators had refused several orders to disperse. It took the police about 40 minutes to clear the street near the square. Several hundred protesters were arrested and taken away in police buses.

The students were the remnants of an extraordinary march that began earlier in the day, when tens of thousands of university students and others walked through the capital in what older members of the crowd said was the largest demonstration here since 1969.

It was the first public rally permitted by the Czechoslovak government in nearly a year, and the government's sanction of the event apparently emboldened many citizens to come out.

The turnout was much larger and more openly political than a rally called last month by banned human rights and dissident groups, and reflects the rising dissatisfaction of young people and others with the hard-line Czechoslovak

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Communist Party leadership. Though peaceful, the demonstrators were excited, and appeared buoyed by pent-up energy.

Several demonstrators said there had not been a comparable public protest rally since March 1969, when huge crowds took to the streets here for an anti-Soviet rally, using as a pretext the Czechoslovak hockey team's victory over the Soviet team. That rally occurred several months after the August 1968 Soviet-led invasion here and precipitated the ouster of the reform Communist leader Alexander Dubcek.

"I have not seen anything like this in 20 years," said one man, who identified himself as an economist employed by a government agency. He said he had joined the demonstration to send a message to the Czechoslovak leadership, which so far has resisted all pressure for democratic reform.

One protester said the intensity of the rally and political slogans showed that student dissatisfaction had reached such a pitch that nothing less than radical reform would be acceptable, and maybe not even that.

"Even if they make changes now, there will be an avalanche, like in East Germany, so they [the government] are stuck," the student said.

Today's demonstration was legal, but students had been denied permission to march in Wenceslas Square and had been warned to stay away. The ostensible reason for the rally was the 50th anniversary of the deaths of two Czech students who were killed in anti-Nazi protests at Prague's university on the eve of World War II.

The march was called and organized by the Czechoslovak Official Youth Union, the Communist-sanctioned national student organization. A few days before the rally, the demonstration acquired an unofficial co-sponsor, the new and still loosely organized Independent Students' Union. It was this group that clearly had the marchers' loyalties today.

The march quickly became a forum for growing anti-government sentiment here. Two elderly academics made speeches to the crowd calling for dialogue between the Communist Party and outlawed opposition groups.

Students who addressed the gathering spoke emotionally of the political activism of the past.

"We are remembering our predecessors, who did not hesitate to give their lives for what they believed in at that time. They didn't doubt that being oppressed is worse than being dead," said a student leader. "They died but they preserved their honor."

Hundreds of pedestrians, while not joining the march, clung to fenceposts and stood on statues and stairs to applaud as the crowd went by. There were dozens of banners with slogans such as "Abolish the Monopoly of the Communist Party," "Stop Lying to Us," "Free Elections" and "Abolish the Secret Police." The demonstrators chanted for the removal of Jakes and demanded dialogue between the government and the political opposition.

The government had refused the demonstrators permission to march in the center of the city, restricting them to a route that led from the university

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area to a hilltop castle near the national cemetery.

On the way to the castle, many marchers called on organizers to turn the march toward Wenceslas Square. After the officially sanctioned rally ended, a large number of the marchers began chanting, "To the horse, to the horse," a reference to the equestrian statue of St. Wenceslas in the central square. Three thousand people tried to go to the square. By 9 p.m. they had massed on a side street and waited uncertainly as riot police moved in around them.

The rally came as Czechoslovakia's hard-line Communist leadership showed signs of being severely shaken by radical reforms underway in Eastern Europe and particularly in East Germany, its former partner in resisting reforms.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, CZECHOSLOVAK POLICEMEN IN PRAGUE ATTACK STUDENTS FOLLOWING MARCH THAT WAS THE LARGEST PROTEST RALLY THERE SINCE 1969. AFP

TYPE: FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: CZECHOSLOVAKIA; DEMONSTRATIONS; POLITICS

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November 19, 1989, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A31

LENGTH: 721 words

HEADLINE: Prague Student Dies In Attack by Police; Pressure on Government Seen Increasing

BYLINE: Mary Battiata, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: PRAGUE, Nov. 18, 1989

BODY:

A 20-year-old Czechoslovak university student was beaten to death by riot troops during a police crackdown after a large protest march here Friday night, it was learned today. The death is likely to inflame the already tense situation here, dissident sources said, as dissatisfaction with Czechoslovakia's hard-line Communist leadership grows.

The student, identified as Martin Smid, died after being beaten by two riot policemen on National Street, near the capital's main Wenceslas Square.

Friends of the slain student said Smid fell to the ground after being struck several times on the head and shoulders. As Smid lay flat, the police continued to beat him until his face was no longer recognizable, witnesses said.

Smid's parents were informed of their son's death this morning by two policemen, who told them that the death had been "an accident."

Friday's demonstration was held to mark the 50th anniversary of the death of two Czech students killed by Nazi soldiers during anti-Nazi demonstrations here in 1939. Friday's rally was the largest -- and most brutally repressed -- citizen protest here in 20 years.

Today, more than 1,500 high school and university students defied the threat of further police violence to lay flowers on the spot where Smid fell. Shouting, "You can't kill us all," the students faced down several lines of helmeted riot police to stand near a symbolic grave on the cobblestone sidewalk. A small card on the grave read: "Here died Martin Smid."

The students chanted, "Gestapo," and shook their fists at police vans that raced through the demonstration area. The students sang the Czechoslovak national anthem, holding lighted candles aloft, before agreeing to disperse at the request of a student leader.

Smid's death comes at a time when the Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership, already isolated by its resistance to reforms underway in Poland, Hungary and now East Germany, is undergoing pressure at home and from Moscow.

Dissatisfaction with the Czechoslovak leadership is building here, and several Western diplomats and Czechoslovak dissidents said today the government's unraveling could come in a matter of "weeks or months" rather

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than the year or more that observers were predicting just days ago.

Czechoslovakia's hard-line ideology chief was in Moscow this week receiving the most pointed prodding yet to stop stalling on political reform, according to a report in the Czechoslovak party daily, Rude Pravo.

Jan Sojtik, a senior aide to party leader Milos Jakes, was summoned to Moscow for talks Friday with his Soviet counterpart, Vadim Medvedev. The outcome of the talks was a joint statement, published today, saying it was time for a "thorough analysis" of the Soviet-led invasion of 1968.

The carefully worded statement is being interpreted by senior diplomatic and Czechoslovak sources as Moscow's most public message yet that the Prague leadership can no longer use the 1968 invasion as an excuse for blocking political reform. The Czechoslovak leadership, installed after the invasion, has pointed to the Soviet decision to intervene and halt mild reform 20 years ago as justification for maintaining rigid control here.

On Friday night, the riot police used brutal force to disperse the last 3,000 or more marchers from the massive and peaceful protest march that began earlier in the day in another part of the city. Between 30,000 and 50,000 people participated, making the march the largest and most openly political gathering in a series of demonstrations during the past 14 months.

Witnesses said today that police attacked the crowd savagely, beating a pregnant woman, knocking several demonstrators unconscious and shoving a foreign television cameraman through a plate-glass window. Several hundred students were arrested. A medical technician from a city hospital said today that one protester was delivered to the emergency room with a broken neck.

Friday's demonstration was the first officially sanctioned by the government in nearly a year. The marchers had been refused permission to walk in the center of the city, and warned to stay away from Wenceslas Square, where many illegal demonstrations have been held. It was the group of students who headed for the square after the official march had ended who were attacked by police.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, CZECHOSLOVAK STUDENTS HOLD SIGN SAYING, "PEOPLE, STRAIGHTEN UP," DURING FRIDAY'S MASS MARCH IN PRAGUE. AP; PHOTO, AFP

TYPE: FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: CZECHOSLOVAKIA; DEMONSTRATIONS; POLICE BRUTALITY

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November 18, 1989, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 1, Column 2; Foreign Desk

HEADLINE: CLAMOR IN THE EAST;
Protest in Prague Ends in Violence

GRAPHIC: In the largest anti-Government rally since 1969, tens of thousands marched to demand removal of Czechoslovakia's Government. At least 13 people were reported injured as riot police attacked demonstrators. Banner urged an end to the Communist monopoly on power. Page 7. (Associated Press)

TYPE: Caption

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS AND RIOTS; POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

GEOGRAPHIC: CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1989 The New York Times Company;
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November 18, 1989, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 6, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1114 words

HEADLINE: Clamor in the East;
Three Dissident Voices From Eastern Europe

BODY:

Three Eastern Europeans with long careers as dissidents - a Pole, a Hungarian and a Czechoslovak - were asked in separate interviews what surprised them most about the recent events in East Germany, what they thought might be the next step in Eastern Europe and what they considered the greatest dangers.

Jan Litynski: Poland

Jan Litynski (pronounced YAHN lee-TEEN-skee) was thrown out of the mathematics department of Warsaw University in March 1968 and spent two and half years in jail for taking part in anti-Soviet protests. In the late 1970's he was a founder of the Committee to Defend Workers and edited underground papers.

He helped organize Solidarity, and when the movement was crushed under martial law in 1981, he was arrested and spent another year and a half in jail. He escaped into the underground when he was given a furlough to attend the communion of his daughter.

Mr. Litynski worked as an adviser to Silesian coal miners during the strike-filled summer of 1988. He was elected to Parliament as a candidate of the Solidarity-backed party.

''I guess what surpised me most is that I just did not think it would happen so soon,'' he said.

''The next major step? I think it should be real change in Czechoslovakia. For us, this is much more important than Germany, because it affords the chance of developing a common line for Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. This would mean the end of Soviet domination in this region.

Danger and the Soviet Economy

''By common line I mean we should work out a kind of common foreign policy. Now there are discrepancies, contradictions. I'm not talking about a confederation, as some have suggested, but simply to do our best to avoid the mistakes of the 1920's and 1930's.

''Dangers? Altogether, the economy, and especially the economic situation in the Soviet Union. I hope and think we can cope with our economic situation, and first symptoms are emerging that we will be able to do it. But there is the possibility of a crash in the Soviet Union, especially because of the nationalities problem. And then there is the situation in East Germany. If the Soviet Union lost its influence on East Germany it could result in a kind of

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military coup in Moscow.''

Mr. Litynski was asked whether in his prison years he ever fantasized about the kind of changes that have taken place.

''Never, not at all. Even after I got out of prison, in the underground, I never dreamed of it. As for myself, I used to think maybe someday there'd be a role for me as a trade-union activist. But never as a politician, someone sitting in Parliament.''

Miklos Vasarhelyi: Hungary

Miklos Vasarhelyi is a writer and former journalist who was sentenced to five years in prison for his role in the 1956 Hungarian uprising, which was crushed by the Soviet Army. Mr. Vasarhelyi, who was press secretary to to the reformist Prime Minister Imre Nagy, was a defendant in the same secret trial in 1958 at which Mr. Nagy and three others were condemned to death. They were executed; he was sentenced to five years and released after four years.

Mr. Vasarhelyi (his full name is pronounced mick-LOHSH VAH-shahr-HAY-ee) lives in Budapest. He was interviewed in Washington, where he is doing research on the Western role and response to the Soviet invasion of Budapest in 1956.

Referring to the events in East Germany, he said: ''What was most surprising was the speed with which it happened. Since last May we thought and we hoped there would be changes. But what's happening now and especially in Berlin is a major surprise. Nobody dared to think about such big changes. Even to have mentioned such things three months ago would have seemed crazy.

''What was so unusual is that it was all the will of the people. It was not figured out by intellectuals or politicians or diplomats.

Europe's 'Irreversible' Changes

''It's very different than in 1956. Then, we were crushed because we were alone. Hungary was isolated. This today is impossible to crush because it is going on almost everywhere behind the Iron Curtain. It is irreversible and I can tell you sincerely, I never expected to live to see it.''

Asked what he thought would happen now, he replied: ''First of all, there will really be a Europe again. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe will finally get an opportunity to unite with the West. We will begin to live under the same conditions.

''It will take time, but socially, politically and economically we will achieve what the Western countries have already achieved. The doors are open now.''

On the question of dangers, he said they were fewer than they had been. ''There are problems, but they don't worry me. What worried me was to live under a dictatorial system and foreign domination. All other worries are peanuts compared to that.

''Nor am I afraid of a united Germany. The Germans have changed very much. In the last century, the French wanted to take all of Europe. Now they are the

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most civilized and cultured of nations. The Germans had the terrible experience of Nazism for 10 years 50 years ago. Should we now have to say forever that we have to be afraid of the Germans?''

Jiri Dienstbier: Czechoslovakia

Jiri Dienstbier (pronounced YEE-ree DEENST-beer) is one of the founders of the Czechoslovak human-rights group Charter 77. He was a Communist Party member and radio commentator on foreign affairs in 1968 when the Soviets invaded to crush the liberalization begun by the Communist Government of Alexander Dubcek. He spent three years in prison, lost his job and has not been allowed a telephone because of his work.

This is what he said in an interview this week at his home in Prague:

''What surprised everybody was the quick unraveling of things in East Germany. The opposition there wasn't very much bigger than in Czechoslovakia, which is pretty small. It was based almost completely on the evangelical church. In fact, the East German movement started outside the country, with the opening of the border between Austria and Hungary, which gave the East Germans an escape route. This shows that no matter where the rot sets in, the Communist system collapses very quickly.

''The next step? I hope it's Czechoslzovakia. I think it could be. The leadership here is dead, only waiting to be carried away. Jakes is completely discredited. The party's only alternative to the status quo is to open up the system, but they know that once they open it up, they are doomed.

''As for dangers, the main problems are the potential economic collapse in Russia and Poland. Whether that pulls us all down would depend mainly on the scope and the nature of the collapse.''

GRAPHIC: Jan Litynski, Poland (Associated Press); Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovakia (Helsinki Watch); Miklos Vasarhelyi, Hungary (Associated Press)

NAME: LITYNSKI, JAN; VASARHELYI, MIKLOS; DIENSTBIER, JIRI

GEOGRAPHIC: EUROPE, EAST; POLAND; HUNGARY; CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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November 18, 1989, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 7, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 894 words

HEADLINE: Clamor in the East;
Riot Police in Prague Beat Marchers and Arrest Dozens

BYLINE: AP

DATELINE: PRAGUE, Nov. 17

BODY:

The largest anti-Government rally in more than 20 years ended in violence today when riot police officers attacked demonstrators trying to march to downtown Wenceslas Square.

At least 13 protesters were reported admitted to a Prague hospital and dozens were arrested.

The clash came five hours after thousands of young people taking part in a memorial service for a student killed by the Nazis 50 years ago began walking from Vysehrad Cathedral to the square.

Many of the demonstrators, bleeding after clubbings by the police, fled down side streets. Witnesses said scores of people were arrested but they did not have an exact number.

They also said the police used tear gas to disperse marchers chanting slogans against the hard-line Communist regime of the Communist Party leader. Milos Jakes.

'Dinosaurs, Resign!'

Reporters said tens of thousands of people were at the rally. The Government press agency estimated the size of the crowd at 15,000.

The memorial was organized by the official students' organization in honor of the Czechoslovak student Jan Opletal, who was killed in an uprising 50 years ago against the Nazi occupation.

During the rally, the protesters shouted, ''Dinosaurs, resign!'' and ''We want freedom and free elections! Communists get out!'' It was the largest public protest since August 1969, when crowds gathered in downtown Prague a year after a Soviet-led invasion crushed the liberal Government led by Alexander Dubcek, the Communist Party leader.

'Many People Were Bleeding'

In Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, about 500 students walked from Peace Square to Comenius University and placed flowers where a young woman was

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reportedly killed during the 1968 invasion. The police did not interfere.

In Prague, Michael Schwarz, a staff photographer for The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, said he went with the crowd trying to march to Wenceslas Square but was beaten on the head by the police and chased away.

''Many people were bleeding on their faces,'' said Mr. Schwarz, who said he saw about 12 ambulances taking people to hospitals. He also said he saw at least three busloads of people being taken away by the police. The police did not say how many arrests had been made.

Mr. Schwarz said one policeman walked up to him and tried to grab his camera. Another policeman came and then a third one. ''I resisted, but when I saw how serious they were, I let go,'' he said.

Official Student Groups Booed

The photographer said he was chased away and his camera was thrown after him down the street.

Paula Butturini, a Warsaw-based correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, was beaten and required 15 stitches on the head, the paper said in Chicago. She was treated at a Prague hospital and then released.

During the rally, Martin Klima, a student who addressed the rally, declared: ''Oppression is worse than death! We should not only remember the past with piety, we must care for the present and even more for the future!''

''We must fight for freedom because you cannot live without it,'' Mr. Klima said.

But speakers representing the official student organizations urged ''constructive cooperation'' and were booed when they said the people should ''rectify past mistakes.''

Slogans Against Prague Leader

Karel Srp, head of the dissident group the Jazz Section, said of the rally: ''This is the biggest and best demonstration I have ever seen, better than in 1969 because the atmosphere is much better. We know that we can win. This is unstoppable.''

When the crowd started moving toward the cathedral and its cemetery, where the laying of flowers and candles was scheduled, many students began shouting slogans against Mr. Jakes and others of the aging leadership.

''You have lost already!'' the crowd yelled.

Government television said some participants ''misused the mass gathering for anti-socialist performances. One part of the march returned from Vysehrad to the center of town, where they attempted to violate public order.''

Environmentalist March Allowed

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''Attempted violation of public order'' has been used in the past as a reason for police intervention. The television report said the police tried to disperse the crowd on its way to downtown Prague.

Some students at the rally shouted ''Masaryk!'' for Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, who was Czechoslovakia's first President and is credited with founding the country after the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed in World War I. They also chanted the name of Jan Palach, a student who burned himself to death to protest the Soviet-led invasion.

On Wednesday, the police permitted a demonstration by about 1,000 environmentalists in downtown Prague but prevented 300 to 500 people from marching to Government headquarters.

PRAGUE DISSIDENT TO ACCEPT PRIZE

STOCKHOLM, Nov. 17 (Reuters) -Czechoslovakia will allow the dissident playwright Vaclav Havel to go to Stockholm to receive the 1989 Olof Palme prize, the Swedish Foreign Ministry said today.

''We were informed today by the Prague authorities that Havel has been granted a passport so that he can travel to Sweden to receive the prize,'' a ministry spokesman, Bo Heineback, said.

Foreign Minister Sten Andersson of Sweden had been scheduled to go to Prague next Thursday to present the $15,000 prize to Mr. Havel for his struggle for human rights. s

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS AND RIOTS

GEOGRAPHIC: CZECHOSLOVAKIA; PRAGUE (CZECHOSLOVAKIA)

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November 18, 1989, Saturday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 1; Column 5; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1127 words

HEADLINE: RIOT POLICE SMASH PROTEST BY CZECHS;
EAST BLOC: MORE THAN 15,000 STUDENTS VENT THEIR WRATH BEFORE BEING ROUTED. BUT THE MARCH MAY MARK THE BEGINNING OF THE END FOR THE HARD-LINE REGIME.

BYLINE: By TYLER MARSHALL, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia

BODY:

More than 15,000 Czechoslovak students shouting anti-government slogans marched through the streets of Prague on Friday before riot police brutally broke up the demonstration. The protest was the largest show of public dissent in more than 20 years against the hard-line regime.

Several times during the course of the four-hour demonstration, the crowd chanted, "Jakes out! Jakes out!" -- a reference to Communist Party chief Milos Jakes.

In ending the demonstration, police systematically split up the crowd and viciously beat groups of demonstrators with clubs. Witnesses said police also used tear gas.

Scores of people were injured, several seriously, and many Western reporters covering the demonstration also were attacked.

The demonstration took place in an atmosphere of growing anticipation that Czechoslovakia's hard-line Communist government, one of the last such governments in Eastern Europe, might be entering its final phases.

Protesters Friday appeared in larger numbers and were bolder and more aggressive in their opposition to the government than at any time in the past, according to those who had witnessed previous demonstrations in the city.

The police action was also the severest in memory.

Reporters estimated the crowd at tens of thousands, but the state news agency CTK said only 15,000 took part.

Chants from the crowd, vowing to meet again at a main square today, raised the possibility of a second street confrontation between students and police.

The demonstration began at Prague's Charles University, just south of the city's center, and commemorated Czechoslovak student martyr Jan Opletal, who died at the hands of the country's Nazi occupation forces 50 years ago. The occasion has long been commemorated in Stalinist Czechoslovakia, and Friday's demonstration began as an example of a government-touted liberalization.

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It was only the second officially sanctioned non-government demonstration permitted in the country since Czechoslovak hard-liners crushed then-Communist Party leader Alexander Dubcek's liberal experiment in 1968.

The official Communist youth organization, the Union of Student Youth, was a main sponsor of the rally. But it quickly became clear that the majority of those who gathered had come to demand change.

The main speaker from the Communist group was whistled down, while independent speakers calling for change were cheered loudly.

"We've never doubted that oppression is worse than death," said Martin Klima, an independent student spokesman. "You cannot live without freedom."

Other speakers also called for change as the crowd chanted, "Resign! Resign!" and "Freedom! Freedom!"

Several large banners also proclaimed opposition to the government. One read "Stop Beating Students," while another proclaimed: "We Want Freedom for Christmas." A third declared, "Who, If Not Us? When, If Not Now?"

At the same time, some officially sanctioned student youth banners called for dialogue.

In the past few weeks, Czechoslovak government leaders, apparently after prodding from the Soviet Union, have begun to emphasize the need for political as well as economic liberalization.

The recent, sudden unraveling of a similar hard-line Communist regime in neighboring East Germany, along with the arrival of democracy in Hungary and Poland, has heightened expectations of possible change here -- especially among young people.

Western diplomats say they now believe that major change is inevitable in the country. The only question remains when.

Following the rally, the demonstrators marched to a nearby cemetery where Opletal is buried. There, they lit candles and sang the Czechoslovak national anthem.

Along the route to the cemetery, the only police visible were four traffic officers, who smiled when the students began to chant, "Join us! Join us!"

When the large crowd began snaking its way toward the city's central Wenceslas Square, bystanders waved and residents watched from upper-floor windows.

The square is a traditional place of protest in Prague. It was here that an illegal demonstration of about 10,000 Czechoslovaks was broken up by riot police last month. It was also here where another Czechoslovak youth, Jan Palech, set himself afire in 1969 to protest the Soviet invasion of a few months earlier.

On the way toward the square Friday, some well-dressed people attending a National Theater performance appeared at the theater's windows and waved. Students responded with shouts of "Stage Havel plays!" -- a reference to

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playwright and leading Czech dissident Vaclav Havel.

However, when they neared the square itself, the crowd met a phalanx of riot police. Following a 20-minute confrontation, during which students placed lighted candles at the feet of police and tossed flowers into police ranks, the students turned and began moving toward the square via a different route, where a similar, hourlong confrontation took place.

But that incident ended with police wading into the crowd, systematically seizing small groups of people and then beating them.

With the mass of demonstrators trapped in a main street, lines of police moved in from both the front and rear of the crowd.

Police trapped many in doorways or just pulled them to the ground and beat them repeatedly. At one point, the only visible movement above the panicked crowd was the rising and falling of police truncheons. Some of those beaten were merely walking in the area.

Within 10 minutes, the streets were largely clear except for the sound of police boots and the whimpering and crying of the injured.

A camera crew from Cable News Network was attacked and a cameraman was beaten severely as he cried out, "I am an accredited journalist!" A correspondent for the Chicago Tribune, Paula Butturini, was briefly hospitalized.

State television said that some of the demonstrators "misused the mass gathering for anti-socialist performances" and "attempted to violate public order." Attempted violation of public order has been used previously as a pretext for police intervention.

Western diplomats said they found it hard to assess the possible political repercussions of Friday's demonstration.

"It's hard to know whether this action will politicize the students (further) or subdue them," one diplomat said.

Until now, Czechoslovakia's small opposition has been comprised largely of intellectuals, with the students remaining mostly passive and on the sidelines. If this group of the population begins taking to the streets in large numbers, as they did Friday, it would signal a major escalation in the opposition to the Czechoslovak regime.

With the exception of Romania, Czechoslovakia remains the only East Bloc country that has not begun to move toward liberalization.

GRAPHIC: Photo, (Orange County Edition) COLOR, Police in Prague, Czechoslovakia, confront demonstrators Friday. Some protesters were arrested later. MICHAEL A. SCHWARZ / Atlanta Journal and Constitution

DEMONSTRATIONS -- CZECHOSLOVAKIA; CZECHOSLOVAKIA -- GOVERNMENT; GOVERNMENT REFORM; JAKES, MILOS; COMMUNIST PARTY (CZECHOSLOVAKIA); DISSIDENTS -- CZECHOSLOVAKIA; STUDENTS

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PETER'S QUOTATIONS

IDEAS FOR
OUR TIME

Hope is merely disappointment deferred. —W. Burton Baldry

Waiting and hoping are the whole of life, and as soon as a dream is realized it is destroyed. —Gian-Carlo Menotti

The hopeful man sees success where others see failure, sunshine where others see shadows and storm. —O. S. Marden

HUMANITY

In every child who is born, under no matter what circumstances, and of no matter what parents, the potentiality of the human race is born again. —James Agee

Such is the human race. Often it does seem such a pity that Noah . . . didn't miss the boat. —Mark Twain

I know of no rights of race superior to the rights of humanity.
—Frederick Douglass (1817?–1895)

Our humanity were a poor thing were it not for the divinity which stirs within us. —Francis Bacon (1561–1626)

Only on paper has humanity yet achieved glory, beauty, truth, knowledge, virtue, and abiding love. —George Bernard Shaw

Scientific and humanist approaches are not competitive but supportive, and both are ultimately necessary. —Robert C. Wood

We are healthy only to the extent that our ideas are humane.
—Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.

When any man is more stupidly vain and outrageously egotistic than his fellows, he will hide his hideousness in humanitarianism.
—George Moore

A humanitarian is always a hypocrite. —George Orwell

Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity; and let us put aside all selfishness in consideration of language, nationality, or religion. —John Comenius (1592–1670)

The more humanity advances, the more it is degraded.
—Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880)

Beware of Greeks bearing gifts, colored men looking for loans, and whites who understand the Negro. —Adam Clayton Powell

A racially integrated community is a chronological term timed from the entrance of the first black family to the exit of the last white family. —Saul Alinsky

* *

Until justice is blind to color, until education is unaware of race, until opportunity is unconcerned with the color of men's skins, emancipation will be a proclamation but not a fact.
—Lyndon B. Johnson

. . . another Negro hung naked from a tree. In the background a Klansman held aloft a large American flag. —Jacob Javits

* *

We are all citizens of one world, we are all of one blood. To hate a man because he was born in another country, because he speaks a different language, or because he takes a different view on this subject or that, is a great folly. Desist, I implore you, for we are all equally human . . . Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity. —John Comenius (1592–1670)

We are all descendants of Adam and we are all products of racial miscegenation. —Lester B. Pearson

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Busing is an artificial and inadequate instrument of change which should be abandoned just as soon as we can afford to do so. But we must not take the risk of returning to the kind of segregation, fear and misunderstanding which produced the very problem in the first place. —Reubin Askew

It is my conviction that God ordained segregation.
—Reverend Billy James Hargis

* *

I believe in white supremacy until the blacks are educated to a point of responsibility. —John Wayne

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves.
—Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865)

* *

Negroes . . . must not make the mistake of the German Jews, who assumed that if the German nation received some of them as intellectual and social equals, the whole group would be safe. It took only a psychopathic criminal like Hitler to show them their tragic

mistake. *American Negroes may y*
should prepare for such an eventu

The Americans ought to be asham
medals be won by Negroes.

BOOKS AND

Mr. [Irvin] Cobb took me into his li
of which he has a complete set.

Sartor Resartus is simply unreadab
of spoils a book. —Will Cu
don't go together, otherwise a di
literary masterpiece.)

Some men borrow books; some m
presentation copies from the autho

Book—what they make a movie o

These are not books, lumps of lif
the shelves. From each of them g
just as the touch of a button on our
so by taking down one of these vo
call into range the voice of a man
and hear him speaking to us, mind

My education was the liberty I ha
all the time, with my eyes hanging

There is more treasure in books t
Treasure Island . . . and best of
every day of your life. —Wal

An ordinary man can . . . surrou
books . . . and thenceforward hav
in which it is possible to be happy.

I am a part of all that I have read.

The novel is the highest example of
has discovered. —D. H. Lawre

The walls of books around him, den
of insulation against the present wor
—Ross Macdonald (A good book or
its back on you and remains a frien

The ENCYCLOPEDIA of PHILOSOPHY

PAUL EDWARDS, *Editor in Chief*

VOLUME TWO

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LONDON

an analysis of philosophy as a psychological and linguistic disease (1939), some papers in theoretical physics (on relativity, 1938; on electromagnetism, 1941), and an essay on the logic of economic theory (1942?). A complete collection of Colorni's papers is forthcoming.

Works on Colorni include Alessandro Levi, "Eugenio Colorni," in *Rivista di filosofia*, Vol. 38 (1947), 142–146; Vittorio Somenzi, "I fondamenti della fisica in alcune critiche moderne," in *Sigma*, Vol. 2 (1948), 517–526; Ferruccio Rossi-Landi, "Sugli scritti di Eugenio Colorni," in *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia*, Vol. 7 (1952), 147–153; and, for the historical framework, Ferruccio Rossi-Landi and Vittorio Somenzi, "La filosofia della scienza in Italia," in *La filosofia contemporanea in Italia* (Rome, 1958).

FERRUCCIO ROSSI-LANDI

COMBINATORY LOGIC. *See* LOGIC, COMBINATORY.

COMEDY. *See* HUMOR.

COMENIUS, JOHN AMOS (1592–1670), also called Komensky, Czech philosopher of education and theologian, was born in Uhersky Brod. Comenius was a member of the Community of the Moravian Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*) and studied Protestant theology at the universities of Herborn and Heidelberg. Shortly after his return to Moravia, the Thirty Years' War broke out. The Protestant Czechs were defeated by the Catholic Hapsburg monarchy, and Comenius became a permanent exile. Elected bishop of the *Unitas* in 1632, he considered it his main mission as a pastor and as a theological writer to preserve the faith and unity of the dispersed Moravian brethren.

In his writings, which range from such topics as theology, politics, philosophy, and science (as he understood science) to linguistics and education, as well as in his personal life, he combined such contradictory strands of thought as world immanence and world transcendence, interest in science and dependence on false prophets, progressivism, and apocalyptic expectations. In order to understand this mingling of ideas, we must project ourselves into the baroque age, when so many illustrious minds were wandering from one extreme to another. Thus, despite scholastic and Calvinist influences during his years of study, Comenius' concept of the divine regime contained a notable admixture of Neoplatonic, evolutionary, mystical, and pantheistic ideas. God was for him the God of Nature as well as the God of Heaven. However, all these pantheistic leanings did not shake the foundations of Comenius' faith, and throughout his life he clung to the fundamentals of the Christian dogma. Nevertheless, it was the cosmic curiosity in Comenius' religion which opened his mind to the unfolding of the natural and humanistic sciences. Yet Comenius lacked any real understanding of science in the Newtonian sense. The generic concept under which he subsumed the new scientific pursuits was that of "Light," to be understood as both the "Light of God" and the light of reason that God has kindled in man in order to guide him on his way toward eternal truth.

No doubt a certain utopian chiliasm inspired Comenius, but he also shared with the greatest minds of his time the enthusiasm about a new discovery, the discovery of "method," understood as a form of systematic and empirical inquiry which would guarantee the harmonization between man's reason and the natural—and perhaps even the supernatural—universe. The man who impressed Comenius most of all was Francis Bacon. Through Bacon, he became convinced that the new inductive method would shed light not only on the *arcana naturae* but also on the mysteries of the human mind and of human learning. The long title of Comenius' *Great Didactic* (*Didactica Magna*) tells the reader that the author believes he has found a system to teach "all things to all men." Comenius was one of the first to grasp the significance of a methodical procedure in schooling, to project a plan of universal education, and to see the significance of education as an agency of international understanding. Often quoted are the eight principles of teaching which Comenius expounds in Chapter 9 of the *Great Didactic*, in strange analogy to what he supposes to be the economy and order of the sun's functioning in the universe. Still valid in these principles is the emphasis on the interrelation between mental maturity and learning, on the participation of the student, and on the logical interconnection of the subjects in the curriculum.

Education—to be extended to both sexes, all men, and all peoples—should be crowned by a *pansophia* (encyclopedic synthesis of universal knowledge), with the aim of a *dilucidatio* (systematic interpretation) of the order of all things within the cosmic order. For the promotion of the great and world-wide mission of education, Comenius recommended a "Universal College" of the great and wise men of the whole world, and an easily constructed international language for the peace and "for the reform of the whole world" and as an "antidote to the confusion of thought."

In 1668 he dedicated a treatise, *The Way of Light* (*Via Lucis*), "to the torch bearers of this enlightened age, members of the Royal Society of London, now bringing real philosophy to a happy birth." He expressed the "confident hope" that through their endeavors "philosophy brought to perfection" would "exhibit the true and distinctive qualities of things . . . for the constantly progressive increase of all that makes for good to mind, body, and estate."

Works by Comenius

The Great Didactic, translated by M. W. Keatinge. London, 1923.

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Ulich, Robert, *History of Educational Thought*. New York, 1950.

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Remarks Following Discussions With President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia

February 20, 1990

President Bush. Well, welcome to everybody. And it's been my great pleasure to welcome to the White House a man of tremendous moral courage, one of the heroes of the Revolution of '89, the President of Czechoslovakia, Vaclav Havel.

Mr. President, your life has been one of miraculous transformations from the world of drama to the world of dissent, from the life of the artist to the life of the activist, and of course in the space of just 1 short year, the most miraculous journey of all, from prison to the Presidency. And of course it's possible to measure profound change in more personal terms. For years, as a dissident subject to arrest and imprisonment at any time, you could never go out without your toothbrush in your pocket. But now, as President, you can never go out without one of these neckties. [*Laughter*]

And many years ago you made a choice. You chose to live your life in keeping with your conscience not for others but for yourself. But others drew strength from the life you lead, and your life was a tribute to the difference one man can make, powerful proof of the democratic idea. On the one side stood the state with its prisons and secret police; and on the other, Vaclav Havel, one man alone but with the strength of his convictions, always free with the freedom that comes from living in truth. First one man, and now millions.

President Havel never stopped believing in what he called this unbelievable thought: that any one of us can shake the Earth. Shake the Earth, Mr. President, and part the Iron Curtain. Shake the Earth and knock down the Berlin Wall. Shake the Earth and set in motion a process of change from Budapest to Bucharest, from Warsaw to Wenceslas Square.

And that was the Revolution of '89, and our task now in the 1990's is to move forward from revolution to renaissance, towards a new Europe in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free, a Europe whole and free.

President Havel, Czechoslovakia has turned to you to lead the way, and is it not fitting for a nation that each day writes a new page in its history to have elected a playwright as its President?

And I am pleased that we've had this opportunity to meet, to speak together about the changes that are taking place from Prague to Moscow, and about Czechoslovakia's place in the heartland of the new Europe now emerging. We know there is no room for illusions. Difficult work lies ahead. The damage of four decades of fear and repression cannot be repaired in a day. But we know something more: We know that the people of Czechoslovakia have waited long enough and they know it's time to move forward to freedom.

Czechoslovakia and Europe are at the threshold of a new era. And I know I can speak for all Western leaders when I say that the Atlantic alliance will continue to play a vital role in assuring stability and security in Europe at this great and historic moment. And America will continue to play its part, including a strong military presence for our security and for Europe's.

Mr. President, you've not asked for American economic aid, and you made it clear that democratic Czechoslovakia wants the opportunity to do business on an equal footing. And in that regard, I am pleased to announce that I signed today letters notifying our Congress that I am waiving the Jackson-Vanik amendment for Czechoslovakia. Today our trade representatives began negotiating a trade agreement. Pending passage by your Parliament of new liberal emigration legislation, these measures will permit us to extend the most-favored-nation status to Czechoslovakia without the requirement of an annual waiver, granting

your country the most liberal access to the American market possible under United States law.

Mr. President, you've also explained the enormous tasks that you face in rebuilding a democracy on the ruins of the one-party state that you inherited. And you've identified several areas where help is needed, and we are ready to respond. Let me just mention two specifics. First, in response to your request, I am asking Peace Corps Director Paul Coverdell to take the initial steps to bring the Peace Corps to Czechoslovakia by this fall. And second, I am delighted that we will soon reopen our consulate in Bratislava, as well as new cultural centers there and in Prague.

Mr. President, I assure you the United States will be part of your nation's democratic rebirth. Everything I've seen this past year tells me that Czechoslovakia can meet the challenges ahead. And as you've said in your first address as President on New Year's Day, so many times we've heard politics defined as the art of the possible; and this year has taught us something new, something more: It taught us, as you put it, that politics can be the art of the impossible.

Mr. President, before you leave us today, I would like to present you with a lithograph of your illustrious predecessor, Czechoslovakia's first President and author of your nation's Declaration of Independence, Thomas Masaryk. This portrait was done in Prague Castle and kept by President Masaryk until his death, when he gave it to his successor at Charles University's department of philosophy, President Jan Kozak.

In 1939, at the time of the Nazi invasion, Professor Kozak had 2 hours to pack his belongings and to flee Czechoslovakia. Among the items he took with him, this portrait of his friend. Professor Kozak settled in Ohio at Oberlin College, and so did this portrait until today. And now, with freedom returning to Czechoslovakia, so, too, should this portrait of President Masaryk, Czechoslovakia's first President and champion of freedom.

Once again, Mr. President, it has been my privilege to welcome you to Washington and to the White House. And God bless you, and may God bless the people of Czechoslovakia. We are pleased to have you here.

President Havel. Mr. President, I am very moved by your speech. I thank you very much for this drawing. I promise you it will be very soon back in our castle.

We had with Mr. Bush very important negotiations. We had very warm, very open, very friendly discussions. I am very glad that I had the opportunity to be here to explain what happened in Czechoslovakia, to explain our viewpoint, our policy. And thank you very much that we could be here. Thank you for the invitation. And of course I invite you to us in Prague, in Czechoslovakia. And you will see this nice drawing in my office on Prague Castle.

President Bush. Thank you, sir. Godspeed.

Note: President Bush spoke at 1:35 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House. Prior to their remarks, the two Presidents met privately in the Oval Office and with U.S. and Czechoslovak officials in the Cabinet Room, and then attended a luncheon in the Old Family Dining Room.

Executive Order 12702—Waiver Under the Trade Act of 1974 With Respect to Czechoslovakia

February 20, 1990

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including section 402(c)(2) of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2432(c)), which continues to apply to Czechoslovakia pursuant to section 402(d), and having made the report to the Congress required by section 402(c)(2), I hereby waive the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of said Act with respect to Czechoslovakia.

George Bush

The White House,
February 20, 1990.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:47 p.m., February 20, 1990]

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February 20, 1990.

cause, as you look around the world—take a look at Cambodia, take a look at Japan, take a look at a lot of countries in the Pacific—China is a key player. And I'd like to think that our representations will have them move forward on the human rights side so we can have a more normalized relationship with them.

Unrest in the Soviet Union

Q. Mr. President, regarding the Soviet Union, have you in the course of these events going on in Baku, or any of your senior people—I see General Scowcroft is here—been in touch with Mr. Gorbachev or his people to discuss how severe it is?

The President. Well, we've had contact with him. I don't remember when my last contact was with Mr. Gorbachev. But it didn't relate specifically to the Baku——

Q. Could I then follow, sir, to ask you to reconcile, if you can, the position that you've taken: that you say you want Mr. Gorbachev to survive and succeed; and on the other hand, you have areas of the Soviet Union, such as the Baltics, that you do not recognize as being part of the Soviet Union and where you say you favor independent pursuit of their own destiny. Does he succeed of the secede?

The President. Again, at this juncture, the U.S. position is well-known, and you've stated it correctly: that we have not recognized the status of the Baltics. However, what I say that we want to do is to encourage Mr. Gorbachev's stand that peaceful change is the order of the day. And he's sorting out some very difficult internal problems in these three Baltic countries. And I don't think it helps facilitate things for us to fine-tune all that. They know our position. I talked to him about this, incidentally, at Malta. And the thing, I think, is that—in looking at the Soviet scene there—that he is still adhering as best he can to the concept of peaceful change in the Baltics. And that's got to dominate.

European Borders

Q. Mr. President, President Jaruzelski of Poland recently suggested that the four big powers reaffirm the frontiers of Poland irrespective of whatever happens to Germany. Would the United States join such a reconfirmation of the frontier?

The President. Well, we have recognized under Helsinki [accords] existing borders, and I have no problem reiterating that. But whether that requires some kind of an international action on it, I just have no judgment on that.

Soviet-U.S. Summit in Prague, Czechoslovakia

Q. Mr. President, Havel, of Czechoslovakia, proposed yesterday a summit [in] Prague between Mr. Gorbachev and you. Do you think it's a good idea?

The President. Listen, I respect him so much, and I don't just give him the back of my hand. But we've got a summit set, and we have a very critical agenda that I want to see met—goals that I want to see met. And so, I think at this time that suggestion is not going to work out the way he suggests. But I was rather moved by the suggestion and by the conditions that make the suggestion possible. Who would have dreamed this a year ago, that the conditions inside Czechoslovakia would give them the freedom to make this kind of suggestion. I was rather moved by it. But I don't believe it's going to work for this summit.

Social Security Tax

Q. Mr. President, you've opposed the Moynihan Social Security bill strongly. Would you endorse or work for or support a Republican alternative proposed by Congressman Porter that would take the Social Security increases for this next year and allow people to keep those tax increases and put them in a separate account?

The President. The Porter proposal has some interesting ingredients to it. I am not prepared to endorse it. We don't have provision for that in our budget proposals. It's worthy, though, of consideration, of some study. But I'm not prepared to endorse that; no, I'm not.

Q. Is that not the first step to privatizing Social Security?

The President. Well, I don't think he would say that that's the inevitable goal, but it has certain aspects there. But the people are concerned about Social Security. So, when you have innovative thinking of that nature, I don't want to just gun it down. I am not going to support it.

In these Washington meetings, officials in my Administration stressed to both Cypriot leaders our unqualified support for continuation of the intercommunal negotiating process under the aegis of the Secretary General. Only this process, we emphasized, offered the possibility of success. We therefore urged both parties to return to the negotiating table as soon as possible to complete work on the draft outline for a settlement. Both parties also were told that the United States did not see continuation of the *status quo* as a solution to the Cyprus problem.

We also encouraged the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leadership to take advantage of other opportunities to pursue bicommunal cooperation. One such fruitful area is demanning of posts along the buffer zone, conducted under the auspices of the U.N. Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus, to follow on the successful demanning of posts in Nicosia agreed to last May.

In sum, both Cypriot leaders left Washington fully aware that U.S. interest in a negotiated settlement remained strong and that we would continue to give the most effective support to U.N. efforts to resume the intercommunal negotiating process and keep it going in a meaningful manner.

Sincerely,

George Bush

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Letter to Benjamin Hooks, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

January 2, 1990

On this the first day of a whole new decade, Barbara and I send to you our personal best wishes for a very happy new year and to the NAACP, I send my sincere hope that 1990 will be a great year for your most prestigious organization.

The recent bombings make it clear we have not totally beaten back the evils of bigotry and racial prejudice. We cannot let up in the fight against racism. Please assure your members I will see that the Federal Government does not let up as it works to bring the perpetrators of these hideous crimes to justice.

/s/George Bush

Note: The original was not available for verification of the content of the letter.

Remarks to the Republican National Committee

January 2, 1990

Mr. Atwater. See, Mr. President, they understand you're the best chairman this party ever had. [*Laughter*] Ladies and gentlemen, the leader of our party, and the best chairman this party has ever had, President George Bush.

The President. Thank you all. And this has been a nostalgic return for me because, as Lee generously pointed out, I was chairman of the Republican National Committee years ago. And so, when I went back up to the fourth floor, it was like Yogi Berra said: deja vu all over again. [*Laughter*] And it was a nostalgic return—everything familiar. Some things never do change, except, of course, the Muzak. [*Laughter*]

I just wanted to come up here and really just—at the beginning of this year—we planned to do it at Christmastime—and I wanted to come up here and say thank you for all you've done to build and strengthen this party. And I appreciate it very, very much. We are, and proudly remain, the party of Lincoln, the Republican Party. And I am very grateful for the terrific support that you have given our administration—all of us, all departments.

Needless to say that 1989 was the first year of new leadership. I'm talking about our very able chairman, Lee Atwater—and Jeanie Austin, too—both of them doing an outstanding job all around this country. And I am totally confident that when we look back after the upcoming elections—the work that they are engaged in and that you all are engaged in will clearly pay off.

This has been a year of tremendous excitement and achievement around the world, too, a remarkable time of change. And when we started the year and our work together by my declaring "the day of the dictator is over"—words, I believe, from the inaugural address—who imagined that the peoples of Eastern Europe would so swiftly vindicate that call, who imagined that Vaclav Havel would start the new year by addressing the Czechoslovakian people not as a playwright but as the President of his country? And in our own Western Hemisphere, democracy has spread from one country to another. But at the beginning of my term—not counting Chile, which has now had democratic elections—but at the beginning of the term, there were still three holdout dictatorships in Latin America. And thanks to the sacrifice and the courage of our American fighting men, today there are only two. And we're starting the new year with a free Panama—one more step towards a hemisphere that hopefully will be one day totally free, totally democratic.

I wish all of you could have been with me—or, maybe I don't. [*Laughter*] Some of you might be like me. Seeing these kids in the hospital down in San Antonio the other day, it was just inspiring—19-year-old, 20-year-old with this marvelous, marvelous attitude and approach towards their mission—the desire to go back—lying there in these hospital beds, wounded, some of them very, very seriously. But it was an amazing New Year's present for both Barbara and me. And I can't tell you how grateful I am to them and to our military for this superbly executed, highly complex operation down there.

The year offers us tremendous challenge and opportunity on the domestic front, as well as in the foreign policy field. But to make the most of it, we must get action from the United States Congress. And so, I would take this opportunity to call on Congress to pass our Clean Air legislation, our proposal, if you will, to harness the power of the market to fight acid rain and air pollution. And I call on the Congress to pass our anticrime package to make the streets safer, a step that Congress should have taken long ago and that they can now take when they return that will really bolster the fight against narcotics. And finally, there are many other initiatives, but here today I'd like to call on Congress to act responsibly in favor of growth and opportunity and to lay aside all the political rhetoric and to go ahead and do that which the majority of the Congress said they want; and that is to cut the capital gains tax, to reestablish a capital gains differential, because that will mean jobs and opportunity for more Americans.

So, those are three areas domestically that we will be pushing for. There will be others, but those are three that I think the Congress should adopt as priority. We've got a great big job ahead of us this year, a full agenda, and each of you is critical to our efforts. In fact, the work of the national committee will be in much clearer focus nationally because of the congressional elections that are coming up.

I understand that Lee, generous fellow that he is, gave you a couple of days off at Christmas and New Year's. [*Laughter*] Hopefully, time to spend with your families, time to recharge the batteries. But now we're back and you're back, and we need you. We need you to face up to the challenge of 1990. The work that you're doing here is reflected in the field, and I've heard so many good reports from Republicans around the States about how the national committee is really backing them. People who see get this sense that the party is on the move. And with such a team, I am confident that this will be a great year, a Republican year.

Barbara joins me in wishing you the very best. Like Margaret Alexander, we know the new year will be prosperous—[*laughter*]—and a great success. I wish she'd lighten up just a little, though. I'll tell you, I'm getting tired—and so is everybody else—helping on this moneyraising. But we want to continue—[*laughter*]—we want to continue—finance section quieted over here. [*Laughter*] No, but we're very grateful to you. And I think I find in my job—sometimes—we don't adequately say thanks to those that are doing a lot of the heavy lifting. So, that's really what this little sojourn is all about: to express my confidence in Lee Atwater, my confidence in Jeanie Austin, my confidence in each one of you

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Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Meeting With President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia

February 21, 1990

The President and President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia met for approximately 45 minutes today in the Oval Office. This was a continuation of their discussions yesterday. They talked at some length about the future of Europe and agreed to stay in close touch at this time of rapid change. Both expressed their support for President Gorbachev's reforms and his encouragement of peaceful change in Eastern Europe, and both agreed that the presence of American troops is a factor for stability and security in Europe. Although it was anticipated that economic issues would be discussed, most of the conversation focused on political and East-West issues.

Nomination of Nelson C. Ledsky for the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as Special Cyprus Coordinator

February 21, 1990

The President today announced his intention to nominate Nelson C. Ledsky, of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Special Cyprus Coordinator.

Since 1989 Mr. Ledsky has served as Special Cyprus Coordinator at the Department of State. He served as Deputy Senior Director and then Senior Director for the National Security Council, 1987–1989. In addition, he served in various capacities at the Department of State, including Deputy Director of the Policy Planning Staff, 1985–1987; U.S. Minister in Berlin, Germany, 1981–1985; Director of the State Department's Olympic Boycott Office, 1980–1981; Deputy Assistant Secretary of Congressional Relations, 1978–1980; Director of the Office of Southern Europe, 1976–1978; Deputy Director of the Office of Southern Europe, 1974–1976; Deputy Director of the Office of Central Europe, 1972–1974; Berlin desk officer, 1970–1972; senior watch officer, 1969–1970; second secretary at the U.S. Embassy in Bonn, 1964–1969; consul at the U.S. consulate in Enugu, Nigeria, 1962–1964; African language training program, 1961–1962; vice consul at the U.S. consulate in Georgetown, Guyana, 1957–1961; and an analyst at the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1957–1959.

Mr. Ledsky graduated from Western Reserve University (B.A., 1951) and Columbia University (M.A., 1953). He was born September 30, 1929, in Cleveland, OH. Mr. Ledsky is married, has three children, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of LeGree Sylvia Daniels To Be a Member of the Board of Governors of the United States Postal Service

February 21, 1990

The President today announced his intention to nominate LeGree Sylvia Daniels to be a Governor of the United States Postal Service for the term expiring December 8, 1998. She would succeed John Lathrop Ryan.

Since 1987 Mrs. Daniels has served as Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights at the Department of Education in Washington, DC. Prior to this, she served as a staff assistant to former Senate minority leader Hugh Scott; chairman of the Pennsylvania State Tax Equalization Board; commissioner of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Elections; and deputy secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Daniels attended Temple University and Central Pennsylvania Business School. She was born February 29, 1920, in Denmark, SC. Mrs. Daniels is married, has three children, and resides in Harrisburg, PA.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the Republican Eagles Inaugural Gala at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

January 30

The President met at the White House with:

—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—Dewey Stokes, chairman of the National Fraternal Order of Police, and members of the National Fraternal Order of Police Board;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

January 31

The President met at the White House with:

—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—the congressional leadership;
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
—the Cabinet;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President telephoned Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union and discussed the U.S. proposal to reduce conventional forces in central and eastern Europe to 195,000 on each side.

The White House announced that President Bush has invited President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia to make a working visit to the United States. President Havel has accepted the invitation and will meet with President Bush at the White House on February 20.

The White House also announced that the President has invited Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki of Poland to make an official visit to the United States. The Prime Minister has accepted the invitation and will meet with the President at the White House in March.

The following individuals will comprise the Presidential Delegation to attend the 25th Anniversary Celebration of The Gambia's Independence on February 18, 1990:

Delegation Chairman

George W. Bush, managing general partner, Texas Rangers, and Laura Bush.

Delegates

Elsie Hillman, Republican National Committeewoman from Pennsylvania.

Capt. John Young, NASA astronaut.

Stan Scott, president, Crescent Distributing Co.

Warren Iliff, director, Dallas Zoo.

February 1

The President met at the White House with:

—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
—conservative Christian leaders;
—the Vice President, for lunch;
—John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

The President transmitted to the Congress the third Biennial Report of the Interagency Arctic Research Policy Committee (February 1, 1988, to January 31, 1990) and the report on the Operation of the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program.

February 2

The President met at the White House with John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

In the morning, the President traveled to the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, where he met with university professors and scientists and participated in a biotechnology demonstration and student discussion. He addressed the students and faculty of the university and then went to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

to the goal of sight conservation to join in activities that will make Americans more aware of the steps they can take to protect their vision.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-first day of February, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fourteenth.

George Bush

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:22 a.m., February 22, 1990*]

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the Annual Dinner of the Business Council

February 21, 1990

The President. What I want to do is just make a few remarks, and then respond to a few questions, and then get out of here so you all can eat. But first I want to salute the former Chief Justice—I still refer to him as Chief—Warren Burger, and the members of my Cabinet that are here—many of you met them—other top officials in the White House scattered through the audience here. All, I might add, doing a first-class job.

I want to pay my respects to the Speaker, who is here tonight, Tom Foley, an outstanding, decent human being. I don't know where he is, but I don't want to overdo it because tomorrow I've got to fight with him on one or two things, but he's here somewhere. And to the other Members of Congress—the House—I saw John Dingell, I saw my old friend Chairman Don Riegle here. I know I'm going to miss, so I better stop right here, but I'm delighted that the Members of the Congress are here.

I also know how I got into this line of work, and when I look around this room—and I seldom speak for Barbara, but I will this time—we are very, very grateful for the terrific support that I had from so many in this room that have given me this opportunity, now going into the second year being President of the United States. And I will never forget how the political process works, and I will never get over being grateful to many of you friends of long-standing.

We're living, as Roger [Roger B. Smith, chairman of the Business Council] pointed out, in fascinating times. President Havel just left here, and I just wish that each and every one of you could have been a fly on the wall or standing at his side to see his feeling about our institutions or our country when he came to the White House yesterday, using the expression "pinching himself to believe that it was really happening." To see him when I took him up to Lincoln's Bedroom to show him the very room in which Abraham Lincoln had signed the Emancipation Proclamation—it was a tremendously moving experience, and a privileged one, for me to witness this son of freedom, this playwright, who not long over a year ago was languishing in a prison and who is now the President of a free and, hopefully, democratic country. And it is mind-boggling, and I wish I could tell you that any of us in this room were smart enough to foresee the rapidity of change.

So, what I am trying to do, as your President, is to manage it in a prudent fashion to avoid moves that will inadvertently encourage some kind of a bad action out of the Soviet Union. We have a lot at stake in the success of *perestroika.* In this room we have some that pioneered doing business with the Soviet Union and were ahead—a lot of us here—in terms of understanding this new generation of Soviet leaders. But my view is, and I've said this in my public statements, we have a major stake in seeing *perestroika* succeed. And of course it has a major effect on the playwright, now President, that was here today. And it has the same kind of effect on a lot of other countries not only in Eastern Europe but in Western Europe.

I've elevated—or moved a little bit in the comments I've made and mentioned Gorbachev by name a time or two. And we're doing that deliberately, not to try to intervene into the internal affairs of the political process of the Soviet Union but rather to express our belief in the way in which he himself has managed the rapidity of change. Who would have thought that they would have not only accepted but encouraged the

peaceful evolution that we now see has taken place all through Eastern Europe?

Somebody says to me—you know, when we get up into a big fight on trying to keep what I think are reasonable levels of defense, the big new question, the hot one they think they're going to really burn you with it in these press conferences is: Okay, who's the enemy? It's not a bad question. But the enemy is, in my view, complacency or arrogance or something of this nature. So, I will try to manage these fascinating times, changes, in a prudent fashion; but I will be encouraging the Congress to keep prudent levels of defense because it isn't all that clear as to what is exactly going to happen.

At the same time, we'll be working on an arms control agenda with the Soviet Union that I think will result in sound agreements on conventional forces. [Secretary of State] Jim Baker got a major breakthrough the other day on the chemical weapons, and I think we can do something there. And of course the START [strategic arms reduction] talks—I see Cap [former Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger] here—that he was instrumental in now. I hope we can bring a deal to fruition on that before too long. And so, I'm looking forward to our visit with Gorbachev that will happen this spring or early summer. And I think we can have some real progress going with the Soviet Union.

On the domestic side, I would be remiss if I didn't start these few remarks by thanking so many of you in this room. I still talk about a Thousand Points of Light. And I think the American people are beginning to understand that this isn't an escape from the responsibility of the Federal Government; rather, that it is an attempt to enlist the noblest impulses of the American people in one helping another, the concept that you shouldn't measure a successful life without throwing in the equation of doing something for someone else.

And I look around this room, and I think of some of our priorities, one of them education, another the fight against drugs. And in this room, just sitting here, are people that, when they pool the resources—and I'm not just talking about money; I'm talking about talent and mobilizing people—can do more just in this room combined than the Federal Government can do, particularly in the field of education.

And I am grateful to those who are in the forefront of this educational reform. I have in my mind a set role for the Federal Government. I don't believe the Federal Government needs to take over the local school boards. I don't believe we should set curriculum. I don't believe that we need to intervene in a salary dispute for teachers—God bless them because they do do a good job. But I do think that we have a proper role in joining with the Governors, as we did, in defining national education goals.

And several people in this room—I won't embarrass them by singling them out—have been extraordinarily helpful to me and to my team in the White House by making recommendations on the goals, recommendations that, for the most part, have been accepted by the Governors as we have set out national goals as to where we want to do the achievements levels, testing levels, excellence in math and science—that certainly will render us more competitive in the years ahead.

And so, I will press forward on an educational agenda. We have got to keep pushing the Congress to think anew. Many want to stay with the old programs that have failed and plow more money into those, and I think we've come to a point where we really have to come up with, as I say, not only these goals but the implementation of them. And it will not be done by the Federal Government alone, although the total dollars on educational spending is up.

On the antinarcotics fight, it's a prime fight. And I am grateful for the fact that Bill Bennett [Director of National Drug Control Policy] is our Drug Czar. I've never understood why we refer to people here as czars, but nevertheless, he is doing a good job. And we went down to Cartagena the other day and met with the Andean Presidents and Barco of Colombia. And we could show them that we are beginning to make progress on the demand side of the narcotics problem. I think we disarmed Barco and Alan Garcia [President of Peru] and Paz Zamora [President of Bolivia] by saying right up front, "Look, we know we're a problem. We know we're the big market.

But let me tell you what we're doing about it."

And I bragged on the work of Jim Burke [chairman of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America] and others in this room who are out front trying to—in a private way, no government involvement—making the American people and the kids, particularly, aware that this use of narcotics cannot be condoned. And once we got by the demand side, then we spelled out a rather broad agenda of working with those countries not only to abort but to interdict what was left of the supply of coca coming into this country. But as I see many business people here that do business in that area, I remain convinced that the best answer to helping in Colombia and Peru and Bolivia is your end of the line: the business. And we've got to remove some of the regulatory burdens that we have. And it isn't easy because there are strong political influences for very legitimate reasons that are protecting, but we have got to have viable economies there that depend less on growing these insidious coca leaves. But again, the reason I want to mention that subject is because I think the business community has an enormously constructive role to play. And I am, once again, very grateful to you.

I'll mention just one more topic. There are many, many subjects. I see Don Riegle here, and I am very grateful to him for his leadership in the Senate on the savings and loan business. And all these things we can talk about briefly in a question period, but there is another area I want to mention, and that has to do with the environment. I am very pleased that the business community—large business and small—are in general support of our efforts to do something about clean air in this country. Today there was an attack leveled mainly against John Sununu [Chief of Staff to the President]. That suits me just fine, but they'll get around to me tomorrow. [*Laughter*] But the point I want to make is this: that there are no divisions in all of this. And I, obviously, must accept responsibility. But I believe that we are in a proper position.

I want to see market incentives, as much as we possibly can, in terms of cleaning up the environment. I do not want to throw people out of work, and yet I proudly proclaim that I am an environmentalist. And we've got a Clean Air bill that we've sent up, which is a first and—several of you had a very important input into this very important legislation. And now we find that it's being pulled one way or another by the congressional process. And some of it I might be able to accept. Nobody's going to cross the *t* exactly the way we want or dot the *i*, but there's certain limits beyond which I should not go if I remain true to my belief that we have got to find a balance between economic growth and environmental protection. And yet I'm optimistic that we can do that. And we're in a big battle now, and I would ask either your indulgence or support, depending on how you come down on these questions.

But I think we have a pretty good package, and I am convinced that we can do a good job for the environment. But it cannot be driven by the extremes. And it will not be driven by the extremes as long as I have something to say about what legislation becomes law. So, we're working on these issues.

There's others that I will be glad to take questions on, but I'll make just a general comment. I'm glad that my wife, Barbara, is working for so many of you—or put it the other way around, that you are working for her, I'm not sure which. But you have been fantastic in terms of the support for literacy and for putting an emphasis where it belongs in terms of the children of the United States of America. And I know that Bar joins me in that sentiment, and I am very grateful for the support that she has received from so many in this room in her work on literacy, other facets of education, the homeless, and just plain caring about the American people.

So, there we are. Thank you very much for inviting me up here. And now, with no further ado, I will be glad to take a few questions until Roger gives me the hook and I will go peacefully. Who's got one?

German Reunification

Q. [*Inaudible*]

The President. Well, in the first place, there is concern about it, that you properly put your finger on. I think there is more concern in certain of the Western European countries and in Poland than perhaps in

some other countries. The Soviets, obviously, have expressed their concern, mainly on the timing. They have now accepted the concept of reunification. What we are doing is to back [West German] Chancellor Kohl in the concept and let the Germans sort out the time. The longstanding NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] position, just for history, has been self-determination. Let the people decide, and then the border should not be changed without agreement of all the parties. But Kohl is talking about, and I think properly so, a Germany reunited but that remains a part of NATO.

And NATO will take on a broader role. It will have more of a political role; and that is, I think, a very stabilizing thing. I had a long talk with [Czechoslovakian President] Havel, who came here with an approach: Well, let's get all of the Soviet troops out and all the U.S. troops out, and life will be beautiful. Everything will be pruning hooks and plowshares. But I think I convinced him that the United States—wanted by Western Europe and, indeed, by some of the countries in Eastern Europe—is there as a stabilizing force. And my approach will be—and Helmut Kohl is coming up this weekend to Camp David—to support the concept, let the Germans make the determination. You may remember the formula two-plus-four: Let the two Germanys discuss it, and then we go to the Four Powers that have responsibilities under the post-World War II peace agreement—their agreement there—sort out the details.

But the way we see it is a Germany that is unified, a U.S. presence in Western Europe, no advance of what are known as allied troops into the GDR [German Democratic Republic], and a withdrawal of Soviet troops from places where they are not wanted. And that, I think, will take place regardless of what happens to Germany, just given the momentum and the feeling of these newly found democracies. And I think that will provide a rather stable environment.

Now, some of you do an awful lot of business in the Federal Republic, and you know that the German political scene is sometimes highly volatile. And we can't foresee what's going to happen with the Socialists in Germany; and when they align with the Socialist party, SPD, in East Germany, you're going to have an equation that nobody can analyze. Are the East Germans Socialists—are they going to join automatically with their brethren in the Federal Republic? Or are they going to say: Hey, wait a minute. We have no linkage there because we're the ones who now want to throw off the yoke of socialism in a classic sense.

So, I still think unification—we're not going to do anything about it; nothing can be done about it. A U.S. presence, forces in the Federal Republic but that do not move in any threatening way to the Soviet Union—and I believe the Soviets have accepted this pretty much.

And then the other question is the Polish border. All of us know that could be highly contentious and emotional and inflammatory. But there I think we're going to see an agreement out of the two-plus-four—the six—that there will be no changes in that border certainly without the consensus and agreement of all the countries involved. And that would include in that instance the Soviet Union.

So, that's the way we're going, and I think it will result in stability. I hope it will. But we are not pressing the timetable. We're not pushing it, nor do I think it's the role of the United States to try to impede it. Gorbachev did that for a while, and he felt something was moving awful fast. And that's why he said what he did to Kohl about 10 days ago in Germany, which was, Look, in principle, we understand reunification. I can tell you that a month and a half ago he didn't feel that way, because I talked to him directly about it, and they were urging a real cautionary approach to German reunification.

Private Sector Support for Education

Q. In the area of education, first, I think we all want to commend you for your leadership in this area. Do you have any suggestions which the private sector—particularly the major companies of our country—can do to give some help in this area?

The President. Yes, and there's a lot of great examples in this room. I will refer you to John Akers [chairman, International Business Machines Corp.] or David Kearns [chairman of the executive committee,

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Defense Spending

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Procter and Gamble Co.] or John Smale [chairman and chief executive officer of Xerox Corp.] or so many others because there are some marvelous examples of how a corporation can get involved in programs like mentoring. I understand that many companies have agreed to actually take a significant role in working with the localities and freeing up corporate personnel to go in and help on some of these programs. And I think that's an important area. But I think right in this room there are some marvelous examples of corporate involvement. And we have a program at the White House, an office, Thousand Points of Light—a young man, a dedicated, idealistic guy named Gregg Petersmeyer [Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of National Service]. Some of you knew his dad when he was in the communications business. And Gregg, if you just get in touch with him, can send you the best of what small business and large are doing. And I think and hope it would be helpful. And maybe the council staff itself could be involved in disseminating some of that information.

Defense Spending

Q. [*Inaudible*]

The President. Well, I'm concerned about it. And they have some legitimate questions. We're up for two missiles, and that may be a difficult, the Soviets having modernized a couple of really advanced type of missiles. And we're up for that. We're going forward with requests on the B–2 and the SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative]. And the question we get back is: Who's the enemy? And the answer I send back up there is: Well, let's be prudent and careful until we can see extraordinarily clearly where we're going. And I'm not suggesting that Ligachev [Soviet Politburo Member and Chairman of the Agrarian Policy Committee] will come in and you'll have a diametric different approach or that Soviet military's going to take over.

But we just don't know, and therefore, we have to have prudent levels. And we may have to take some hits. We're way down from what the previously recommended levels were in defense spending. And I know very well that the constituency is being whittled away all the time. And we're rethinking the kind of force we need. But until, one, the international situation is clear, and until we have completed the review of the kind of force we need—and General Powell [Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff] is involved in that right now—I will simply be urging that we not make imprudent cuts in defense.

But in the areas that I've mentioned it's going to be a hard hold for me. It's going to be difficult because people are looking at it that we have to choose between one missile, not two. Or you have to—here's Don Atwood [Deputy Secretary of Defense]. The poor guy lives with this every single day. And I might say I'm glad one of your former members is willing to undertake, really, the sacrifice involved to come into a high level in this government. But we're under fire. He can talk to you later about the details of it. But I think there's a recognition that we don't want to do anything silly, and we don't want to make cuts that are too drastic.

Having said that, I think our troop level, CFE [conventional force reductions in Europe] proposal has been well received. Our allies are saying, Please, until we get CFE done, let's have that as a floor, not some ceiling. And let's hold it. And I think we need to do that to keep our allies together on it. But that's a hard sell because people say, Hey, the Soviets are going to have to get out. Why don't we do more? So, there's another area that we're going to have some difficulty. But I want to see a CFE agreement brought to fruition and, hopefully, to be signed at a CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] meeting this summer. I think we can do that, as a matter of fact.

But Soviets are making representations of declined spending on defense. And yet a big percentage of the GNP—Bill Webster [Director of Central Intelligence] can give you a close number—I think 17 percent, maybe more, going into defense. And you might say, Well, if everything [is] plowshares and pruning hooks, why are they doing this? So, my innate caution says, Let's have a sound defense program. But those areas I mentioned are the ones that are going to be the toughest to hold, I think.

And we got another question. And I see Don here. And I expect John Dingell would agree there is still a sentiment up there in the Congress that perhaps I would have indulged in if I were still a Member from the 7th District of Texas, and that is if you're going to close a base, that's great, but be sure to close it in somebody else's State or somebody else's congressional district. We've got in [Secretary of Defense] Dick Cheney and Don Atwood, people that have looked at this without any politics involved at all. Some say, Hey, that's a Democratic congressional district. And I say, Yes, and it's a Republican Governor in the State of California. So, come on with something else; don't give me that one. And so, what we're going to try to do is have a prudent approach to defense spending in this country as well. And it isn't easy, as Don knows. But we're going to keep with it and try to encourage the American people to support what we're doing there.

And then we need a lot of programs to help alleviate the suffering or the economic reversal that goes with the closing of a base. But if you look at some of the places they have been closed, the record is pretty good on economic diversification. But that one is one where we'll be taking the offense. And I've been around here long enough to know that it's not going to be easy, but I'm determined to go forward with it.

China

Q. Just a minute on your thoughts about China, the direction they're going?

The President. Well, I'll have to confess to a certain discouragement. And I would point—a turning point, as what happened to the [former Romanian first family] Ceausescus in Romania and what happened to that Romanian revolution. But as you know, I was in a different posture—a fairly lonely one—with the Congress in terms of whether the way to handle the students in this country was through legislation or through Presidential Executive order. I maintain to this day that the Executive order that I signed and put into effect did more than the legislation, the Pelosi bill, would have done.

But the students sent everybody Christmas cards. Three of the student groups, the two biggest ones, ironically, were supporting the President's position, and so were some of the biggest benevolent associations in China-America. I'm thinking in the San Francisco, Steve, and some of these groups gave me strong support. But the Chinese students, those that were most vociferous, were well-financed from someplace and did a very good job, saying the only way to guarantee their ability to stay in this country was through legislation.

And my view is, in dealing with China the way I did, I am not condoning tyranny. I am not doing as the Democratic leader said up there today: turning my back on human rights. What I am trying to do is preserve enough contact so the United States can have some influence. And it is my belief that the Fulbright program, the fledgling Peace Corps program is the way you approach bringing about change, and especially with China. And when Mr. Fairbank, a very distinguished Chinese scholar, said the worst way you deal with China—they are different, and if you think the way to do it is to slap them publicly in the face, that's not the way to do it.

But I cannot tell you that I'm happy about it, David [Kearns], because since the Romanian thing, there has been less forward motion. There's been some. They lifted martial law, and then the liberal press jumped all over me, saying it didn't amount to anything. It did, in my view. They've done a few other things, but they're small. But I can't tell you that the results of trying to keep contact have been totally satisfactory, but I'm going to do it because I believe that we will be in a position to effect change in China by this kind of at least having some contact with them.

And the idea that China is exactly the same as these other countries—I don't believe it. So, I'm on a little different wavelength with many, and yet I'm convinced that someday this policy will pay off. It hasn't. We want to see the release for Fang Lizhi, this dissident that's in the American Embassy. That has not taken place. They have lifted the ban on VOA [Voice of America] coming in there, but they're still jamming it.

So, there's a mixed review at this point. And yet I have a feeling that China works

in more mysterious ways than other countries. And I don't know what internal struggles are going on right now, but I'll guarantee you there are some. And Deng Xiaoping [Chairman of the Central Military Committee] was out three times and bounced back four. And who knows what's going to happen to Zhao Ziyang [former General Secretary], who has not been stripped of all his party powers. He's still a member of the Communist Party there. And let's just see how it works. But I say, it's a little lonely.

Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:03 p.m. in the Great Hall at the Library of Congress.

Nomination of James Henry Michel To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development

February 22, 1990

The President today announced his intention to nominate James Henry Michel to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development for Latin America and the Caribbean, U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency. He would succeed Dwight A. Ink.

Since 1987 Ambassador Michel has served as Ambassador to the Republic of Guatemala. He served in several positions at the Department of State in Washington, DC, including Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, 1983–1987; deputy legal adviser, 1978–1982; assistant legal adviser for politico-military affairs, 1974–1977; deputy assistant legal adviser for politico-military affairs, 1971–1974; and attorney-adviser in the Office of the Assistant Legal Adviser for Administration, 1965–1971.

Ambassador Michel graduated from St. Louis University School of Law (J.D., 1965). He was born August 25, 1939, in St. Louis, MO. Ambassador Michel is married and has four children.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the American Institute of Architects Gold Medal Award

February 22, 1990

The President. Now, officially, welcome to the White House. I'm delighted to see Bill Reilly here, our head of the environment [Environmental Protection Agency]; John Frohnmayer, the arts [National Endowment for the Arts]; and so many others. I might single out Rex Scouten, the curator of the White House, sitting behind you. Some know him, but Barbara and I have great respect for him.

As early as 1909, the Presidents, including Taft, Harding, and Franklin Roosevelt, have presented the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects to the best of the world's architects; and I am honored and very pleased to continue this tradition.

Architecture holds up a mirror to the soul of any nation; and American architecture, with its rich variety of styles and regional differences, is as diverse and as dynamic as the American people themselves. We recognize that the quality of our lives is shaped by the quality of the environment we create. We understand that the spirit of our country can be seen in our architecture. From the majestic monuments of this, our capital city, to the gentlest main street in smalltown America, our buildings speak to us of who we are, where we have been, and where we're going.

In the spirit of celebrating the best of our nation's architecture, we are here to honor a very special architect, Fay Jones, who has dedicated his life to shaping the American landscape, to making our country a better place to live through the power of the creative mind.

Through humble materials and simple forms, Mr. Jones has created architecture of great power and space. His reverence for the land and his respect for the inner needs of the people who visit or dwell in his buildings give his architecture rare beauty and dignity. In the Nation's heartland, in places like Eureka Springs, Arkansas, and Picayune, Mississippi, he has built masterworks of design that touch the heart as well as the mind. Grounded firmly in his Ozark roots,

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1. 02-26319:Comenius, Johann Amos. The labyrinth of the world and the paradise of the heart, . New York, E. P. Dutton & co, 1901. 347 p, 20 cm
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LC CALL NUMBER: BV4509.B6 C6
2. 08-12152:Comenius, Johann Amos. Comenius' School of infancy: . Boston, D. C. Heath & co, 1896. xvi, 99 p, incl. front. (port.), 19 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: LB475.C6 A41
3. e14-941:Comenius, Johann Amos. Rules of life. . London, W. Mallalieu & co , 1865. 19 p, 17 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BJ1550 .C62
4. 15-12726:Comenius, Johann Amos. A patterne of universall knowledge, in a plaine and true draught: or, A diatyposis. London, Printed for T. H. and J. Collins, 1651. 5 p.l., 180 p, 14 cm.
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5. 31-32128:Comenius, Johann Amos. Comenius, . New York and London, McGraw-Hill book company, inc, 1931. 4 p, l., 255 p. front. (port.) illus. facsims, 20 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: LB475.C6 A38
6. 33-12750:Young, Robert Fitzgibbon. Comenius in England; . London, Oxford university press, H. Milford, 1932. 5 p, l., 99, 1] p. front. (port.) xi pl. (incl. ports., facsim.), 26 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: LB475.C6 Y63
7. 41-684:Comenius, Johann Amos. The bequest of the Unity of brethern; . Chicago, The National union of Czechoslovak Protestants in America, 1940. 38 p, 22 cm.
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8. a42-4511:Wright, Charles James. Comenius and the church universal, . London, H. Barber, 1941]. v, 65, 1] p, 18 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BX4924.C6 W7
9. 42-19852:Comenius, Johann Amos. The labyrinth of the world and the paradise of the heart, . Chicago, Ill, The National union of Czechoslovak Protestants in America, 1942. 2 p.l., iii-vi, 170 p, mounted front. (port.), 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BV4509.B6 C6 1942
10. 45-6804:Comenius, Johann Amos. The angel of peace, . New York, Pantheon

books, 1944]. p. cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: JX1945 .C63 1944

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ITEMS 11-13 OF 27 SET 3: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: PREM
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11. 52-15005:Comenius, Johann Amos. The labyrinth of the world and the paradise of the heart, . London], Golden Cockerel Press, 1950. 271 p, col. illus, 26 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BV4509.C8 C613 1950 (Rare Bk. Coll.)

12. 53-12896:Comenius, Johann Amos. Analytical didactic : translated from the Latin with introd. and notes . Chicago], University of Chicagor Press, 1953]. p. cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: LB475.C6 A54

13. 54-45707:Comenius, Johann Amos. Maudrost starych Cechu, za zrcadlo vystavena potomkum. . V Praze, Nakl. Ceske akademie cisare Frantiska Josefa pro vedy, slovesnost a umeni, 1901. xv, 113 p, 27 cm .
LC CALL NUMBER: PN6505.S3 C6

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FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
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ITEMS 14-17 OF 27 SET 3: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: PREM
(ASCENDING ORDER)

14. 55-51738:Comenius, Johann Amos. Labyrint sveta a raj srdce, to jest: svetle vymalovani. V Litomysli, Nakl. A. Augusty, 1862. 140 p, 20 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BV4509.C8 C6 1862

15. 58-17289:Comenius, Johann Amos. Selections. . Paris], Unesco, 1957]. 183 p, plates, ports., facsims, 20 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: LB475.C6 A298

16. 59-51373:Comenius, Johann Amos. Labyrint sveta a raj srdca. . Martin], Tanoscius, 1952. 191 p, illus, 30 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BV4509.C8 C617

17. 60-20125:Comenius, Johann Amos. Labyrint sveta a raj srdce, to jest: svetle vymalovani. Praha, Nase vojsko, 1958]. 255 p, 25 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BV4509.C8 C6 1958

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ITEMS 18-20 OF 27 SET 3: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: PREM
(ASCENDING ORDER)

18. 60-20128:Comenius, Johann Amos. Labyrint sveta a raj srdce. Praha, Svobodne slovo Melantrich, 1958. 188 p, illus, 27 cm.

LC CALL NUMBER: BV4509.C8 C6 1958a
19. 60-55619:Felin, Jan. Rozebrani Obrany Sam. V Praze, Nakl. Ceske
akademie cisare Frantiska Josefa pro vedy, slovesnost a umeni, 1902.
xxii, 261 p, 27 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BX4920.M33 F4 1902
20. 61-55686:Comenius, Johann Amos. Strucna historie cirkve slovanksе. .
V Praze], Melantrich, 1941]. 113 p, port, 20 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BX4920 .C582

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ITEMS 21-23 OF 27 SET 3: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: PREM
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21. 63-56690:Prophecies of Christopher Kotterus, Christiana Poniatova,
Nicholas Drabicius, three famous German prophets, foretelling forty years
agoe this present invasion of the Turks into the empire of Germany, and
the events that will ensue. London, Printed for R. Pawlet, 1664. 115 p,
front, 14 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BF1809 .L813 1664 (Rare Bk Coll)
22. 70-588314:Comenius, Johann Amos. Jak dovedne uzivat knih, hlavniho
nastroje vzdelani. . Praha, SPN, t. Pravda, Ba, 1970. 30, 27] p,
front. (port.), 17 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: Z1003 .C7693 1970
23. 72-213502:Comenius, Johann Amos. Labyrint sveta a lusthauz srdce, to
jest: Svetle vymalovani. Praha, Evropsky literarni klub, 1941.
166 p, illus, 24 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BV4509.C8 C6 1941

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ITEMS 24-27 OF 27 SET 3: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: PREM
(ASCENDING ORDER)
24. 72-539029:Comenius, Johann Amos. Labyrint sveta a raj srdce. Praha,
Odeon, t. Rude pravo, 1970. 212, 4] p, col. front, 23 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BV4509.C8 C6 1970
25. 73-285688:Comenius, Johann Amos. Labirynt sweta a ray srdce, to yest,
swetle wymalowani. W Berline u K, F. Rellstaba, 1757. 216 p, 15 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BV4509.C8 C6 1757 (Rare Bk Coll)
26. 73-854291:Comenius, Johann Amos. Jana Amosa Komenskeho skolni hry a
vychova. . Praha, Ustre. dum lid. umelecke tvorivosti, rozmn, 1970
. 52, 1] p, 20 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PN3171 .C62 1970
27. unk84-36847:Comenius, Johann Amos. The Orbis pictus of John Amos
Comenius... . n.p.], 1887. 1 v, cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: LT101 .C6

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ITEMS 1-3 OF 14                SET 2: BRIEF DISPLAY                FILE: LCCC
                                 (ASCENDING ORDER)
1. 57-13529:Comenius, Johann Amos.  The school of infancy.  Chapel Hill,
     University of North Carolina Press, 1956].  viii, 130 p, port., facsim,
     21 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: LB475.C6 A47 1956
2. 66-24715:Comenius, Johann Amos.  The great didactic of John Amos Comenius.
     New York, Russell & Russell, 1967].  vii, 169, 316 p, illus., port, 22 cm
     .
     LC CALL NUMBER: LB475.C6 A38 1967
3. 67-21499:Comenius, Johann Amos.  John Amos Comenius on education.  New York
     , Teachers College Press, 1967? c1957].  viii, 236 p, illus., facsims.,
     ports, 20 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: LB475.C6 A298 1967

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ITEMS 4-7 OF 14                SET 2: BRIEF DISPLAY                FILE: LCCC
                                 (ASCENDING ORDER)
4. 67-23933:Comenius, Johann Amos.  The Orbis pictus of John Amos Comenius.
     Detroit, Singing Tree Press, 1968.  xxxi, 194 p, illus, 20 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: LT101 .C6 1968
5. 69-12167:Sadler, John Edward.  Comenius.  London, Collier-Macmillan, 1969].
135 p, 23 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: LB475.C6 S18
6. 71-493153:Comenius, Johann Amos.  Orbis pictus.  London, Oxford U.P, 1968.
     vii, 450 p, illus, 19 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: LT101 .C6 1659a
7. 72-95056:Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences in America.  Comenius /.
New York, Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences in America, c1972.  184 p,
     port., 25 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: LB475.C6 C93 1972

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ITEMS 8-11 OF 14               SET 2: BRIEF DISPLAY                FILE: LCCC
                                 (ASCENDING ORDER)
8. 72-499795:Comenius, Johann Amos.  Orbis sensualium pictus.  Menston, Eng,
     Scolar Press, 1970.  309 p, 21 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: LT101 .C6 1659ab
9. 72-619508:Comenius, Johann Amos.  The labyrinth of the world and the
     paradise of the heart .  Ann Arbor, Dept. of Slavic Languages and
     Literatures, University of Michigan], 1972.  xiv, 148, 55] p, 23 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: BV4509.C8 C613 1972
10. 73-135812:Comenius, Johann Amos.  The labyrinth of the world and the
     paradise of the heart.  New York, Arno Press, 1971.  347 p, 23 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: BV4509.C8 C613 1971
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11. 75-462283:Comenius, Johann Amos. A reformation of schooles, 1642.
Menston (Yorks.), Scolar P, 1969. 71, 94 p, port, 23 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: LB475.C6 A623 1642a

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
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12. 77-455336:Comenius, Johann Amos. Comenius' sjalvbiografi =. Uppsala,
Foreningen for svensk undervisningshistoria, 1975, i.e. 1976. 296 p.,
23 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: LB475.C6 A32313 1976

13. 78-246140:Comenius, Johann Amos. A perfect Reformation. Prague,
Ecumenical Institute of the Comènius Faculty of Protestant Theology, 1957.
69 p, 17 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: BX4924 .CA253

14. 80-458055:Comenius, Johann Amos. Diogenes the cynic back from the grave.
New York?, Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences in America, c1970].
73 p, 27 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: B305.D44 C6513

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NEW YORK
COLLIER MACMILLAN PUBLISHERS
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Boltzmann's research papers were collected in three volumes by F. Hasenöhrl and published as *Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1909). His larger works are *Vorlesungen über die Prinzipien der Mechanik*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1897–1904); *Vorlesungen über Maxwells Theorie der Electrizität und des Lichtes*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1891–1893); and *Vorlesungen über Gastheorie*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1896–1898). Boltzmann's more general writings have been collected in *Populäre Schriften* (Leipzig, 1905).

The biography by E. Broda, *Ludwig Boltzmann* (Vienna, 1955), contains an excellent account of Boltzmann's physics and his philosophy. For a more technical discussion of the *H*-theorem and of related questions, see Paul and Tatiana Ehrenfest, *The Conceptual Foundations of the Statistical Approach in Mechanics* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1959); Hans Reichenbach, *The Direction of Time* (Berkeley, 1956); and Dirk ter Haar, "Foundations of Statistical Mechanics," in *Reviews of Modern Physics* (July 1955).

PAUL K. FEYERABEND

BOLZANO, BERNARD (1781–1848), philosopher, theologian, logician, and mathematician. Bolzano was born in Prague, where his father, an Italian art dealer, had settled; his mother was a German merchant's daughter. Bolzano studied mathematics, philosophy, and theology in Prague and defended his doctor's thesis in mathematics in 1804; he was ordained a Roman Catholic priest the following year. Shortly thereafter he was appointed to a temporary professorship in the science of religion at Karlova University in Prague and two years later was given a newly established chair in this field. Some time later he was accused of religious and political heresy and was removed from his teaching position in December 1819. Bolzano spent much of his time thereafter with the family of his friend and benefactor, A. Hoffmann, at their estate in southern Bohemia. He had difficulty getting his later publications through the Metternich censorship. Some of his books were put on the Index, and many appeared only posthumously. Some manuscripts are yet to be published; the most important of these are in the National Museum and the University Library in Prague, others are in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. In December 1848, Bolzano died of a respiratory disease from which he had suffered for most of his life.

Mathematics. Bolzano's mathematical teachings were not quite understood by his contemporaries, and most of his deep insights into the foundations of mathematical analysis long remained unrecognized. A famous theorem in the early stages of a modern presentation of the calculus is known as the Bolzano–Weierstrass theorem, but another masterful anticipation (by more than forty years) of Weierstrass' discovery that there exist functions that are everywhere continuous but nowhere differentiable remained buried in manuscripts until the 1920s. But perhaps more important than Bolzano's actual discoveries of new theorems was the meticulousness with which he endeavored to lay new foundations for the *Grössenlehre*, the science of quantity—which was how Bolzano, using a very broad interpretation of "quantity," designated mathematics. In particular, his insistence that no appeal to any intuition of space and time should be acknowledged for this purpose and that only "purely analytical" methods were to be recognized put him in opposition to the then current Kantian ways of thinking and back into the Leibnizian tradition.

Bolzano's most famous posthumously published work is *Paradoxien des Unendlichen* (F. Prihonsky, ed., Leipzig, 1851; translated by D. A. Steele as *The Paradoxes of the Infinite*, London, 1950), in which he anticipated certain basic ideas of set theory, developed only a generation later by Georg Cantor, who fully acknowledged his indebtedness to Bolzano in this respect. This anticipation should, however, not be overrated. Bolzano was not quite able to rid himself of all the prejudices of his time and was, therefore, unable to reach a clear and fruitful conception of equivalence between infinite sets.

Ethics and philosophy of religion. Bolzano was, in his time, much more influential as a theologian and social moralist than as a mathematician. An advocate of the Bohemian Catholic enlightenment, he lectured on religion and moral philosophy with strong pacifistic and socialistic overtones. He used the pulpit to proclaim before hundreds of impressed students a kind of utopian socialism. In his sermons he tried to prove the essential equality of all human beings, attacked private property obtained without work, and exhorted his listeners to sacrifice everything in their struggle for human rights. These sermons served him as a preparation for what he regarded as his most important book, *Von dem besten Staate*, which he finished in 1837 but was unable to publish. It first appeared in Prague in 1932.

Bolzano's philosophy of religion is presented in the books *Athanasia oder Gründe für die Unsterblichkeit der Seele* (Sulzbach, 1827) and *Lehrbuch der Religionswissenschaft* (4 vols., Sulzbach, 1834), the latter being a revised version of his lectures at the Prague university. He tried to prove that Catholicism is in full harmony with common sense. To this end he either disregarded or interpreted allegorically all mystical elements of Catholicism.

Bolzano derived his utilitarian ethics from a "highest ethical principle": "Of all actions possible to you, choose always the one which, weighing all consequences, will most further the good of the totality, in all its parts" (*Lehrbuch der Religionswissenschaft*, Vol. I, Sec. 87). This reminds one, of course, of Bentham. "The most important idea of mankind" Bolzano took to be the "essential" equality of all human beings, which he tried to prove from historical, rational, and ethical considerations.

Logic and epistemology. It is as logician, methodologist, and epistemologist that Bolzano, after a long period of neglect, has regained philosophical attention in the twentieth century. Mainly in order to combat radical skepticism, he found it necessary to base his teachings in these fields on certain ontological conceptions. He was convinced that there exist truths-in-themselves *(Wahrheiten an sich)* prior to and independent of language and man. These truths he carefully distinguished from truths expressed in words and conceived truths. The set of truths-in-themselves is a subset of the set of propositions (in-themselves) *(Sätze an sich)*, again to be distinguished from propositions expressed in words and conceived propositions. Propositions consist of terms (ideas-in-themselves, *Vorstellungen an sich*). These are likewise to be distin-

guished, on the one hand, from the words or word sequences by which they are denoted and, on the other, from subjective ideas that occur in our mind. Although linguistic entities and conceived entities exist concretely, terms, propositions, and truths do not. Terms were equally carefully distinguished from their objects, whether or not these objects themselves existed concretely. Though Bolzano was a Platonist (in the modern sense), his ontology was rather remote from that of Plato or, for that matter, from that of Kant, in spite of the common *an sich* terminology.

Beyond these negative determinations, Bolzano had little positive to say on the ontological status of terms and propositions except that they are the matter (*Stoff*) or sense (*Sinn*) of their correlates in language and thought.

Terms can be either simple or complex and either empty (*gegenstandslos*) or nonempty (*gegenständlich*); if nonempty, they are either singular or general. Examples of empty terms are −1, 0, Nothing, Round Square, Green Virtue, and Golden Mountain; absolutely simple terms are Not, Some, Have, Be, and Ought, but Bolzano was uncertain about others. Simple, singular terms he called intuitions (*Anschauungen*).

Propositions are composed of terms and are perhaps best regarded as ordered sequences of terms, while the content (*Inhalt*) of a proposition is the (unordered) set of the simple terms out of which the terms constituting the proposition are composed. The content of a complex term is similarly defined. The terms 3^5 and 5^3 are different, though they have the same content. The terms 2^4 and 4^2 are different, though they have not only the same content but even the same object. With this conception of content, the traditional doctrine of the reciprocity between the extension of a term (the set of objects falling under it) and the content of a term can easily be seen to be invalid.

Among Bolzano's many idiosyncratic convictions, perhaps the most interesting, but also the most strange to the modern mind, was his belief that each branch of science has a unique, strictly scientific presentation, which for him meant not only a unique finite axiom system (a belief he shared with many) but also an essentially unique entailment (*Abfolge*) of each theorem of this science by the axioms, a belief which might well be unique to Bolzano.

This relationship of entailment, as presented by Bolzano, is very peculiar and obscure. Bolzano was never quite sure that he understood it himself, though he was convinced that there objectively must exist some such relationship, that each science must have its basic truths (*Grundwahrheiten*) to which all other truths of that science stand in the peculiar relation of consequence (*Folge*) to ground (*Grund*). Bolzano was constantly struggling to differentiate this relation of entailment from the relation of derivability (*Ableitbarkeit*), which was the basic relation of his logic (see LOGIC, HISTORY OF, section on Bolzano). Though he did not succeed in putting his theory of entailment into consistent and fruitful shape—and could not possibly have done so, in view of the chimerical character of his goal—his acumen, mastery of the contemporary logical and methodological literature, intellectual honesty, and lifelong self-criticism more than made up for his numerous shortcomings. Bolzano remains a towering figure in the epistemology, logic, and methodology of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Additional Works by Bolzano

Bolzano's masterwork is his *Wissenschaftslehre*, 4 vols. (Sulzbach, 1837; W. Schulz, ed., Leipzig, 1929–1931). *Grundlegung der Logik* (Hamburg, 1964) is a very useful selection by Friedrich Kambartel from the first two volumes of the *Wissenschaftslehre*, with summaries of omitted portions, an excellent introduction, and a good index.

Works on Bolzano

Bolzano's philosophical work was virtually disregarded until Edmund Husserl called attention to it at the turn of the century. Hugo Bergmann's monograph, *Das philosophische Werk Bernard Bolzanos* (Halle, 1909), increased the revived interest in Bolzano's ideas. Heinrich Scholz's articles, especially "Die Wissenschaftslehre Bolzanos," in *Abhandlungen des Fries'schen Schule*, new series, Vol. 6 (1937), 399–472, reprinted in *Mathesis Universalis*, pp. 219–267 (Basel, 1961), presented Bolzano's contributions to logic, semantics, and the methodology of the deductive sciences in a modernized form. The best recent study in English of Bolzano as a logician is J. Berg's *Bolzano's Logic* (Stockholm, 1962). D. A. Steele's historical introduction to his translation of Bolzano's *Paradoxien des Unendlichen* is useful. Among other secondary works the most important are Eduard Winter's *Bernard Bolzano und sein Kreis* (Leipzig, 1933), G. Buhl's *Ableitbarkeit und Abfolge in der Wissenschaftstheorie Bolzanos* (Cologne, 1961), and (from a Marxist viewpoint) A. Kolman's *Bernard Bolzano* (in Russian, Moscow, 1955; in Czech, Prague, 1957; and in German, Berlin, 1963).

YEHOSHUA BAR-HILLEL

BONALD, LOUIS GABRIEL AMBROISE, VICOMTE DE, French publicist and philosopher, was born in the château of Le Monna, near Millau (Aveyron) in 1754 and died in 1840. He emigrated in 1791, during the Revolution, to Heidelberg, moving later to Constance, and joined the circle of royalist writers who in 1796 published a number of books attacking the Revolutionary party and defending the monarchy. His own contribution to the propaganda was his famous *Théorie du pouvoir politique et religieux* (3 vols., Constance, 1796), the first of a long series of volumes expressing the ultramontane position, the political supremacy of the papacy, absolute monarchy, and traditionalism.

The basic premise of Bonald, as far as his philosophy was concerned, was the identity of thought and language. Against the usual eighteenth-century idea that language was a human invention, he revived Rousseau's argument that since an invention requires thought and thought is internal speech, language could not have been invented. Consequently, he argued, it must have been put into the soul of man at creation. By means of certain philological investigations, Bonald was able to convince himself that there was a basic identity in all languages, as indeed there is in the Indo-European.

But language is a social, not an individual, phenomenon. It binds men together into groups and expresses an interpersonal set of ideas. These ideas are tradition. The unity of tradition may be disrupted, as it was during the Revolution, but nevertheless mankind will have to return to it if they have any hope of regaining social health. When this

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NEIL MCINNES

MASARYK, TOMÁŠ GARRIGUE (1850–1937), Czech statesman and philosopher, and president of Czechoslovakia from 1918 to 1935. Masaryk was born in Hodonín, Moravia. His political career belongs to history; of interest to students of philosophy is the fact that he studied philosophy at the University of Vienna from 1872 to 1876 under Franz Brentano. He spent the year 1876/1877 at Leipzig, where Wilhelm Wundt was his teacher and Edmund Husserl and Richard Avenarius were fellow students. In 1879 Masaryk became *Privatdozent* at Vienna, submitting *Der Selbstmord als sociale Massenerscheinung* (Vienna, 1881) as his habilitation thesis. In 1882 Masaryk became professor of philosophy at the Czech University in Prague, where he soon made his mark as a politican and writer in Czech. *Základové konkretné logiky* ("The Foundations of Concrete Logic," Prague, 1885; German translation, *Versuch einer concreten Logik*, Vienna, 1887) and *Otázka sociální* ("The Social Question," Prague, 1898; German translation, *Die philosophischen und sociologischen Grundlagen des Marxismus*, Vienna, 1899) were followed by books on Czech history and politics and by an extensive Russian intellectual history, first published in German as *Russland und Europa* (2 vols., Jena, 1913; translated by Eden and Cedar Paul as *The Spirit of Russia*, 2 vols., London, 1919). World War I and the presidency of Czechoslovakia put an end to Masaryk's academic pursuits, but a book of memoirs, *Světová revoluce* ("The World Revolution," Prague, 1925; English translation, edited by H. W. Steed, *The Making of a State*, London, 1927) and *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem* ("Conversations with T. G. Masaryk," 3 vols., Prague, 1931–1935) by Karel Čapek (English translations by M. and R. Weatherall, *President Masaryk Tells His Story*, London, 1934, and *Masaryk on Thought and Life*, London, 1938) reformulate his convictions impressively.

Masaryk was a practical philosopher who believed that philosophy should not only contemplate the world but also try to change it. He thus had little interest in problems of epistemology or cosmology. In his early life he reacted against German idealism and accepted British empiricism (Hume) and French positivism (Comte). Later he argued for a type of realism that he called concretism. In every act of knowing, he believed, the whole man takes part. Concretism acknowledges not only reason but also the senses, the emotions, and the will—the whole experience of our consciousness. It is something like William James's radical empiricism without the exceptional experiences admitted by James. But Masaryk's main interest was in sociology and philosophy of history.

Masaryk's realism was combined with a deep religious belief—Masaryk was a theist who found the Unitarianism of his American wife congenial—and a strong conviction of the immutable difference between right and wrong. Masaryk's thinking centered on the crisis of civilization caused by the decay of religion. He diagnosed the diseases of modern man (indifference, suicidal mania, violence, war, etc.) and prescribed remedies for them. He believed that sociology is the foundation of any futher cultural advance but that its method must not be purely genetic and descriptive. Teleology, or explanation by purpose, is legitimate. The aim of history is the realization of the ideal of humanity. Masaryk's humanism was not, however, merely humanitarianism, although he often spoke of democracy as another term for his ideal. In spite of his sympathies for the concrete demands of socialism, Masaryk remained an individualist who disapproved of all forms of collectivism. He criticized Marx as a blind worshiper of determinist science. Nevertheless, Masaryk exalted the role of the right kind of science. In *Základové konkretné logiky*, his philosophically most ambitious book, he classified the sciences and showed how they are internally related and coordinated. The task of philosophy is to create a world view based on the results of the sciences. Masaryk desired a new "Advancement of Learning" that would save man from intellectual and moral anarchy.

Masaryk assigned an important role in the realization of his ideal to his own nation, the Czech, and interpreted its history, remembering the Hussites and the Bohemian Brethren as a preparation for this task. He thoroughly criticized Russia for being a breeding ground for all the European diseases, particularly romanticism and materialism. Dostoyevsky, whom he both admired and rejected as a thinker, was a lifelong concern. Masaryk always expressed the deepest sympathies for the English and American tradition of empiricism and moralism and, in politics, turned his nation resolutely toward the Anglo-Saxon West. In 1918 he liberated the Czechs not only politically but also intellectually.

Bibliography

For information on Masaryk as a thinker, see the bibliography and articles in B. Jakowenko, ed., *Festschrift Thomas G. Masaryk zum 80. Geburtstag*, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1930); W. P. Warren, *Masaryk's Democracy* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1941); and René Wellek, "Masaryk's Philosophy," in *Essays on Czech Literature* (The Hague, 1963).

RENÉ WELLEK

MASS. The mass of a body is its inertia or resistance to change of motion. More precisely, it is a property of the body that determines the body's acceleration under the influence of a given force. Mass can therefore be measured either by the amount of force necessary to impart to the body a given motion in a given time or by the acceleration produced by a given force.

The absolute metric unit of mass is the gram, which is the mass of a body whose velocity increases by one centimeter per second each second if acted upon by a force of

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Czechoslovakia-United States Trade Agreement

April 9, 1990

On April 5, 1990, U.S. and Czechoslovak trade negotiators reached provisional agreement on the text of a trade agreement between the two countries. The President welcomes this as the first trade agreement concluded with an Eastern European country since the revolutions of 1989.

President Bush and President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia agreed during their February 20 meeting that reestablishing a more normal trade relationship should be a top priority for both countries. The speed with which this agreement was reached is testimony to the dramatic changes occurring in Czechoslovakia's economic policies and to our shared determination to move quickly to reestablish close ties.

The agreement, along with its side letters on trade and financial matters, intellectual property, and tourism, is scheduled to be signed Thursday, April 12, by U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills and Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barčák. Ambassador Hills and Minister Barčák will be speaking earlier in the day at a symposium on Eastern Europe sponsored by the Department of Commerce and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The trade agreement, when formally approved by both sides, will provide a number of important improvements for business in each country. Most importantly, the U.S.-Czechoslovak trade relationship will be based on a most-favored-nation basis, including tariffs. This will be a significant benefit for businesses and consumers alike.

The two sides also agreed to apply the rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) between themselves, which should put business and trade on a more certain footing. Certain explicit protections for American businesses were included, such as the right to nondiscrimination in renting office space, in paying for local goods, and in establishing bank accounts. Any hard currency earnings from trade may be repatriated immediately. In addition, the Government of Czechoslovakia pledged to continue its economic reform plans, including a commitment to streamline its approval procedures for foreigners and Czechoslovaks wishing to do business together. Other bilateral commitments concern intellectual property protection and tourism.

This agreement should substantially increase two-way trade between the United States and Czechoslovakia. President Bush welcomes this step as an important milestone not only in U.S.-Czechoslovak relations but also in Czechoslovakian reintegration into the global economy and the community of free nations.

Letter to the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Reporting on the Cyprus Conflict

April 9, 1990

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with 22 U.S.C. 2373(c), I am submitting to you this bimonthly report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question.

This report covers the period from January 1 through early March 1990, a period marked by intensive international activity aimed at getting and keeping the intercommunal negotiating process on track. On January 18 I spoke personally with Turkish President Ozal in Washington about the desirability of having an early Cyprus negotiating session under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary General, and received President Ozal's assurances of Turk-

United States

nese Government's commitment to progress. The two emissaries are former Ambassador to the United States Matsunaga and Deputy Foreign Minister Owada. They arrive at 10 o'clock this morning and will meet today and tomorrow with General Scowcroft [Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs] and Secretary of State Baker. They will meet with President Bush on Wednesday. In addition, they will deliver a letter from Prime Minister Kaifu to President Bush concerning trade issues.

The Structural Impediments Initiative talks begin today in Washington at the State Department. The U.S. side will be headed by Richard T. McCormack, Under Secretary for Economic Affairs; Linn Williams, Deputy U.S. Trade Representative; and Charles Dallara, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. An interim report on these meetings will be issued on April 4, with a final report produced in July.

Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Broadcasters in Atlanta, Georgia
April 2, 1990

Thank you for that welcome. To Messrs. Mays and Fritts, thank you both, and to all of the rest of the leaders of the NAB that are here today. And also I understand there are a lot of Members of the United States Congress here. In my line of work, you always pay your respects to the Members of Congress—[*laughter*]—in the forlorn hope that they will do it exactly my way someday. [*Laughter*] But nevertheless, I'm glad they're here.

It is my privilege this morning to be back before America's family of broadcasters, the National Association of Broadcasters. And I can't help but marvel at these huge screens as I walked in here. You know, if I were as large as my image—[*laughter*]—on these screens, imagine how easy it would be for me to get my way with the Congress. [*Laughter*] And this convention is also displayed, I'm told, on monitors throughout the arena, and from here, beamed around the world. I will try to finish each sentence without a preposition. [*Laughter*]

But there was a time when most Americans knew their Presidents distantly, from woodcut prints in the weekly newspaper. The circle of democracy in ancient Athens and Rome was even more limited, just to those within hearing range of the debates inside the Parthenon or the Forum. But today, through free, over-the-air broadcasts, you have brought millions of living rooms within hearing range; you've made every home a part of the American forum. In fact, on this very day, you are providing—for the 6,000 foreign broadcasters in attendance, through your international seminars, and through USIA's [U.S. Information Agency] WORLDNET—a seminar for the world.

Television, which began as the American forum, has become the world forum. And so, when a lone, brave man stood up to a column of tanks in Tiananmen Square, the world stood with him. When the people of Prague sang the first Christmas carols in over 40 years, the world sang with them. And when the first German took the first hammer to that wall of shame in Berlin, the world shared in an historic act of courage.

We all know that governments can censor, governments can silence, but the voice of freedom will not be stilled as long as there is an America to tell the truth. These sounds and images of the Revolution of '89 belong to the world. But it was here in America that a free people first explored how to put the airwaves into the service of democracy.

We accept regulation, but we firmly reject government programming. We reject government ownership of stations. And most of all, we reject censorship. You see, the freedom that this association enjoys—probably takes for granted—is a model for the world.

In my State of the Union Address, I spoke of the cornerstones of a free society: democracy, private investment, competitiveness, stewardship. We will see what competitiveness means just this afternoon; I'm going out to visit a General Electric plant in Cincinnati, where free workers transformed foreign investment into foreign business. Tomorrow I'm going to Indianapolis, help promote stewardship, where the city works with citizens to cultivate an urban forest. But these are not what you'd call isolated

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whistlestops. America's ideas are powerful, and through the power of communication, we share them with the world. After all, we live in a time when commodity prices and travel reservations and fast-breaking news flash from Hong Kong to Tokyo, Tokyo to Bonn, Bonn to Boston, all in the blink of an eye.

Roam among the hundreds of exhibits in this convention center, and you will find 22 football fields chock-full of the latest gadgets in telecommunications—personal computers and modems, fax machines, lasers, optical fibers, satellites—all strands in a growing web of world communications, a growing network linking all of us, "a global village." The information industry is not an adornment to modern life: it is the essence of who and what we are. It is truly an information age.

Last May, I discussed the future of Europe with the citizens of Mainz, a German city nestled in the green hills along the Rhine River. And it was while I was there that I appreciated anew the Biblical expression, "In the beginning was the Word." For it was in that German town that the inventor of the printing press, Johann Gutenberg, first put the scholarship of the ages into the hands of millions of knowledge-hungry readers. His one invention made possible all the pamphlets and journals of the Enlightenment and of the American Revolution, from the call to arms of Thomas Paine to the cool logic of "The Federalist Papers." You might argue that out of that one invention sprang the very idea called America.

Today, along with the word, we have the image: images projected on color television and evoked by the sounds of radio. But while Western democracy broadened as our knowledge broadened, the circle of democracy and knowledge narrowed under Communist regimes that took power on many continents. For these nations, truth was something to be twisted and stretched by the brutal hands of authority, manipulated beyond recognition. The Czech author Kundera calls this time the "kingdom of forgetting," when whole nations almost forgot their heroic histories and finest traditions. From Havana to Prague to Phnom Penh, the peoples of these lands never fully gave in to the 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.

To fully appreciate what these broadcasts mean, you need only ask someone who listened to them. Sichan Siv, a young man now works on our White House staff—he's a Cambodian, an American who lived through the horrors of the killing fields. And he's told me that when the Khmer Rouge took control of a village the very first items they confiscated were the radios, for if they respected and feared anything, it was the power of free information. But even under the threat of death, men and women like Sichan Siv were so hungry for news from the outside world that they would turn on a hidden transistor radio at the lowest possible volume and then put it up flush to one ear. We take free news broadcasts for granted in America, but some people risked death to hear the truth. And some people still do, and we're not going to let them down.

In the realm of ideas and ideals, there are no borders. No government should fear free speech, whether it's from entertainment programs or accurate, unbiased news about world events. And that is why Congress strongly supported TV Marti and why I strongly support TV Marti. We will scrupulously adhere to the letter of the law. But let me say again: The voice of freedom will not be stilled as long as there is an America to tell the truth.

And look, I do understand the practical concerns that some of you have about this, but I also understand that you represent the very principle TV Marti exists to serve: that free flow of ideas. Before we are business men and women, before we are doctors, lawyers, or mechanics, we are Americans. Americans have always stood for free speech, and we always will. So, I have come here to ask something of you. I ask you to stand by your traditions, the best traditions of America. I ask you, once again, to stand for TV Marti and to stand for freedom.

If we broadcast freedom, our message will be heard. After the bloodshed at Tiananmen Square and the expulsion of the VOA from China, I was heartened to see

that Beijing relented a little bit and permitted a VOA correspondent to return. In the Soviet Union, publications that once vilified the Voice of America now praise it. Warm words of support even come from Izvestia. A commentator in Moscow News thanks VOA and says that it uses, and here is the quote, "our own broadening sources of information better than we do and without delay return to us what they have gathered." And now Radio Free Europe has bureaus in Warsaw, in Budapest, and VOA even has one in Moscow, an unthinkable development just a few years ago. The very fact that it is no longer considered remarkable for USIA's WORLDNET to link live programs from Washington to Kiev, or from Chicago and New York to Gdansk and Warsaw, is in itself remarkable.

How did this 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 in his recent visit to Washington. First he came to the White House and told me personally what this broadcasting of the truth had meant to those who were fighting for freedom. And then he visited the Voice of America and met the employees of its Czech division. It was a very poignant encounter, for though Havel didn't recognize any of them by face, he knew them all by name the instant he heard them speak.

And it's moments like that that convince me of one sure thing: I am determined that America will continue to bear witness to the truth. America must never lose its voice. Just as President Havel and others who were once under Communist domination have thanked us, I am convinced that the people of Cuba will thank us when they, too, win the liberty they yearn for.

Still, we can envision a time when the purpose of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty could be utterly fulfilled. But for now, these networks, along with USIA's WORLDNET and VOA, must continue in Eastern Europe until change is complete. We're still seeing the struggle for freedom, and this must continue until all that struggle is won by the forces of freedom. Free stations and newspapers are still struggling to take root. Their access to their Western colleagues is still erratic. We need to be there now more than ever before to describe and explain our own two centuries of experience in building a democracy.

We can also assist the Eastern Europeans in sharing among themselves their own experience in democracy. After all, Eastern Europeans need more than Robert's Rules of Order: they need to know how the process of reform is working with their neighbors. So, if one nation adopts a novel path to reform, pollution control, or currency law, the others need to be able to benefit from that experiment.

And we must also look ahead to the challenges of a new century. To prepare for our future role, I have directed that an interagency review be conducted of U.S. Government international broadcasting.

And of course, we will be looking for advice from many outside the Government. After all, when it comes to setting an example of a free press, the best example must come from you. The Peace Corps is teaching English in Eastern Europe as the lingua franca of business and journalism, but it is not tasked to offer a model of journalistic excellence. Only the American press corps can pick up where the Peace Corps leaves off and provide a model of accuracy, fairness, and objectivity.

As broadcasters, you can—and you are—transferring American know-how to the East. You're working with VOA to train and orient foreign broadcasters visiting the United States. In February the director of Polish radio and television visited your headquarters, in part to seek the counsel and assistance of American broadcasters. And you've sent your representatives to meet with their counterparts inside the Soviet Union. And on top of this, you are helping Americans to invest in joint ventures to establish new radio and television networks in the East. So, most of all, I am here to recognize your energetic, international leadership. And I might make a peripheral plea: Do not neglect this hemisphere and this hemisphere's quest for democracy.

The times have changed. We need no longer act in the fine tradition of the Underground Railroad. But before the Revolution of '89, America regularly received the speeches of Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel, and other brave men and women of conscience

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Remarks at a
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on smuggled tapes. And through the power of broadcasting, America became the courier of freedom, returning the eloquent words of these leaders back to their people, returning hope and the promise of liberty to half a dozen lands. That was our vision then; that is our vision today. And by working together, our American vision is fast becoming a reality for the world.

I can tell you many friends in this audience that there has never in my view been a more exciting or challenging time to be President of the United States. The change is mind-boggling—the changes around the world. The bid of freedom is irreversible. It's bound to happen to places denied freedom today. But the importance of your work, the importance of your commitment to open, fair journalism is unparalleled in any time in our history. So, I came here to say thank you—thank you all for what you are doing, thank you for the support you've been able to give this administration. And may God bless you. And most of all, may God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:09 a.m. in the Thomas P. Murphy Ballroom of the Georgia World Congress Center. In his remarks, he referred to L. Lowry Mays and Eddie Fritts, joint board chairman and president of the association, respectively. Afterwards, the President examined a scale model of the proposed 1992 Olympic Village in Atlanta.

Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Gubernatorial Candidate George Voinovich in Cincinnati, Ohio

April 2, 1990

Thank you, George, very, very much. Thank you for those kind words. And be seated out there. That would mean curling up your feet. [*Laughter*] And thank you all for this very warm welcome.

I'm delighted to be here with two Members—well, three Members of Congress—but with Bill Gradison and Bob McEwen, these two distinguished Members of the Ohio congressional delegation. I'll get to this one in a minute. And let me recognize Cincinnati's next Congressman, Ken Blackwell, who's out here. Ken—right there. This is a State ticket meeting. Tomorrow Ken and I are going to figure out what I can do to assist him in that very important congressional race.

I also want to take a moment tonight to mention a close friend of mine, a friend of so many Republicans here in this room and across the country, and I'm talking about Lee Atwater, our national chairman. During this difficult time—and he went into another hospital today in New York, I'm told—our hearts go out to him and to that wonderful family of his. And I know I speak for all when I just say we wish him our very, very best in this difficult time. And right now there's nothing more important for Lee to do than to get well, and I know that's exactly what he intends to do, given that fighting spirit. Luckily, when it comes to leadership at the RNC [Republican National Committee]—and I think our very able State chairman here will attest to that—Lee is backed up by one of this party's most able politicians, a friend of mine of longstanding, Jeanie Austin [cochairman of the Republican National Committee], over here, who is with us tonight. And she is doing an outstanding job for the party. The Atwater-Austin ticket at our national level is hard to beat.

And that brings me then to the six members of this strong Ohio State ticket here today: Jim Petro, candidate for State auditor; Senator Paul Pfeiffer, Ohio's next attorney general; your next State treasurer, Judy Brachman; and then Bob Taft, my old friend, the current Hamilton County commissioner, and Ohio's next secretary of state. I don't think he needs too much of a word around Hamilton County here.

And then, of course, the two men at the top of the ticket: Mike DeWine, one of the finest Congressmen on Capitol Hill, who's ready to come back home and be the next Lieutenant Governor of this great State. Mike, we wish you well. And of course, with you, locked in tandem, Ohio's man of the hour, the next Governor of the Buckeye State, George Voinovich. I'm here to support all of them, and you have an outstanding ticket.

Voice of America

Q. It seems to me that the Voice of America has been one of our best tools for exporting the 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 maintained the budget in order to continue to have this influence in the countries of the Eastern bloc?

The President. I'm embarrassed to say 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 Havel, Vaclav Havel, the playwright President of Czechoslovakia, expressed his not only appreciation for what the Voice of America did in keeping the hope of democracy and freedom alive but also insisted that it's essential that the Voice still go in there.

So, I don't think—can someone—we don't think that we have recommended cuts in the Voice, but maybe we could get your name. It's a good specific question. And, Barrie [Barrie Tron, Deputy Director of Media Relations], maybe you could find that, 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 that it's even more important that that message of freedom continue to be heard; and I accept the word of Havel in the process.

Now, we've got one more, and I see an urgent—I've not been very good about the left side of the room. Yes, sir?

Foreign Aid

Q. Don Mulford, Montclair Times. Does it bother you at all the proportion of the foreign aid budget going to two nations, Israel and Egypt? Irrespective of any comment on Jerusalem—[*laughter*]—is there some thought of perhaps lowering the level of the funds going there in the hope that it might promote peace—to stop funding both nations on such a large level of our resources?

The President. I would not favor that. I do favor greater flexibility for the President, which means a weakening of or an elimination of earmarking, because what's happened is a tremendous percentage, as Don points out, of our foreign aid budget is going to just a handful of countries. And you cited Israel, and I could add Egypt—well, you added Egypt—and there's Pakistan and one or two others. And by the time that money is disbursed, there is almost nothing.

And I'll give you an example. In Jamaica, I must confess that when Mr. Manley [Prime Minister] came in, based on his past record and his proximity to Cuba and his former fraternity with Mr. Castro [President of Cuba], I didn't know how it would go. Manley campaigned on a different policy this time. He said, "I'm not going to push our country into the arms of Fidel Castro." And he's been very good, and I salute him. And when I go to try to help the impoverished people of Jamaica, we have very little flexibility.

And so, I don't want to suggest cutting to good friends, but I have asked that we be accorded more flexibility, perhaps a fund that's known as a discretionary fund, for the President to be able to prioritize the interests of this country and go forward with them.

So, Bob Dole raised the question, and I saluted him for raising the question. And we will continue to work with the Congress. I think there may be some sentiment for it, but I don't think you'll see it in slashes in the budget to accomplish that end because there's some strong reasons of friendship for that and there's some powerful political forces that would argue against that.

Well, listen, thank you all very, very much. A pleasure to be with you.

Note: *The President spoke at 3:34 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.*

Remarks Upon Receiving Shamrocks from Deputy Prime Minister Brian Lehihan of Ireland for St. Patrick's Day

March 16, 1990

The Deputy Prime Minister. Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure on behalf of my country, Ireland, to be present here today at the White
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VOICES OF AMERICA

The Nation's Story in Slogans, Sayings, and Songs

Thomas A. Bailey

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF
STEPHEN M. DOBBS

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Collier Macmillan Publishers
LONDON

that arose, and Congress was forced to act, especially after Mussolini unleashed his barefaced aggression upon primitive Ethiopia in 1935. A series of "storm cellar" Neutrality Acts passed by Congress in the 1930s—all designed to legislate the nation out of future war—placed severe restrictions on the sale or export of munitions. In this way the country attempted to legislate itself out of overseas conflicts.

Japanese militarists meanwhile had got completely out of hand when, in July 1937, they opened up a full-fledged war on China. They were still striving for "The New Order in East Asia," which involved the concept that if all the nations concerned cooperated with Nippon in developing the resources of this region, all parties would benefit. The additional Japanese cry of "Asia for the Asians" bore a resemblance to the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, with its emphasis on "America for the Americans."

Roosevelt was gravely concerned by Japan's aggressions and also by the intervention of Hitler and Mussolini in Spain's Civil War (1936–1939). In October 1937 he journeyed to Chicago, the so-called "isolationist capital of America," to deliver a sensational speech. Declaring that "war is a contagion," he pointed out that "international lawlessness" and "international anarchy" were abroad in the world. Just as a community must "quarantine" the afflicted when a contagious disease erupts, so must America find "positive endeavors to preserve peace." Such tough talk suggested an economic boycott of the aggressors, and indeed a slogan developed, "Boycott Japan—Stop Aggression." But the general reaction to the Chicago speech in isolationist America was so disapproving that Roosevelt dropped his talk of "positive endeavors."

THE END OF APPEASEMENT

Hitler had meanwhile aroused new anxieties in what came to be called "a war of nerves." After occupying the demilitarized Rhineland with his troops in 1936, he annexed by a show of force an independent but German-speaking Austria in 1938. He then opened a vehement campaign for the annexation of the Sudetenland, that is, the German-inhabited portions of neighboring Czechoslovakia. Threatening war if he did not get his way, Hitler forced a conference of the interested powers at Munich. "My patience is exhausted," he warned.

After tense hours, while Europe teetered on the brink of war, an unprepared Great Britain and France knuckled under and agreed to a lopsided compromise. Hitler carved out the portions of Czechoslovakia he demanded, while agreeing to a four-power guarantee of the remaining borders of that betrayed and mutilated little country. He declared flatly in a Berlin speech, "The Sudetenland is the last territorial claim I have to make in Europe." Less than six months later he broke his pledge and took over the remainder of Czechoslovakia, which was indisputably non-German.

After the historic sellout at Munich, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain returned to London carrying an umbrella and optimistically announcing that he had achieved "peace for our time." General rejoicing swept Britain and France, as well as other nervous nations, over having averted a ruinous war. But events were soon to show that the two democracies had only appeased the voracious appetite of an irresponsible Hitler. "Munich" became a dirty one-word slogan, virtually synonymous with Chamberlain's "umbrella appeasement" or "surrender on the installment plan."

"Appeasement" itself was the term increasingly applied to the practice of progressively throwing the weakest occupant of the sleigh to the pursuing wolves in the hope that their hunger would be appeased and they would end the pursuit. Hitler's appetite, as events proved, was insatiable, and the word "appeasement" unfortunately came to mean any mutual adjustment, reasonable or unreasonable, with a rapacious foe. Ever since that day various drafts of desirable compromises have gone into the wastebasket lest a popular outcry against "appeasement" and "Munich" be raised by the voters at home. People often overreact to the lessons of history, rather than learning from them.

Still unappeased, Hitler began to beat the drums for the free city of Danzig and the Polish corridor, both of which had lain within German borders until 1919. The British and the French were eager to make some kind of defensive alliance with Communist Russia that would restrain Hitler. "Why die for Danzig?" was a watchword heard in the Western democracies as the passion for appeasement continued. But Stalin neatly turned the tables on the crestfallen French and British by negotiating a pact with Hitler behind their backs. Under its terms, the two dictators would divide Poland between them, as they soon did. Given this green light, the German hosts burst into Poland from the west on September 1, 1939, and Stalin came in from the rear for a conspirator's share of the loot. Britain and France reluctantly declared war on Germany after the invasion of Poland, thus honoring their public pledges of support.

In 1914, when the guns of August began to boom, Wilson had asked his fellow citizens to be neutral even in thought. In 1939 Franklin Roosevelt must have been aware of the futility of such counsel when he declared at the outset of World War II, "This nation must remain a neutral nation, but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well."

American sympathies were overwhelmingly on the side of the Western democracies, although few citizens at this stage wanted their nation to join in the fray. Feeling secure behind their ocean moat, many people could endorse the slogan "Isn't It Great to Be an American?" while the American Legion embraced the motto "Keep Out—Keep Ready." Other citizens, particularly as the war waxed hotter, reversed a slogan of World War I when they declared, "The Yanks are not coming."

Urgently needed was a revamping of the neutrality legislation of the

1930s, which placed rigid restrictions on the shipment of arms to the embattled democracies of Western Europe. The new and hotly debated Neutrality Act of 1939, among other provisions, permitted the democracies to purchase arms on the basis of "cash and carry" or "cash on the barrelhead." American ships were forbidden to enter the danger zones, with the result that purchasers would have to transport munitions in their own ships. In this way, the United States could presumably keep out of the fighting by pursuing "storm-cellar neutrality."

Hitler's mechanized might flattened Poland in an amazing three weeks of horror. Then came a lull from September to the following spring, as Hitler shifted his fearsome striking force to the western front. This was the quiet period that bored journalists referred to as "the phony war." The tedium was somewhat relieved by Stalin's assault on tiny Finland to secure more territory with which to defend himself against his two-faced accomplice Hitler. "Brave little Finland," as it was known in America, put up an astonishing fight against powerful Russia, but in the end was flattened. Americans cheered the white-clad Finns and granted them some financial concessions, but would not involve the United States against the aggressor by sending badly needed arms. If the Western democracies, which had sent "too little too late," had gone to war with Russia over Finland, the course of the global conflict would certainly have been vastly different.

BRITAIN'S FINEST HOUR

Witticisms about the "phony war" soured overnight in the spring of 1940 when Hitler struck furiously at Norway and Denmark. He next turned against Holland, Belgium, and France, where he outflanked the supposedly impregnable steel-and-concrete defenses of the Maginot Line, routed the French Army, and narrowly missed trapping the remaining British expeditionary force. Some 300,000 Allied soldiers, mostly British, were extricated by boat and ship in the perilous "miracle of Dunkirk." Winston S. Churchill, recently made Prime Minister, rallied the British people in a series of defiant speeches, notably with the Churchillism that resolutely promised, "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat." With indomitable spirit, "the British race," so called by their leader, defiantly sang "There'll Always Be an England."

As the German hordes were about to enter Paris, Mussolini deemed it safe to declare war on France and come in for the jackal's share of the loot. Aroused by this cowardly thrust from the rear, President Roosevelt, in a speech at the University of Virginia, undiplomatically vented his wrath by saying, "The hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor." F.D.R.'s barb was hardly neutral, but it touched a responsive chord in America.

Britain's plight grew more desperate, especially after Hitler launched his devastating aerial "blitz" against the island's poorly defended cities.

Japanese. Secrecy, combined with Stalin's failure to permit free elections in the Soviet satellite countries, caused countless Americans to regard the series of compromises with Stalin as a complete sellout. Yalta was widely condemned as "a second Munich," and the two words "Yalta" and "Munich" often were used thereafter as Siamese twins to thwart mutual concessions that even suggested "appeasement." American politicians were naturally eager to avoid the accusation of being "soft on communism."

ATOMIC DIPLOMACY AND THE COLD WAR

When the guns finally grew cold in 1945, a large reservoir of good will for the Soviet Union remained in the United States. Even though a distrustful ally, it had helped save American skins while saving its own. But it soon became obvious that the wartime alliance was merely a marriage of convenience, and that the interrupted ideological clash between the free world and the Communist world would be renewed. As America disarmed, the Soviets not only remained armed but cried "atomic blackmail" and "capitalistic encirclement" while they encircled their satellite neighbors and openly flouted their assurances at Yalta of free elections.

"Rattling the atomic bomb" was a repeated accusation of Communist spokesmen against Uncle Sam, and indeed the fearsome weapon proved to be an overshadowing apple of discord. In 1946 the United States offered to establish international control of atomic energy, but the Russians found the American terms, especially regarding inspection of Soviet sites, unacceptable. Bernard Baruch, speaking before representatives of the United Nations in June 1946, solemnly announced that they had come "to make a choice between the quick and the dead." If they failed, "then we have damned every man to be the slave of fear."

Few prophecies have ever proved more correct. Russia got the atomic bomb in 1949, the hydrogen bomb in 1953. From then on membership in the exclusive "nuclear club" gradually expanded, despite outcries, especially in England, of "Ban the Bomb" and "Better Red than Dead."

At Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946, ex-Prime Minister Churchill delivered a globe-shaking speech. Long a foe of communism, he solemnly declared, "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent." To stem the westward thrust of Russian communism, he boldly proposed "a fraternal association of English-speaking peoples." The reaction from those "One Worlders" who still hoped for postwar cooperation with the Russians was unfavorable, but the phrase "iron curtain" stuck. In New York pickets chanted, "Don't be a ninny for imperialist Winnie!" and also

> Winnie, Winnie, go away,
> UNO [UN] is here to stay.

Churchill's "iron curtain" speech was another giant step into the chilly

waters of the "cold war"—a phrase used to describe the intense ideological warfare of the 1940s and later. The term generally referred to the diplomatic deadlocks and military confrontations short of direct bloodshed that developed between the Communist world and the capitalistic world during these postwar decades.

Tired of "babying the Soviets" and alarmed by their gains, Truman put his foot down and adopted a "Get tough with Russia" policy in 1947. Fearing that Greece and Turkey would fall to Communist infiltration, he urged Congress to appropriate $400 million to save them and to "contain" the Communists. At the same time he expressed the determination of the United States—a fateful avowal—to help "free peoples" resist "attempted subjugation" anywhere in the world. This so-called Truman Doctrine was evidently the first public avowal by a President of the "world policeman" ideal.

Appropriations for Greece and Turkey under the Truman Doctrine were small change indeed when compared with future outlays for foreign aid. Secretary of State George C. Marshall, speaking at the Harvard commencement exercises in 1947, indicated that the United States would extend "substantial additional help" to those hungry nations of Europe that were willing to cooperate with America in pulling themselves out of the postwar chaos. Basic to the scheme was the idea that a revived Europe, capable of feeding itself, would be less likely to spawn "stomach Communists."

Most of the needy nations of Western Europe responded affirmatively to America's offer of a helping hand. Those of Central Europe, under the boot of Moscow, could not do so if they wanted to. Soviet propagandists assailed this "imperialist plot" by the "Knights of the Dollar" for the enslavement of Europe, while Communist satellite countries demanded, "Yankee go home!" Even in the United States, especially among isolationists and leftists, voices rose to condemn the "Martial Plan," "Operation Rathole," and the "Share-the-American-Wealth Plan." The initial appropriation was languishing in Congress when a Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, obviously Soviet-inspired, destroyed this showpiece of democracy. An alarmed Congress struck back by passing the first Marshall aid grant of $5.3 billion in April 1948.

Response and counterresponse were the recurrent patterns of the cold war. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan came as reactions to the obvious efforts of the Soviets, by political or military means, to take over much of Europe. Then came the Kremlin's turn. In July 1948, just before the Republicans renominated Dewey for President, the Soviets cut off all land-and-water traffic between Western Germany and the city of Berlin, marooned deep in Communist-held territory. President Truman responded by inaugurating a gigantic airlift of food, coal, and other supplies. This "Operation Vittles" saved the city from Communist clutches, despite a number of near clashes with the Russians, and the next year the Kremlin lifted the blockade.

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QUOTATIONS IN HISTORY

A Dictionary of Historical Quotations c. 800 A.D. to the Present

Alan and Veronica
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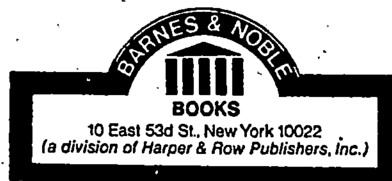

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Tomaš MASARYK (1850–1937): first President of Czechoslovakia

1098 Our whole history inclines us towards the democratic Powers. Our renaissance is a logical link between us and the democracies of the West.

(Inaugural presidential message, 23 December 1918)

1099 Perhaps, in half a century, our times will appear to people living then in such a haze of splendour that they will almost envy us.

(In conversation with the Czech dramatist and author, Karel Capek, 1936)

MATHIAS I Corvinus (1440–90): King of Hungary

1100 For centuries we have been famed for our skill in horsemanship, so that the Magyar has no need to have his horses dance with crossed legs, Spanish fashion.

(To his father-in-law, the King of Naples, who had sent him a Spanish riding-master: no date, but after 1476)

1101 *Bella gerant fortes; tu, felix Austria, nube* [Let the strong wage war; you marry, lucky Austria].

(*Attributed)

J. Frederick Denison MAURICE (1805–72): English Christian socialist

1102 We will help you in fighting against the greatest enemy you have, your own self-will and selfishness . . . That is what is meant by Christian Socialism.

(*Tracts on Christian Socialism*, 1850)

MAXIMILIAN I (1459–1519): Holy Roman Emperor

1103 Since Christendom comprehends only a small part of the globe, should not everyone who believes in a God be saved by his own religion?

(To Abbot Tritemius, 1508)

1104 No marriage seems to us higher, greater, or richer than with the Kings of Hungary and Denmark, to whom they are united . . . four or five great kingdoms to which King Louis of Bohemia [and Hungary] is rightful heir . . . similarly there are three fine old kingdoms, over which the King of Denmark is Lord, although their subjects are all rough and uncouth.

(Letter to his daughter Margaret, asserting that his daughters Mary and Isabelle were well married, 1 January 1516)

1105 My child, you are about to cheat the French and I the English, or at least I shall do my best.

(To his grandson Charles, later Emperor Charles V, after Treaty of Noyon, spring 1517)

1106 The king of France is called the most Christian King, but this does him injustice, for he never did a Christian thing. I am called the most Invincible King, but I have often been overcome. The Pope is called his Holiness but he is the biggest scoundrel on earth. You are called the richest king, and this is true.

(To Henry VIII of England: attributed by Martin Luther, in his tabletalk, April–June 1542)

Jules, Cardinal MAZARIN (1602–61): Italian-born statesman, chief minister to King Louis XIV in his minority

1107 The French are nice people. I allow them to sing and to write, and they allow me to do whatever I like.

(*Attributed, by Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orléans, in letter of 25 October 1715)

1108 [In France] a woman will not go to sleep until she has talked over affairs of state with her lover or her husband.

(*Attributed remark, *c.* 1650?)

1109 I owe you everything, Sire, but I believe I can pay some of my debt with this gift—Colbert.

(To Louis XIV, just before Mazarin's death, 1661)

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for all acts were indifferent in value except in their utility to the agent. This stress on rational control as a key to freedom of action is a Socratic legacy which dominated philosophies of conduct in a troubled age. The Cyrenaic interpretation should be contrasted with the abstinence advocated by contemporary Cynicism. Aristippus had said (presumably against Antisthenes) that "the man who controls pleasure is not he who stays away from it, but he who uses it without being carried away by it; just as the master of a ship or horse is not one who does not use them, but he who guides them wherever he wishes."

Nevertheless, the stimulus of pleasure as a physical sensation was external and not completely under human control, and a pessimistic side of the school was revealed by Hegesias, who had a poor opinion of the world ("We must not hate men," he said, "but teach them better"). Pains outnumbered pleasures in our lives, and so he conceded that happiness was in practice unattainable. Also by stressing the indifference of poverty, wealth, slavery, freedom, and the rest, rather than their capacity of producing pain or pleasure, he saw the philosopher's art as the avoidance of evils rather than the choice of goods. His difference from Aristippus is best illustrated by his lectures on suicide and the indifference of life and death, which were so effective that they had to be banned by Ptolemy I (Soter).

Annikeris, on the other hand, allowed the philosopher happiness even with few pleasures accruing to him, repeating that the end was the enjoyment of each single pleasure as it came, not the accumulation of pleasures. He also reacted against the iron rule of self-interest imposed by his predecessors by admitting altruistic acts of friendship, gratitude, respect for parents, and patriotism, for the sake of which the philosopher might even endure deprivation of pleasure.

Theodorus finally redefined the end of action not as the physical sensation of pleasure but as the mental emotion of joy brought about by practical intelligence (as grief was the product of folly), thereby guaranteeing self-sufficiency by putting the end under the agent's control. He displayed a marked Cynic contempt for all conventional rules and values, holding absolutely to the simple criterion of utility to the doer. Thereafter the school appears to have disintegrated before the advance of the more successful hedonistic philosophy of Epicurus.

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I. G. KIDD

CZECHOSLOVAK PHILOSOPHY. The tempestuous political history of the territory of contemporary Czechoslovakia—Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia—is reflected in the irregularity and lack of continuity in its philosophical development.

Aristotle was discussed and lectures on logic were delivered by Master Bohumil in 1271, even before the founding of King Charles University of Prague in 1348 (the first institution of its kind north of the Alps and west of the Rhine). At the end of the fourteenth century the moral and religious treatises of Thomas of Štítné (c. 1333–1401) were written in the vernacular instead of in Latin. About the same time the influence of the ideas of John Wyclyf on Czech students at Oxford played an important role in the birth of the Czech Reformation movement. The significance of Wyclyf's disciple Jan Hus (c. 1369–1415), the rector of the University of Prague, lay less in his originality than in the courage with which he challenged the authority of the medieval church. His refusal to recant at the Council of Constance in 1415 was aptly characterized as "the declaration of the rights of individual conscience" (Ernest Denis, *Huss et la guerre hussite*, Paris, 1930, p. 176). The principle of free inquiry was thus implicitly formulated, but since it was applied only to the interpretation of the Scriptures, its philosophical significance was not grasped.

More genuine philosophical activity was aroused in the next century by the combined impact of humanism and the Reformation. A number of philosophical books, classical as well as modern, were translated into the native tongue. Erasmus' *Encomium Moriae* was translated in 1511, only two years after its original publication. The first book on logic by a Czech author, Petrus Codicillus' *Praecepta Dialectices* (1590), reflected the influence of Ramus and Melanchthon. About the same time Giordano Bruno found a temporary refuge at Prague, where he dedicated his *Articuli Centum et Sexaginta Adversus Huius Tempestatis Mathematicos et Philosophos* to Rudolf II, Holy Roman emperor and king of Bohemia, whose capital was at Prague. The liveliness of Prague as an intellectual center at that time is also shown by Kepler's and Tycho Brahe's sojourns there. When Brahe was buried in Prague in 1601, the funeral sermon (later published by Gassendi in his *Tychonis Brahei Vita* in 1654) was given by Jan Jesenský (Jessenius), a professor of Slovak origin who was later rector of the University of Prague. Before editing Savonarola's *Universae Philosophiae Epitome* (1596), Jessenius wrote *Zoroaster, Nova Brevis, Veraque de Universo Philosophia*, which contained a mixture of Neoplatonic ideas, astral hylozoism, and ideas derived from Patrizzi and Copernicus.

The development of philosophy was interrupted by the success of the Counter Reformation; Jessenius himself was one of its first victims in 1621. He was the second rector of the University of Prague to die for his convictions.

Jessenius' death symbolized the intellectual death of the whole nation for 150 years. Philosophical interest survived only among Protestant refugees abroad and in some Lutheran colleges in eastern Slovakia, which remained (temporarily, at least) under the rule of the Calvinist princes of Transylvania. It was in Slovakia that a discussion took place in 1667 between Isac Zaban, professor at Prešov, who defended a qualitative atomism (*Existentia Atomorum*), and his opponent Elias Ladiver (*De Atomis, Contra Zabanium*).

Among refugees the most famous was Jan A. Komenský, or Comenius (1592–1670), whose great significance as a pioneer of modern methods in education is generally known. However, his philosophical insight was severely limited by his Protestant orthodoxy, and he opposed both

Descartes and Copernicus in his *Refutatio Philosophiae Cartesianae et Astronomiae Copernicanae* (1656; the manuscript was not preserved). Faint anticipations of the kinetic view of matter in his *Disquisitiones de Calore et Frigore* (1659) were due to the influence of Francis Bacon.

The restoration of religious freedom and the abolition of serfdom in 1781 created the conditions for the revival of philosophical interest and intellectual life in general. The deistic philosophy of the Enlightenment inspired the philologians and historians who resurrected the native tradition and language. In philosophy the creation of suitable terminology was the first task. The Hegelian Augustin Smetana (1814–1851), an excommunicated priest, still wrote in German, but the historian František Palacký (1798–1876) wrote a book and several articles on aesthetics in Czech. Ludovít Štúr (1815–1856) used Hegel's doctrine of national spirit to justify the distinctness of the Slovak language from Czech. The influence of Hegel was superseded by that of Herbart, whose ideas dominated the University of Prague until the death of Professor Josef Durdík (1837–1902). Durdík's Herbartism did not prevent him from having a lively interest in English thought and the science of his time, as is clear from his two German works, *Leibniz und Newton* (Halle, 1869) and the posthumously published *Kant und Darwin* (1906). Nearly all his other books, most of them on aesthetics and the history of philosophy, are in Czech.

After 1900, and especially after the attainment of Czech political independence in 1918, the liveliness of discussion and the diversity of points of view in Czechoslovak philosophy reached their height. The most important representative of positivism was František Krejčí (1858–1934), who defended the double-aspect theory of Wundt and Spencer, notably in his six-volume *Psychologie* (Prague, 1897–1926). Thomas Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937) was also greatly influenced by the positivists and by David Hume; however, partly under the influence of Brentano's theism, he reacted critically against positivism (see especially his *Modern Man and Religion*, London, 1938). This philosophical attitude is present in all his works, whether they deal with methodology, social philosophy, or philosophy of history; most of them also appeared in other languages, especially English and German. More opposed to positivism under the combined influence of Masaryk and Hans Driesch was Emmanuel Rádl (1873–1942). Of his numerous writings only *Geschichte der biologischen Theorien* (Leipzig, 1905; Czech edition, Prague, 1909) and *Neue Lehre vom zentral Nervensystem* (Leipzig, 1912) are accessible to the foreign reader. Ferdinand Pelikán (born in 1885) was influenced by Fichte and the contingentism of Boutroux in his *Entstehung und Entwickelung des Kontingentismus* (Berlin, 1915). It is regrettable that the excellent studies of the philosopher and mathematician Karel Vorovka (1879–1929)—*Úvahy o nazory v matematice* ("Reflections on Intuition in Mathematics"; Prague, 1917), *Kantova filosofie ve svých vztazích k vědam exaktním* ("Kant's Philosophy in Its Relations to the Exact Sciences"; Prague, 1924), and *Americká filosofie* ("American Philosophy"; Prague, 1929)—are inaccessible to the majority of foreign readers.

The promising development of Czechoslovak philosophy was interrupted by the Nazi occupation from 1939 to 1945 and again by communist rule in 1948. Since 1948 Marxism–Leninism has been the official philosophy; no other views are tolerated even now, although the polemic against them has lost some of its original violence.

(See Czechoslovak Philosophy in Index for articles on Czechoslovak philosophers and other figures important to Czechoslovak philosophy.)

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MILIČ ČAPEK

CZOLBE, HEINRICH (1819–1873), German naturalist philosopher, was born near Danzig and died in Königsberg, where from 1860 to 1868 he had been a high-ranking army doctor. Czolbe's philosophy was a positivistic naturalism that developed from an early, materialist view to a later, Spinozist view.

Czolbe's thought, which is not free from paradoxes and is somewhat overburdened with hypotheses, was developed under two influences. On one hand, he was deeply impressed by Friedrich Hölderlin's elegiac novel *Hyperion*, with its striving for a pantheistic synthesis of nature and mind. On the other, he was stimulated by Rudolf Hermann Lotze's critique of the concept of a "vital force," and by the works of Ludwig Feuerbach, D. F. Strauss, and Friedrich Ueberweg.

Czolbe held, with Feuerbach, that philosophical thought should "be satisfied with the world as-given"—that is, that it should not assume any supersensible forces or essences and that, in explaining phenomena, it should use only concepts grounded in experience and intuition. This strict rejection of any mystical metaphysics was based less on epistemology than on ethics, for Czolbe regarded it as man's moral obligation to acquiesce in the natural order of the world. His optimistic belief in the superiority of the given world order was also the root of his moral philosophy. He adhered to a form of eudaemonism, holding that the ultimate meaning of existence lies in the greatest possible harmonious, spiritual, and material happiness of all feeling creatures.

Czolbe's world view, which he improved and reconstructed unremittingly, exhibits traits of naive realism and uncritical materialism. Nothing exists except material events; sensory qualities are properties of things and rest, as does consciousness, on the motion of atoms. Czolbe later despaired of explaining psychical processes (which for him consisted solely of sensations and feelings) and organic events in a purely mechanistic and physicalism

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ested in the philosophy of language, particularly in connection with his interpretation of Plato and Aristotle. For him philosophy has practical implications as a means to eudaemonia. Károly Kerényi, born in 1897, is a classical scholar and student of Greek philosophy who also works in Switzerland. Sándor Varga von Kibed, born in 1902, moved from the ideas of Kant toward those of Bruno Bauch and Heinrich Rickert; he is a professor at Munich. Baron Béla von Brandenstein, born in 1901, is a professor at Saarbrücken, Germany, where his *Der Aufbau der Seins* ("The Structure of Being") was published in 1950 and his *Platon* in 1951.

György (Georg) Lukács, born in 1885, is the most original and influential of contemporary Marxist philosophers. Although he returned to Hungary after World War II, he could not single-handedly replace the activity of those who had left, and his own activities were handicapped by a struggle with the bureaucracy. The Hungarian Philosophical Society, founded in 1901, was dissolved in 1948, along with the societies for psychology and the social sciences. The two philosophical reviews *Atheneum* and *Pantheon* also ceased publication. In 1952, 2 out of 21 publications in philosophy were by Hungarians and 12 were by Russians. In 1957 an Institute of Philosophy was established, followed by the publication of the *Hungarian Review of Philosophy*. Of 41 philosophical works discussed in the *Review* between 1958 and 1960, 20 were by Russians and only 4 were by Hungarian authors. However, in 1957 the Hungarian Academy published Laszlo Erdei's dissertation *A Megismerés Kezdete* ("Foundations of Knowledge"), which was a philosophical study of Hegel and not a Marxist textbook. Lukács was one of two examiners. Nevertheless, a century-long effort to create an environment in Hungary for what is generally understood to be the philosophical life has been largely aborted.

(See Hungarian Philosophy in Index for articles on Hungarian philosophers.)

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JULIUS KOVESI

HUS, JOHN (c. 1369–1415), Czech church reformer and national hero. Born at Husinec in southern Bohemia, he made his way through the University of Prague, receiving his A.B. in 1393, his M.A. in 1396, and his B.D. in 1404. Some of the logical works of John Wyclyf were known in Prague in the early 1390s, and there is still extant a copy of a half dozen of Wyclyf's philosophical works in Hus's hand, made in 1398. Wyclyf's realism (*universalia ante rem*) found a warm welcome among Czech professors and students, not least because the German community at the university was strongly Ockhamist and Wyclyf's vigorous defense of universals (prior to individuals) fortified the Czechs' position. He was deeply influenced by the Augustinianism of the Victorine school of the twelfth century.

Hus became well known and popular, partly for his teaching and partly for his preaching in the vernacular. In 1402 Hus was named stated preacher in the Bethlehem Chapel, and his sermons in Czech were well attended by Czechs of all classes. In October 1401 Hus was elected dean of the arts faculty and in 1403 rector of the university (though there is some uncertainty as to this first rectorate). By this time disputes over Wyclyf's teachings had become acrimonious, and Hus with some of his friends undertook to defend Wyclyf from charges of heresy against a party largely of German professors, who demanded strict condemnation of Wyclyf's teachings. Hus continued his preaching and writing in the interest of reform, but in 1408 the Prague conservative hierarchy (mainly German) lodged specific charges of heresy against him. Soon thereafter the struggle for predominance in the university broke out between Czech and German. The Germans had three votes, the Czechs only one. Hus led the fight for a reversal of the proportion, and King Wenceslaus decided in the Kutná Hora decree of 1409 that the Czech professors and students should have three votes and all others combined, one vote. The Germans left in a body to form the University of Leipzig. Hus, as leader of the national Czech party, was elected rector of the university.

Opposition to Hus on the part of the conservative Czech clergy remained, and the serious charges of 1408 were renewed in 1409 and 1410. He disobeyed a summons to Rome and was excommunicated in 1411. Hus had formed his opinions clearly by then and was prepared to defend them under any conditions. He believed firmly in predestination and the unity of the church under the headship of Christ. He was deeply influenced by the teaching of Wyclyf but in one important matter he categorically disagreed. He rejected Wyclyf's teaching on the Eucharist, accepting completely the church's doctrine of transubstantiation. Realist philosophy was important in the formulation of his theological positions, and his competence in Scholastic exposition is evident in all his writings. From the excommunication of 1411 to his death four years later it was clear

that his position and that of the established hierarchy were irreconcilable. In 1412 King Wenceslaus reluctantly had to withdraw his protection, and Hus went into exile to relieve the city of Prague from the interdict. It was during his exile that he finished his most important work, the *De Ecclesia,* very similar to a book under the same title by Wyclyf. He argued against the authority of the pope and the cardinalate over the church and their control of the means of salvation, basing his conclusions on the doctrine of predestination. "The church is the body of the predestinate." Inasmuch as only God knows who is predestinate, the pope's function and power are readily dispensable. The hierarchy could not tolerate so basic an attack on its existence. Hus appealed to the general council called for November 1414 at Constance and, receiving a safe-conduct from Emperor Sigismund, arrived in Constance on November 3. However, the safe-conduct was soon disregarded; Hus was imprisoned and interrogated at length. He asked simply to be shown from Scriptures or the Fathers where he was in error. The council demanded that he make a blanket recantation. No compromise was possible. Hus's concept of the church as the body of the predestinate, regardless of the decision of the pope and the hierarchy, was declared pure heresy. He was "relaxed to the secular arm" on July 6, 1415, and burned at the stake that morning. His martyrdom set off the Hussite Wars (1419–1434), which in turn isolated Bohemia from the rest of Europe for several generations. Hussitism, as it developed, took forms which Hus might not have approved.

Hus may not have been one of the leading minds of his century. On the other hand his commentary on the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard, composed in 1407–1409, is a very impressive work and shows complete familiarity with the dominant currents of philosophical thought in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and an easy ability in the handling of contradictory arguments. His realism is confident and precise.

Works by Hus

The early edition of his collected works (1558; reprinted in 1715) is still indispensable. Some of his works have been published in modern critical editions: *Opera,* V. Flajšhans, ed. (Prague, 1903–1912), and *De Ecclesia,* S. H. Thomson, ed. (Boulder, Col., 1956). Also indispensable is *Documenta . . . Mag. Joannis Hus,* Francis Palacký, ed. (1869) containing his correspondence and salient documents of his career.

Works on Hus

There are several useful biographies in English: D. S. Schaff, *John Huss* (New York, 1915); Francis Lützow, *Life and Times of Master John Hus* (London, 1909). Johann Loserth, *Hus and Wiclif* (London, 1882), is bitterly anti-Hus, arguing that Hus borrowed all his ideas from Wyclyf. The classic study in Czech is by V. Novotný and V. Kybal, *M. J. Hus, Život a Učení,* 5 vols. (Prague, 1919–1931). See also two recent and important studies by P. de Vooght, *L'Hérésie de Jean Huss* (Louvain, 1960) and *Hussiana* (Louvain, 1960).

S. HARRISON THOMSON

HU SHIH (1891–1962), Chinese pragmatist, was educated in China, at Cornell University, and at Columbia University under Dewey. He was successively professor, chancellor of Peking National University, ambassador to the United States, and president of Academia Sinica in Taipei, Taiwan.

In 1916 he inaugurated the Literary Revolution in China by advocating the use of the vernacular style for writing instead of the formal, classical style, which, radically different from the spoken language, had become rigid and decadent. He succeeded in spite of strong opposition and thus set Chinese literature free. Since freedom of expression means also freedom of thought, the new literature led to the Intellectual Renaissance in China in 1917.

Hu did not claim to be a philosopher, but his own credo represented a new philosophy in China at the time. According to Hu Shih the universe, infinite in space and time, was not supernaturally created but is naturalistic and is governed by natural laws. All things, including psychological phenomena, have a scientific basis and can therefore be scientifically understood. Immortality is not personal but the sum total of individual achievement living on in the Larger Self. Truth must be historically and scientifically tested and is best expressed in democracy, freedom, progress, and social action.

His contributions to Chinese philosophy are important. As the leading disciple of Dewey in China, in 1919 he introduced pragmatism, which exerted tremendous influence and became the first concerted philosophical movement in twentieth-century China. Although the philosophy declined in influence in the later 1920s, its spirit of practical application, emphasis on problems instead of theories, the insistence on results, the critical approach, and the scientific method had become the generally accepted outlook in China.

In his writings on Chinese philosophy Hu Shih was the first to give it a clear outline, free from religious beliefs and legendary philosophy. He provided it with a historical and social environment. Lao Tzu, for example, was presented as a rebel against oppressive government and hypocritical society. Hu Shih discovered the methodology in Chinese philosophy, notably the "rectification of names" in Confucianism, the "three standards" or "laws of reasoning" in Moism, and the method of "names and actuality" in other philosophers. He removed the mysticism of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, whom he regarded as realists, championing the cause of complete individual freedom. While these views are extreme, he created an entirely new atmosphere in Chinese philosophy.

Bibliography

Hu Shih wrote two books in English, *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China* (Shanghai, 1922) and *The Chinese Renaissance* (Chicago, 1934). *Hu Shih Wen-ts'un,* 4 vols. (Taipei, Taiwan, 1953), is a collection of his works in Chinese. For a complete listing of his works in both Chinese and English, see *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica,* Vol. 28 (Taipei, Taiwan, 1957), 889–914, which includes 83 items in English.

For literature on Hu Shih, see Wing-tsit Chan, "Hu Shih and Chinese Philosophy," in *Philosophy East and West,* Vol. 6, No. 1 (April 1956), 3–12.

WING-TSIT CHAN

HUSSERL, EDMUND (1859–1938), German philosopher and the central figure in the phenomenological movement, began his career in mathematics, receiving his Ph.D. in 1881. After a brief assistantship to the noted mathematician Karl Theodor Weierstrass, he moved to

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KABBALAH. See CABALA.

KAFKA, FRANZ (1883–1924), German author, was the son of a Jewish businessman who had been a peddler in southern Bohemia. The family was German-speaking. Kafka studied law at the German University of Prague and at Munich and became an official of a workers' accident insurance company. He began writing in 1907 but by his own choice published little. About that time he contracted tuberculosis and for some years lived in various sanatoriums. His two engagements ended unhappily. In 1923 he moved to Berlin, where, living with a girl who was in charge of a Jewish orphanage, he achieved what happiness he was to know. He died of a tubercular infection of the larynx in a nursing home at Kierling, near Vienna.

The central experience of Kafka's life, it seems, was a manifold alienation—as a speaker of German in a Czech city, as a Jew among German and Czech Gentiles in a period of ardent nationalism, as a man full of doubts and an unquenched thirst for faith among conventional "liberal" Jews, as a born writer among people with business interests, as a sick man among the healthy, and as a timid and neurasthenic lover in exacting erotic relationships.

Kafka's narrative art is at once immensely original, prophetic, and fragmentary—hence the large number of mutually exclusive interpretations it has received. Several elements of his prose were the stock in trade of the minor literature of his day. His language is unemphatic and prosy and occasionally contains Prague-German provincialisms; some of the subjects of his stories belong to the horror literature of the turn of the century; he shared the modern interest in psychological motivation; and he often used the smaller prose genres cultivated by his contemporaries in Prague and Vienna. But the use Kafka made of these elements is startlingly original, and the compelling gnostic vision of the world which is fashioned from them has become one of the major literary and intellectual influences of our age. In Kafka's work the existentialists' conceptions of absurdity and dread are fully explored. Unlike the later existentialists, he did not derive a positive value from these modes of experience; the value of his writings lies in the intense lucidity of the exploration.

It is obvious from the very titles of many of Kafka's stories—*The Trial*, "The Judgment," "Before the Law," "The Penal Settlement"—that his work is informed by a strong legalistic strain, possibly derived from his Jewish heritage but then secularized. In the famous "Letter to His Father" (1919) he recounted a certain childhood episode which violated his sense of justice. Characteristically, its terror for him lay in his inability to connect the trivial "crime" with the monstrous punishment he received.

The novel *The Trial*, begun in 1914 and published by Kafka's friend Max Brod in 1925, at once challenges and refines our conventional ways of connecting causes and effects through the story of a young man, Josef K, who one day wakes up in his lodgings to find himself arrested without knowing what wrong he has done. He makes various attempts to justify himself against the enigmatic accusation and to influence a number of people who he believes may effect his acquittal. Although offered a chance of repudiating the jurisdiction of the court that is concerned with his case, he ends up by being marched off to his execution, to die "like a dog." The question What has Josef K done? receives a number of detailed answers, the total effect of which is to undermine the reader's notion of guilt. Josef K has lived the unremarkable life of an average young man, a bank clerk. Since in his "ordinary" life he always based his relations with other people on asserting what he believed were his "rights" in this or that situation, it is consistent with his character that he should seek to justify himself before the Law. The only thing he knows about that Law (and the all but unattainable authority behind it) is that it is powerful, whereas he is weak. According to the "inescapable logic" of the world, he must therefore be outside the Law and thus, in some sense, guilty. With his every move the not wholly irrational sense of guilt drags more violently at his soul. At first, this sense is no more than an uneasy "They are sure to have something on me," but gradually it is magnified by all the actions, in themselves trivial, which consitute "normal" behavior in our world, coupled with Josef K's inability to live "outside the Law," which for Kafka amounted to consciousness itself. Simplifying the subtly involuted and complex texture of the novel, we may conclude that "minor guilt + situation of weakness + self-justification = major sense of guilt," which is tantamount to saying that Kafka's dialectical ingenuity is expended on making convincing the equation "[subjective] sense of guilt = [objective] guilt."

Similar dialectical devices are used in the second major work, the unfinished novel *The Castle* (1921–1922, published 1926). K, a land surveyor, has been called to a village that is governed by an authority which resides in a nearby castle. The village and its inhabitants are described only as they are related to K and to his attempts to justify his presence there. His commission, the authority on whose behalf he is to perform it, its relation to himself and to the villagers, the extent of its power, and the morality of its commands—all these are not so much vague as complexly contradictory. (Kafka was prophetically describing the anonymous, muffled workings of a totalitarian ministry as they affect the helpless victim, but since his style is that of an "objective" report, he allowed himself no expressions of pity.) Every assurance that K receives is thrown into doubt either by an oblique contradiction or by K's own unnerved (and, to the reader, unnerving) insistence on exploring its possible ambiguities. Again, the novel elaborates a vicious circle. K uses the people he meets in order to wrest from them hints or indications about his task and status but because he lacks the assurance of a clearly defined status and task, he is an outsider and thus in a position of weakness. He is therefore bound to construe all these hints as hostile and thus distrust them. K does not have enough strength to break the spell that the Castle (like the court in *The Trial*) seems to be casting over him, for he looks to it as the place which, in justifying him, will give him strength. And, to keep alive K's torments of uncertainty, the Castle need do little more than send an occasional hint of a possible way of deliverance.

Leaving aside the various Freudian, Marxist, and Christian interpretations that Kafka's work has received, its fragmentary nature points to a fundamental hiatus. His heroes' desolate quests for justice, recognition, and acceptance by the world are meaningful to us because they invoke our sense of pity and justice, whereas the matter-of-fact ways in which these quests are presented invite us to accept cruelty and injustice as though they were necessary and self-evident modes of life. Thus, the meaningfulness of the quests is impaired. Kafka's writings are indeed prophetic intimations of the logic of the concentration camps; the monstrous insinuation inherent in his prophecies is that the exterminator is not wholly in the wrong, that his hold over his victim is something more than a matter of superior might, for the victim cooperates in his own destruction.

Works by Kafka

Most of Kafka's writings were published posthumously and against his express wishes by his friend Max Brod. The complete edition is *Werke* (Frankfurt, 1952——). The "definitive" English edition, published in London, includes *The Trial*, translated by Willa Muir and Edwin Muir (1945); Kafka's *Diaries*, 2 vols., translated by J. Kresh, M. Greenberg, and H. Arendt (1948–1949); *America*, translated by Willa Muir and Edwin Muir (1949); *In the Penal Settlement: Tales and Short Prose Works*, translated by Willa Muir and Edwin Muir (1949); *The Castle*, translated by Willa Muir and Edwin Muir (1953); *Wedding Preparations in the Country and Other Posthumous Prose Writings*, translated by Ernst Kaiser and Eithne Wilkins (1954); and *Description of a Struggle and The Great Wall of China*, translated by Willa Muir and Edwin Muir and Tania Stern and James Stern (1960). See also Kafka's *Letters to Milena* (Jesenská), translated by Tania Stern and James Stern (London, 1953), and G. Janouch's *Conversations With Kafka* (New York, 1953).

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For critical works on Kafka see G. Anders, *Franz Kafka* (London, 1960); Ronald D. Gray, ed., *Franz Kafka: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1963), which has important contributions by Albert Camus and E. Heller; and Heinz Politzer, *Franz Kafka: Parable and Paradox* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1962), the most recent major addition to the critical literature.

J. P. STERN

KAIBARA EKKEN (1630–1714), or Ekiken, Japanese Confucianist influential in popularizing Confucian ethics among ordinary people. Kaibara was born in Fukuoka. The son of a physician, he became a doctor himself, then left medicine to become a Chu Hsi Neo-Confucianist. His teachers in Kyoto were Kinoshita Junan (1621–1698) and Yamazaki Ansai. At 39 Kaibara returned to Fukuoka, where he spent the rest of his life in the service of the Kuroda fief. Blessed with an extraordinary capacity for work but little originality, he wrote on many subjects. He became an important botanist with the issuing of separate books on the vegetables, the flora, and the medicinal herbs of Japan. His books on education were pioneering works in pedagogy; *Onna daigaku* ("The Great Learning for Women"), the standard book on women's ethics in the Tokugawa era, is attributed variously to him and to his well-educated wife. His books were a great success. Unlike most Confucianists, who wrote in Chinese, he wrote in Japanese; furthermore, his teaching was highly practical, applying Confucian morality to everyday life. His pedagogical ideas were not equalitarian (he assigned to women the role of mere submissiveness and obedience to their husbands), and his botanical studies were not at all scientific in the modern sense, but he played an important role in spreading education.

Kaibara's philosophical importance today rests on his *Taigiroku* ("The Great Doubt"), in which he aired his dissent with the official doctrine of the Chu Hsi school. Kaibara was also critical of the "ancient learning" school of Confucianism and its scholars Itō Jinsai and Ogyū Sorai, and of the Wang Yang-ming school, the rival of Chu Hsi. Kaibara disagreed with Chu Hsi Confucianism in his elevation of *ki*, the material force, over *ri*, the principle immanent in all things. For him *ki* is the "great limit" or the "ultimate" and is an all-pervading life-force. Kaibara does not distinguish the original form of human nature from its acquired form; contrary to Chu Hsi, he is an optimist in his view of man and of the natural world. His cosmology is characterized by cosmic love that embraces all men, born as they are of heaven and earth. Man's indebtedness to nature is limitless, and for him the Confucian virtue of *jen*, "humaneness," comes close to being a religious benevolence, first toward nature and then toward men. His practical bent, however, makes it difficult to clarify his posi-