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TELEFAX COVER SHEET

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

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

DELIVER TO: Peggy Dooley, The White House, office of Speech Writing
(FAX NUMBER):
456-6218

URGENT
Tel.: 456-7750

FROM:

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

COMMENTS

Enclosed is requested backround material on Czech and Slovaks in America, also some general information.

Number of pages (including cover sheet): 24

11. 07. 90 04:50PM *VOA EUROPEAN DIV. P18

MIROSLAV S. DOBROVODSKY

Voice of America
European Division
Chief, *Czechoslovak Service*

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

Date: November 7, 1990

Subject: Requested Background material I Czech and Slovak Federated Republik

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

Backround material and numbered attachments:

a. *Changes, general information*

Czechoslovakia is inhabited by **two nations**, over 15.5 million people (approximately 10 million Czech speakers (the Czechs and Moravians) and 5 million Slovak speakers, the Slovaks). Pop. density: 314 per sq. mile. Area: 49, 365 sq. miles. Largest cities: Prague (federal capital, capital of Bohemia, located in Czech lands: 1.1 million), Bratislava (capital of Slovakia: 450.000), Brno (capital of Moravia: 385.000)

In tvelwe months, Czechoslovakia has undergone a major political transition from a totalitarian Communist-type state to a yet slightly fragile but flourishing democracy. One-party monopoly has been abolished by changes in constitution, there is a coalition government in place headed by the first non-communist president in 41 years, Vaclav Havel. Mr. Havel also has became the first non-communist president in Eastern Europe. First free elections, open to all political parties took place in June.

Government type: democracy (since presidential elections on Dec. 29, 1990). President: Vaclav Havel, a **Czech**, non-communist. Head of government: Marian Calfa, a **Slovak**, left Communist Party in January 1990. President of Federal Parliament: Alexander Dubcek, a **Slovak**, expelled from Communist Party after Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Economy: Industries: machinery, oil products, iron and steel, glass, chemicals, motor vehicles, cement. Chief crops: wheat, sugar beets, potatoes, rye, corn, barley, Minerals: coal, mercury, iron, uranium.

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Finance: Currency: koruna (crown)

Education (1981): Literacy: 99%. Pop. 5-19: in school 60%, teachers per 1,000 : 30.

Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia were part of the Great Moravian Empire in the 9th century.Later, Slovakia was overrun by Magyars, while Bohemia and Moravia became part of the Holy Empire. Under the kings of Bohemia, Prague in the 14th century was a cultural center of Central Europe. Bohemia and Hungary (with Slovak territory in the North) became part of Austria-Hungary Empire.

In **1914-1918** T. G. Masaryk and Eduard Benes formed a provisional government with the support of Slovak leaders including the French general and astronomer Milan Rastislav Stefanik who became a minister of war.

On October 18, 1918, T. G. Masaryk issued via cable in Paris, France, the (Washington) Declaration of Czechoslovak Independence. He worked on this document in **D.C. houses: 3620 14th Street N.W. and 1145 14th N.W.** A special copy of Declaration was sent to president Woodrow Wilson.

SEE A

T. G. Masaryk and Eduard Benes founded the Republic of Czechoslovakia at the end October, 1918. The new state was based on **the Pittsburg Agreement between American Czechs and Slovaks on May 31, 1918, signed during the Masaryk's stay in the United States.**

By **1938** Nazi Germany, Britain and France signed with Hitler at Munich, September 30, 1938, an agreement to the cession of Sudetenland, demanded by German-speaking citizens in Bohemia, with a "guarantee" of peace by Hitler and Mussolini.

On March 14, **1939**, a Slovak politician and priest Jozef Tiso, upon his return from Berlin, proclaimed an independent Slovak republic. On March 15, 1939, Hitler made protectorates of Bohemia and Moravia. Nazi armies marched to Prague. Slovaks rose against Nazi-oriented regime and later fought Germans in the ill-fated Slovak National Uprising (August 1944). At the end of that year the uprising was suppressed by Germans. Special American and British intelligence contingents sent to the Central Slovakia to evaluate situation perished. Soviet troops with Czechoslovak contingents entered eastern Slovakia in 1944 and reached Prague in May 1944. American troops under General Patton liberated Western Bohemia but on the Soviet insistence stopped at Pilsen. Until November 1989 "velvet" revolution was this American contribution to the liberation of Czechoslovakia either falsified or neglected.

In **1948** Communist seized the power in Czechoslovakia in advance of scheduled elections.

In January **1968** a liberalization movement spread explosively through Czechoslovakia. Antonin Novotny, long the Stalinist boss of the nation, was deposed as party leader and succeeded by Alexander Dubcek, a Slovak, who declared he intended to make communism democratic. On August 20, 1968, Soviet-led Warsaw Pact armies invaded Czechoslovakia from all directions. Dubcek was taken to Moscow and later deposed. Censorship was tightened, persecutions of people involved in the Dubcek's Prague Spring got a green light. Twenty years of "normalisation" followed under Gustav Husak (who in 1968 was Dubcek's follower) and later under Husak and Milos Jakes.

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In 1977 the present President Havel formed with a small group of intellectuals the Charter 77 movement. In 1980s the Charter 77 gained strength and crackdowns on dissidents continued. V. Havel spent five years in jail under various sentences. Dubcek and his family were under constant surveillance by the secret police. Human and religious rights abuses led to an activisation of the church. A petition for religious freedoms signed over half a million of citizens. The petition "Few sentences" calling for respect of human rights signed many prominent citizens. In Slovakia, in March 1988, a brutal police action in Bratislava against few thousands mostly old people marching with candles for religious freedoms shocked Czechoslovakia and Europe. Demonstrations in Prague prompted a renewed crackdown by the regime.

On November 17, 1989, a peaceful, approved gathering by students in central Prague on the 50th anniversary of the Nazi action against students turned violent and started the "velvet" revolution. A week later party Boss Milos Jakes resigns. New communist government is formed with participation of non-communists. It survives only few days. Another government is formed with limited communist presence. Federal parliament eliminates article 4 from the Constitution about Communist party monopoly in political, cultural and social life of country. President Gustav Husak resigns making possible to elect new leaders. Internationally known dissident - playwright Vaclav Havel becomes the first non-communist president of Czechoslovakia in more than 40 years. A legendary political figure, Alexander Dubcek, is elected to the post of the president of Federal Parliament.

In April 1990, after a long parliamentary "hyphen debate" over the name "Czecho-Slovak Republic", a new official name of Czechoslovakia is approved: The Czech and Slovak Federated Republic. The political attribution "socialistic" has been eliminated.

In May 1990, Dubcek publicly denounces communism as a system unable to solve the social and cultural problems of societies. In an exclusive interview with VOA Czechoslovak in Washington, five days before his visit to Moscow and meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev Dubcek says that communism -- both the word and its content --- have been discredited, and that Czechoslovakia wants to prosper as a democracy. The first democratic elections in 44 years took place in June 1990.

(Since Mr. Bush will address Federal Assembly of the Czech and Slovak Federated Republic, it may be expected he will be introduced by the Speaker of Parliament Alexander Dubcek (Duhb-chek), a Slovak by origin. A. Dubcek made an interesting statement on Voice of America during his visit in Washington, D.C., in May 1990.

Interesting quote as a background information:

- **Alexander DUBCEK**, President of the Czechoslovakian Parliament, former leader of the aborted '68 Prague Spring, on Voice of America, at VOA Washington studio, May 12, 1990:

"... today, here at the Voice of America, I probably have exactly the same feeling as any other listener of yours (in Czechoslovakia) who very carefully followed your every single word on the air, each one of your voices that so helped to inform our people about what was happening. Unfortunately, during those days, and you must be very well aware of it,

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we had no chance (to get information) from our domestic media, so the Voice of America meant so much to us. So, in my opinion, it is a good feeling (to be here and speak with you) not only for us (the Czechs and the Slovaks), and for me personally, but I hope you at the Voice of America also feel a great deal of satisfaction at the fact that you also were among (those) who had helped to get things done, thus in your own humble way made that Brezhnevite militarism and neo-stalinism a thing of the past..."

"... I have to express my thanks for everything that the staff of this radio station have done for us... those of us who had worked at home in difficult conditions, (for you) in your own way helped (us) to bring down, what I would call the Czechoslovak Bastille.

Personalities of Czech and Slovak origin, contributing to the United States:

Czechs and Slovaks and Americans of Czech and Slovak origin contributed in many areas, business, sciences, political life, arts and sports.

Here are some examples.

Czechs and Moravians in American Life

Politics and the United States:

On October 18, 1918, T. G. Masaryk issued via cable in Paris, France, the (Washington) Declaration of Czechoslovak Independence. He worked on this document in D.C. houses: **3620 14th Street N.W. and 1145 14th N.W.** A special copy of Declaration was sent to president Woodrow Wilson.

SEE Docur (A)

T. G. Masaryk and Eduard Benes founded the Republic of Czechoslovakia at the end October, 1918. The new state was based on **the Pittsburg Agreement between American Czechs and Slovaks on May 31, 1918, signed during the Masaryk's stay in the United States.**

Interesting note: President Masaryk's wife was American citizen Mrs. Charlotte Garique of Brooklyn, N.Y.

Music:

Antonín Dvořak (Dvor-zhak)

Some interesting facts on Antonín Dvořák:

Lived in the U.S.A. 1892 - 1895 (with the exception of summer '84 spent in home Bohemia). Held position of director of the National Conservatory of Music in New York City.

Dvořák reached the summit of his mastery while staying in the United States, and here he wrote some of his most successful works:

Symphony No. 9 in E minor "Z Nového světa" **("From the New World")** op. 95

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(Premiered by New York Philharmonic Society orchestra at Carnegie Hall, on 16 December 1893. Composition combines melodies in the style of Indian and Negro songs with typically Czech tunes.)

The Cello Concerto in B minor op. 104
(Often considered the finest work of its kind.)

"American" String Quartet no. 12, op. 96

„American" String Quintet op. 97

The Biblical Songs op. 99
(Settings of verses from psalms taken from the Bible of Kralice. As with the Largo of the Ninth Symphony songs seem affected by spirituals.)

Eight Humoresques op. 101
(The seventh Humoresque in G flat became one of Dvořák´s most internationally popular pieces).

Dvorák also composed a cantata "The American Flag" (setting of the poem by Joseph Rodman Drake, January 1893).

While working on the Symphony "From the New World," **Dvorák stated, "The influence of America can be felt by anyone who has a ´nose.´"**

Dvořák himself influenced U.S. composers to absorb American traditional and popular music in search of a unique national voice.

BUSINESS

Internationally renown industrialist (a Moravian) Tomáš Baťa (BATA SHOES), who learned **American business practices** in the U. S. and built a "shoe city" in Zlín, Moravia

McDonald Restaurants Founder Ray A. Kroc (a Czech by origin) B-1, B2

SCIENCE

Nobel Prize American Winner by name Čech (a Czech by roots)

POLITICAL LIFE

Chicago mayor Čermák, members of **U.S. Congress Vanik** (of Vanik -Jackson law), congressman Mrazek (N.Y.)

MUSIC

Composers and educators united in Moravian Church, composer Antonín Dvořák (see above) known for his Symphony "From the New World" and other works composed while teaching music in the U.S.A., operatic soprano Jarmila Novotná, conductor Rafael Kubelík,

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piano virtuoso Rudolf Firkušný, composer Karel Husa, pop music performer Paul Simon and jazz artist Jan Hammer.

FILM AND THEATRE

Film directors Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer, theatre director Jon Jorry, actors George Voskovec of famous American film "12 angry men" who was during the war with another famous Czech actor-comedian Jan Werich one of the first speakers announcing on Voice of America, Kim Novak of Hollywood.

SPORTS

Tennis stars Ivan Lendl and Martina Navratilova

The Slovaks in American life

SCIENCE

Nobel Prize American Winner for medicine by name Gajdusek (Ghay-du-shek), a third generation Slovak.

- **Parachute inventor** Štefan Banic (Bah-nich) / U. S. patent C-1,2,3
- Father Joseph Murgas (Mur-ghash) **wirelees telegraphy** D-1,2
- The **U. S. astronaut Eugene Cernan**, Gemini 9, commander of Apollo 17

D-1,2

Nobel Prize American Winner by name Iech (a Czech by roots)

MILITARY

- **Iwo Jima Memorial:** one of the men from the most famous battle photographs ever taken, raising the U. S. flag - was a **Slovak by origin** Mikhael Strank (Sh-trank) E-1,2,3,4,5

History

Captain John Smith on his first trip to America in 1607 brought with him two Slovak carpenters. They died during their first year in Jamestown of Typhoid fever, which killed almost all the new settlers of Jamestown. They are buried in Jamestown. Captain John Smith previously served as a mercenary of the Habsburgs and in his memoirs claims he hired the two Slovaks since Slovaks are the best carpenters in the world...

SPORTS

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Famous post-war American hockey star **was Stan Mikita** of **Chicago Black Hawks.**

SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES

Czechs and Slovaks contributed new words and expressions to English lanuage, such as "robot" (plyawright Karel Čapek), "lightness of being" (writer Milan Kundera) and "Velvet revolution" (probably anonymous, Fall 1989). On the other hand, dissident writer, today Czechoslovak president, Václav Havel in his 1989 essay "Word about Word" (October 1989) pointed to strange history of some expressions and appealed not to let the word "peace" lose its meaning.

The Americans as well as the rest of the world learned from Czechoslovak history that "appeasement" toward an agressor doesn't pay (Munich, 1938).

Czech and Slovaks in their majority always appreciated U.S. assistanance, be it at the time of creation of independent Czechoslovak republic in 1918, during the WWII (american military missions in Slovakia, liberation of south-western Bohemia), postwar offer of Marshall plan, or present day efforts.

On less serious note:

The Czechs like to dance "polka". American forces in WW II. beloved song "Beer barrel polka" is attributed to Czech composer Jaromir Vejvoda. The Czechs are beer makers and beer lovers.

The Slovaks dance "ground-dance" (odzemok, pronn.: ohd-ze-mokh). The Slovaks are wine makers and wine lovers.

Sometimes they jokingly accuse each others of mutual bad influence: Slovaks learned to drink beer from Czechs and the Czechs learned to drink wine from Slovaks.

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(A)

Pittsburgh Agreement of May 31,1918

The representatives of Slovak and Czech organizations in the United States, the Slovak League, the Czech National Federation, and the Czech Catholic Alliance, discussed the Czech-Slovak question and our previous manifestoes as to a program, in the presence of the president of the Czecho-Slovak National Council, whereupon the following agreement was reached:

We approve a political program aiming to unite the Czechs and Slovaks into an independent State comprising the Czech lands and Slovakia.

Slovakia shall have its own administration, its own parliament, and its own courts.

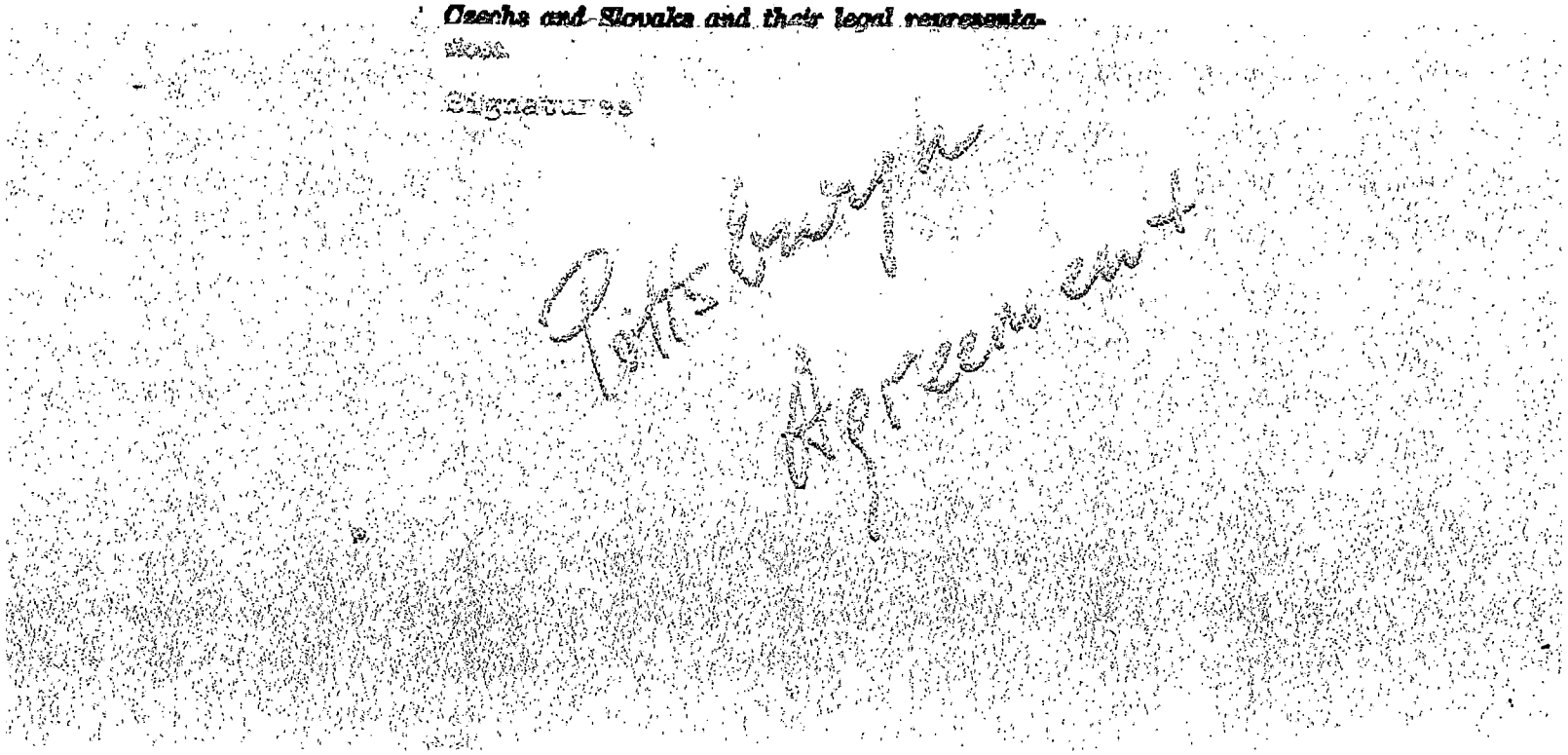
The Slovak language shall be the official language in schools, in governmental offices, and in public life generally.

The Czecho-Slovak State shall be a republic; its Constitution shall be democratic.

The organization of the cooperation of the Czechs and Slovaks in the United States shall be broadened and adapted by mutual consent as necessity and changing conditions shall require.

DETAILED REGULATIONS (Podrobné ustanovenia) concerning the establishment of the Czecho-Slovak State are left to the liberated Czechs and Slovaks and their legal representatives.

Signatures



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Ray A. Kroc Dies at 81; Built McDonald's Chain

OAK BROOK, Ill., Jan. 14 (AP) — Ray A. Kroc, who created the McDonald's Corporation, his fast-food empire, died in San Diego today. He was 81 years old.

Mr. Kroc, who once also owned the San Diego Padres baseball team, died of a heart ailment in Scripps Memorial Hospital here, said Dick Starmann, vice president of corporate communications for McDonald's.

Pioneer in Fast-Food Field

By ERIC PACE

Ray A. Kroc, the builder of the McDonald's hamburger empire, helped change American business and eating habits by deftly orchestrating the manufacture of billions of small beef patties.

Mr. Kroc, a former piano player and salesman of paper cups and milkshake machines, made a fortune estimated at $500 million through his tireless, inspired tinkering with the management of the McDonald's drive-ins and restaurants, which specialize in hamburgers and other fast-food items.

He was a pioneer in automating and standardizing operations in the fiercely competitive, multibillion-dollar fast-food industry. He concentrated on swiftly growing suburban areas, where family visits to the local McDonald's became something like tribal rituals.

He started his first McDonald's in Chicago in 1955, and by 1973 he had a chain of more than 2,500 outlets, most of them run by holders of McDonald's franchises. The chain spanned nine countries and employed 130,000 people in 1973, and its 1972 sales of $1.03 billion made it America's largest meal-serving organization of the time, surpassing even the United States Army.

What made Mr. Kroc so successful was the variety of virtuoso refinements he brought to fast-food retailing. He carefully chose the recipients of his McDonald's franchises, seeking managers who were skilled at personal relations; he relentlessly stressed quality control, banning from his hamburgers such filler materials as soybeans. And, as the 70's went on, his company, seeking even closer control of local operations, placed more emphasis on company-owned outlets, less on franchising.

Mr. Kroc also made extensive, innovative use of part-time teen-age help; he struggled to keep operating costs down, to make possible McDonald's perennially low prices, and he applied complex team techniques to food preparation that were were reminiscent of professional football.

Influential in Sports

After McDonald's had made him a major figure on the business scene, Mr. Kroc became influential in the sports world by buying the San Diego Padres baseball team in 1974. He said then that baseball was a game that he had always loved.

"There's a lot more future in hamburgers than in baseball. Baseball isn't baseball anymore."

Mr. Kroc cut a commanding figure, his thin hair brushed straight back, his custom-made blazers impeccable, his eyes constantly checking his restaurants for cleanliness. The bulky rings on his fingers glinted as he ate his hamburgers with both hands.

"I guess to be an entrepreneur you have to have a large ego, enormous pride and an ability to inspire others to follow your lead," he once said.

But his sort of leadership entailed a wish that his followers be, like him, driven by an unending urge to build and to excel.

"Some people reach their level of expectations pretty quickly," he once observed. "We want someone who will get totally involved in the business. If his ambition is to reach the point where he can play golf four days a week or play gin rummy for a cent a point, instead of a tenth, we don't want him in a McDonald's restaurant."

Understandably, many McDonald's executives decorated their offices with scrolls inscribed with his favorite inspirational dictum:

Nothing in the world can take the place of persistence.
Talent will not; nothing is more common than unsuccessful men with talent.
Genius will not; unrewarded genius is almost a proverb.
Education will not; the world is full of educated derelicts.
Persistence and determination alone are omnipotent.

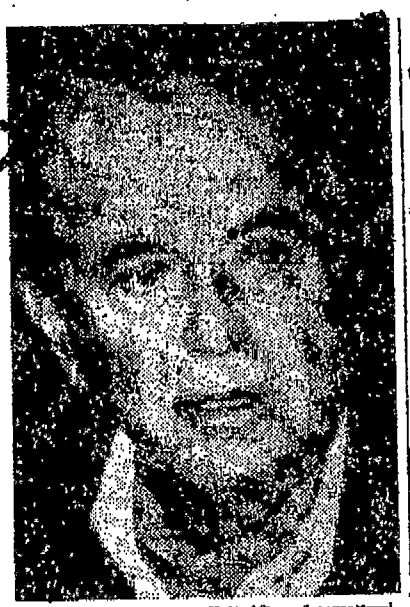
Mr. Kroc established the McDonald's headquarters in Oak Brook, Ill., a few miles from the Chicago suburb of Oak Park, where he was born Oct. 5, 1902, the son of an unsuccessful real estate man whose family came from Bohemia in what is now Czechoslovakia.

Sold Milkshake Machines

Ray Albert Kroc went to public schools in Oak Park, but did not graduate from high school. In World War I, like his fellow Oak Parker, Ernest Hemingway, he served as an ambulance driver. Then, after holding various short-term jobs, he spent 17 years with the Lily Tulip Cup Company, becoming sales manager for the Middle West.

But by 1941, "I felt it was time I was on my own," Mr. Kroc once recalled in an interview, and he became the exclusive sales agent for a machine that could prepare five milkshakes at a time.

Then, in 1954, Mr. Kroc heard about two brothers, Richard and Maurice McDonald, the owners of a fast-food emporium in San Bernadino, Calif., that was using several of his mixers.



United Press International

Ray Kroc

Mr. Kroc was also unremittingly intense in training his franchise owners at what he called McDonald's "Hamburger University" in Elk Grove, Ill. It gave a brief training course that made the graduate a "Bachelor of Hamburgerology with a minor in french fries."

Skilled H.U. instructors told new McDonald's owners how to clean their grills, how to flip a hamburger and how to tell when one was done: "It starts turning brown around the edge."

Mr. Kroc met his wife, Joan, in a restaurant in 1968 when he and she had other spouses. They were married in 1969, and she went on to found and become the head of Operation Cork, a national education program to help the families of alcholics. It went into operation in 1976 and had its $1 million budget paid for by the Kroc Foundation, which in turn was financed by McDonald's revenues.

James Storro Of The Nati

James J. Storrow Jr., publish The Nation magazine from 1965 to died Friday at his home in Manh He was 66 years old and also home in Stormville, N.Y.

Mr. Storrow died of a heart ail his family said. He had had an tion to replace a heart valve in 19 had had a heart attack last March

A descendant of Thomas Jef and of families long prominent i ness and public life in Boston, Ma now was a lifelong liberal in and on civil liberties and other having had his interest whetted Sacco-Vanzetti case during his y

He was born in Boston and gra from the Milton Academy and, from Harvard College. He serve Navy in World War II and saw the Pacific.

Film Company Executiv

After the war, Mr. Storrow Harvard Business School and with a former Harvard roomma ing Chase, in founding the Gen crofilm Company, an early mi service concern, becoming t as well as a co-owner. He also treasurer and co-owner of th Thayer Company, a food and d corn.

Mr. Storrow went on to bec executive of Trident Films, made documentaries about Rockwell, Currier & Ives an subjects. In the early 60's, Trid made two feature-length film Crooked Road," based on a West novel, and "Kid Rodelo, on a novel by the Western writ L'Amour.

Deaths

ALTMAN—Dr. Donald. Husband of Sylvia. Father of Stephen and James. Son of Harvey Solomon. Brother of Chester. Grandfather of Brian and Michael. In memoriam contributions may be made to Fund for Blood and Cancer Research, Box 179, 225 E. 66 St, NY, NY 10021.

ARONO—Eva (Fisher), 87. On January 3, 1984, beloved wife of Michael, loving mother of Lester, Hi and Natalie Reingold. Adored grandmother of David, Judi, Carol Neidlich, Roberta Palant, Elise Reingold, Manya Bahr and Paul, loving great-grandmother of Danny Josh, Elisa, Shana and Emily.

BALDINGER—Jonah, on Jan. 11, 1984. Beloved husband of Marjorie, adored father of Jane and Michael. Services were held.

BATOR—Peter A. On January 13, 1984. Husband of Joanna C. Sturges Bator, father of Mrs. William Philip Johnson, Alexa S. Bator, Anthony B. Bator and Timothy C. Bator. Brother of Paul M. Bator and Francis M. Bator. Visitation at the Frank E. Campbell Funeral Chapel from 3-9 PM and 7-9 PM, Monday, January 16. Memorial service at the Church of The Heavenly

Deaths

Altman, Donald	Ginsburg, Lucille	Petrie, D
Arond, Eva	Gottdank, Sophie	Pfeiffer,
Baldinger, Jonah	Greenberg, Solomon	Pisciotta
Bator, Peter	Hadda, George	Pollack,
Bester, Rally	Hadler, Morris	Raymon
Blumenson, Philip	Hadler, Lucille	Reff, Ar
Brandt, William	Harris, Norman	Rosenth
Braverman, Edward	Harrison, Henrietta	Ross, Se
Canterella, Cecelia	Haustatter, Nathan	Rowley,
Chappell, George	Herzberg, Ben	Russo, S
Chilowich, Michael	Johanson, Elsie	Scaville
Cobb, Ada	Kaye, Martill	Sherma
Cole, Leon	Kemelhor, Minnie	Siegel,
Collins, Pat	Klein, Milton	Smith-J
Dana, Richard	Kreindler, Harry	Smyer,
Fleixman, Charles	Leshaw, Louis	Sturrow
Garvin, Mary	Levy, Alice	Tomao
Gellert, Harold	Maiola, Maria	Vivo, M
Gilman, Alfred	Mitchell, Irwin	Weinbe

CANTARELLA—Cecelia. We at WF Stewart and Company, Inc., deeply mourn the loss of our good friend and associate and extend deepest sympathy to her bereaved family.

CHAPPELL—George S., Jr., 75. A long time resident of Lake Forest, Illinois born in Pelham Manor, N.Y., died Tues. Jan 10. Husband of Caroline Smith

GARVIN—Mary M lie), Jan. 13, 1984, of the late Charl mother of Joseph and Elizabeth R. mother of William and Katherine Travers, Guthrie, Karl Garvin. Funer from the McM Home, 2001 Fi

for $10 million in 1974.

The new and eager team owner was notably outspoken: After the Padres made three errors and a costly base-running blunder in a 1974 game against the Houston Astros, he used the San Diego Stadium public address system to tell the team's fans, "I suffer with you; I've never seen such stupid ball playing in my life." The fans laughed and cheered.

In the major leagues of American business, Mr. Kroc's career was unusual because its enormous success was so late in coming. He was in his 50's when he went into the hamburger business, making himself president of the McDonald's Corporation in 1955. In 1968 he became chairman, and he moved farther up his own corporate ladder by taking the title of senior chairman in 1977, when McDonald's purveyed more than $3.7 billion worth of fast-food fare, outselling its arch-competitor, the Pillsbury-owned Burger King, by 4 to 1.

McDonald's shares were a Wall Street favorite in the early 70's, before the bear market took hold. They reached a peak in January 1973 of around 77 — which meant investors who bought them when they were first offered to the public in the mid-1960's had seen their wealth multiply more than sixtyfold. And even in early 1979, after various Wall Street vicissitudes, those investors' holdings were worth 35 times their original price.

Over the years, Mr. Kroc was repeatedly involved in controversy. The authors Max Boas and Steve Chain charged in a 1976 book, "Big Mac: the Unauthorized Story of McDonald's," that McDonald's had exploited its employees by forcing them to take lie-detector tests and by appropriating their tips. The architecture of McDonald's outlets was sometimes criticized, as was the nutritional content of the food. However, one of the critics, Jean Mayer, the Harvard nutritionist, once said: "I am nonfanatical about McDonald's; as a weekend treat, it is clean and fast."

In 1972 Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr., Democrat of New Jersey, suggested that there was a link between the more than $200,000 that Mr. Kroc had contributed to President Nixon's re-election campaign and the Nixon Administration's position on the question of teen-age wage restrictions — a matter that was of prime importance to McDonald's.

And when, after a stormy stint in the baseball limelight, Mr. Kroc announced in August 1979 that he was giving up operating control of the Padres, he said, with typical crustiness:

As a milkshake specialist, Mr. Kroc later explained, "I had to see what kind of an operation was making 40 at one time."

"I went to see the McDonald operation," Mr. Kroc went on in a memoir published in The New York Times, and suddenly insights gained during his years in the paper-cup business and the milkshake machine business mingled fruitfully in his mind.

"I can't pretend to know what it is — certainly, it's not some divine vision," he continued. "Perhaps it's a combination of your background and experience, your instincts, your dreams."

"Whatever it was, I saw it in the McDonald operation, and in that moment, I suppose, I became an entrepreneur. I decided to go for broke."

Franchise Is Initiated

And so Mr. Kroc talked to the McDonald brothers about opening franchise outlets patterned on their San Bernardino restaurant, which sold hamburgers for 15 cents, french fries for 10 cents and milk-shakes for 20 cents.

Eventually, the McDonalds and Mr. Kroc worked out a deal whereby he was to give them a small percentage of the gross of his operation. In due course the first of Mr. Kroc's McDonald'ses was opened in Des Plaines, another Chicago suburb, which had long been famous as the site of an annual Methodist encampment.

Business proved to be excellent, and Mr. Kroc soon set about opening other McDonald'ses. The second and third, both in California, opened later in 1955; within five years there were 228 — and in 1961 he bought out the McDonald brothers.

In choosing franchise owners to manage the new outlets, Mr. Kroc and his associates looked, as he explained it in 1971, "for somebody who's good with people; we'd rather get a salesman than an accountant or even a chef."

Among the license holders they selected were a member of the House of Representatives from Virginia, a chemist, a golf professional, dentists, lawyers, advertising men and even a former Under Secretary of Labor.

Stressed Grass Roots

Under Mr. Kroc's persistent goading, McDonald's insisted that franchise owners run their own outlets. It also poured hundreds of millions of dollars into advertising — to the point where the head of another fast-food company said in 1976 that consumers were "so preconditioned by McDonald's advertising blanket that the hamburger would taste good even if they left the meat out."

Established 1888

Four Generations of Sympathetic Understanding

Sherman's

FLATBUSH MEMORIAL CHAPEL, INC.
DIRECTORS: ARNOLD S. SHERMAN
WILLIAM S. SHERMAN
JOSEPH SHERMAN

1253 CONEY ISLAND AVE., B'KLYN., N.Y. (nr. Ave. J)
377-7200

Placing a classified ad? Call (212) 354-3900 between 9 A.M. and 5:30 P.M.

the Church of The Heavenly Rest, 2 E. 90th Street at 11 AM, Tuesday, January 17. In lieu of flowers, donations to Beekman Downtown Hospital, The Groton School or Harvard University would be appreciated.

BATOR—Peter A. The Board of Trustees of New York Infirmary-Beekman Downtown Hospital record with a deep sense of loss the death of Mr. Peter A. Bator on Friday, January 13th. Mr. Bator's association with the Hospital began in 1969 when he was elected to the board of Beekman Downtown Hospital. When Beekman merged with New York Infirmary in November 1979, Mr. Bator was elected Trustee, Vice President and a member of the Executive Committee of the consolidated institution. Mr. Bator was genuinely concerned with fostering the goals of the new hospital, and he gave generously of his time and talents to the development of New York Infirmary-Beekman Downtown Hospital as a full-service hospital for the Lower Manhattan community. His wise counsel has been invaluable and he will be long remembered and greatly missed by all his grateful colleagues. We convey heartfelt sympathy to his family.

Mrs. Rush H. Kress,
Chairman of the Board

BESTER—Rolly. The loss we feel is shared by anyone who had the special pleasure of experiencing your style, your humor, your total blessed honesty and guts and we want you to know once again how much we love you. We will be having a memorial service soon.

Several Old Friends

BESTER—Rolly. We mourn the loss of a loved and loving friend, who shared her love of life with so many—encouraging, nurturing, caring. She has left us all in her debt. We will never stop missing her.

Joan and Bernie Barrow

BLUMENSON—Philip, on Jan. 13, beloved husband of Carol, beloved father of Laura, Diane and Amy, and adored grandfather of Paul Adam, Anna, Noah, Erica, and Michele. Services today, at Temple Beth-El, 5 Old Mill Rd., Great Neck, at 12:30PM.

BLUMENSON—Philip. The Officers and Employees of Blumenson-Sussman Co., Inc. record with deep sorrow and a profound sense of loss the death of Philip Blumenson on Jan. 13, 1984. Mr. Blumenson served admirably as a Founder and Officer of the Corporation and was active as an attorney and real estate broker for over forty-five years. He will be greatly missed.

Herman R. Sussman, President
Blumenson-Sussman Co., Inc.

BLUMENSON—Philip. Temple Beth-El of Great Neck records with profound sorrow the passing of its longtime member. We extend heartfelt sympathy to his bereaved family.

Marjorie B. Kurzles, President
Jerome K. Davidson, Rabbi

BRANDT—William. Of Hollywood, Florida, formerly of New York City. Beloved husband of Ruth. Devoted father of Linda (Edward) Hyman of New Jersey. Cherished grandfather of Jason. Loving brother of Mildred Smith. Funeral services Sunday, 11:30 A.M., at "The Riverside", 2200 Hollywood Boulevard, Hollywood, Florida.

BRAVERMAN — Dr. Edward. Temple B'nai Sholom Rockville Centre mourns with sorrow the loss of its esteemed member. Heartfelt condolences to the entire family.

Robert D. Edelstein, President
Meryl Gallatin,
Sisterhood President
Barry Dov Schwartz, Rabbi

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED TO (212) 354-3900 UNTIL 5:30 P.M. FOR WEEKDAY EDITIONS, UNTIL 2:30 P.M. ON SATURDAY FOR SUNDAY EDITION. IN NEW JERSEY (201) 623-3900; WESTCHESTER CO. AND NORTHERN NEW YORK STATE COUNTIES (914) 949-8300; NASSAU CO. (516) 747-0600; SUFFOLK CO. (516) 666-1600; CONNECTICUT (203) 348-7767.

Husband of Caroline Smith Chappell. Father of Barbara S. (Mrs. Fairpatrick Carpenter, Jr.), Susan C. (Mrs. Edward J. McCabe, Jr.) and Margaret S. (Patricia M.) [illegible]. Grandfather of 12. Great grandfather of 1. A memorial service will be held on Friday, Jan 13, 4PM at The Church of the Holy Spirit, Lake Forest, Illinois. Please omit flowers. Contributions may be made to Rush-Presbyterian-St. Lukes Medical Center Leukemia Research Fund, Chicago, Ill.

CHILEWICH—Michael. The entire Yeshiva University family note with sorrow the passing of the beloved brother of Aron Chilewich, Master Builder of the University and Founder and friend of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine. The Chilewiches have long been ardent supporters of the University and its medical school. We extend our heartfelt condolences to the entire family. May they be comforted among the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem.

Dr. Norman Lamm, President
YESHIVA UNIVERSITY
Hon. Herbert Tenzer, Chairman
Board of Trustees
Burton P. Resnick, Chairman
Board of Overseers
Albert Einstein
College of Medicine

CHILEWICH—Michael. The Officers and Directors of The American Friends of The Association for The Welfare of Soldiers in Israel, Inc., are saddened at the passing of Michael Chilewich, who contributed his council and support for the State of Israel and for the well being of the soldiers. We extend heartfelt condolences to his wife Mina, to his brother Aron, to his children and other members of his family.

Ben Gelchels,
Chairman of the Board
Joseph Landow, Pres
Brigadier General Haim Granit
North American Representative

CHILEWICH—Michael. We are deeply saddened by the passing of Michael Chilewich, our devoted friend. Our sincere condolences to his wife Mina and the entire family.

Art Auction Committee for the
Association for Welfare of
Soldiers in Israel

COBB—Ada J., on January 13, 1984, retired librarian of the Brooklyn Library, sister of Constance C. Pierce of Sarasota, Fla. Virginia Night of London, England, Richard Cobb of the Bronx, NY and the late John Robert, M.D. and Carl Cobb. Interment Pine Grove Cemetery, South Truro, Mass. on Tues., January 17, 1984. Donations may be made to Rosary Hill Home, Hawthorne, NY.

COLE—Leon, age 87. Born in Chicago, March 16, 1896. Died January 12, 1984 at his home in Sarasota, Florida. Survived by his wife Dorothy, a son Thomas Cole, a daughter Alice Brill, 7 grandchildren and 2 great grandchildren.

COLLINS—Pat. Husband of Charlotte C. Brother of Sr. Imelda and Sr. Patricia of Drishane Convent, County Cork, Ireland. Also survived by several nieces and nephews. Friends may call at Frank E. Campbell, 1076 Madison Avenue at 81 Street, Sunday, 2-5 and 7-9PM. Funeral Mass at Chapel of Mary Manning Walsh, York Avenue at 72 Street, Monday, 9:30AM. Private interment at Artist's Cemetery, Woodstock, New York.

DANA—Richard Henry, on January 6, NYC. Husband of Nina Montgomery Dana. Father of Richard H. Dana, Jr. of Albany, Cornelia Dana Mead of Sodus Point, NY and Nathalie Dana of NYC. Memorial service Monday, January 16, 11 AM St. James Church, Madison Ave and 71 St. Those who wish may contribute in his memory to the Diller-Quaile School of Music, 24 East 95 St, NYC or to Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center, NYC.

FLAXMAN—Charles. The Officers and Trustees of the Fur Center Synagogue record with great sadness the untimely passing of one of our founders and members of the board of trustees. May his memory forever be a blessing.

Joseph Nadel, President
Samuel Blech, Rabbi

Home, 2691 Fla
Brooklyn. Funeral
Sacred Heart of Ma
R.C. Church, 307 E.
Interment Calver
Donations to the
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or Madonna Reside
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Sun., 2-5 and 7-9PM

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nephew of the late
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Ave.

GELLERT—Harold
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other members of hi
Samuel Sverdlik, M
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GILMAN—Alfred
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Ernst P
Alb
College

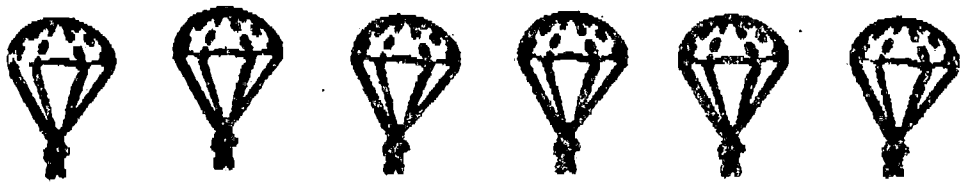
GINSBURG—Lucille
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GOTTDANK—Sophie
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her children Mildred
Rumeck and Ruth
Salter, devoted a
grandmother of Jai
Kathe, Lucy, David,
Susan, good and
friend. She shared
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15, 1 PM at Nassau
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Great Neck, NY.

GREENBERG—Solom
loved husband of An
father of Carol Kapl
grandfather of Rebe
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HADDA—George M.,
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Jan 9, 1984, age 68. B
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C-1

STEFAN BANIC
1870 - 1941

Stefan Banic's neighbors in Greenville probably considered the balding, middle aged immigrant coal miner a little crazy in 1914, when he came home from Washington, D.C. with a patent for the world's first working parachute.

Today, seventy-five years later, we are gathering in Greenville, PA to honor the man and his invention - recognition he never received during his life.

Stefan Banic was born November 23, 1870, in Nestich, present day Smolenice, in the Trnava District, Slovakia, in Northern Hungary.

He was employed by count Palffy, who dismissed him for trying to improve the conditions of his people. Later, Banic was refused enrollment to high school because of his Slovak consciousness.

Stefan Banic then came to America where he settled in Greenville, PA while here he worked as a coal miner, stone mason and was employed by the Chicago Bridge & Iron Company, where he improved production through his innovative ideas. Banic also completed technical school at night.

After developing the parachute, Stefan Banic successfully parachuted from a building in Washington, D.C. before a large crowd. At the request of the Army, he successfully made a jump from an aircraft.

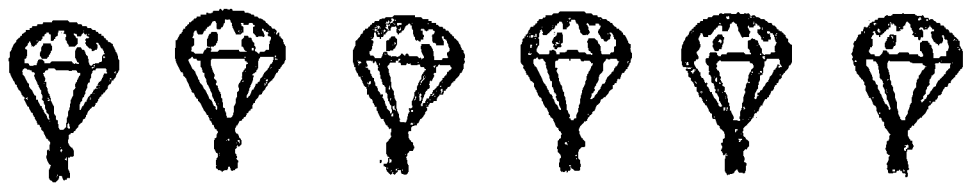
The patent for the parachute was received on August 25, 1914, the same week Germany invaded Belgium and touched off World War I.

Stefan Banic donated his patent rights to the fledgling Army Air Corps, which worked from hot air balloons during World War I. Out of gratitude, the Army and the American Society for the Promotion of Aviation made him an honorary member.

Stefan Banic returned to his homeland and Smolenice, in 1921, which was by then part of Czecho-Slovakia, where he lived until his death on January 2, 1941 at age 70.

Stefan Banic's invention, the parachute, gained military prominence during World War II. He never knew how important his invention was to become to our Armed Forces. However, because of his foresight and remarkable courage, many men's lives were saved and our soldiers were able to reach positions that would have been inaccessible prior to the parachute.

AMERICA OWES STEFAN BANIC A DEBT OF GRATITUDE



11. 07. 90 04:50PM *VOA EUROPEAN DIV. P05

PRINTER'S NO. 1946

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA

C-2

HOUSE RESOLUTION

No. 128 Session of 1989

INTRODUCED BY ROBBINS, DININNI, FARGO, GRUITZA AND LaGROTTA, JUNE 5, 1989

REFERRED TO COMMITTEE ON RULES, JUNE 5, 1989

A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Honoring Stefan Banic, a Slovak immigrant, on the 75th anniversary of the patenting of his invention of the parachute.

WHEREAS, Stefan Banic was born on November 23, 1870, in Nestich, present day Smolenice, in the Trnava District, Slovakia, Northern Hungary; and

WHEREAS, Stefan Banic was employed by Count Palffy, who dismissed him for trying to improve the conditions of his people. Later, Banic was refused enrollment to high school because of his Slovak consciousness; and

WHEREAS, Banic came to America where he settled in Greenville, Pennsylvania, and remained until 1921; and

WHEREAS, He worked as a coal miner and stone mason and was employed by the Chicago Bridge and Iron Company, where he improved production through his innovative ideas. Banic also completed a night technical school; and

WHEREAS, Stefan Banic developed his parachute and successfully parachuted from a building in Washington, D.C.,

11. 07. 90 04:50PM *VOA EUROPEAN DIV. P08

before a large crowd; and

WHEREAS, At the request of the Army, Banic successfully parachuted from an aircraft; and

WHEREAS, Banic received his patent for his parachute on August 25, 1914, the same week that Germany invaded Belgium and touched off World War I; and

WHEREAS, Banic donated his patent rights to the fledgling Army Air Corps, which worked from hot air balloons during World War I. Out of gratitude, the Army and the American Society for the Promotion of Aviation made Banic an honorary member; and

WHEREAS, Banic, a Slovak, returned to Smolenice, which was by then part of Czecho-Slovakia, and lived another 20 years. He died January 2, 1941, at 70 years of age; therefore be it

RESOLVED (the Senate concurring), That the General Assembly honor Stefan Banic, a Slovak immigrant, on the 75th anniversary of the patenting of his invention of the parachute.

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11. 07. 90 04:50PM *VOA EUROPEAN DIV. P07

TRUTH AT MY TABLE

By Joseph C. Kraljas, KSGG

Promoting Murgas Stamp

Slovak Heritage Month



The Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania passed Resolution 82 designating the month of November as "Slovak Heritage Month". The Resolution was introduced by our Senatorial member from Reading, Pennsylvania, Senator Michael A. O'Pake and Senator John J. Schumaker, 16th District in which the Jednota is located [illegible]

The Senate Resolution also recognized the outstanding contributions of Father Joseph Murgas of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and urged the Citizen Stamp Advisory Committee of the United States Postal Service to issue a commemorative stamp in honor of Slovak heritage with the likeness of Father Murgas.

Father Murgas and His Wireless Telegraphy Transmission 11/2/85

Father Joseph Murgas was born on February 17, 1864 in Tajov (Jelšavová), Slovakia. In his youth, Father Murgas had an inclination for sciences. While studying for the priesthood at the seminary, among the subjects studied were electricity, astronomy, and advanced physics.

In 1888 he was ordained to the priesthood and was assigned as a curate in the parish of Dubovce, Slovakia. He later enrolled as an advanced student at the Technical College of Vienna, where he pioneered in the experimentation of wireless telegraphy. He came to the United States in 1890.

[illegible] Murgas continued [illegible] experimentation [illegible] of the [illegible]

wireless messages could be transmitted over land for great distances.

Father Murgas, by his individual work, has rightfully earned his place as a pioneer experimenter and inventor in the art of wireless telegraphy. He also succeeded in transmitting by voice. Thus from wireless telegraphy evolved what is known today as Radio, now taken for granted, but on reflection, so marvelous and mystifying.

At the start of this century, there were many experimenters whose efforts were no less outstanding than those whose names fill the history books. But, Father Joseph Murgas, for one, drew the eyes of the communications world to his experiments in Wilkes-Barre.

Alice Bradbury, in her article *Slovak Physicist: Radio's Forgotten Genius* [illegible] COMMUNICATIONS, June, 1956, said, "Some [illegible] consequence to early

D-2

[redacted]

[redacted]

Six businessmen formed a company with Father Murgas, known as the Universal Aether Telegraphy Company. This brought some money to assist Father Murgas in his experiments. Wireless stations were erected in Wilkes-Barre and Scranton. The Wilkes-Barre station was located where the present Sacred Heart Church convent stands on Madison Street. The Scranton station was located in the rear of No. 914 East Alder Street.

On November 23, 1905, at 2:00 P.M., Father Murgas held a public demonstration of transmitting and receiving messages between his two stations. There were about 100 persons present at the Wilkes-Barre station and a large number at the Scranton station. The officers and directors of the new company were on hand, together with public officials, newspaper reporters, and close friends of Father Murgas.

The United States Navy at this time was very much interested in wireless communications. It is significant that the U.S. Navy considered the event so important that it sent Commander [illegible] Admiral S.S. Hobson from Washington, D.C. to observe and direct the demonstration. Those who were present were free to transmit messages and many took [illegible] this opportunity. [illegible] sent in four [illegible] Slovak, Polish and English.

The demonstration was a [illegible] developing stage [illegible] Murgas, who is one of the successful early transmission of wireless over land. The demonstration attested the fact that the Murgas Amateur Radio Club recreated the famed 1905 Murgas experiment. It was a thrilling moment to see a repeat performance using the same type of equipment that Murgas used. The crowd that was gathered in both Scranton and Wilkes-Barre was just as prominent as the one in 1905. Commander Gerald A. Coppie, USN, representing the Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy, gave a deserving tribute to the contributions of Fr. Murgas.

Father Murgas' inventions are still regarded as brilliant and ahead of their time. Certainly his work deserves a prominent place in telecommunications history.

His work, however, did not go without recognition after his death on May 11, 1929. In 1939, on the 10th Anniversary of his death, the then independent Slovak Republic named its only broadcasting station after him and also issued two postage stamps in his honor. During World War II an American Liberty ship was named after him. And, before he died, President Calvin Coolidge appointed Father Murgas as a member of the National Radio Commission.

[redacted]

JEDNOTA

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JOSEPH C. KNAPA, Editor

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Cernan

D-1

Pride in Slovak Origin
by Joseph A.Mikus

25. EUGENE ANDREW CERNAN

It is impossible to bring this series to an end without mentioning one of the most famous astronauts of our times, Captain Eugene Andrew Cernan whose ancestors come from the Kysuca valley, North Slovakia.

Starting on June 6, 1966, he orbited the earth with Th. Stafford for three days on Gemini 9. On May 18, 1969, he was a crewman with Th. Stafford and J. W. Young on the Apollo 10 space flight lasting eight days. Aboard the lunar module Cernan and Stafford orbited the moon at a distance of 10 miles and returned to the Apollo Cabine to land on May 26, 1969 on one of the Samoa Islands. Finally, from December 8, to December 19, 1972, Cernan was commander on the Apollo 17 lunar mission with H. Schmitt and R. Evans. That was the most perfect and the longest lunar flight. After all these successful space missions including the landing on the moon, Cernan has achieved in the history of astronautics a permanent place as a courageous man, physically and mentally balanced, and endowed with the highest degree of self-control. His coolness was properly characterized by the following episode:

Cernan "was once flying a helicopter over water near Cape Kennedy when, as an investigative board later determined, he misjudged his altitude and slammed the craft into the water. The helicopter broke up and sank. Its fuel tank split open and caused a fire. Captain Cernan was picked up from the water suffering burns and bruises. Asked later about the rumor that he was chasing a dolphin, Captain Cernan replied: 'Nope. It was a mermaid.'" ∞

With his legitimate title to immortality, Cernan has remained closely attached to the religious tradition of his Slovak forefathers. He is a parishioner of Saint Paul Catholic Church in Nassau Bay, Texas, and serves as lector at Mass when his schedule permits. Before the takeoff on his last lunar flight he made this profound statement about the Creator of the Universe:

11. 07. 80 04:50PM *VOA EUROPEAN DIV. P10

"When you look back at the earth from the moon and you see the perfectness of it and the beauty of it and the logic of it all, you know it didn't happen by accident.

"It is moving with beauty and you get a feeling that you are looking at our earth as God, whoever that God might be, envisioned it when he created it. I am anxious to get back and get that feeling again.

"The serious, "square" side of Gene Cernan emerges. America, God and duty are not just words but major forces in his life." [37]

* * *

These and other similar examples—too many to be dealt with here—demonstrate that the Slovaks have respect for higher values and possess strong convictions on their behalf. They have what is the most precious ingredient in man's personality: character. For a small nation this counts more than quantity. They do not easily change their mind, make compromises, nor turn like a weathercock with every wind. Retractions, self-confession, and flagellantism are repugnant to them.

Sense of personal humor and dignity, firmness and endurance in adverse situations and preoccupation with their place in history are the qualities that characterize the Slovaks. They may be one of the smallest Slav nations; but those moral virtues tower high over their numerical importance, and put them ahead of some much bigger peoples than themselves. And these qualities have secured their survival and will allow them to survive also the present scourge of Soviet occupation.



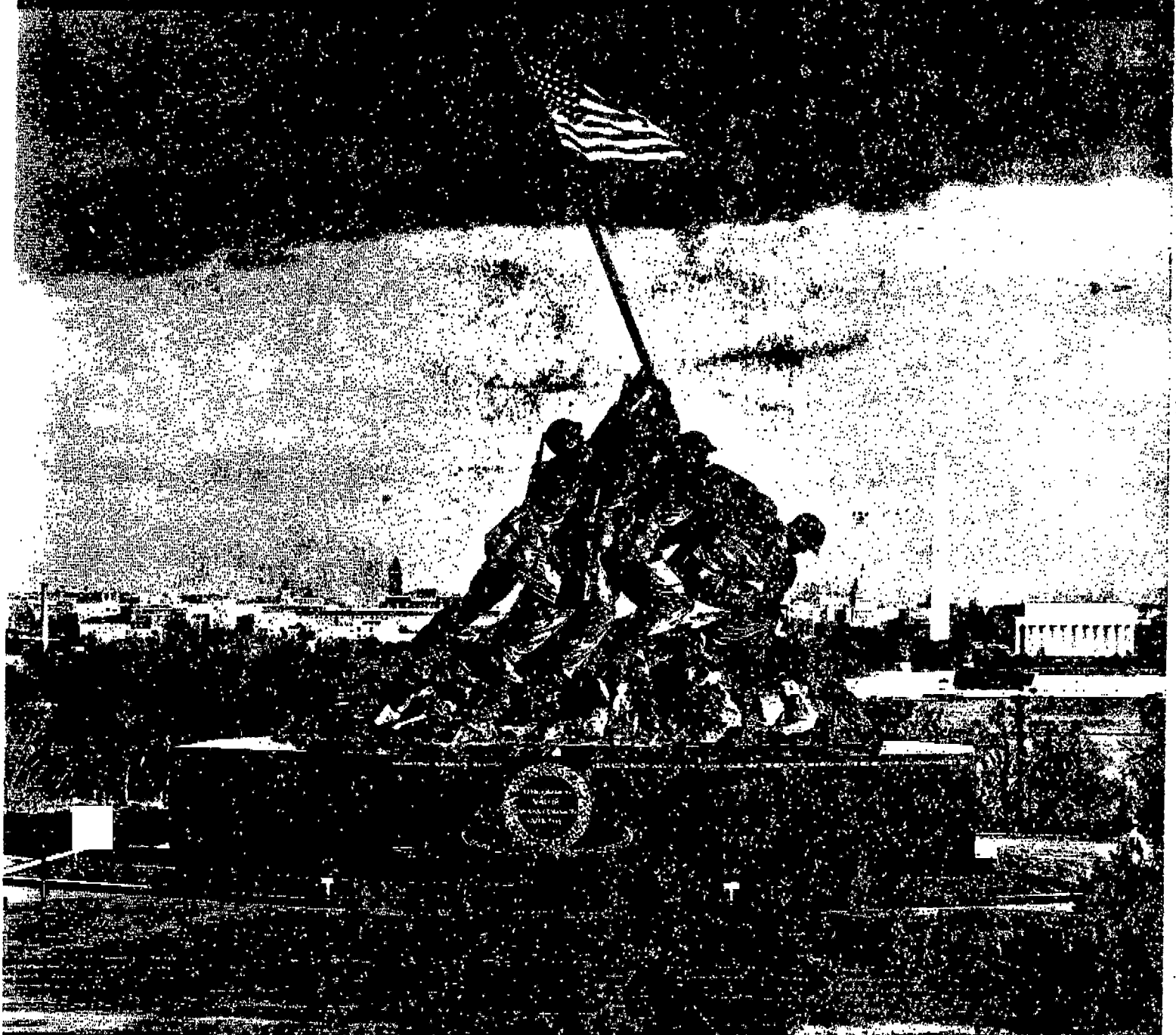
EUGENE ANDREW CERNAN (1934—)

11.07.80 04:50PM *VOA EUROPEAN DIV. P11

E-1

THE UNITED STATES MARINES ON IWO JIMA

The Battle and the Flag Raising



HISTORICAL DIVISION
HEADQUARTERS, U. S. MARINE CORPS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

E-2



The most famous battle photograph ever taken, the second flag-raising on Mount Suribachi on Iwo Jima. Photo by Joe Rosenthal, courtesy of the Associated Press, (USMC Photo #113162).

22 November 1944. In the latter part of January 1945, after extensive training and maneuvers, Sousley sailed for Iwo Jima where he landed with his company on D-Day, 19 February. Sousley survived the battle for Suribachi and moved northward with his regiment. On 21 March, Private First Class Sousley was killed during the fighting around Kitano Point.

E-3

Private First Class Sousley was buried in the 5th Marine Division Cemetary at Iwo Jima in Plot 8, Row 7, Grave 2189. On 22 March 1948, a request was made to return the remains to the United States for reinternment in the Elizaville, Kentucky, Cemetary.

Private First Class Sousley has been awarded the following decorations and medals: Purple Heart (posthumously), Presidential Unit Citation with one star (for Iwo Jima), Asiatic-Pacific Area Campaign Medal with one star (for Iwo Jima), and World War II Victory Medal.

Sergeant Michael Strank, USMC (275228)

Michael Strank was born at Conemaugh, Pennsylvania, on 10 November 1919, the son of Vasil and Martha Strank, natives of Eastern Slovakia Czechoslovakia (his father is also known as Charles Strank). He attended the schools of Franklin Borough, Pennsylvania, and was graduated from high school in 1937. He joined the Civilian Conservation Corps where he remained for 18 months and then became a highway laborer for the state.

Michael Strank enlisted in the regular Marine Corps for four years at Pittsburgh on 6 October 1939. He was assigned to the Recruit Depot at Parris Island where, after completing recruit training in December, Private Strank was transferred to Headquarters Company, Post Troops, at the same base.

Transferred to Provisional Company W at Parris Island, on 17 January 1941, Strank, now a private first class, sailed for Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, arriving on the 23d. Strank was assigned to Headquarters Company, 3d Battalion, 7th Marines, 1st Marine Brigade (on 1 February, the 1st Marine Brigade was redesignated the 1st Marine Division). On 8 April, now assigned to Company K, he returned to the States and proceeded to Parris Island. In September, Strank moved with the division to New River, North Carolina (now known as Camp Lejeune). He was promoted to corporal on 23 April 1941, and was advanced to sergeant on 26 January 1942.

With the 3d Battalion, 7th Marines, early in April 1942, he journeyed cross-country to San Diego, California, from whence he sailed on the 12th. On 31 May, he landed on Uvea, largest of the Wallis Islands.

11. 07. 90 04:50PM *VOA EUROPEAN DIV. P14

In September, after a short tenure with the 22d Marines, he was transferred to the 3d Marine Raider Battalion, also at Uvea. With the raiders, he participated in the landing operations and occupation of Pavuvu Island in the Russell Islands from 21 February until 18 March, and in the seizure and occupation of the Empress Augusta Bay area on Bougainville from 1 November until 12 January 1944. On 14 February, he was returned to San Diego for rest and reassignment.

E-4

On return from leave, Sergeant Strank was assigned to Company E, 2d Battalion, 28th Marines, 5th Marine Division. After extensive training at Camp Pendleton and in Hawaii, Strank landed on Iwo Jima on 19 February 1945.

After the fall of Mount Suribachi, he moved northward with his unit. On 1 March, while attacking Japanese positions in northern Iwo Jima, he was fatally wounded by enemy artillery fire. He was buried in the 5th Marine Division Cemetary with the last rites of the Catholic Church. On 13 January 1949, his remains were reinterred in Grave 7179, Section 12, Arlington National Cemetary.

Sergeant Strank was entitled to the following decorations and medals: Purple Heart (awarded posthumously), Presidential Unit Citation with one star (for Iwo Jima), American Defense Service Medal with base clasp (for his service in Cuba before the war), American Area Campaign Medal, Asiatic-Pacific Area Campaign Medal with four stars (for Pavuvu, Bougainville, Consolidation of the Northern Solomons, and Iwo Jima), and the World War II Victory Medal.

Pharmacist's Mate Second Class John Henry Bradley, USN (868-16-81)

John Henry Bradley was born at Antigo, Wisconsin, on 10 July 1923, the son of Mr. and Mrs. James J. Bradley. The family moved to Appleton, Wisconsin, when John was a boy. He was graduated from Appleton High School in 1941. Apprenticed to a funeral director, Bradley had just completed the necessary 18-months' apprenticeship course when he enlisted in the Navy on 13 January 1943.

Following boot camp at Farragut, Idaho, Seaman Bradley was assigned to the Hospital Corps School there. Upon the completion of that course, he was transferred to the Naval Hospital at Oakland, California. Assigned to the Fleet Marine Force in January 1944, Pharmacist's Mate Bradley attended Field Medical School--standard training for corpsmen prior to serving with the Marines.

11. 07. 80 04:50PM *VOA EUROPEAN DIV. P15

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High single game individual — Mary Valenta

83 High single game individual,
81 Mike Gulinski, 245.

lives upon charity." Lent begin
on Ash Wednesday, February 16.

Pennsylvania Profiles

by Patrick M. Reynolds

Profiles Books

Volume Six of Pennsylvania Profiles—"Pennsylvania's Hectic Heritage"—is now available for $3.60 postpaid. The complete set of six books plus a handsome slipcase costs $19.60. Make check or money order payable to PA. PROFILES. Mail to The Red Rose Studio, 9 Flintlock Drive, Willow Street, PA 17584.

IWO JIMA

FEB. 23, 1945. A PLATOON OF MARINES KNOCKED OUT JAPANESE DEFENSES ON MT. SURIBACHI AND RAISED A SMALL AMERICAN FLAG.

THE "BRASS" ON THE BEACH WANTED TO FLY A FLAG BIG ENOUGH TO BE SEEN ALL OVER THE ISLAND AND FROM THE SHIPS OFF SHORE, SO THEY ORDERED FOUR MARINES TO CARRY A 96 x 56-INCH FLAG UP THE MOUNTAIN AND RAISE IT IN PLACE OF THE SMALLER ONE.

THIS "FLAG SQUAD" CONSISTED OF A TEXAN, A KENTUCKIAN, AN ARIZONA INDIAN AND THEIR LEADER: A SON OF SLOVAK IMMIGRANTS, SGT. MICHAEL STRANK, FROM FRANKLIN, CAMBRIA COUNTY, PENNA.





ON REACHING THE SUMMIT STRANK (THIRD FROM THE LEFT) AND HIS MEN FASTENED THE FLAG TO A SCRAPPED JAPANESE PIPE AND TRIED TO SET IT IN THE GROUND. TWO OTHER MARINES CAME TO HELP. AS THEY WERE STRUGGLING TO RAISE THE FLAG, AN ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTOGRAPHER, JOE ROSENTHAL, TOOK A PICTURE OF THE SCENE.

IT BECAME ONE OF THE MOST FAMOUS PHOTOS EVER TAKEN AND WON A PULITZER PRIZE.

SIX DAYS LATER THE PENNSYLVANIAN AND THE TEXAN WERE KILLED IN ACTION JUST A FEW MILES FROM WHERE THEY RAISED THE FLAG.

11. 07. 90 04:50PM *VOA EUROPEAN DIV. P.16

ON Czechs and Slovaks in America
may BE CHECKED This ENCYCLOPEDIA
WHICH is NOT READILY Available
at OUR ORGANIZATION. THANKS.

Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups

Stephan Thernstrom, *Editor*

Ann Orlov, *Managing Editor*
Oscar Handlin, *Consulting Editor*

The Belknap Press of
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, Massachusetts
and
London, England
1980

11-07-90 04:50PM *VOA EUROPEAN DIV. P17

TELEFAX COVER SHEET

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FROM:

Miroslav S. Dobrovodsky, Chief, Czechoslovak Service, VOICE OF AMERICA
330 Independence Ave., S. W., Washington, D.C. 20547, United States
Tel.: (202) 475-2208, 475-2209

COMMENTS:

I BELIEVE YOU MAY BE VERY MUCH INTERESTED: THE PRESIDENT WILL MEET PRESIDENT HAVEL ON THE EVE OF THE FIRST "ANNIVERSARY" OF SENTENCING HAVEL TO NINE MONTHS IN PRISON ON CHARGES OF INCITEMENT AND OBSTRUCTION. MR. HAVEL'S ADDRESS TO JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS (WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1990) WILL BE DELIVERED EXACTLY ONE YEAR LATER. ENCLOSED IS A COPY OF ORIGINAL SCRIPT BY OUR CORRESPONDENT SENT TO US (VOA-CZECHOSLOVAK) FROM PRAGUE ON FEBRUARY 21, 1989, A YEAR AGO. IT WAS IMMEDIATELY AIRED IN TRANSLATION.

MIRO

URGENT

Number of pages (including cover sheet): 5

2/21/89
CORRESPONDENT REPORT 2-00000
CZECH TRIALS (L)
JOLYON NAEGELE/PRAGUE
() - VOICED AT:

FEBRUARY 21, 1989
AT THE TIME OF HIS SPEECH
TO JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
EXACTLY A YEAR AGO

INTRO: A PRAGUE COURT TUESDAY SENTENCED CZECHOSLOVAK PLAYWRIGHT AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST VACLAV (VAAHTS-LAV) HAVEL TO NINE MONTHS IN PRISON ON CHARGES OF INCITEMENT AND OBSTRUCTION. V-O-A'S JOLYON NAEGELE REPORTS FROM PRAGUE A SECOND TRIAL OF EIGHT HUMAN RIGHTS AND PEACE ACTIVISTS ALSO OPENED IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK CAPITAL TUESDAY.

TEXT: THE PRAGUE DISTRICT COURT FOUND PLAYWRIGHT, PHILOSOPHER AND CHARTER 77 CO-FOUNDER VACLAV HAVEL GUILTY ON BOTH CHARGES -- INCITING THE PUBLIC TO DEMONSTRATE AND OBSTRUCTING A POLICE OFFICER.

THE PROSECUTION DEMANDED HALF THE MAXIMUM PENALTY WHICH WOULD HAVE MEANT AT LEAST ONE YEAR. BUT JUDGE HELENA HLIVATA FOUND HIM GUILTY OF WHAT SHE TERMED UNINTENTIONAL INCITEMENT AND SENTENCED MR. HAVEL TO NINE MONTHS IN PRISON (CZECH EDS: DRUHA NAPRAVNA SKUPINA).

MR. HAVEL IS APPEALING THE VERDICT.

THE PROSECUTOR, KAREL FLORIAN, SAID RADIO FREE EUROPE AND B-B-C HAD TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF MR. HAVEL'S WORDS. LAST MONTH, THE 52-YEAR-OLD HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST RECEIVED AN ANONYMOUS LETTER FROM SOMEONE WHO THREATENED TO COMMIT SUICIDE ON PRAGUE'S WENCESLAS SQUARE ON THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SELF-IMMOLATION OF CZECH STUDENT MARTYR, JAN PALACH.

MR. HAVEL IMMEDIATELY TURNED THE LETTER OVER TO THE POLICE BUT ALSO MADE A PUBLIC PLEA BROADCAST BY WESTERN RADIO STATIONS N-O-T TO COMMIT SUICIDE AND SAYING THAT HE AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS WOULD BE ON WENCESLAS SQUARE JANUARY 15TH TO LAY FLOWERS IN PALACH'S MEMORY AND PREVENT ANY SUICIDE ATTEMPT.

POLICE BLOCKED OFF THE SQUARE AND MUCH OF THE CENTER OF PRAGUE AND ALSO TEMPORARILY DETAINED A GROUP OF DISSIDENTS WHO HAD PLANNED TO LAY FLOWERS. NEVERTHELESS, PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS ERUPTED AT AT LEAST 10 LOCATIONS IN PRAGUE. POLICE USED FORCE TO DISPERSE THEM.

THE FOLLOWING DAY, JANUARY 16TH, THE ACTUAL ANNIVERSARY OF PALACH'S SUICIDE, SEVERAL HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS CONVERGED INDIVIDUALLY ON WENCESLAS SQUARE TO LAY FLOWERS. POLICE DETAINED THEM AND OTHER PASSERSBY. POLICE DETAINED MR. HAVEL MORE THAN ONE HOUR LATER ALTHOUGH HE HAD N-O-T PARTICPATED IN THE FLOWER LAYINGS.

Anniversary

SEVEN (CORRECT) OF THE DISSIDENTS DETAINED THEN WENT ON TRIAL TUESDAY IN A SEPARATE COURTHOUSE IN PRAGUE ON CHARGES OF HOOLIGANISM (VYTRZNICTVI). THAT TRIAL IS EXPECTED TO CONCLUDE WEDNESDAY. (EDS: SEPARATE STORY TO FOLLOW)

MR. HAVEL TOLD THE COURT TUESDAY HE HAD N-O-T HEARD AN ORDER TO DISPERSE UNTIL HE WAS ARRESTED.

//UNVOICED OPT// MR. HAVEL SAYS THE COURT HE HAD WANTED TO LEAVE RIGHT AFTER WITNESSING THE DETENTIONS OF THE OTHER ACTIVISTS, BUT STAYED IN THE SQUARE FOR AN HOUR, BECAUSE AS HE PUTS IT, "I COULD N-O-T BELIEVE MY EYES" -- HE SAYS THE POLICE ACTION TURNED RANDOM PASSERS-BY INTO PROTESTERS. IN MR. HAVEL'S WORDS, I REALIZED HOW DEEP CIVIL DISSATISFACTION MUST BE IF THIS WAS

HAPPENING AND THAT THE SITUATION WAS EVEN MORE SERIOUS THAN EVEN I HAD THOUGHT.

MR. HAVEL SAID THE AUTHORITIES WOULD LEARN A LESSON AND EVENTUALLY WILL BE READY TO OPEN A DIGNIFIED DIALOG WITH THE WHOLE OF SOCIETY, N-O-T EXCLUDING ANYONE. //END OPT//

A KEY STATE WITNESS, DAVID KABZAN TESTIFIED THAT ON THE 15TH OF JANUARY HE WAS NEAR THE NATIONAL THEATER, N-O-T ON WENCESLAS SQUARE. HE TOLD REPORTERS WAITING OUTSIDE THE COURTROOM HE HAD BEEN BEATEN BY POLICE AND FORCED TO SIGN A STATEMENT SAYING HE HAD GONE TO THE WENCESLAS SQUARE DEMONSTRATION AFTER HAVING HEARD MR. HAVEL'S CALL ON A WESTERN RADIO STATION. MR. KABZAN SAYS HE IS NOW SUING THE POLICE.

MR. HAVEL STOOD UP IN COURT TO POINT OUT THAT THE STATE'S ONLY WITNESS TO SAY HIS BROADCAST HAD ATTRACTED PEOPLE TO DEMONSTRATE HAD RECANTED.

//OPT// THE JUDGE THEN READ TRANSCRIPTS OF WESTERN RADIO NEWS ITEMS (EDS: JAN 9, 10, 14, 15) MENTIONING AN UNOFFICIAL CEREMONY WOULD BE HELD JANUARY 15TH. //END OPT//

MR. HAVEL TOLD THE COURT HE DOES N-O-T FEEL GUILTY AND SAID THE CHARGES HAD N-O-T BEEN PROVEN. HE SAID IF HE IS SENTENCED, HE WOULD ACCEPT IT AS A SACRIFIC FOR A GOOD CAUSE WHICH HE SAID IS NOTHING IN COMPARISON WITH THE ULTIMATE SACFRICE JAN PALACH MADE.

//OPT// MR. HAVEL SAID HE HAD HAD N-O INTENTION TO INCITE THE PUBLIC AGAINST THE STATE.

//REST UNVOICED// IN MR. HAVEL'S WORDS, THE TERMS "ANTI-STATE AND ANTI-SOCIALIST HAVE LOST ALL SEMANTIC MEANING" IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. HE POINTED OUT THAT RUDOLF SLANSKY, GUSTAV HUSAK AND ALEXANDER DUBCEK, ALL FORMER PARTY FIRST SECRETARIES HAD ALL FACED ACCUSATIONS OF ANTISTATE AND ANTISOCIALIST ACTIVITIES AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER.

MR. HAVEL WENT ON TO DEFEND THE CHARTER 77 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT, SAYING THAT EVER SINCE ITS FOUNDING 12 YEARS AGO, CHARTER 77 HAD BEEN PEACEFULLY CALLING ON THE AUTHORITIES TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS AND HAD BEEN OFFERING DIALOG. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THE STATE HAS N-O-T RESPONDED TO CHARTER'S INITIATIVES.

HE SAYS THE AUTHORITIES TODAY CONCEDE THE EXISTENCE OF MANY PROBLEMS THAT CHARTER 77 POINTED OUT LONG AGO AND THAT HE SAYS COULD HAVE BEEN SOLVED MUCH SOONER. (SIGNED)

NEB/JN/ 2/21/89 7:26 pm

Services of Mead Data Central JG: found this in my Havel/radio search. Thought you might be interested. Gave it to Peggy too.

(c) 1990 States News Service, May 24, 1990

elections.

As they walked under lilac trees to the town square -- an empty platform now that the oversize head of Lenin has been toppled -- Mary asked her 27-year-old cousin if he was surprised by the demonstrations. He smiled and wrote '68' on a piece of paper. "Watch this." He turned the slip of paper upside down so it reads '89.' "We knew something would happen."

He showed photos of his recent wedding -- a mandatory civil ceremony and a clandestine church mass. His bride, Emilia, wore a heavy winter coat over her frilly wedding dress as they stood at the church altar. "They didn't ever heat the church," Bystrik shrugged.

In Bratislava, an industrial town where smokestacks from chemical plants and baroque church spires reach skyward like fingers from the center of town, Mary's aunt Ilonka, 68, a Catholic nun since she was a girl, hung posters of Pope "Jan Pavel" in her window.

Another aunt, Giska, 61, and her husband, Gino, took Mary to the old Moravian castle of Devin, built on a steep promonotory overlooking the Danube River and Austria -- a good stone's throw away.

Until November, the couple was never allowed to photograph this scene. As they walkedlong the banks of the Danube, Gino, a retired surveyor, stopped short. "You know, I've never been this close to the river." Until the revolution, this path, considered dangerously close to the West, was blocked off by barbed wire.

Later in the evening, the three took a bus across town to Sister Ilonka's. Ilonka bustled about the basement apartment preparing supper -- her quick gait gave no hint of the 10 years of forced labor she underwent for refusing to renounce her vows during the Stalinist 1950s.

The nuns gathered around the richly laid table and bowed their heads to pray. One of them looked up, puzzled. "Should we close the windows before we sing?"

Sister Ilonka leaned her head back and laughed. "Leave them open, leave them open," she said. "The communists are gone."

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background notes

Czechoslovakia

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

February 1990



Official Name:
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

PROFILE

Geography

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

People

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

Government

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

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

Political parties: With free parliamentary elections set for 1990, many new parties are emerging to challenge the Czechoslovak Communist Party for power. **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% of 1987 state budget.

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

Economy

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

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

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

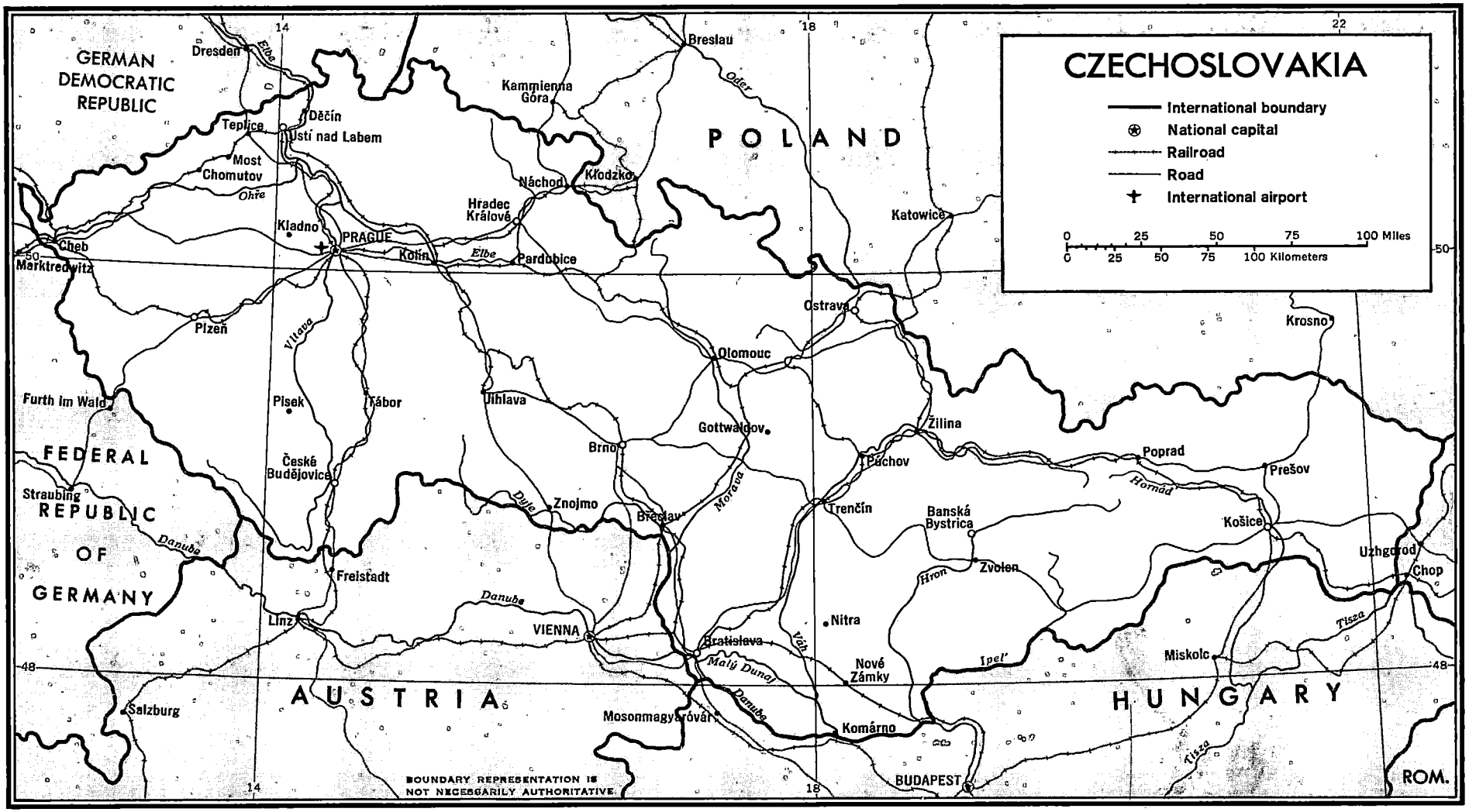
Industry (60% of GNP): *Types*—iron and steel, machinery and equipment, cement, sheet glass, motor vehicles, armaments, chemicals, ceramics, wood, paper products.

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

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

Membership in International Organizations

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


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
Dresden
Elbe
Teplice
Děčín
Ústí nad Labem
Most
Chomutov
Ohře
Kammienna Góra
Breslau
Oder
Náchod
Kłodzko
Hradec Králové
Kladno
PRAGUE
Kolín
Elbe
Pardubice
Katowice
Cheb
Marktredwitz
Plzeň
Vltava
Ostrava
Krosno
Olomouc
Furth im Wald
Pisek
Tábor
Jihlava
Gottwaldov
Žilina
Brno
Púchov
Poprad
Prešov
České Budějovice
Straubing
Dyje
Znojmo
Břeclav
Morava
Trenčín
Banská Bystrica
Košice
Hornád
Danube
Freistadt
Hron
Zvolen
Uzhgorod
Chop
Linz
VIENNA
Nitra
Tisza
Bratislava
Váh
Malý Dunaj
Nové Zámky
Miskolc
Ipel'
Salzburg
Mosonmagyaróvár
Komárno
BUDAPEST
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14
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BOUNDARY REPRESENTATION IS NOT NECESSARILY AUTHORITATIVE.

GEOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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

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

PEOPLE

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

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

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

HISTORY

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

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

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

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

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

The 1968 Soviet Invasion

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

GOVERNMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

Principal Government Officials

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

Ministers

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

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

DEFENSE

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

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

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

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

ECONOMY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Travel Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FOREIGN RELATIONS

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

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

U.S.-CZECHOSLOVAK RELATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Principal U.S. Officials

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

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

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REMARKS AT WENCESLAS SQUARE

EVENT INFORMATION

1) Event will take place in Wenceslas Square on Saturday, November 17th. Perhaps as many as 200,00 are expected to attend. In all likelihood, Czech President Vaclav Havel will introduce POTUS. Looks like no more than 15 mins.

2) DAY IN HISTORY: This is a biggie--exactly one year ago on the date POTUS is schedualed to deliver his remarks, Czechoslovakia's "Velvet Revolution" began with a student confrontation with police in Prague (see ARTICLES).

3) An address to the Czech legislature will precede the remarks in Wenceslas Square.

4) NSC is working on the possibility that the original copy of Czechoslovakia's 1918 Declaration of Independence be presented to Havel during the event.

5) Two areas of sensitivity:

   a. The first is the delicate balance between Slovak, Czech, and Czechoslovakian nationalism. Hutchins of NSC suggests that, without fanning the flames of Slovak nationalism, we make some sort of bow to their cultural integrity and uniqueness--to show that POTUS undersands and appreciates their cultural seperateness.

   b. The second area is the economic hardship Czechs are dealing with at this time. POTUS should show that he understands how hard the ramifications of the Gulf crisis is hitting the Czech economy. POTUS should express America's gratitude--indeed the world's--at Czech sacrifice in the face of brutal agression against another member of the international community.

6) While there are some parallels between Kuwait in 1990 and Czechoslovakia in 1938, we should hold off on any "Saddam as Hitler" analogies until that debate clears up at NSC. The point to remeber, and one that trancends that debate, is that **aggression against a faraway country is everybody's business.** It's not about oil. It's not about Israel. It's about the world community united against international bullies, united for peace and national integrity.

7) Hutchins says any reference to Wilson can't miss. Wilson's a hero over there; he was the first world leader to recognize Czechoslovakian independence. (see Masaryk-Wilson connection).

WENCESLAUS SQUARE HISTORY/COLOR

1) On 28 October 1918, after hearing that the Austrian Empire fell apart, huge crowds celebrated on WS the birth of the independent Czechoslovak Republic. They cheered Thomas Masaryk and Woodrow Wilson.

2) In September 1939 thousands protested here against the Munich diktat, i.e. the dismemberment and political enslavement of Czechoslovakia by the Nazis.

3) Not far from WS, on 28 October 1939, the Nazis shot and mortally wounded Jan Opletal, one of the students who demonstrated against the Nazi oppression. New students' demonstration after Jan Opletal's death led to the complete suppression of the Czech universities on 17 November 1939.
17 November became a symbolical day for freedom-loving students all over the world.

4) In May 1945, when W W II ended, thousands of people again came to WS to celebrate the liberation of their country.

5) In February 1948 the Communist leaders announced on the WS the overthrow of a freely-elected democratic coalition government.

6) In August 1968 huge crowds gathered here to protest the invasion which crushed the Czechoslovak Reform Movement.

7) On 19 January 1969 the student Jan Palach set himself afire in the WS and sacrificed his life in protest against foreign intervention.

8) On 17 November 1989 demonstrations which started as a commemoration of the students' revolt 40 years ago, were the beginning of the Czechoslovak "Velvet Revolution". Again, as many times before, most of the demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of people took place here, on WS.

U.S.-CZECHOSLOVAK TIES

1) "Masaryk, the first president of Czechoslovakia, had a lifelong intellectual relationship with America which must be called unique even today, fifty years after his death. His practical contacts with the American people spread over four decades and consisted of four visits paid to the United States in the years 1878, 1902, 1907, and 1918, The crowning achievement of this relationship was American recognition of Czechoslovak independence on September 3, 1918."

--Masaryk and America, by George Kovtun, p.vii

2) "America meant more to Masaryk than the powerful, prosperous country whose entry into the war turned the scales in favor of the Allies. Masaryk regarded America as a **spiritual** force."

--ibid., p. 47

3) Excerpt from Masaryk's speech at the American Unitarian Association in Boston, reported by the Christian Science Monitor on May 21, 1918:

> "It is the American idea of a liberated mankind, that nations should not be forced to live under a sovereignty against their will. They should be allowed to seek refuge in the equality of nations which is preached by President Wilson, which was preached by President Lincoln and which we regard as the real Kingdom of God."

4) Exerpt from the final version of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, sent to President Wilson:

> "We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nation for centuries. We accept the American principles laid down by Presidnet Wilson: the principles of liberated mankind--of the actual equality of nations--and of governments deriving all thier just powers from the consent of the governed. We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite Wars five hundred years ago, for these same principles, beside her Allies in Russia, Italy, and France, our nation is shedding its blood today."

5) Masaryk and Woodrow Wilson were called "liberators" in the first proclamation of the revolutionalry Czechoslovak National Council to the people issued on 28 November 1918:

> "At the beginning of a new great work the National Council calls on you, Czech and Slovak people, to show by your behavior and by your joy that you are worthy of this great hour. Our liberators Masaryk and Wilson shall not be disappointed in their conviction that they had won freedom for a people who is able to govern itself."

6) At a celebration of the Fourth of July in Prague in 1919, attended by a group of Czech-American soldiers, Masaryk

described his leaning toward American democracy in a brief speech which had a strong personal note. An exerpt follows:

> "..I had the privilege of visiting the battlefield of Gettysburg and I think I can say I was never more deeple impressed...And then I came to the cemetery and read the eternal message of Lincoln, I read of that true 'government of the people, by the people, for the people' that never shall perish from off the earth. This message touched me deeply and I realized what American democracy means...and I accepted the principles of American democracy. I can say that these principles have been and ever will be the policy of my government and my life. They appeal to our people, our people have adopted them as their own and through them we shall for ever be united with the American people, united with them in the spirit of liberty and democracy. You, boys, are returning to your homes. We shall never forget what you have done for us. We have been and are united in endeavor for liberty and I hope that one day I may once more meet with you out there in your adopted country. Do no forget that the same ideals, the same principles ever unite us. Do not forget us, as we shall never forget you."

7) Iwo Jima Memorial: one of the men from the most famous battle photographs ever taken, raising the U.S. flag, was a Slovak by origin, Mikhael Strank (Sh-trank). The soldier was born at Conemaugh, PA, on 10 November 1919; his parents were natives of Czechoslovakia. Strank fought with the 3rd Battaliaon, 7th Marines.

   On 1 March 1945, while attacking Japanese positions in northern Iwo Jima, he was fatally wounded by enemy artillery fire. Sgt. Strank was entitled to the following decorations and medals: Purple Heart (awarded posthumously), Presidential Unit Citation with one star (for Iwo Jima), and many more (see xerox).

8) Captain John Smith on his first trip to America in 1607 brought with him two Slovak carpenters. They died during their first year in Jamestown of Typhoid fever, which killed almost all the new settlers of Jamstown. They are buried in Jamestown. Cpt. Smith claims in his memoirs that **he hired the two Slovaks since Slovaks are the best carpenters in the world.** **This makes a nice analagous lead into: "and now those carpenters are lending their skills to the reconstruction of one of the world's greatest democracies."

9) McDonald Restaurants Founder Ray A. Kroc was a Czech by origin. Maybe there's a line in this, like:

   POTUS: "And I think we all want to recognize the man who started a worldwide revolution, a man whose influence is

even felt today in the capital of the Soviet Union, that great Czechoslovak---Ray Kroc, founder of McDonald's."

10) One of the most famous astronauts of our times, Cpt. Eugene Andrew Cernan, traces his roots back to the Kysuca valley, North Slovakia. He took part in some of the most significant space flights of our time.

With his legitimate title to immortality, Cernan has remained closely attached to the religious tradition of his Slovak forefathers. Before takeoff on his last lunar flight he made this profound statement abut the Creator of the Universe: "When you look back at the earth from the moon and you see the perfectness of it and the beauty of it and the logic of it all, you know it didn't happen by accident.."

11) Places in America with Czech names: Bohemia, NY; New Prague and Moravia, Minnesota; Prague, Nebraska; Moravia, Texas; and Slovaktown, Arkansas.

12) Czech-ered canvas: 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.

JOKES

1) Sometimes the Czechs and Slovaks accuse each other of mutual bad influence: Slovaks learned to drink beer from Czechs and the Czechs learned to drink wine from Slovaks. Maybe we can extend this, something along the lines of...
POTUS: "And I think we have a similar exchange going on between the Americans and the people of Czechoslovakia...you gave us the polka, and we give you breakdancing."

OR: "...you gave us Dvorak, and we give you rap-music."

CZECHOSLOVAK COLOR

1) The Czechoslovak National Anthem gets a little complicated with parts that are "Czech parts" and others that are "Slovak parts." Nonetheless, per you request, here are some exerpts:

CZECH PART
"Where is my home, where is my home?
Streams are rushing through the meadows,
'Mid the rocks sigh fragrant pine groves,
Orchards decked in Spring's array
Scenes of Paradise portray.
And this land of wond'rous beauty
Is the Czech land, home of mine,

Is the Czech land, home of mine."

SLOVAK PART
"Lightning strikes our mighty Tatra tempest-shaken,
Lightning strikes our mighty Tatra tempest-shaken.
Stand we fast, friends of mine,
Storms must pass, sun will shine,
Slovaks shall awaken."

ARTICLES

1) "Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution, as it came to be called, began with the crack of riot sticks against student heads...On Friday night, Nov. 17, more than 3,000 young people stood in the cold and faced down a line of riot police. As the students chanted for elections and entry into Wenceslas Square, hundreds more police moved in behind them, sealing off connecting streets and forming a human cage...At about 10 p.m., the police attacked. With help from the Red Berets, an anti-terrorist squad, they bashed, bludgeoned and kicked with methodical fury, continuing even as unarmed students fell bledding to the ground..."

"The blood that stained Narodni Street that night, and the rumor that a student had been killed, worked like a red flag before the Czechoslovak people.."

"Czechoslovakia's hard-line leadership, installed by Leonid Brezhnev to crush reform after the Soviet-led invasion of 1968, had for two decades treated independent thought as treason. Govbachev presented them with an unsolvable problem. If they allowed democratic reform, they faced certain extiction. If they didn't they increased Czechoslovakia's isolation..."

"Operation Student, as the Interior Ministry called it, proved to be the worst incident of government violence against citizens in 20 years. The next day, protesters crept back toward Wenceslas Square, to light candles and sing anthems where the students had fallen..."
--Washington Post

2) "After the First World War, independence returned. The new democratic Czechoslovak Republic united the agricultural, often impoverished Slovaks and the industrial, prosperous Czechs...

"Soon came the tragic Hitler years the partition of Czechoslovakia, and liberation by the Soviet Army. By 1948 the postwar coalition government succumbed to the country's militant Communist Party, which was aided by the Soviet Union...

"..Czechs often dismiss Slovaks as hillbillies, lacking culture, while many Slovaks perceive Czechs as cold and conceited."

"That year (1968) a Slovak, Alexander Dubcek, Czechoslovakia's Communist Party general secretary, aided by party members and ordinary citizens sanctioned an unprecedented drive toward liberalization. His attempt to create 'socilism with a human face' shook the country, ending abruptly with the Soviet-led invasion of Warsaw Pact troops. The 'Prague Spring' of 1968 was discredited as an attempt to disrupt the very foundation of socialist order. Disgraced, Dubcek was forced to resign."

The article quotes a Slovak woman as confiding: "'We have a saying: 'From anything old a new sapling must grow.' That's what happened after the war. Facism rotted away, and on its ruins we built socialism, such as it is. It could be better if people were better. Bad often tries to destroy the good.'"

--National Geographic, "Slovakia's Spirit of Survival," Yva Momatiuk, January, 1987

3) "(in Prague)..street vendors sell not only folk art but also anti-Communist buttons, including a cute one with a skull and a red hammer and sicle instead of crossbones..

"Not included in the tour was the Prague monument to Soviet liberators. A statue of a Russian soldier locked in an embrace with a Czech civilian, it has become, I was told, a gathering place and an ironic symbol for the country's budding gay liberation movement, its pedestal plastered with the movement's leaflets."

--The American Spectator, Cathy Young, October 1990

QUOTES

1) "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) **he is Czechoslovakia's greatest philosopher. To give you an idea of his stature among Czechs, note that Masaryk often referred to Czechoslovakia as "the home of Comenius."

2) "O holy simplicity!"

--John Huss, the great Czech martyr, his last words at the stake.

3) This would be a great quote to pay deference to Havel as a man of letters. Franz Kafka, the great Czech poet once said, "A book must be the axe for the frozen sea inside us." Maybe we could paraphrase "the book" into "the power of the written word" or something along those lines.

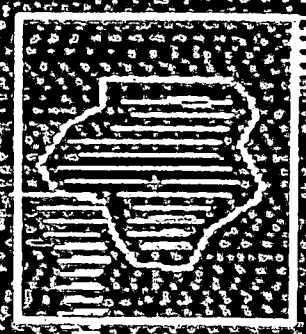
4) "PRAVDA VITEZI" (THE TRUTH WILL WIN) This is Czechoslovakia's motto, adopted by the Czech Republic in the 15th century.

COME ON BABY LIGHT MY FIRE

1) In 1668 Comenius 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.

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SEE "LIONS OF THE AFRICAN NIGHT" WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, ON PBS TV

Slovakia's Spirit of Survival

Article and photographs
by YVA MOMATIUK
and JOHN EASTCOTT

Following in Lenin's footsteps, thousands of young Communists climb Rysy peak in the High Tatras of Slovakia, an annual pilgrimage commemorating his ascent in 1913. When the throngs depart and peace returns to the mountains, the music of past ages still echoes through the valleys.

Surviving centuries of foreign rule, Slovakia has never surrendered its cultural heritage. Since 1968, when Soviet tanks arrived in Czechoslovakia to quell "socialism with a human face," the Slovaks have practiced compliance in pursuit of increased prosperity, while preserving the language and spirit of their ancestors.





No one goes hungry in rural Slovakia. Villagers like Katarína Mišurová of Párnica raise livestock and vegetables to augment erratically available store foods. Home produce, preserved for winter, supplements abundant potatoes and dairy products.

"TURAJ JÁNOŠÍK was one hell of a man." The tired voice trailed off.

Then Vincent Patrnčiak, an old fiddle player from Terchová, a mountain village in Slovakia, one of Czechoslovakia's two republics, told me about Terchová's legendary hero, whose short and stormy life inspired the saddest mountain tunes. The story unfolded slowly, tattered memories that have survived more than 200 years.

"Jánošík was born here. Handsome and clever he was. He studied to be a priest. One day Jánošík's mother died. Her husband, Jánošík's father, buried her. But the *gróf*—people worked for big landlords in Slovakia—the gróf demanded to know why he wasn't at work. Burying his wife? That wasn't an excuse. And the gróf ordered the old man beaten. Four hundred lashes. . . ."

I listened intently. To my Polish ear the melodious Slovak language was familiar yet oddly archaic, springing from the ancient font of all Slavic tongues. Vincent went on:

"Jánošík saw his father's lifeless body. He told the gróf: 'I swear I will burn your castle down,' and he did. After that nothing could stop him. He plundered the rich and gave to the poor. People loved Jánošík. They prayed to him.

"One day a traitor gave him out. The captors put an iron hook between his ribs, hung him over a fire. Jánošík dangled there, smoking his pipe, swearing. At last he yelled, 'Now that you've cooked me, eat me!' and died. Even the mountains cried."

Vincent added sarcastically, "And now they say Jánošík fought for Communism."

During our months in Slovakia we found such pointed remarks rare. Fearful of the consequences, people seldom criticize Czechoslovakia's Communist system. While there are dissident groups in the large cities of Prague, Brno, and Bratislava, in the hills and mountains of rural Slovakia the lack of anonymity makes such groups virtually nonexistent. Most Slovaks resign themselves to the pursuit of safe, personal goals. Others cherish the material improvements of the past 40 years and accept the regime that, although oppressively rigid by Western democratic standards, they believe has brought prosperity to once impoverished Slovakia.

Leaving the old musician, I followed a path made by generations of feet between Terchová's blossoming orchards, looking for my husband, John, and Tara, our five-year-old daughter. They were watching Gypsies erect a shooting arcade and a merry-go-round.

Along Terchová's main street, banners heralded Jánošík Days. Loudspeakers, omnipresent in Czechoslovakia's towns and villages, blared folk music. A festive crowd marched toward Vrátna Valley's amphitheater, several miles away. John ran ahead. I followed with Tara in tow.

Suddenly a dusty bus puffed up behind me. "Get in!" said the driver. Helping hands grabbed my aluminum case and tapped it curiously. "Electronic equipment?"

"Nie," I said. *"Aparaty fotograficzne."*

"Ah, a Polish journalist! You must be spying for Jaruzelski." Loud laughter greeted this reference to Poland's leader.

"I live in the United States," I explained.

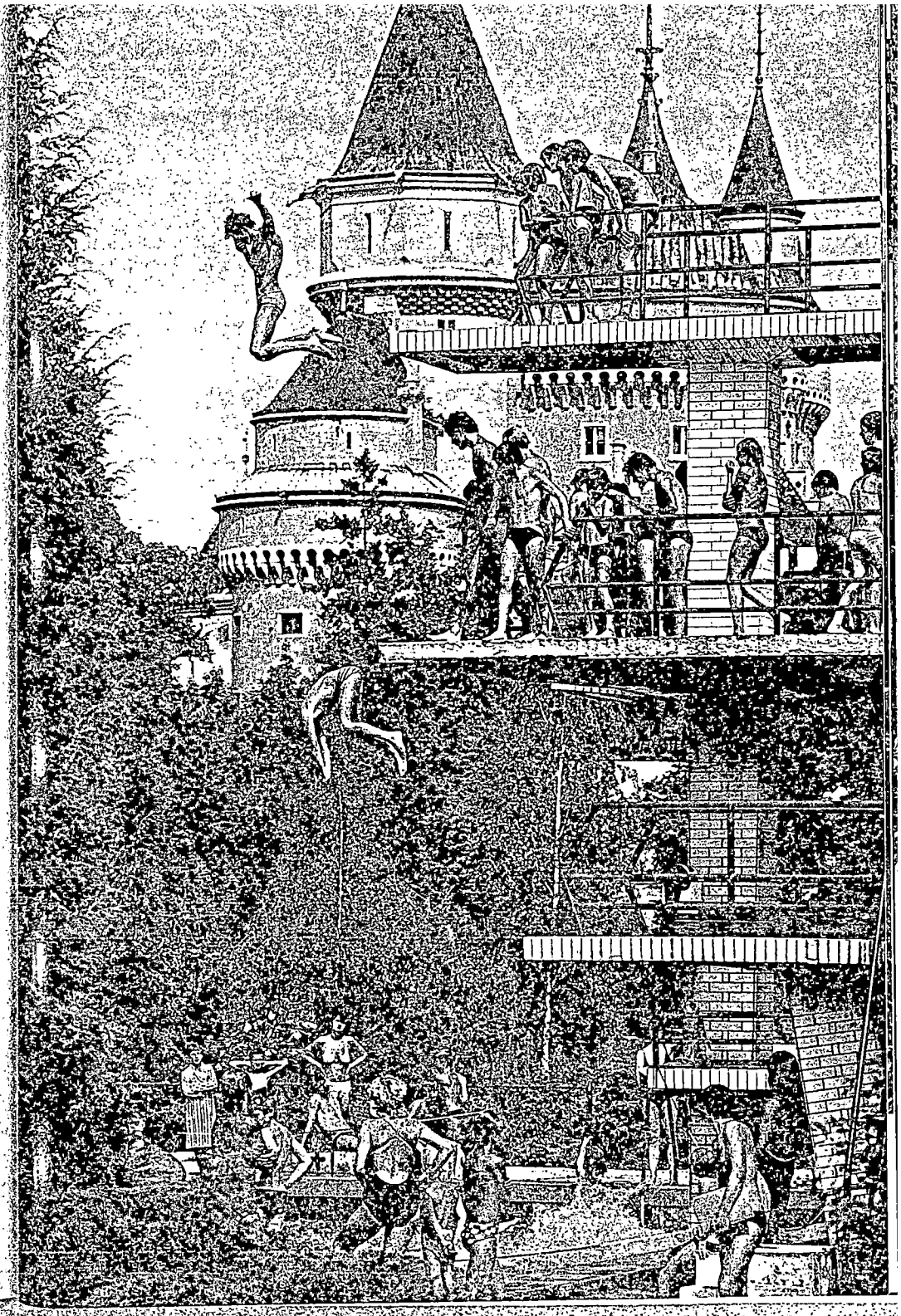
"Aha! Then you must be spying for Reagan." Even Tara joined in the laughter. Flushed and happy, she was already sitting in somebody's lap, her hands sticky with chocolate.

The Slovaks apologized for their jokes. How did I like their country? Wasn't Vrátna the most beautiful valley I had ever seen? Where was my man? A pretty woman should not run around alone.

"There he is, I see him!" our driver yelled. High on the slope was John, his cameras

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This is the sixth NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC assignment for author-photographer team **Yva Momatiuk** and **John Eastcott**, also wife and husband. Their subjects have included Canada's Inuit, New Zealand's Maoris, and Poland's mountain people. They live in the Catskill Mountains of New York.



***Once upon a time** the fairy-tale towers of Bojnice Castle, dating from the 1100s, housed Hungarian nobility. Now a museum to Slovakia's past, the castle forms a spectacular backdrop to bathers enjoying the mineral waters at Bojnice Spa. Other popular outdoor activities include hiking, skiing, climbing, and tennis.*



Workers unite *to celebrate harvest's end on Cooperative Day in Liptovská Osada, where lengthy speeches finally give way to music, food, and dancing. Acceptance of the socialist land reforms of 1948 has grown with the improved standard of living. All houses now have electricity, and most have a TV and refrigerator.*

shining. "That's strange. He isn't fat. He isn't even old," the driver mused.

"What does he mean?" I asked my neighbor. She giggled. "When a Slovak girl marries an American, we suspect he must not only be rich but also old and fat. Is he an American?"

"No," I answered, "he's from New Zealand," and we both laughed.

At the Vrátna amphitheater we watched folk dancers from throughout Slovakia thundering on stage. Tense, light-footed steps followed masterful jumps. Native wind instruments joined violins, cymbals, and high-pitched voices. Yet amid rainbows of costumes the songs lamented.

I THOUGHT of the history of the Slovak people, as woeful as these songs. Their ancestors had migrated to this mountainous, landlocked heart of Europe more than 1,500 years ago. Invaded in turn by Avars, Magyars, Tatars, and Turks, they paid in blood to hold on to their lands. In the ninth century they were briefly part of the Great Moravian Empire, but the Magyar invasion resulted in a thousand years of Hungarian rule.

Incredibly, the Slovaks kept their identity. Schools taught them in Hungarian; churches saved their souls in Latin, Czech, and German. Their own language, not recorded in writing until the late 1700s, survived in the hills and mourned in songs:

Feed us, God, feed us,
In these hard, hard times,
Or we will perish. . . .

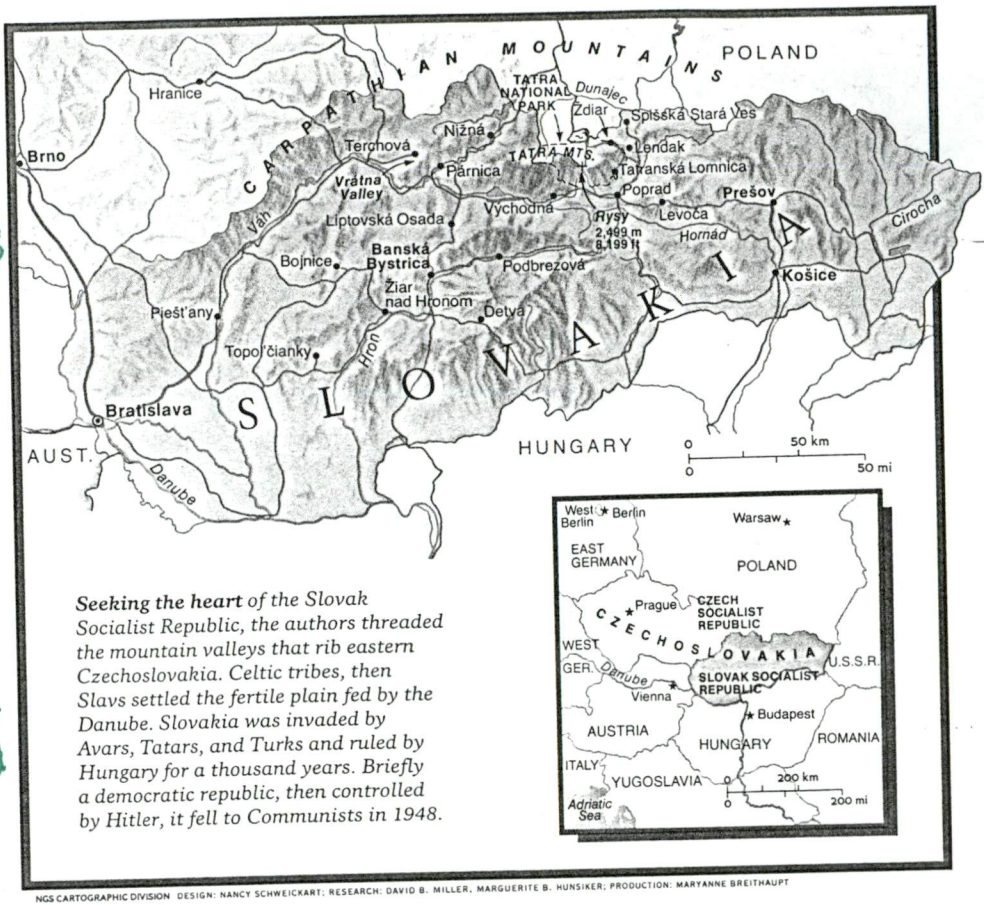
And many did perish.

After the First World War, independence returned. The new democratic Czechoslovak Republic united the agricultural, often impoverished Slovaks and the industrial, prosperous Czechs.

Soon came the tragic Hitler years, the partition of Czechoslovakia, and liberation by the Soviet Army. By 1948 the postwar coalition government succumbed to the country's militant Communist Party, which was aided by the Soviet Union; the U.S.S.R. thus gained one of its staunchest allies. Czechoslovakia's industry was completely nationalized, cooperative farms established, a new constitution adopted, and opposition silenced.

Today Czechs and Slovaks elect an equal number of deputies to the House of Nations in the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia. The Communist Party stresses harmony and brotherhood between both peoples. Yet Czechs often dismiss Slovaks as hillbillies, lacking culture, while many Slovaks perceive Czechs as cold and conceited.

Cradled inside the great arch of the Carpathians, Slovakia unfolds gracefully, rolling from wild peaks in the north to the



Seeking the heart *of the Slovak Socialist Republic, the authors threaded the mountain valleys that rib eastern Czechoslovakia. Celtic tribes, then Slavs settled the fertile plain fed by the Danube. Slovakia was invaded by Avars, Tatars, and Turks and ruled by Hungary for a thousand years. Briefly a democratic republic, then controlled by Hitler, it fell to Communists in 1948.*

NGS CARTOGRAPHIC DIVISION DESIGN: NANCY SCHWEICKART; RESEARCH: DAVID B. MILLER, MARGUERITE B. HUNSIKER; PRODUCTION: MARYANNE BREITHAUPT

fertile plains of the Danube basin in the southwest. Medieval castles cast elegant shadows on wheat fields. Names of rivers—Váh, Hron, Cirocha, Hornád—tickle the throat with their harsh *r*'s and *h*'s.

New industrial plants dot the valleys, producing machines, engineering and transportation equipment, robots, pharmaceuticals, textiles, shoes, and beer. Domestic coal, nuclear and hydroelectric power, and Soviet oil and gas provide energy.

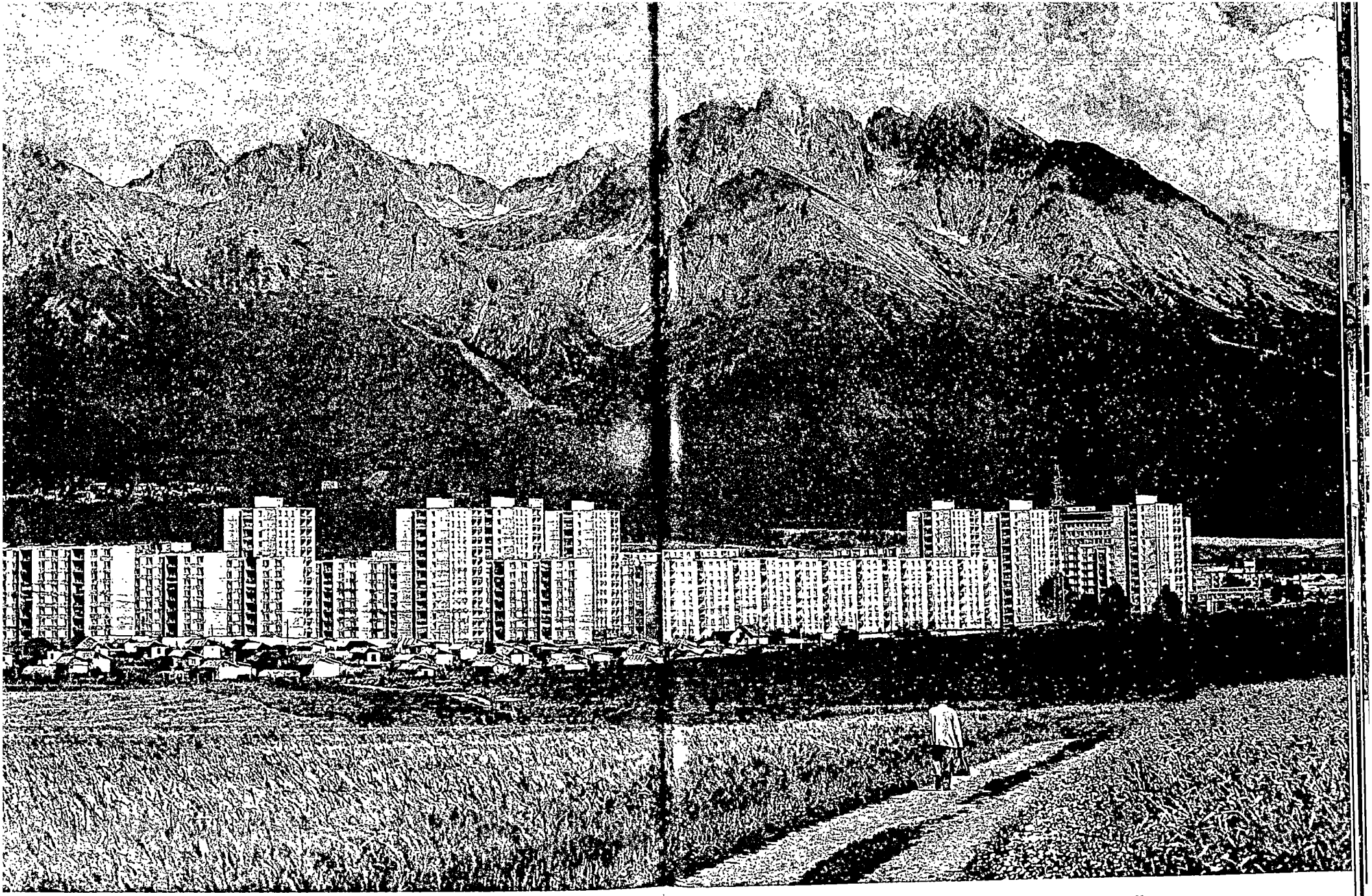
Not until the 1960s did the number of Slovaks working in industry approach the total of those in agriculture. Today only 15 percent till the land. With its five million citizens the Slovak Socialist Republic earns about 30 percent of the national income in a country of 15 million. Nearly every family owns a refrigerator, washing machine, and television; every third family, a car.

SLOVAKS COMPLAIN that the changing life-style has made people hurried, aloof; among the young, the divorce rate has soared.

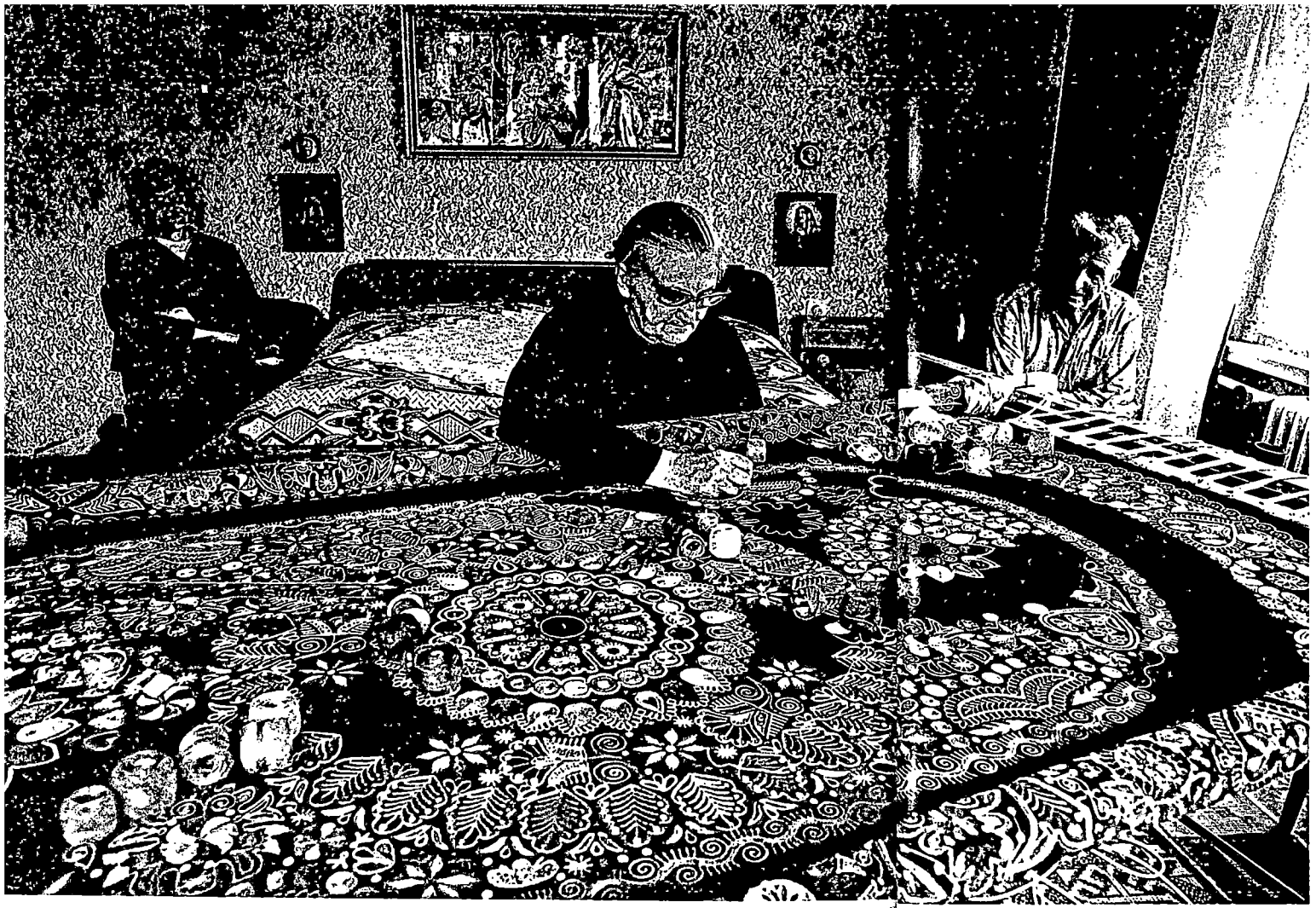
A geologist said: "When I was young, the teacher spanked me, the priest spanked me, my father spanked me. Three big men tried to make a good citizen out of one little boy. Today they don't spank in school, the priest is less visible, and parents are busy working. Whom do we breed? Hooligans?"

Among family and friends, Slovaks are warm, generous, upholding old-fashioned courtesies of the rural communities from which many have stemmed.

Yet in casual encounters the very same people can be abrupt and rude. Store clerks, officials, repairmen, and waiters often treat customers with impatient indifference. A teacher told us: "We don't like this behavior



Dwarfed by towering mountains, high rises mushroom in the old town of Poprad, part of an effort to meet housing needs of nearby factories. Garden plots with storage sheds, foreground, allow apartment dwellers to grow their own produce and enjoy fresh air.





Political survivor *once imprisoned by his own party, Czechoslovakia's President Gustáv Husák* ***(above)*** *was selected in 1969 to restore law and order, Soviet style, after Alexander Dubček's attempt at liberalization. Husák has since made an unspoken bargain with his people—docility in return for increased material comforts. Party member Veronika Goliánova watches her friend Marta Rybárová* ***(left)*** *embroider a tablecloth for the local priest. Husák received a similar present from both women on his 70th birthday in 1983.*

any more than you do. But since almost everybody works for the state, people aren't worried about being fired, even for incompetence or rudeness."

People *can* be fired, however, for not adhering to the ruling Communist Party line, or—if they are teachers, police, or party members—for attending church services. For others, churchgoing can be detrimental to career advancement. On Sundays many people drive to distant village churches, hoping to worship in anonymity. Slovaks joke that if gasoline becomes rationed, party members will get double coupons. Why? Because they have farther to go to church.

One day we met a funeral procession. An old woman dressed in black took my hand. "Your legs are younger, dear," she said, leaning on me. In the cemetery she introduced me serenely to sunken tombstones. Here lay her parents, her sister, a baby daughter. "God gives, God takes away," she said simply.

The minister intoned over an open grave: "Through me the deceased says to his widow: 'Forgive me, darling, for not being able to cherish you one more day.'" Women wept. A soft breeze stirred white lilies.

"Now you can see that the church is alive here," the minister told us later. "Remember, Slovakia is a mosaic of nationalities: Czechs, Hungarians, Russians, Germans, Poles, Gypsies, and others. We have Catholics, Lutherans, and members of the Reformed and Orthodox Churches."

In Czechoslovakia, clergymen are civil servants, receiving salaries and funds to maintain their churches. They may not participate in political life or seek to motivate their followers politically.

"I am told that teachers cannot attend services," I said to him. He was suddenly ill at ease. "I understand that if you are a Communist, you can't teach in West Germany," he retorted.

COOPERATIVES, called *družstvá,* have changed the Slovak landscape even more than new industrial plants. The hills, once a bright patchwork of private plots, are now cultivated in multiacre sections. Quaint wooden farm buildings have been replaced with large družstvo compounds, their offices, barns, combines, and tractors protected by fences and armed guards.

The farms produce basic crops—grain, potatoes, fodder. Some add sugar beets, hops, fruits, and vegetables, or breed livestock. Thanks to machinery and fertilizers, one Slovak farm worker now feeds 15 people; his father might have fed three.

At the village of Liptovská Osada in central Slovakia, the director of the local cooperative told us that the farm's steep land supports 300,000 chickens, 50,000 geese, 12,000 sheep, 2,500 cattle, 2,000 pigs, and 45 horses. The cooperative also operates a vegetable store and a cheese factory, distills fiery plum brandy, sells carnations, and owns a tourist hotel.

"We employ 1,000 workers and earn about 180 million Czechoslovak crowns, or 30 million dollars annually," said Dr. Milan Paučula. Urbane and gentle, with degrees in law and agriculture, he oversees the farm.

"Wouldn't people prefer to own the land, the way their fathers did?" asked John.

Dr. Paučula laughed heartily at this. "Their fathers tell them how they had to get up at 3 a.m., work on a plot too small to feed them, rush to their factory job, then return to their field, often after dark."

IF YOU ASK about the Communist land reform of 1948, you will be told that farmers then considered it robbery. Today many have accepted it.

"When the official ordered me to sign our fields over to the družstvo," Mária Bartková-Mandačka told us in the village of Východná, "I grabbed a pot of boiling water to scald him, as if he were the devil. They ordered my husband home from work: 'You sit there till she signs.' After three weeks I gave up. We didn't get a penny! The other day the same man asked me: 'Mária, are you hurting?' And I said, 'Not at all!' "

Mária found her niche in the system. She proudly showed me medals awarded for her achievements. She hopes to have 36 grandchildren: "Multiply my six children by six. What do you get?"

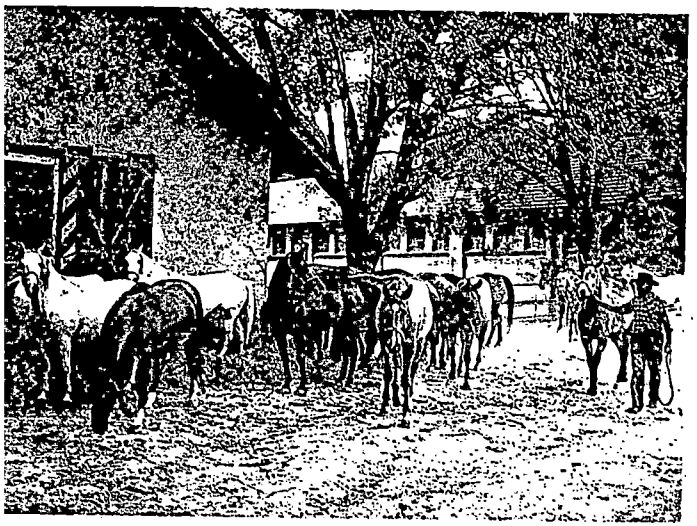
But, I protested, most women today work outside their homes.

"At home they used to toil all day and nobody was even grateful," she replied. "Now women have their own money, friends, and children too." The government grants a working mother maternity leave for six months, including benefits amounting to 90 percent of her salary. Day-care centers charge five crowns, or 85 cents, a day.

But often in the morning I saw weary women on their way to the day-care center, carrying babies, urging on sleepy toddlers.

"I hate these superwomen who tell the government how they love to work full-time, rear children, and take care of the house," complained a mother of three. "Even our husbands expect us to work an 80-hour week and smile too."

The lure of industrial employment includes a salary averaging 3,000 crowns





***Slovak cowboy** Ján Záhorec (above) serves as caretaker of brood mares at the internationally renowned stud farm in Topol'čianky. Exported for breeding, Thoroughbreds, Arabians, and Lipizzaners boost the economy with much needed hard currency.*

*Taking a break from a hot anvil, the ranch's blacksmith (**facing page**) offers typical Slovak hospitality, sharing his lunch with the authors.*



($500) a month, as much as four weeks of paid vacation a year, and retirement between 53 and 60, with pension benefits up to 75 percent of pay. Workers have their own sports and recreation facilities.

We were told, however, that a quiet revolution is sweeping the factories, that hand-operated machines are being replaced by robots and computerized assembly lines.

Engineer Anton Kolenička, a balding veteran of 45 years in the steel industry, directs Slovakia's oldest ironworks, located in Podbrezová in central Slovakia. He considers himself lucky. "Automation! My successors will take it for granted. They won't see, as I did, the change it created in work psychology. People took it hard at first. About 15 years ago, nearly all they knew had become obsolete. They had to adapt, and I was privileged to witness this change."

Hard hats firmly on, we walked under red smoke from open-hearth furnaces, which are now being replaced by electric arc furnaces. Heaped beside the Hron River, rusty pyramids of scrap metal waited to be melted, pulled, and rounded into pipes of all sizes and many destinations: the Middle East, Germany, the Netherlands, Canada, the U.S.S.R.

Engineer Milan Pivovarči, a fourth-generation man of iron, took us through the works. They were no longer a man's world. Women were operating cranes and pipe-sorting machines. My ears tingled; the noise reached a deafening 90 decibels.

Outside, Milan told us: "The old workers marvel at our progress. Work is still hard, but the salaries we get are second only to what miners are paid, and average 3,550 crowns a month. We retire at 55." He laughed. "But these old crows just want to keep on working."

Such zest for the job is rare in Slovakia. Even during regular work hours shops are full of customers. People play hooky to visit a hairdresser, repair a car, or speed off to their summer cottage. Many feather their nests with illegally obtained building materials or quietly subcontract a state-owned bulldozer to do a bit of excavating for their new house. The government seems to be saying: "Keep your political profile low, and we won't interfere."

Restaurants employ a maximum number of workers and frequently offer minimum service. One person brings a menu, another takes your order, another delivers drinks, another serves the food. Money is handled by an elusive "cashier" waiter.

Rather than waiting for the missing links in this human chain, we learned to send Tara to fetch menus and summon waiters. Slovaks love children and indulge them shamelessly. Tara was often invited to the kitchen to watch the chef prepare monumental desserts of fruit, nuts, and *zmrzlina*—ice cream.

On the road, away from petty annoyances, we traveled freely. Women in smocks and gum boots wielded scythes with fluid grace, trimming roadside ditches. Vacationing Slovaks searched for mushrooms and berries. Children splashed in warm streams, naked, light-headed from laughter.

In Slovakia the upbeat image of a happy society is cultivated by the government-controlled media. Posters advertise sunny holidays and bright prospects. Red banners praise the leadership of the proletariat. Slogans read: Long Live the Soviet Union! Communism Means Peace! Down With Imperialism!

The system guarantees jobs, housing, education, health services, and pensions, but the aspirations of the individual are mired by a political doctrine that relies on bureaucratic regulations to ensure loyalty.

Since the rise and fall of Poland's Solidarity trade union, neither Slovaks nor Poles can easily cross their joint border.

Slovaks show little interest in the political upheaval in Poland. "Frankly, we don't know what's happening in Poland," a forester explained to us. "People have learned not to touch matters they can't influence. They keep their heads down. They had their lesson in 1968."

That year a Slovak, Alexander Dubček, Czechoslovakia's Communist Party general secretary, aided by party members and ordinary citizens, sanctioned an unprecedented drive toward liberalization. His attempt to create "socialism with a human face" shook the country, ending abruptly with the Soviet-led invasion of Warsaw Pact troops. The "Prague Spring" of 1968 was discredited as an attempt to disrupt the very foundation of socialist order. Disgraced, Dubček was forced to resign.

One day we found Dubček's signature in a hotel scrapbook. "Did Dubček come here often?" I asked the receptionist. No, she said, only once, with friends.

I looked at her. Was there nothing to say about that springtime of hope? Her eyes flashed a message: "This topic is off-limits."

Yet Slovaks remember only too well. They are careful in their personal contacts.



Raising a child *need not conflict with a job for Slovakia's mothers. The Tesla-Orava TV factory in Nižná runs a day-care center (**facing page**) staffed by professionals and catering to several hundred children. In spite of excellent standards in widespread state nurseries, some parents prefer the family touch. Retired grandparents provide willing help: Mária Námesná (**above**), from Žiar nad Hronom, mirrors her five-month-old granddaughter's winning smile. Working mothers may retire early based on how many children they have.*



Prayers but not politics are permitted in Slovak churches, where state-licensed priests receive government paychecks. Morning mass at the baroque church in Spišská Stará Ves (right) draws a large congregation. Policemen, teachers, and party members tend to worship far from home, to avoid recognition and potential harassment. At Levoča's School for the Blind, a kindergarten pupil (left) will be guaranteed a full education and, later, specialized vocational training.

"It saddens me that most of us who used to press for political reforms no longer see one another," a retired schoolteacher told us in Levoča, a small history-rich town in the central part of Slovakia. "We withdrew into our shells, as if fearful of guilt by association. We pursue only tangible goals: a new car, a new house."

Indeed, boxlike houses were going up everywhere. "How many families live in each one of these?" wondered John, pointing to huge concrete villas. We asked around.

"Just one," a woman, busily washing her windows, informed us. "Families build for themselves. Grown children stay with them for a while, till they can afford their own."

"But can they?"

"Sure they can. They work for it too. They want that third bathroom, a large TV set. I ask my daughter: 'Do you have to get everything in such a hurry?' and she says, *'Maminka,* everybody does.' "

Factory work often ends at 2 p.m., leaving plenty of time for moonlighting. Enterprising Slovaks make souvenirs, rent rooms to holidaymakers, and cultivate *záhrady,* small plots allocated outside villages and towns. The lush gardens produce more than half the fruit and vegetables in the republic.

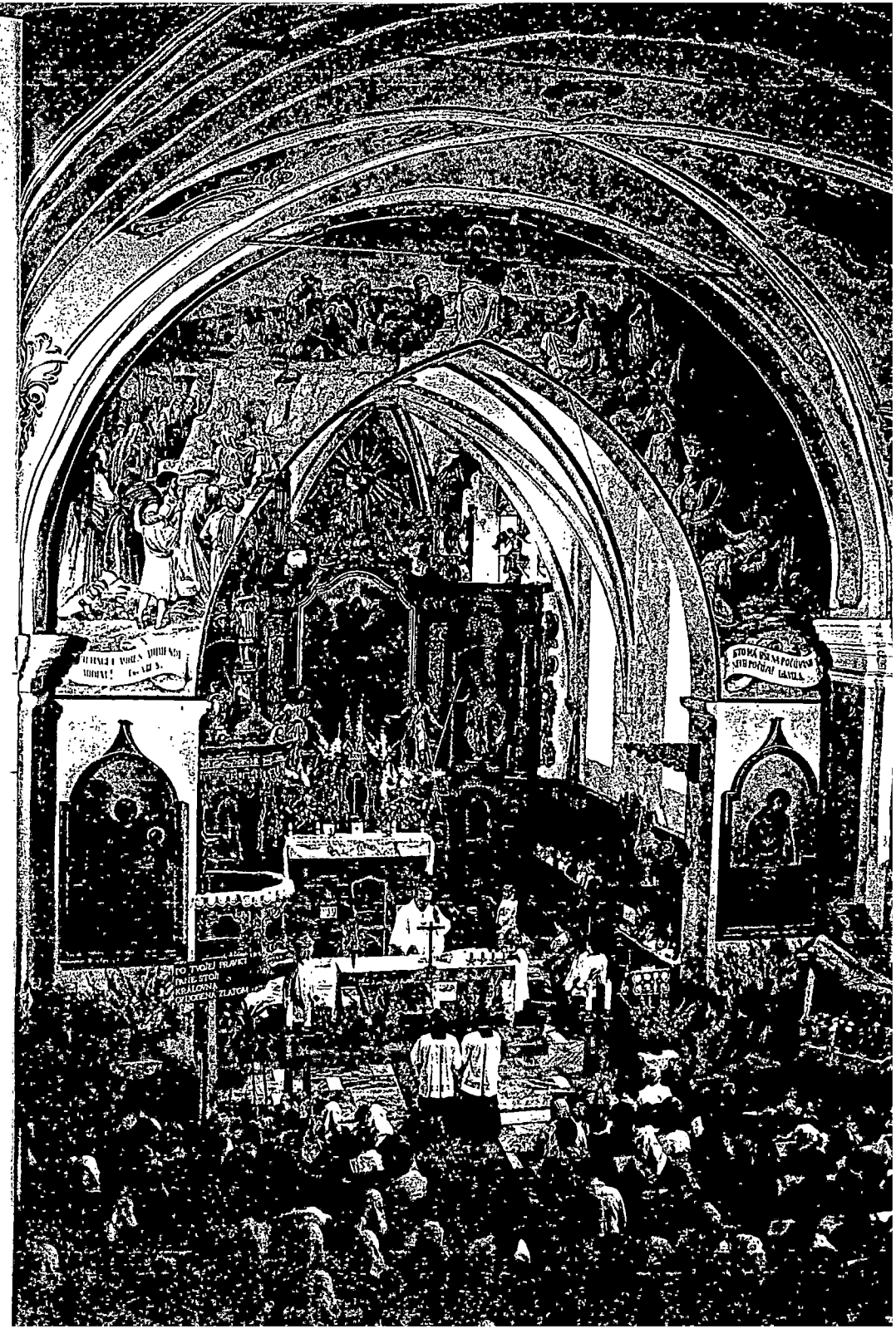
The average new house rises three stories above a full basement. Often the pastel stucco walls are adorned with small mirror chips. Such houses contain some 3,000 square feet and cost about 350,000 crowns, or $60,000. Proud owners frequently reside in the basement, venturing upstairs only for ceremonial occasions. Do-it-yourself building abounds, and since mortgage rates are 1.5 to 2.7 percent, a house is an excellent tangible investment.

These giant saltboxes are alien to the traditional Slovak design that once graced everything from decorated beehives to some of the world's finest Gothic wooden altars.

"After the war cultural values changed," declared Pavol Repka, an architect from Tatranská Lomnica. "Cosmopolitan styles, such as Tirolean villas and Italian neoclassic facades, were discredited as bourgeois. Our indigenous wooden architecture was denounced as primitive. Villages were to catch up with towns. We tore down what we could and moved into stone and brick boxes. Contractors encourage uniformity. It costs less. So we drown in mediocrity."

Pavol looked toward cloudy peaks: "Once I spent five days alone, snowed in on Mont Blanc in the French Alps. I decided that if I survived I'd search our past for what makes us tick, and build an honest Slovak house." His new house, an honest Slovak one, was rising just beside us.

ON WEEKENDS Slovaks flock to the country to swim, shoot rapids, fish, ski, windsurf, hike, even fly. We rode with a hang-gliding club into the hills above Banská Bystrica, capital of the Central Slovak Region. The



valley below us simmered in dusty heat; up on the ridge strong updrafts cooled the skin.

Out came picnic baskets. Men unfolded homemade gliders. Mike Harger, an American who is now a legend, brought one to Slovakia nine years ago, and they copied it.

Carefully checking the wind, the glider pilots joked with a 55-year-old grandfather and helped fasten his harness. Then they were off with a rustle of wings, soaring suspended under fragile canopies of Dacron.

"After my first flight I couldn't sleep," Jozef Čiliak, a truck driver, told us later over mugs of beer. "But up in the air it's all beauty and peace. Birds follow you, you join them. Man has wings at last."

FOUNDED IN 1255, Banská Bystrica, "pearl on the Hron River," was renowned in medieval Europe for copper and silver mines. Wealth created exquisite Gothic and Renaissance houses; power built the massive castle; faith erected lofty church spires.

Today in Red Army Square private gardeners dispense free medical advice to fruit buyers: "Black currants, good for your kidneys. . . ." Other entrepreneurs sell embroidered Slovak blouses, woodcrafts, and Western imports: T-shirts, jeans.

Banská Bystrica spills upward from its crowded historical center into hilly satellite suburbs. Rows of high-rise buildings or *paneláky,* as Slovaks call this prefabricated sameness, absorb a population that since 1945 has increased sixfold, to 76,000 people.

Banská Bystrica is a political town. Throughout the year busloads of delegations and tourists come to pay homage to SNP, the Slovak National Uprising. In the monument-museum, trained guides relate how in the bleak days of August 1944 the people, led by Slovak Communists, fought the Nazis to defeat; how the partisans joined the victorious Red Army and helped to establish a Communist regime after the war.

Wedding guests dance the night away *in the village of Lendak* ***(below)****, where the revelry will last several days. The bride and groom* ***(facing page)****, in traditional embroidered costumes, take turns bidding their parents a moving farewell before going to church. Old-time customs and crafts, now encouraged by the state, still survive in pockets of Slovakia, which sponsors many folklore festivals.*

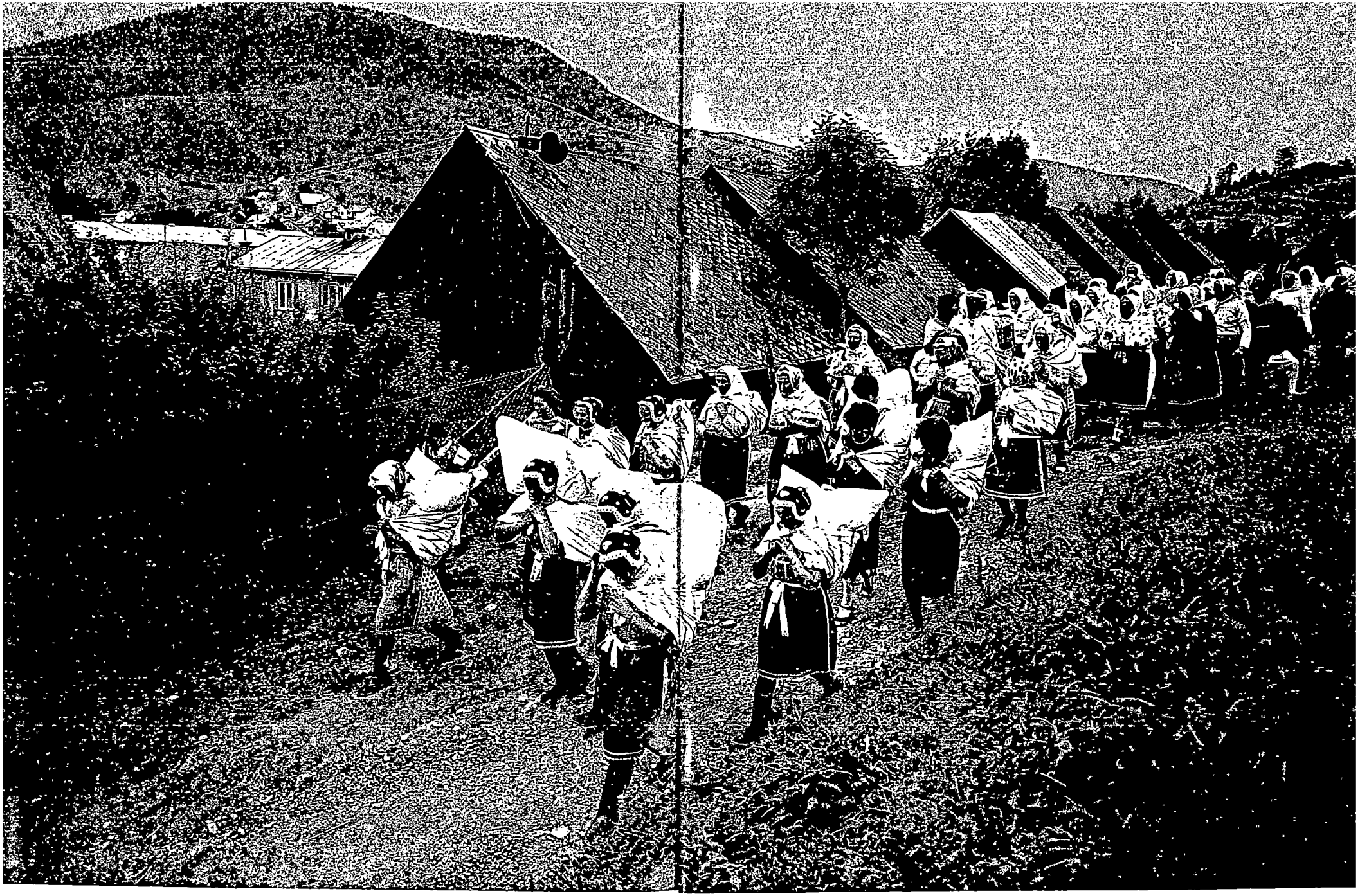


In August, preparations for the 40th anniversary of SNP swept the country. All shopkeepers were ordered to display SNP emblems. In Banská Bystrica houses were painted, flowers planted, new monuments erected, pineapples and bananas from Cuba delivered to grocery stores.

The big day came. Streets blossomed with summer dresses. Old peasant women cried out "Sweetheart! Beloved!" as they waved to small, white-haired Gustáv Husák. The president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (C.S.S.R.) and general secretary of the Communist Party, himself a Slovak, waved back with a grandfatherly smile. He walked arm in arm with a Soviet marshal.

Under huge portraits of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, 100,000 Slovaks gathered. Speakers recalled the martyrdom of fallen partisans, praised the country's socialist order, and called for peaceful coexistence.

Yet the applause was lukewarm, the

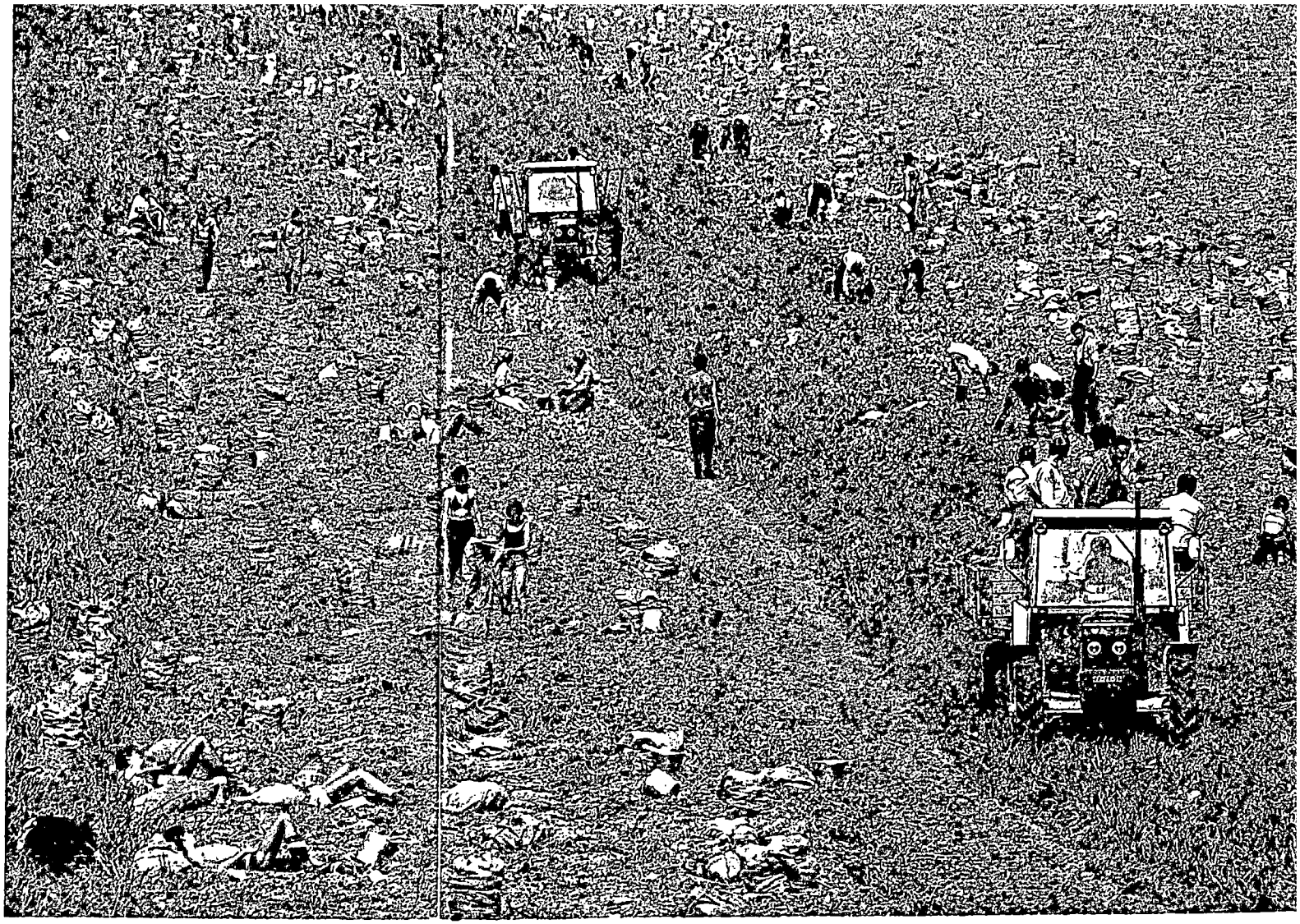


March of the matriarchs: Shouldering the bride's belongings, married women of Lendak proceed to the groom's house. Village matchmakers keep energetic vigil, believing no young woman should remain single lest she "turn to vinegar."

Architects of the future, *on loan from a university in Bratislava, travel 200 miles to join the September potato campaign (right) on a cooperative farm near the Dunajec River. For two weeks a year the state recruits high-school and college students as well as factory and office workers to help harvest this important crop, providing board, lodging, and minimal wages in return. Some students*



enjoy the break; others attempt to opt out with a doctor's note. Co-op members (above) distribute hefty 220-pound sacks to fellow workers, pausing at every house for a shot or two of vodka and a chat. Each Slovak family consumes some 700 pounds of potatoes annually, carefully storing supplies in cool cellars or in grass-covered shelters in the hills.



boredom evident: People had heard all this before. For the majority, attendance was compulsory. "Unless I present a doctor's statement that my boys are sick, I have to be here," a mother of two small children explained. She waited until the ceremonies ended and quickly walked away.

EAGER TO ESCAPE the heat and the bustle of Banská Bystrica, we headed north to Tatra National Park. Wild mountain peaks soared suddenly above the surrounding flatness, peaks now brilliant in the sun, now sooty in a storm.

Gold-seekers, hunters, naturalists discovered the beauty of the Tatras in the 16th century. Today six million visitors a year come to hike, climb, and ski in the most spectacular alpine range in the 900-mile bow of the Carpathians.

Juraj Turošík has been director of Tatra National Park since 1961. "In the past 20 years," he told us, "the number of visitors has increased six times, an incredible strain. People dig out our alpine flowers and chase our marmots and chamois. The forests wilt, poisoned by exhaust fumes. We limit access to certain areas and by 1990 hope to introduce electric trolleys, banning all cars."

Around the park, hotels, campgrounds, and private rooms are filled. In the once isolated village of Ždiar, now called the "largest hotel in C.S.S.R.," villagers offer up to 4,000 beds, mainly to East Germans. Having lost direct access to the Alps, they visit the Tatras in astonishing numbers.

The visitors also come to shop. In addition to the East Germans, Russians and Hungarians throng the local stores, buying everything from peaches to children's toys.

Among Eastern European countries, Czechoslovakia boasts one of the highest standards of living. Availability of goods, however, does not guarantee quality. Years ago Škoda cars sold well in international markets; today even the government Pragocar rental agency considers Škodas unreliable. Western imports are few and usually can be purchased only for hard currency—dollars, marks, francs—through special government-owned stores. Here a bottle of good Scotch costs only $3.50. And Ford



Clearly an optimist, *Mária Chlebovcová* ***(right)*** *weaves a runner for her 18-year-old son's dowry, undeterred by his lack of a girlfriend. Her sister-in-law, at left, lends a hand; in mourning for her father, she will wear black for at least a year. In sickness and in health, family and neighbors look after each other, with state nursing homes used as a last resort. Everyone pitches in* ***(left)*** *at a christening party. Frequent family celebrations ritually call for vast quantities of food, free-flowing wine, and spirited singing.*

Escort cars from West Germany, priced at $6,000, sell readily.

The hard currency comes from relatives abroad, but demand exceeds supply. Few foreign tourists escape whispered inquiries: *"A doláry máte?*—Do you have dollars?"

In spite of the crush of tourists in Tatra National Park, folk traditions have survived the longest in the villages surrounding it. In the old, wooden village of Lendak we saw rituals preserved and folk costumes worn daily. Artificial flowers and holy pictures decorated TV sets, making them look like miniature altars.

To help assure the marital bliss of their children, Lendak families may spend as much as 100,000 crowns. A dowry may include a car, furniture, rugs, money.

One morning our phone rang. "Get up! We're going to a wedding," ordered Dr. Ján Olejník, the park's ethnographer.

To the bride's house came married women resplendent in voluminous costumes. Two of them got stuck in the door. Too many skirts or dumplings, who could tell?

They dressed the girl in silence. In her hand-pleated skirt, richly embroidered corset, and pearl-studded maiden crown she seemed a painted doll. Women slipped hundred-crown notes into her shoes as tokens of prosperity, a sprig of myrtle inside her blouse as a charm against sinister forces.

After the wedding, at the feast, the sight of sausage sent the maids of honor into giggles. Men ladled beer from tin buckets hour after hour. Matrons carried the bride's bedding to the groom's house (pages 140-41). They tossed a child onto the marriage bed as a symbol of procreation.

Night came. Surrounded by her maiden friends, the bride danced slowly, embracing them for the last time. In a dim corner a fiddle, clarinet, bass, and accordion played on.

SLOVAKS BELIEVE that music and mountains restore their spirit. To cure their ailing bodies, they visit the province's famous spas. We traveled from Lendak to the modern health complex of Piešťany, an ancient spa still using nature's gifts to heal the sick.

This grandest of Slovakia's spas once tended the rheumatic pains of European monarchs. Now it treats nearly 40,000 patients a year, including Americans, Arabs, and West Europeans.

I love mud, its sticky, oozing texture, and in Piešťany I got my wish: a pack of thermal, sulfurous goo filtered from the bottom of the Váh River. The heat slowly penetrated my body. Repeated applications promote gradual absorption of the sulfur into cartilage





***Crowned heads** of state, maharajas, and sheikhs have all basked in the sulfurous waters of Slovakia's famed Piešťany Spa. Workers can receive free treatment for ailments such as rheumatism or nervous disorders. This patient combines spinal traction with a thermal bath.*

and heal troubled joints, explained Dr. Oldřich Bláha, the spa's chief physician.

Foreigners pay about $50 a day; this includes necessary medical care and even tickets to cultural events. For C.S.S.R. patients spas, hospitals, and prescription drugs are free.

But some drugs are hard to find. When John became ill, we spent a day trying to fill his prescription, to no avail.

A Slovak friend ridiculed our naïveté. "What do you expect, miracles? This is an imported drug. If a pharmacy has it, it is most likely put aside for friends and relatives. Let me try." He procured it from the same pharmacy we had tried earlier. In Slovakia it helps to know the right people.

NO CONNECTIONS are needed to find Veronika Goliánova, a grand old woman who for 30 years ran the village of Detva's famous singing-and-dancing folk ensemble. Villagers readily point out her whitewashed house, with its traditional flower designs.

Inside, Veronika served *halušky s bryndzou,* tiny dumplings sprinkled with sheep cheese. By the window her granddaughter nursed a newborn son.

As a barefoot child Veronika, youngest of six, had to shine the shoes of the landlady. After the war, impressed by socialist ideals of equality, she embraced the new order. Convinced that Detva's heritage must be preserved from the onslaught of modernization, she organized cultural events and an artisans cooperative. Her embroidery decorated a lavish velvet tablecloth, given to President Husák for his 70th birthday.

Later she opened chests full of embroidered costumes she had rescued when people threw them out in favor of factory-made fashions. She carefully unfolded a blouse that was a hundred years old.

"We have a saying: 'From anything old a new sapling must grow.' That's what happened after the war. Fascism rotted away, and on its ruins we built socialism, such as it is. It could be better if people were better. Bad often tries to destroy the good."

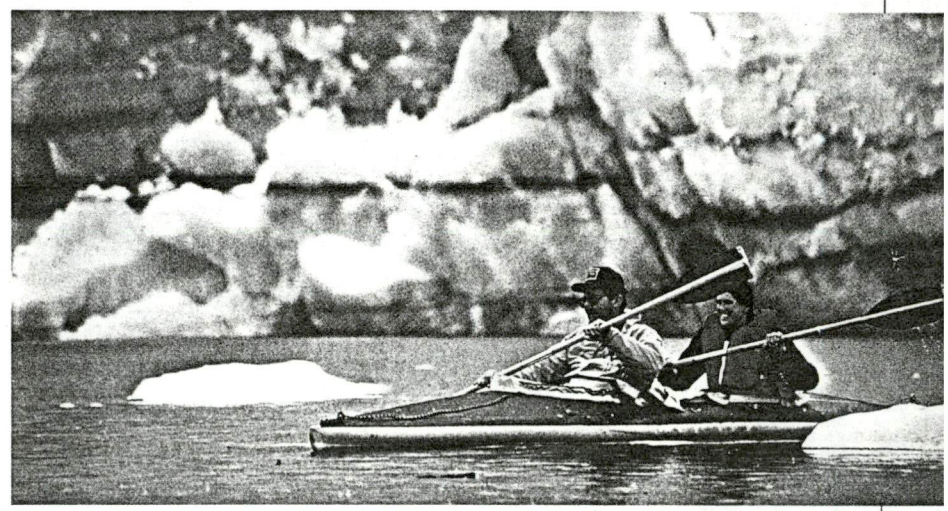
"Are you a Communist?" I asked.

"Yes. But I go to church too. I argue with the priest. I also tell party officials what I think is wrong. I have hope. Because of the mistakes we've made, something new and better must be born one day."

Veronika gently stroked the upturned face of her great-grandson. "Who knows? Don't ask me what. I'm just an old woman with eight grades of village school."

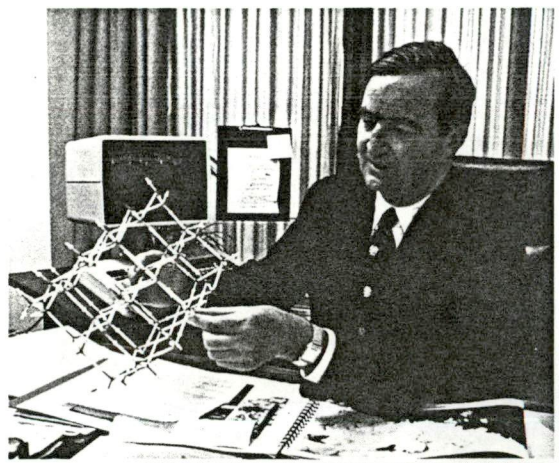
We drove away slowly. Autumn was advancing steadily, wrapping river valleys in fog and turning beech trees copper. We reflected on the future of the Slovaks, who are historically so well versed in the art of survival. They seem to believe that change for the better must come slowly, from within the system. The times of Juraj Jánošík, the times of lonely battles, are over for now. □

On Assignment



ICE BECAME a slippery subject last year for Senior Assistant Editor ***Samuel W. Matthews*** when Alaska's Hubbard Glacier advanced to turn Russell Fiord into a freshwater Russell Lake. At work on an article about how ice affects the earth, Sam (***above***, in bow) paddled the lake last August with Alaska naturalist Karen Jettmar. Meanwhile, glaciologists were keeping a close eye on the huge dam of ice, rock, and mud. Would it hold, and for how long? In a thunderous outburst that lasted for hours, it gave way early on October 8 (pages 112-13).

Earth, air, fire, and water—especially water—are all vital elements for Sam, examining a model of an ice crystal's molecular structure (***right***). After serving in the Pacific with the U. S. Navy and reporting science news in Washington, D. C., he joined the GEOGRAPHIC in 1951. His 16 magazine articles include a volcanic eruption, ocean research, plate tectonics, earth's climate, and his abiding love, Antarctica. "It's absolutely spectacular, both in the sun and in blizzards," he says—"assuming you've got a place to crawl into."



CHRIS JOHNS (TOP); NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PHOTOGRAPHER JOSEPH H. BAILEY

THE TURNING POINTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

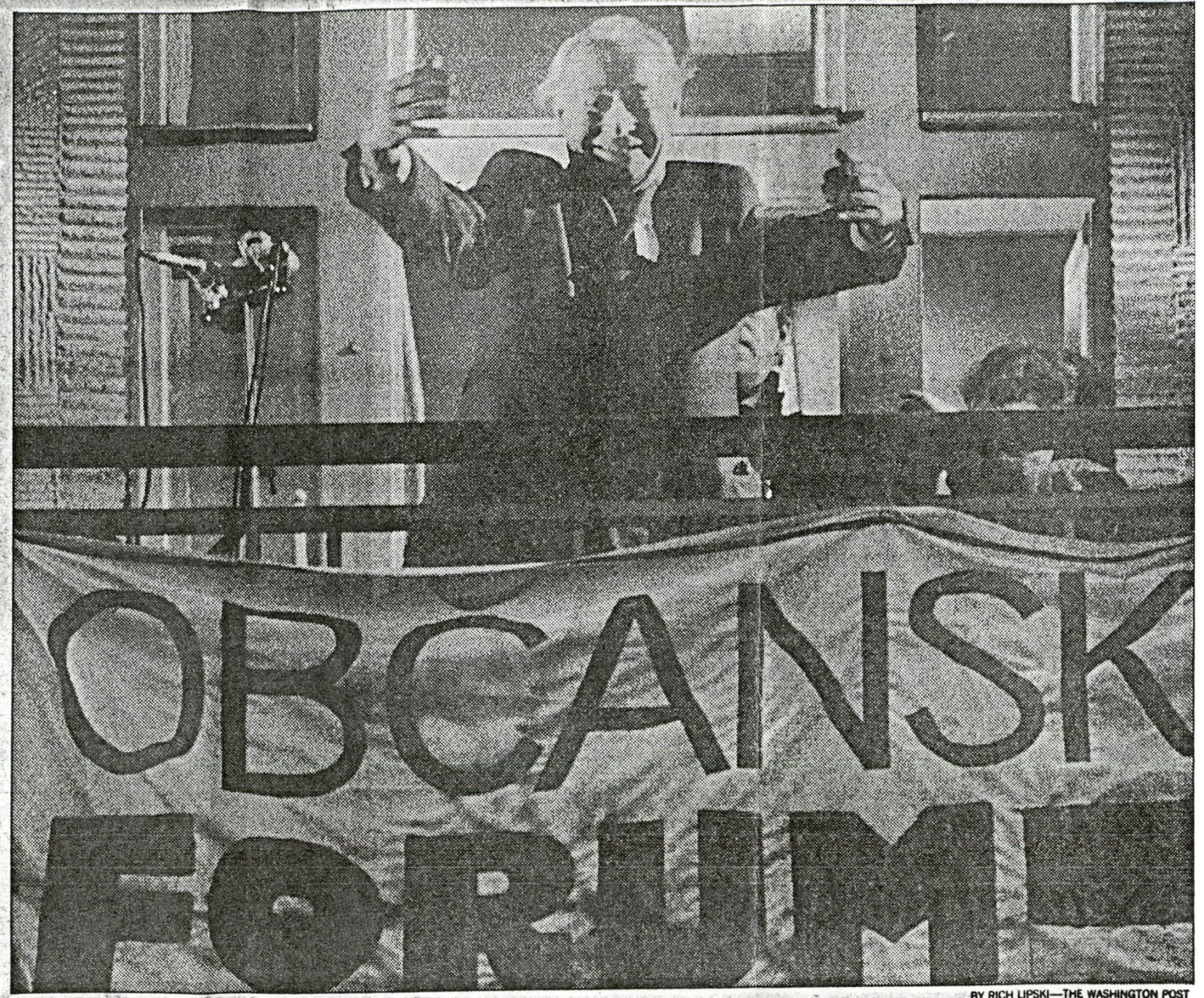


"Applying extraordinary measures could . . . bring the most unpredictable consequences."

—LADISLAV ADAMEC
Then Czechoslovak prime minister

Police Riot Sticks Spawn a Revolution

PRAGUE, November 1989



BY RICH LIPSKI—THE WASHINGTON POST

A POLITICAL EXILE RETURNS: *Alexander Dubcek, the reformist Communist leader ousted after 1968 invasion, gestures as if to embrace the crowd gathered in Wenceslas Square on eighth straight day of protests in November.*

Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution, as it came to be called, began with the crack of riot sticks against student heads.

On Friday night, Nov. 17, more than 3,000 young people stood in the cold and faced down a line of riot police. As the students chanted for elections and entry into nearby Wenceslas Square, hundreds more

which sent messages through Czechoslovak diplomatic and military channels that it would not tolerate violence, according to senior Communist Party officials.

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On Nov. 16, the party's ideology chief, Jan Fojtik, was summoned to Moscow and told that the Soviet Union would repudiate the 1968 invasion. The step had already been taken by new governments in Poland and Hungary. Coming from Moscow, it would

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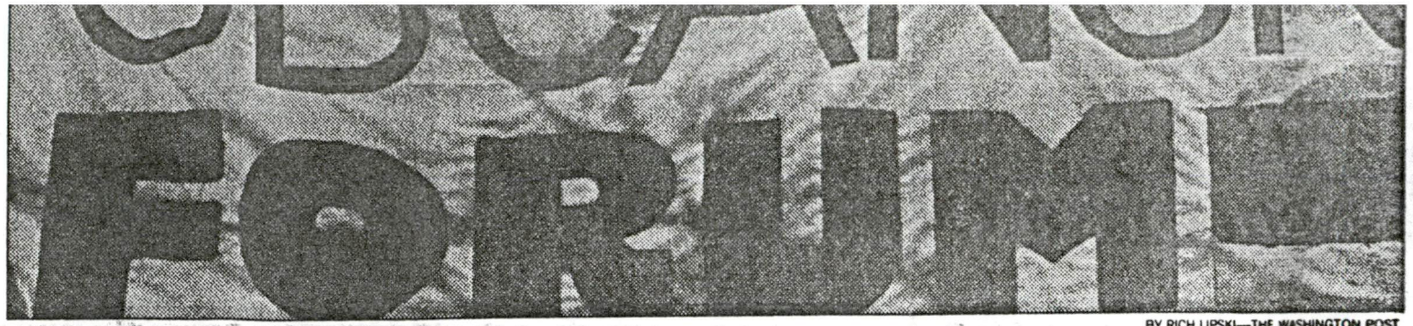
private that Jakes didn't understand "the global significance of perestroika," spoke up.

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VELVET REVOLUTION

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Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution, as it came to be called, began with the crack of riot sticks against student heads.

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At about 10 p.m., the police attacked. With help from the Red Berets, an anti-terrorist squad, they bashed, bludgeoned and kicked with methodical fury, continuing even as unarmed students fell bleeding to the ground.

The violence, which police later testified was ordered by Prague Communist Party boss Miroslav Stepan and approved by the country's top Communist, Milos Jakes, was a fatal error of a leadership on which the walls were closing in.

The blood that stained Narodni Street that night, and the rumor that a student had been killed, worked like a red flag before the Czechoslovak people. But instead of violence, the nation responded with defiant peacefulness. In 10 days of key-jangling and singing, chanting and furious organizing, they elbowed the Communists from power.

But the Velvet Revolution nearly took a different course. As thousands of Prague citizens flooded Wenceslas Square on Sunday, Nov. 19, the Communist Party's ruling Presidium held a series of meetings in which "the leadership [first] adopted a position supporting [armed] intervention," said Rudolf Hegenbart, a senior party official then in charge of state security.

That there was no further bloodshed was in large part due to pressure from Moscow, which sent messages through Czechoslovak diplomatic and military channels that it would not tolerate violence, according to senior Communist Party officials.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, concerned that violence would mar his Malta summit with President Bush and weary of having his hints for reform ignored, was ready to help pull the plug on Czechoslovakia's stubborn leaders.

A Summons to Moscow

The pressure had begun in midsummer, when Gorbachev summoned Jakes and Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec to the Crimea. In recent months, Adamec had emerged as a reformer, irritating Jakes with calls for genuine economic and even political liberalization. Gorbachev called the two men together hoping to make allies of them and push Jakes into action.

It didn't work. "When they returned to Prague, they were bigger enemies than before," said Jaromir Sedlak, an adviser in the prime minister's office.

Czechoslovakia's hard-line leadership, installed by Leonid Brezhnev to crush reform after the Soviet-led invasion of 1968, had for two decades treated independent thought as treason. Gorbachev presented them with an unsolvable problem. If they allowed democratic reform, they faced certain extinction. If they didn't, they increased Czechoslovakia's isolation.

"They knew there was no way they could survive *perestroika*," Hegenbart said.

Instead, the Presidium's hard-liners kept hoping Gorbachev would not last. By November, three major demonstrations in Prague ended in police violence. But opposition groups were mushrooming, and demand for change was also building inside the party.

On Nov. 16, the party's ideology chief, Jan Fojtik, was summoned to Moscow and told that the Soviet Union would repudiate the 1968 invasion. The step had already been taken by new governments in Poland and Hungary. Coming from Moscow, it would deprive Jakes of the last shred of legitimacy.

State television showed a shaken Fojtik returning to Prague in the late afternoon on Nov. 17. Before he could brief the Central Committee, events overtook him.

Operation Student, as the Interior Ministry called it, proved to be the worst incident of government violence against citizens in 20 years. The next day, protesters crept back toward Wenceslas Square, to light candles and sing anthems where the students had fallen. By Sunday, the crowd had grown to several thousand and the ruling Presidium met to consider its options.

Some Presidium members believed the answer was more force. "The idea was circulating inside the Central Committee," said one senior Communist official. "The atmosphere was, 'We must, comrades, do something.' "

Martin Palous, a dissident who was to become an adviser to the new democratic government, said that sometime during that week the Presidium voted on whether to use force to end the demonstrations. Violence lost by two votes, he said.

The hermetic Presidium, a body so secretive that even the number of its members was often debated by outsiders, has never made public its deliberations in those days. Several senior party officials said they did not know if an actual vote occurred, but they said it was clear that Jakes was digging in.

On Nov. 21, with 200,000 people in the streets, the Prague Communist Party committee condemned the demonstrations as the work of "anti-socialist" forces. The next day, Jakes signed an order secretly calling to Prague several thousand members of the party's private army, the People's Militia.

More Soviet Pressure

Only a fraction of that force ever arrived, and even they turned around and went home the following morning, having done little more than rip down posters of the Civic Forum, a new mass democratic movement headed by dissident playwright Vaclav Havel. In the interim, the Soviet ambassador in Prague, Viktor Lomakin, met with Jakes and with Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes. The message was the same: Moscow expected peaceful change.

The Soviets also used their close ties with the military. "There were diplomatic messages and oral hints from the Soviet army here that if our army moved toward Prague, it might be blocked," said one senior party official.

On Friday, Nov. 24, with 300,000 people in the streets, Jakes was forced to convene a meeting of the Central Committee. "Of course, some party leaders considered violent steps. It's certain that some played with this idea," said Viktor Pazler, then an official of the Prague party committee and now its acting leader. "There was heated discussion about it from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m."

By then, however, the longtime divisions in the party had widened to chasms. Prime Minister Adamec, who often had fumed in private that Jakes didn't understand "the global significance of perestroika," spoke up.

"Applying extraordinary measures could bring peace to the streets for a while, but it can result in further aggravation of the situation and bring the most unpredictable consequences," Adamec said.

Jakes and the entire Presidium submitted their resignations at 7 p.m. People danced in the streets. By the next morning, it became clear that the resignations had not gone far enough.

Stepan, the man said to have been responsible for the violence, had been reappointed to the Presidium, along with hard-liners Miroslav Zavadil and Jozef Lenart. Jakes, according to one senior Communist official, was still hoping to name himself president and have Stepan replace him as the party's general secretary.

By failing to make a clean sweep that Friday night, the party lost what little credibility it had left. At a meeting the next day of 3,000 Prague party officials, Stepan was greeted with jeers and whistles.

When the Central Committee met again on Sunday, Nov. 26, Stepan and Zavadil were dumped. The party's new leader, Karel Urbanek, issued an "unequivocal" condemnation of violence.

On Monday, 10 days after the police attack on the students, the Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda condemned the former leaders, accusing them of promoting "stagnation." Not to be outdone, Prague's Communist daily, Rude Pravo, referred to the ousted leaders as "political mummies."

— Mary Battiata

The Am. Spec. Oct. 1990

SPECTATOR'S JOURNAL



GOOD SOLDIERS

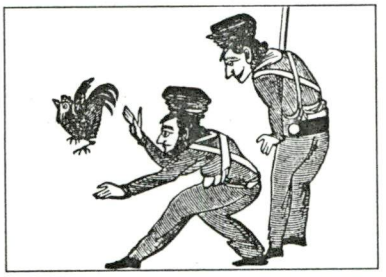
by Cathy Young

Prague

Nearly a year after the "Velvet Revolution," Prague offers a remarkable mix of lingering Soviet-style socialism and nascent Western-style democracy. Election posters are everywhere (though the ubiquitous smiling likeness of Vaclav Havel begins, after a while, to smack of a new personality cult), and street vendors sell not only folk art but also anti-Communist buttons, including a cute one with a skull and a red hammer and sickle instead of crossbones. Such signs of bourgeois decadence as posters for *Emmanuelle* are also in evidence. Syndicated columnist Don Feder—in Prague like myself for the "Peaceful Road to Democracy" conference organized by Soviet dissidents and American anti-Communists—noted that East bloc societies seemed eager to emulate those features of modern Western societies he could have done without. They are not quite as good yet at emulating such bourgeois frivolities as courteous customer service. Waiters, with few exceptions, are sullen and boorish in a uniquely socialist way—a nuisance mitigated somewhat by the fact that a full dinner at some of Prague's best restaurants costs the equivalent of twelve dollars.

Black-market currency trading is still carried on by cab drivers and hotel porters, but, interestingly, the gap between the black-market rate and the official one is not that great: the latter is 25 crowns to a dollar, the former only about 30. In the USSR, by contrast, the official rate is six to one and the black-market rate can be as high as twenty to one. And, quite unlike Moscow, Prague has no network of establishments catering exclusively to patrons with dollars or deutschemarks, with the exception of a few hotel shops selling ridiculously overpriced jewelry, souvenirs, and liqueurs. Any Czech willing to spend the money can dine at the same restaurant as the American tourist.

This exquisite city often manages to achieve a misleading look of European elegance, particularly on weekends, when local residents in telltale clothes and shoes clear out for the countryside and leave the streets to tourists. Misleading because you almost expect something European when you enter a store. If, on the other hand, you go by Moscow standards, you'll be pleasantly surprised. The display window of an electronics shop features a nice selection of Walkman radios, cassette players, and other things which in the



USSR are traded only on the black market, at mind-boggling prices. In Czechoslovakia, a stereo system sells for just over the average monthly salary. When the Soviets come here, they think they're in consumer paradise, and many wonder what more those damn East Europeans could want.

All the signs in airports, train stations, and many other public places are in Czech and Russian (sometimes also in German and English)—reminders of recent colonial rule. But Russian is *not* of much use in getting around (nor is English, for that matter; German helps). A nineteen-year-old college student who spoke rather good English explained to me that although Russian had been mandatory in school, many kids were blocking it out; often, even those fluent in Russian were pretending not to be.

Meanwhile, Soviet democrats of different stripes gathered at Prague's mammoth steel-and-chrome Palace of Culture July 4–6 to discuss how the Soviet Union could follow the example of Czechoslovakia's gentle revolution. If the major U.S. media had not, with the exception of the *Wall Street Journal*, utterly ignored this event, they would have discovered a universe where Mikhail Gorbachev is neither a hero nor a liberator but an impediment to real liberation. Curiously enough, some Soviet media *did* attend: a group of independent television producers who do a monthly four-hour video magazine for official Soviet TV. They said they had a great deal of leeway in choosing the contents, but they still could not be sure that their interview with veteran dissident Vladimir Bukovsky, one of the stars of the conference, would get on the air, or that their studio would not be penalized by loss of access to the equipment they still have to lease from state-run TV.

The underlying idea of the conference seemed to be that the democratic forces of the Soviet Union should be united in preparation for the downfall of the Communist regime, and be ready to govern. A little overconfident, perhaps, but looking more realistic every day. One goal was to break the ice between groups of people who rarely get to talk to each other: Armenians and Azerbaijanis, for example, as well as traditional dissidents and those willing to work within the half-freedom of glasnost. Former political prisoners were rubbing elbows with former advisers to the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Not that occasional sparks didn't fly. After one of the panels, Georgian independence activist Tengiz Gudava remarked that he was reminded of the prophecy of the lamb lying down with the lion. He went on to badger Georgiy Khatzenkov, currently general director of the new Democratic Russia party and formerly an adviser to the Central Committee, asking him to explain his transition from lion to lamb (or is it vice versa?). Khatzenkov, a sharp-eyed, not unpleasant-looking fortyish fellow, said that he had once been expelled from the University of Moscow for political heresy, and had joined the Central Committee staff in 1968, "when we all had illusions about Gorbachev." He said he wanted to change things but realized his efforts were going nowhere because Gorbachev did not really want genuine democratic change. "I am sorry I was in the *apparat*," concluded Khatzenkov, "but on the other hand I am not, because if it hadn't been for people like myself, Mr. Gudava would not be here at this conference but in a very different place." Josef Zissels, a Jewish activist from the Ukraine, leaned over to me and sighed, "It's very sad when the leadership of a democratic party is made up of ex-Communists. It shows how few true democrats we have in our country."

The ex-*apparatchiks* and the ex-political prisoners were unanimous in their dislike of Gorbachev, their championship of radical free-market reform, and their opposition to any Western economic aid to the present regime. The "Prague Appeal" issued by the conference, and presumably endorsed by all the participants, bluntly called for the immediate dissolution of the Soviet Union. The prevailing view was that the ethnic bloodshed of recent months had been instigated by the Kremlin—a view belied by the antagonism between some of the conference panelists, particularly the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis on the predictable Nagorno-Karabakh issue. Both sides, however, seemed sincerely committed to reconciliation in the face of a common oppressor. The two Azeri delegates, the dark, smooth, pipe-smoking Araz Ali-Zadeh and the silver-haired and dashing Tofik Gasymov, had the particularly tough job of trying to convince everyone that they were not fundamentalist Moslem barbarians. Ali-Zadeh was emphatic about his country's basic secularism—"How can there be a Moslem fundamentalist movement in a republic where the Koran is not available in the vernacular?"—and the democratic, pro-Western orientation of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan. Behind the scenes, some of the Russians, who do not score high on ethnic sensitivity, remained wary.

Major grievances were addressed to the West, for wallowing and propping up the crumbling corrupt regime. World chess champion Gary Kasparov,

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Cathy Young is a writer living in New Jersey.

a leader of the Democratic Russia party, marveled at the shocked reaction of American campus audiences to his coolness toward Gorbachev, and sneered at the universal willingness to fall for the Gorbachev-vs.-the hardliners scenario, which he (and most other participants) saw as a staged good commie-bad commie show.

Among those gathered at the Palace of Culture, the only difference of opinion was between those who believed Gorbachev had been a positive force for change at the start, and those who—like Alexander Podrabinek, the quietly energetic publisher of the newsweekly *Express-Chronicle*, one of the Soviet Union's first and largest independent newspapers—refuse to give him any credit whatsoever, attributing the changes solely to pressure from dissidents. It is only fair to note, however, that the dissident movement had been around for twenty years before Gorbachev, and was at its lowest point when he took power.

The Czechs I spoke to, from college students to middle-aged working men and women, were far less harsh on Gorby. "If it hadn't been for him, we wouldn't have had our democratic revolution"—this was repeated to me time and time again, almost word for word. This gratitude was apparently unswayed by a report, issued a few months ago by a Czech government commission, that the events that led to the revolution—beginning with a brutal police attack on student demonstrators—were skillfully engineered by the Czech secret service *and* the KGB, in a joint plot to replace the country's Brezhnevite regime with a pro-Moscow, "liberal Communist" one. Then things got out of hand and the intended palace coup became a genuine popular revolt. These findings, the subject of a BBC documentary, were deep-sixed by the American news media.

I was left to ponder these great questions after the conference, when the impatient Russians had gone home. With two days left, I decided to take a bus tour of the city, most ineptly organized by the official tourist agency Cedok. Two minutes to departure time, no one at the Cedok office knew where the bus or the guide was. When the guide, a harried, middle-aged woman in an ill-fitting trenchcoat finally showed up, she was collared by the *Washington Times*'s irrepressible Arnold Beichman, who gave her an energetic lecture on how Cedok should conduct its business to thrive in a new, market-oriented environment. She looked bewildered.

The bus took us past the elegant Forum hotel, which, the guide explained, was once reserved solely for Czech and Soviet Communist party bigshots. "Now," she solemnly declared, "it is a hotel for Americans." There were chuckles. In the old section of the city, on the way from the Loreto monastery to the St. Vitus Cathedral, we were led without stopping past a modest gray marble headstone; I lingered to read the Russian inscription commemorating one Comrade Belyakov, a Soviet soldier fallen in the liberation of Prague from the Nazis. The headstone was undefiled, the grave well-tended with geraniums planted on it—what more could the spirit of Comrade Belyakov ask for? Not included in the tour was the Prague monument to Soviet liberators. A statue of a Russian soldier locked in an embrace with a Czech civilian, it has become, I was told, a gathering place and an ironic symbol for the country's budding gay liberation movement, its pedestal plastered with the movement's leaflets.

The cab driver who took me to the airport spoke broken Russian and broken English. He pitied Gorbachev for his problems; as for Czechoslovakia, he confidently predicted that it would become "a normal country" in five or six years. To him, the benefits of the new regime were already obvious. "Now," he told me proudly, "I am my own director." □

RED COCAINE

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—Mario Estevez Gonzalez, Cuban intelligence agent, 1981



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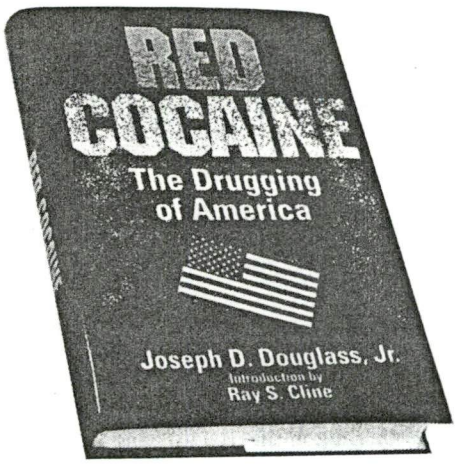
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On 21 December 1918, in his first message to the Czechoslovak National Assembly (after returning from America), Thomas Masaryk quoted Comenius:

"I trust the Lord that after the storms of wrath [] the rule over your own affairs will return to you, my people." - adding:

"The prophecy and prayer of Comenius has been fulfilled."

On 1 January 1989 President Havel in his New Year's message paraphrased the same words of Comenius, saying: "Your government, my people, has returned to you."

How are we going to survive as an independent nation? Our history as well as current developments are forcing us to come to a clear understanding of this question: how can a small nation survive and remain independent?

This question tormented our awakeners. It disturbed Dobrovský. All of Kollár's labor was directed toward finding the means of overcoming our inherent smallness. Palacký transposed Kollár's solutions from the realm of culture to that of politics. And of course Palacký could answer the question of how a small nation can survive no more satisfactorily than Kollár; after all, politics, like all practical sciences, depends upon theoretical principles. But if humanism is the ultimate aim of all our thought, it must also be the ultimate goal of our political activity. We will achieve humanism only through humanistic means – enlightened heads and warm hearts.

Reminders of our numerous historical battles for existence – the uprising ending with the defeat on the White Mountain, our decline, our revival during the French Revolution and eighteenth-century enlightenment, the revolution of 1848, the Polish uprising – all this impels the thoughtful Czech to ponder: violence or nonviolence, the sword or the plough, blood or sweat, death or life?

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 – that is the answer of our Czech genius, the meaning of our history and the heritage of our great ancestors.

That is our great task. We are on the right path. Palacký was still preoccupied by the past, and this gave his politics a conservative character. But Havlíček had already admonished us to turn to the living present and to derive our national strength from a firm grasp

Quote from Thomas G. Masaryk: The Czech Question (1895)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Prague, Czechoslovakia)

For Immediate Release November 17, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT WENCESLAS SQUARE

Wenceslas Square
Prague, Czechoslovakia

4:13 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mr. President. And thank you, my Czech and Slovak friends. It is a tremendous honor to me to be the first sitting American President to visit this proud and beautiful country -- and to be able to join you on the first anniversary of the extraordinary Velvet Revolution. What a powerfully moving sight it is.

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 17th -- and yet it is Prague Spring.

Your Declaration of Independence proclaims: "The forces of darkness have served the victory of light. The longed-for age of humanity is dawning." Today, the freedom-loving people of the world can bear witness that this age of humanity has now finally and truly dawned on this splendid nation.

Seven decades ago, an unprecedented partnership began between two presidents -- the philosopher, Tomas Masaryk -- and the idealistic scholar -- Woodrow Wilson. It was a partnership as well among Czechs and Slovaks to join together in federation. And yes, it was a long, hard road from their work on your Declaration of Independence to this magnificent celebration today.

I am proud to walk these last steps with you as one shared journey ends and another begins.

Our countries share a history. We share a vision. And we share a friendship. A friendship Masaryk described to Czech-American soldiers 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'm here today. We have not forgotten. (Applause.)

The world will never forget what happened here in this square where the history of freedom was written. The days of anguish. The days of hope. So many times, you came here bearing candles against the dark night, answering the call of Comenius to follow "the way of light." These brave flames came to symbolize your fiercely burning national pride.

A year ago, the world saw you face down totalitarianism. We saw the peaceful crowds swell day by day in numbers and in resolve. We saw the few candles grow into a blaze. We saw this square become a beacon of hope for an entire nation as it gave birth to your new era of freedom.

This victory owes its heart to two great heroes. Alexander Dubcek. Twenty-two years ago, he led this nation in its first sweet taste of liberty. His are the will and compassion that

are the living Czechoslovakia.

And then President Havel. A man of wisdom. A man of tremendous moral courage. In the dark years, on one side stood the state. On the other side, Havel. On one side, tyranny. On the other, this man of vision and truth. Among the first was Havel. And now there are millions. Today, a Europe whole and free is within our reach. We've seen a new world of freedom born amid shouts of joy. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. A new world born of a revolution that linked this square with others -- Gdansk, Budapest, Berlin -- a revolution that joined together people fueled by courage and by humanity's essential quest for freedom.

For four decades, our two nations waited across the divide between East and West. Two peoples united in spirit in vision -- and yet separated by conflict. Today, the United States and Czechoslovakia stand together, united once more in our devotion to the democratic ideal. (Applause.)

Now, with the division of Europe ending and democracy ascending in the East, the challenge is to move forward.

In Czechoslovakia: from revolution to renaissance, across this continent toward a new Europe in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free.

On both sides of the Atlantic: toward a commonwealth based on our shared principles and our hopes for the whole world. A commonwealth inspired by the words of your great Comenius written three centuries ago: "Let us have but one end in view -- the welfare of humanity."

A thousand miles to the south, this new commonwealth of freedom now faces a terrible test. Czechoslovakia was one of the first nations to condemn the outrage in the Persian Gulf. One of the first to measure the magnitude of the wrong committed in the name of territorial ambition. It is no coincidence that appeasement's lonely victim half a century ago should be among the first to understand that there is right -- and there is wrong. There is good -- and there is evil. And there are sacrifices worth making.

There is no question about what binds our nations -- and so many others -- in common cause. There is no question that ours is a just cause. And that good will prevail. The darkness in the desert sky cannot stand against the way of light. I salute your courageous President when he joins us in saying that Saddam Hussein's aggression must not be rewarded. (Applause.)

Earlier today, I told your parliament we know this is a difficult time for you, but also a time of extraordinary optimism. As you undertake political and economic reform know one thing: America will not fail you in this decisive moment. America will stand with you. (Applause.) We will continue along the road mapped out by our presidents more than 70 years ago. A road whose goal was described by Woodrow Wilson, "To bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

For the past 70 years, your Declaration of Independence has been preserved and cherished in our Library of Congress. I say, it is time for Masaryk's words to come home. And as humanity and liberty return to Czechoslovakia, so, too, will this treasured document.

On behalf of the people of the United States, I am proud to be able to tell the people of Czechoslovakia: 1989 was the year that freedom came home to Czechoslovakia -- 1990 will be the year your Declaration of Independence came home to the Golden City of Prague. (Applause.) May it be for future generations a reminder of the ties that bind our nations, and the principles that bind all humanity.

In 1776, when our Declaration of Independence was first

read in public, a bell tolled to proclaim the defiant thrill of that moment. That bell -- we call it, at home, the Liberty Bell -- has for 200 years symbolized our nation's deepest dedication to freedom. Dedication like your own. Inscribed on this bell are the words, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land." We want to help you proclaim your new liberty throughout all this proud and beautiful land; and so today we give to you our last replica of the Liberty Bell. (Applause.) You know, one of our patriotic songs proclaims, "Sweet land of liberty -- from every mountainside, let freedom ring."

And so when bells ring in Wenceslas Square, or in Bratislava, or in -- anywhere in this glorious country, think of this bell, and know that all bells are tolling for your precious liberty -- now and forever. And so now I am proud to ring this bell three times. Once, for your courage; once, for your freedom; and once for your children.

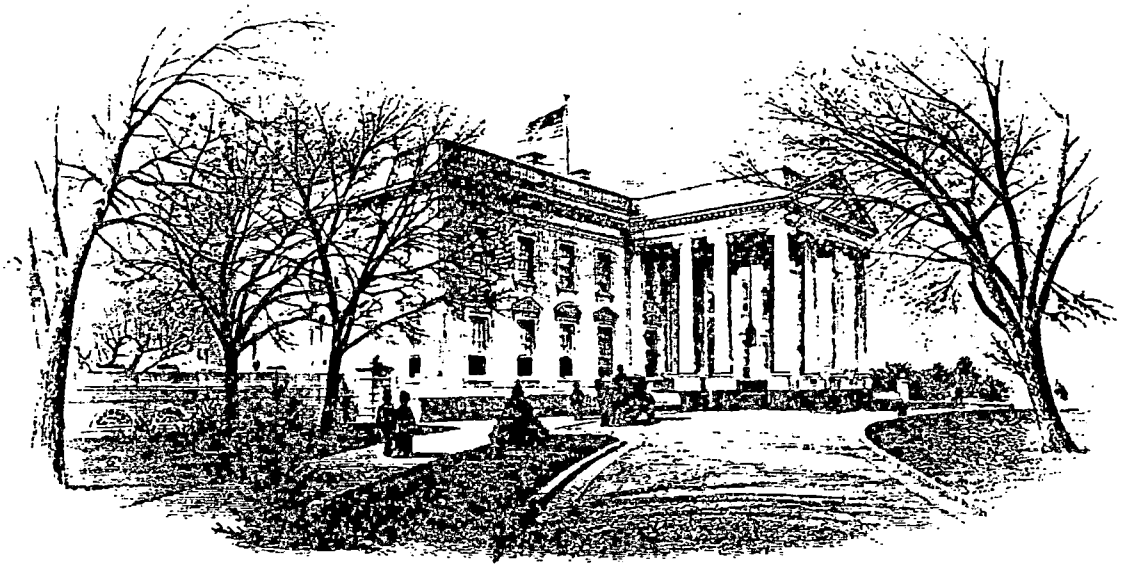
(The bell is rung.)

May God bless Czechoslovakia. Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

END 4:32 P.M. (L)

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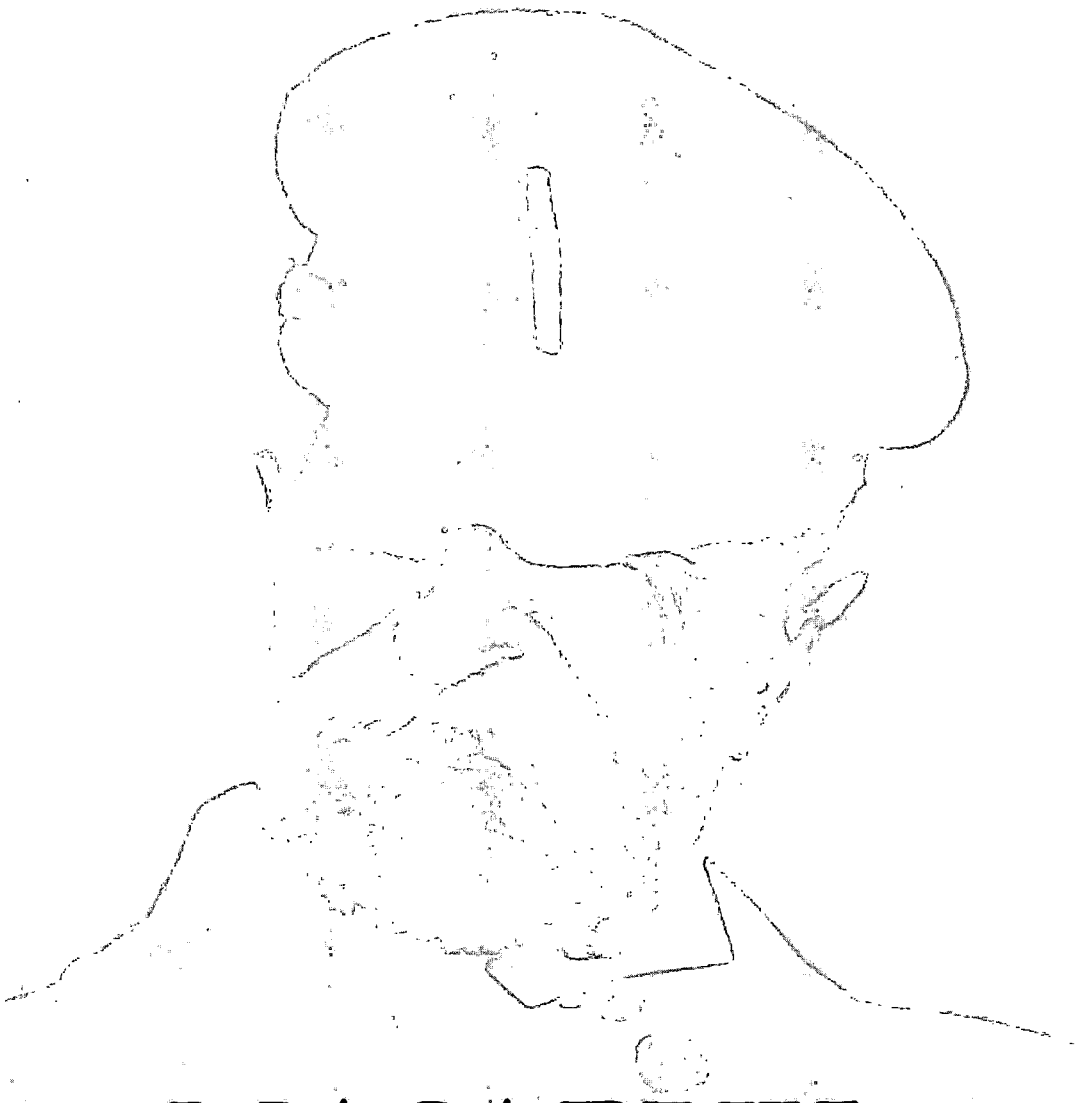
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MASARYK & AMERICA

TESTIMONY OF A RELATIONSHIP



Cover:
Masaryk in the early 1930s, photographed by the writer Karel Capek. From the collections of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

MASARYK & AMERICA

TESTIMONY OF A RELATIONSHIP

By George J. Kovtun
EUROPEAN DIVISION

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PREFACE

Thomas G. Masaryk, the first president of Czechoslovakia, died fifty years ago, on September 14, 1937. Commemorating Masaryk means acknowledging the zenith of the ties between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and America. Masaryk stands in history as the best embodiment of these ties. He knew America from firsthand experience, and left many traces of his activities in the United States. An important part of this evidence is recorded in the present volume.

In this selective documentation Masaryk's relationship with America is illustrated by his writings and speeches, by magazine articles, newspaper editorials and interviews, by letters written by, or addressed to, Masaryk, and by personal notes and reminiscences. The materials quoted here were found in American archives, most of them in the Library of Congress, and in printed sources published both in Czechoslovakia and in the United States. The items are quoted in the original English or in English translation made by the compiler.

The documents of this publication speak for themselves. The introduction supplies the necessary historical background but does not attempt to evaluate the documents. The main criterion for selection was the intent to show Masaryk's *personal* relations with America and the Americans. For the most part, memoranda written by Masaryk as the head of the Czechoslovak liberation movement have been omitted. The borderline between personal and official matters is, admittedly, sometimes difficult to discern. The compiler tried in any case to focus on those documents where Masaryk's personal thinking can be felt behind the written word.

As all these limitations suggest, the publication does not intend to be a full account of Masaryk's contacts with America. Neither does it attempt an analysis of the facts that are here presented. The work is meant to be a sourcebook for further thinking and study. It is hoped that it can serve both as a reference work and as a contribution to Masaryk's political portrayal.

During the preparation of this volume invaluable assistance was given by David H. Kraus, whose help covered many aspects of the project, from the basic arrangement to historical and linguistic details. Ruth Freitag gave, not for the first time, expert advice in matters of bibliography. Janie Ricks worked patiently and efficiently with the text, starting with the early stages of gathering and storing the documents and ending with the final preparation for publication.

George J. Kovtun
September 1987

INTRODUCTION

Thomas G. Masaryk, the first president of Czechoslovakia, had a lifelong intellectual relationship with America which must be called unique even today, fifty years after his death. His practical contacts with the American people spread over four decades and consisted of four visits paid to the United States in the years 1878, 1902, 1907, and 1918. The crowning achievement of this relationship was American recognition of Czechoslovak independence on September 3, 1918, formally granted to Masaryk while he was in Washington.

Several prominent Czechs came to America before Masaryk, such as Vojta Náprstek, the activist liberal and propagator of American efficiency, Josef V. Sládek, the poet and translator of Longfellow, and Antonín Dvořák, the composer of the *New World Symphony*. They enhanced the mutual understanding of the cultural values between America and the Czech lands; but it was left to Masaryk, who became a representative of *political* aspirations, to work towards the first real alliance between the Czech and the American people in a decisive moment of history.

Masaryk's most personal link with America was, of course, his wife, Charlotte Garrigue, whose last name he later adopted as his own middle name. Born in Brooklyn in 1850 she was, on her father's side, a descendant of Huguenots who left France in the first part of the seventeenth century and settled in Germany and Denmark. Her mother traced her ancestry back to the Pilgrim Fathers. Masaryk met Charlotte in Leipzig in 1877 and after a brief courtship proposed to her. He came to New York to marry her in March 1878. His first visit to the United States was thus mainly a

private affair. It lasted only about two weeks, and most of his time was spent with the Garrigue family. Charlotte returned to Europe with Masaryk and stayed at his side until the outbreak of the First World War.

In 1902 Masaryk traveled to America at the invitation of the philantropic industrialist Charles R. Crane, who had established a foundation for Slavic lectures at the University of Chicago. By a happy coincidence Crane turned out to be a friend of Woodrow Wilson's, a fact that was to serve Masaryk well in 1918. Twenty-four years elapsed between Masaryk's first and second journeys to America. In this period Masaryk became a well-known figure in Czech public life. He was assigned to the new Czech university in Prague as a philosophy professor and founded a periodical, *Athenaeum*, in which he practiced what he called "scientific criticism." He organized campaigns against bigotry, chauvinism, literary forgeries, and racial prejudice, epitomized by the case of the Jew Leopold Hilsner, unjustly accused of a ritual murder. He published several books on the problems of Czech history and politics, and on social and philosophical questions. And he entered the arena of politics. In the years 1891-93 he represented the Young Czech Party in the Austrian parliament in Vienna.

Masaryk's lectures in Chicago in 1902 were delivered from notes and for several decades the subject of this unpublished university course had been a matter of speculation. In the 1970s the Czech-American author Draga B. Shillinglaw undertook the reconstruction of the lectures from rediscovered stenographic notes published in the old issues of the Czech-language newspaper *Slavie*. It became evident that Masaryk spoke mainly on Czech history (the lecture series was entitled "The Philosophy of the History of a Small Nation") but he also discussed general Slavic questions in several lectures. His course at the University of Chicago was the first systematic exposition of the Czech question in America.

During his second visit, which lasted three months, Masaryk made an extended tour of the Czech immigrant centers, visiting New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Baltimore, Cleveland, Cedar Rapids, and other cities. He had not yet presented a political program of

independence but, speaking on a variety of subjects (religion, socialism, Czech literature and history) he clearly contributed to the dissemination of knowledge of basic Czech national aspirations.

On his third visit, in 1907, Masaryk came to America as a Czech intellectual whose political role had received fresh impetus. He started on his journey shortly after having been elected a member of the Vienna parliament for a second term, representing the small Progressive Party which he helped create in 1900. On July 17, 1907, he was present at the opening of the Parliament session, on July 20 he delivered a speech in the budget debate, and a week later he sailed from Bremerhaven. He arrived in New York on August 7 and stayed in America for two months. He participated in the Congress of the Religious Liberals in Boston and again visited the Czech immigrants who had overwhelmed him with invitations from eleven states in all. His appearances before the Czech-Americans culminated in a series of speeches delivered at the Association of Czech Freethinkers in Chicago. His last prewar visit to the United States strengthened his conviction that Czech-Americans were an important part of the Czech nation and that America could be a source of inspiration for Czech political life.

It was Masaryk's fourth and last visit to America that made history. He came at the beginning of May 1918, as the leader of the Czechoslovak liberation movement, and left in November, already the first elected President of Czechoslovakia. For the American and world public his six-and-a-half month stay in the United States appeared as a meteoric rise from near-obscurity to the leadership of one of the new states in Central Europe.

Masaryk, the organizer of a political action and finally of volunteer armies fighting for the independence of the Czechs and Slovaks, was a reluctant revolutionary. By temperament and political philosophy he was a reformist who abhorred violence and bloodshed. At the same time his advocacy of progress by *democratic* means made him a natural adherent of the democratic Western powers in their conflict with monarchic Germany and Austria-Hungary. He feared that victory by the Central Powers would

strengthen the supremacy of the German element and worsen the unequal status of the Czechs, Slovaks, and other small Slav nations in the Habsburg Empire. The inescapable logic of this conviction led him to the camp of the Allies.

Masaryk had left Austria-Hungary in December 1914, traveling to the then neutral Italy. From there he moved to Switzerland and to France, and in October 1915 settled down in Great Britain. With inexhaustible energy he worked for the cause of a free Czechoslovakia in the West European Allied capitals. When the Tsarist autocracy was replaced by a provisional republican government in Petrograd in March 1917, Masaryk went from England to Russia where he hoped to witness a development toward democracy and to recruit thousands of volunteers from the ranks of the Czech and Slovak prisoners of war for his army. In Russia he did, indeed, succeed in organizing the largest Czechoslovak volunteer army (other Czechoslovak armies were built in France and Italy) but his expectations of a Russian democratization were thwarted by the Bolshevik revolution in November 1917. Masaryk and his representatives concluded several agreements concerning the neutrality of the Czechoslovak army in the Russian domestic conflicts, and its transfer to France, where reinforcements were sorely needed against the last German onslaught.

Recognizing the growing importance of the United States, which finally declared war on Austria-Hungary in December 1917, Masaryk traveled to America. He crossed European Russia and Siberia in a train whose passengers sometimes left their cars to chop wood for the locomotive. After a brief stay in Japan, he sailed from Yokohama to Vancouver, and arrived in Chicago on May 5, 1918. His itinerary as a revolutionary was actually a trip around the world, lasting four years and covering three continents.

His task in America was far from easy. Not only did the war have to be won (and victory seemed quite distant in the spring of 1918) but also a diplomatic breakthrough had to be achieved for the program of T.G. Masaryk and other Central European leaders. This program called for dismembering the Habsburg Empire and establishing independent states, free to opt either for com-

plete independence or for some form of voluntary association or federation. Although important pioneering work had been done by the American Czechs and Slovaks, who constituted an agile pressure group with influential connections in the press and in government circles, much remained to be accomplished when Masaryk came to America.

The West European allies, France and England, preceded the United States in recognizing Masaryk's organization, the Czechoslovak National Council, as the de facto government of the future state of Czechoslovakia. Masaryk's able representatives, Edvard Beneš and Milan R. Štefánik, secured recognition of the Czechoslovak state in the summer of 1918 in Paris and London, where the pressures of desperate German offensives and the need to weaken the Central Powers both militarily and *politically* were felt much more strongly than in Washington. American recognition, although coming last, was more than a formal seal at the end of an inevitable process. From Masaryk's statements in 1918 in America it can be clearly understood that he accorded American recognition a special importance in view of the moral prestige of American ideals, represented by Wilson, in both the Allied camp and among the adversaries.

Masaryk's success in America, viewed in retrospect, may seem a part of a historical trend rather than the result of exceptional personal efforts. The developments at the battlefields gathered momentum and, after the failure of the behind-the-scenes peace discussions, the idea of defeating Germany by destroying her ally, Austria-Hungary, provided further support for the aspirations of the small oppressed nations. Added to the circumstances that favored Masaryk may be the popularity of the Czechoslovak soldiers who, on their way from Russia to France, occupied the Siberian railway, considered strategically important by the Allies. But with all these advantages the cause of the Czechs and Slovaks still had to be explained in America in 1918, and here Masaryk showed his undeniable qualities as a spokesman of his people. He gained the quick attention and respect of the journalists and, gradually, convinced the diplomats and statesmen that there was a basic com-

patibility between the American political tradition and the goals of the Czechs and Slovaks.

The reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe after the First World War has been both praised and criticized, and Masaryk's role in this reconstruction has been judged in different ways by historians and politicians. Just twenty years after the end of the First World War came the shock of the destruction of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other states by the Nazi Germany. After a new world war, Czechoslovakia was restored in a divided Europe, but in a form quite different from Masaryk's expectations. Fifty years after Masaryk's death and almost seven decades after his greatest successes, achieved on American soil, many of the past events have become blurred and superseded by new momentous developments. But the fact that, at the end of the First World War, a new emerging country in Central Europe found its inspiration and strength in *American* ideals remains one of the remarkable phenomena of recent European history. For an examination of this phenomenon, Masaryk affords the best example.

The testimonies of Masaryk's relationship with America, selected for this volume, are arranged in five sections. In the first section (*"Before 1914"*) Masaryk's visits in the United States prior to the First World War are illustrated by documents with seemingly little political relevance. Masaryk is shown as a freshly arrived European bridegroom, and as a lecturer with overriding interest in religious, cultural, and social questions. His political aims become visible in the second section (*"Lobbying for an Independent State"*), consisting mainly of documents which show the American Czechs and Slovaks campaigning for a program of self-determination and independence, and Masaryk's own explanation of his goals. In the third section (*"Masaryk in the Spotlight"*) Masaryk, now on his fourth and most important visit in America, is clearly in focus. Newspaper reports and diplomatic memoranda remind us how he was viewed by contemporary witnesses and how he acted on the political scene. In the next two sections (*"Masaryk and American Ideals"* and *"Masaryk and Wilson"*) we see from Masaryk's declarations, statements, and letters how he valued the

American democratic tradition, and Woodrow Wilson as the interpreter of this tradition. The sixth and last section is a brief documentary narrative. It tells the story of the longest document written in Masaryk's hand and preserved outside Czechoslovakia, the manuscript of his book *The New Europe*. This story, too, has an American aspect: the manuscript was finished in Washington.

Clearly, the first president of Czechoslovakia had a special relationship with the United States. Was the role which America played in Masaryk's life only a concatenation of incidental causes, or was it an expression of a deeper, meaningful affinity? The following testimony should help answer this question.

CHAPTER

ONE

BEFORE 1914

Masaryk's first appearance in America may be illustrated by a true anecdote:

The bridegroom had a foreign accent and his formal European manners entertained the Garrigue sisters greatly. He seemed to be either impatient or an early riser, or both. On the morning of the wedding day he appeared very early at the bride's home, clad in a formal dress suit, carrying a high silk hat. His explanation was that he did not want to "lose time." He was promptly sent back to the hotel.

This little story, told by Masaryk's wife Chartlotte Garrigue to her daughter Alice[1], catches at least a glimpse of the mixture of delight and amazement that Masaryk, the son of peasants and a young doctor of philosophy, had caused in the well-to-do American family.

A good description of the house in the Morrisania section of the Bronx, where the Garrigue family welcomed Masaryk, is contained in a letter written by one of Charlotte's sisters on August 10, 1938, and preserved in the Thomas Čapek Collection in the Library of Congress.

Eleanor Garrigue Ferguson to Anna V. Čapek, who had inquired about the life of the Garrigue family in Morrisania:

The Garrigue home on Boston Road was between 166th and 167th Streets. It was the second house from the corner of 167th Street on the west side of the Road. The home was *not* red brick, it was a frame house, three stories and basement with cellar, containing a specially made refrigerator, (almost as large as the "Empire State Building," to hold food enough for eleven children). Charlotte was married in the same room as her three sisters: Emily, Augusta, Isabella; which was *adjoining* the music room—*not* in the music room.

The home, a simple rather small structure, was *bought by* our father, when we moved from Brooklyn to *Morrisania,* as the town was then called. Our father added considerably to the size, by building other sleeping rooms, a large laundry, extra kitchen space, and eventually *the very large* music room, over which was the billiard room and one single bedroom. The billiard room was of great importance, as it afforded very pleasurable relaxations for my father evenings and Sundays when he was fatigued from his very concentrated work in the Germania Fire Insurance business.

The two original "living-rooms" where the marriage ceremonies took place, we used to call: "Front- and back-parlors" and they continued ever to be *the home* and "cozy rooms" where Thomas Masaryk and Charlotte sat and chatted together, and put each other to the test, as to who could repeat the names of the states of our "United States" most accurately and most quickly. Their "courting" always had an intellectual side connected with it. The "music room" was more formal—used for our study 8 or 9 hours a day—we had our regular periods of study—one came in, the other went out, almost with military precision. *An important feature of the homestead was a grand old oak-tree, which stood between our grounds and our neighbors.* As children we all adored that tree — its dignity, strength and beauty of form — that has gone to make room for buildings — but it remained long after we left Morrisania. . . .

Masaryk owed his invitation to lecture at Chicago University in 1902 to the recommendation of the French Slavist Louis Leger and to his knowledge of English. Before his second trip to the United States he was visited by one of the founders of Slavic studies in America, Leo Wiener, who wrote the first report about Masaryk for the American press.

From Leo Wiener's article "The New Bohemia", published in the Nation *of August 15, 1901:*

There are streets whose names are as old as their murky jumble of buildings, and others broad and airy, graced by the names of beloved poets, like Neruda, philologists like Dobrovsky, historians like Palacky. Protestant churches, especially of the Hussite persuasion, may be found among the many Catholic, while the Greek Catholic faith, the earliest established here (namely, in the ninth century), finds its expression through the propaganda of various societies of Cyril and Methodius, its oldest missionaries among the Slavs. Nor has the quaint Jewish Ghetto disappeared, while one of the most pretentious religious monuments on the large bridge that connects the two parts of the city, bears the legend that it was built some two hundred years ago from the fine a Jew paid for railing at Christ.

This bridge leads into the "Small Town," where, at the turn of the road, a sign in five languages tells that the steep street leads to a castle on top of the hill that overlooks the whole city. Only a short distance below the outer parapet of the eerie palace is the house in which Professor Masaryk lives. It was not yet past breakfast-time when I knocked at his door, and was admitted. The rooms bore evidence of the approaching vacation, when the Professor and his family pass the sultry months in the Slovak parts of northern Hungary, of which he is a native. Professor Masaryk has the appearance of an American, and this impression is heightened by his reserved manner and composure. His wife (*née* Garrigue) is an American lady, and he has adopted her name, writing his own as Thomas Garrigue Masaryk. He is a political economist trained in the most critical school of his profession. He has looked without prejudice into the history of his country, and has found that the vicissitudes of Bohemia have been due more to the indolence of his own race than the avarice of the Germans, that self-restraint is productive of better results than indiscriminate abuse of everything foreign. He loves Bohemia fervently, and would like to see it occupy an honorable position in Europe, but he thinks that this can be acquired only by a close study of matters political, social, and intellectual; that far from blindly hating the Germans, the Bohemians ought to compete with them fairly for political supremacy; that all the heterogeneous elements of the country, the Jews included, are to be won over by love and not by hatred. In a momentary fit of righteous enthusiasm, his people elected him to the Austrian Parliament, where he represented Bohemia with honor and moderation. No one would have done more for his country than Masaryk, but he soon got weary of the platitudes and vile accusations of the Young Bohemians, and returned to his university position to carry on his studies in academic peace. It was a good idea of Mr. Crane of Chicago to invite him to deliver a series of lectures at the University of Chicago. The date has not yet been set, but within two or three years America will have an opportunity to hear about Bohemia from the mouth of one of its most prominent sons. Professor Masaryk speaks English fluently. . . .

It has long been assumed that, with the exception of limited academic and religious circles, Masaryk was virtually unknown to the American public before the First World War had brought the Czech and Slovak aspiration into focus. However, a recent search in American newspapers revealed that Masaryk had gained some publicity in American dailies during his visit in 1902, attracting the attention of American journalists not by his political opinion, but by his comments on a social problem, the plight of immigrant children in the American cities.

From the article "Sees Danger Ahead," published in the Baltimore Sun *on May 19, 1902:*

Prof. Thomas Garigue [sic] Masaryk, a member of the Austrian Reichsrath and doctor of philosophy at the University of Prague, was the guest yesterday of the Bohemian Gymnastic Society. He arrived in this city late Saturday afternoon in response to an invitation from the society and delivered a lecture at Bohemia Hall on the life of Karl [sic] Havlíček, the Bohemian patriot who was exiled from that country on account of his opposition to the Austrian Government. He will go to Washington today.

Professor Masaryk appears to be a man of great refinement and culture. Beneath a high, classical forehead is a pair of piercing dark-grey eyes, which peer through large, steel-rimmed eyeglasses. Aquiline nose and firm mouth are probably the most impressive facial features. The visitor wears a Vandyke beard and mustache slightly tinted with grey.

When questioned with reference to his impression of the American people, their habits and customs, Professor Masaryk said he had not had sufficient opportunity to study Americans to form a fixed opinion. Almost equally evasive was he when asked for his opinion concerning the great American industrial combinations which have recently sprung into existence.

"The theories of most learned men are divided as to the benefits of these immense syndicates," said Professor Masaryk. "Of the system I have nothing to say except that if the ends are good the means are justified by the ends. Trusts mean the centralization of wealth and power, and centralization is always bad unless checked by individual and autonomic power."

Without solicitation the Professor then entered upon the discussion of another problem of great interest.

"During my short time in this country," he said, "I have observed one very important and vital question that concerns you Americans — a question beside which the race problem, in my opinion, falls into insignificance — namely, the immigration problem. From my observations in the immigration quarters of New York I have been led to believe the situation is really alarming. Here you have on an average of a half million immigrants coming to your shores annually, for the most part uneducated, among them great numbers of Italians, Syrians, Turks and Greeks. You cannot imagine what it means to have these people suddenly liberated from the political, religious and social bonds under which they have lived for centuries. Comparatively few seem to see the danger that lurks behind this condition. Look at the children! A half million immigrants means about 5,000,000 children in five years. Who takes care of them?"

"Go to New York and you find them fairly swarming about the streets of the East Side from early morn until late in the evening. Then go to the other section of the city and you notice the contrast. In the one place thousands of ignorant children playing in the filth of the smaller streets

and alleys and in the other neatly clad children with schoolbooks in their arms."

"It is quite safe to say that the condition of the former case, under the present circumstances, when no care is manifested for the welfare of the offspring of the foreigners, will not naturally become alleviated in less than the third to the fifth generation."

"There is only one remedy that I can think of, and that is to organize a movement to take care of these children, educate them and by so doing elevate their moral condition."

Professor Masaryk stated that he expected in the near future to return to this country and attempt to treat the question practically, and especially to labor for the intellectual elevation and advancement of his own people. This plan, he asserted, if carried out, would undoubtedly be of inestimable benefit to the United States. . . .

From the editorial "Is It a Peril?" published in the Washington Post *on May 21, 1902:*

Occasionally a foreign visitor does this country good service by calling attention to ugly facts. Mr. Thomas Garigne [sic] Masaryk, president of the University of Prague [sic], and member of the Austrian Reichsrath, has favored us in that way in an interview printed in Baltimore on the 18th instant. Mr. Masaryk discusses the immigration question, which, he thinks, should concern Americans more than any or all other problems. He thinks it "a peril to the American republic," and we have no doubt it will prove so if we continue to neglect the children of the immigrants. . . .

It is vain to point with pride to the billions that we expend on our free schools and to the other billions devoted to the intellectual, moral, and physical improvement of children. All that is well so far as it goes, but the fact remains that it does not go far enough. Instead of a reduction, we have an increase year by year of the number of children who get their education in the streets. Great as is our outlay for new school buildings, teachers, and other features of the public school system, we are continually falling farther and farther behind the demand. We plume ourselves on what we are doing when, in fact, we should blush for what we are leaving undone.

From the editorial "Immigration That Menaces", published in the Philadelphia Public Ledger *on May 21, 1902:*

Professor Masaryk, of the University of Prague and member of the Austrian Reichsrath, who is traveling in this country, records his conviction that foreign immigration, or rather a considerable part of it, is a menace to the American Republic. His attention has been particularly attracted to the situation in New York, which annually receives and attempts to assimilate within its own borders thousands of foreigners alien

in every sense. They come from the South and East of Europe, from the Mediterranean, from Asia and Africa. They labor for a pittance, inhabit the squalid tenements, disregard personal cleanliness, neglect their children's schooling and reproduce here in degree the deplorable conditions that exist in the countries of their nativity. The Austrian critic is particularly concerned about the morals and schooling of the children of these immigrants, and the only remedy that suggests itself to him is a movement to take their education in hand. . . .

Professor Masaryk's comments upon the social conditions of our chief seaport afford food for thought for all Americans who cherish their native land. They should be an incentive to Congress to supply a remedy for the perils arising from imperfectly regulated immigration.

In the observations published after his return from his second visit, Masaryk stressed the religious problems of the immigrants, and showed a distinctive appreciation of the risks and potentialities of free spiritual life.

From Masaryk's article in the Prague monthly Naše doba *of October, 1902:*

I devoted this year's visit of mine to the United States (in fact only a part of the United States, from New York to Cedar Rapids in the West, and to Washington, D.C. and St. Louis in the South) mainly to observing the situation of religion and churches. That was the intent of my journey and, of course, I had the general American situation in mind. Soon I had to turn my attention also to the religious life of the Czechs; and I have to confess being surprised by their situation, which unexpectedly forced me to think more about the subject. How little we know at home about the life of our colonies abroad!

Already in New York, and likewise in other cities, I came to realize that no other question is as important to the American Czechs as the religious question. In any serious discussion among the Czechs whom I saw the question of religion and churches became the main topic. Even among the Socialists. Everywhere I was asked questions about religion and requested to give my opinion on the attitudes of [American] Czechs with respect to religion and churches.

From the conversations and from the press (some of the [Czech-American] newspapers are not allowed in Bohemia, which makes it difficult for us to follow Czech life in America) one can easily see that our American colony is sharply divided into two hostile and steadily warring camps: the freethinkers and the believers or, better, church people. As there are many more Catholics than Protestants, we can say that we have a camp of freethinkers and a Catholic camp. . . .

The nature of the Czech freethinking can be understood without difficulty. It is the Free Thought that had been transferred from Bohemia

to the soil of American liberty. It is, however, the more radical Free Thought of the 1850s and 1860s. It is the freethinking of men who had experienced the Revolution of 1848, freethinking not only of Havlíček, but also of Dr. Rieger of that period and of the younger men such as Sabina, Sladkovský and Barák. It is, to a large extent, the consistent early Young-Czech thinking. In America the Czech freethinkers had the chance to be more consistent without fear, and they were. They saw that in America any religious conviction could be consistently pursued, and this is how they acted in pursuing their conviction. Whereas in Bohemia Free Thought was soon being replaced by liberal phraseology, the freethinkers in America were more consistent in practicing their conviction, and gave up Catholicism.

I need not emphasize that the difference between the American and Czech freethinking is only a difference in degree. Our freethinkers do not dare to be more consistent. In all respects the whole life of the American Czechs is our Czech life; if America puzzles [a visitor from Bohemia] with its Czech-American life, it is, in fact, only showing him a copy of his own life under the magnifying glass. . . .

I do not know if the American Czechs are strong enough to replace the old religions by a new, genuinely new religion. Most freethinkers know only Catholicism. They threw away Catholicism (I could not say they *overcame* it) and now they think they have overcome religion in general. But religion is not overcome and, consequently, there is a crisis among the freethinkers. Many are returning to Catholicism, others accept Protestantism, some cling to the new American sects. . . . All these difficulties are augmented by their own appreciation that freethinking is outmoded today, that its negativism is no longer sufficient. The lively religious interest that animates America could not fail to stimulate the open-minded freethinkers to revise their liberalistic philosophy.

It is certain that the American Czechs have to be awakened spiritually and that they have to participate in American cultural life. It is understandable that the immigrants, seeking bread in their new country, were looking for employment in the first place and were guided by their material interest. But man does not live by bread alone as is evident once again in the development of the life of the American Czechs. Obviously, even in the material sphere our Czech people have contented themselves with purely physical work of low order. In this respect, too, they are increasingly aware of how useful education and interest in spiritual life are for the Czech worker and laborer.

During his last visit in the United States before the First World War, in 1907, Masaryk earned the special attention of a group of American citizens who recognized his merits as a fighter against racial discrimination. The Association of Galician and Bukovinian Jews held a public gathering in his honor.

The editorial "Distinguished Visitor," published in the Jewish Exponent *on August 30, 1907:*

At the coming International Congress of Liberals Professor Thomas Mazark [sic], who did such valiant service in combating the anti-Semites of his country, will be one of the delegates. The distinguished visitor is properly described by one of the foremost American papers as "a Slavic hero." He is certainly entitled to the honor thus bestowed upon him, for at the risk of his own position as a university professor he defended the Jews of his native land when the charge of ritual murder was fabricated against them in the closing years of the nineteenth century. He was threatened with ostracism and other penalties of a more exacting nature, but nonetheless he persisted in doing his duty. The anti-Semites of the Austrian Empire have good cause to fear him, for he has been one of the ablest and most determined of their opponents. There are few Christians of his eminence in the country of which he is a subject who have had the manhood, the courage and the ability to work effectively to defend their Jewish neighbors as he has shown on many an occasion. We are glad to note that his Jewish fellow countrymen now living in New York propose to honor him by a public reception. He certainly deserves it.

In his speech in the General Session of the Congress of the Religious Liberals in Boston Masaryk discussed the religious situation in Austria. He also addressed one of the committees of the congress in a brief speech about the Slavic immigrants. This brief address, almost forgotten and never translated or published in Czechoslovakia, documents his concern for religious and social questions as the two inseparable parts of one basic human problem.

Masaryk's speech in a meeting of the Department of New Americans at the Congress of the Religious Liberals in Boston on September 24, 1907:

I am to speak of the Slavonians, of whom there are about 4,000,000 living in your country. I am to speak more especially of the Bohemians. I have no right to speak in their name. I will communicate some observations I made in this country recently, and twice before when I was here. I would not dare to discuss the whole problem of immigration. I will give you just a few of my own observations.

I remember that, when I first came to America, on the boat I saw a little girl. She had her address checked on her breast. She could not speak with anybody — not English, of course. I had the impression of a living box or trunk being checked and sent to America. That is the first impression I had of the immigration problem. And afterwards, when I came

here, for instance, to Pittsburg or Allegheny, and observed the life of the miners, I saw again living trunks and boxes which are used for the industry of your great country. A man cannot speak with his fellow-citizens; he cannot speak with his own children. It is touching to see how among our Slavonians and Bohemians very often the family is broken up simply because nobody is left to take care of the children. The father and mother are in the mines: the children live on the street, pick up the English language, forget their own. The father and mother cannot speak English, and so they cannot converse, father and child. I saw this very often, not only in Pittsburg, but in New York, Chicago, everywhere. And so I see that the problem is, of course, that the people coming here should as soon as possible learn English. But that is not enough, to know English, even if they speak it very well. It is not a question of language only, but of citizenship communion, of spiritual communion. For these people learn English as they can — they learn it in the public schools, they pick it up on the streets, and so on; but they are not citizens, they are not Americans, and they cannot be, because they are out of spiritual and civic communion with you. They do not communicate, and they cannot. I often am told by Americans, "There is a kind of clan instinct among these Slavonians: they gather where they will not be assimilated with us." Of course, if you would say assimilation only by language, that is not difficult. What I mean is the assimilation of culture and of spiritual life, and that is wanting. I often hear from clergymen and men who care for religion, "Your Bohemians are free thinkers; they are hostile to religion; they are atheists." It is true that very many of them are free thinkers, and perhaps atheists — I cannot tell — but I know these free thinkers and atheists long for spiritual life. They have nobody to give it to them excepting the Roman Church. Catholicism is spreading, of course, here the United States; and it soon will be, and I suppose it is already, a great problem of this country. The Roman Church meets these people. A Bohemian and a Slavonian will be more carefully cared for than he is in his own country. But there is a minority of the people, perhaps half of them, who dislike every sort of ecclesiastical and religious life, simply because in Austria, where they come from, they know only the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of the State, and they hate the State Church. If you would meet them on their own ground and of course in their own language, you will see that these "atheists" will be very good — I won't say Christians, but religious men; and I am sure, if Jesus were to come again, he would go to these atheists, to these people who do not care anything for religion because they are cast out of spiritual communion, and because they have no opportunity of hearing and seeing what true religion is.

And so I wish that they could meet you, and that you would meet them. I think they are ripe for this meeting. I came here Sunday, and was engaged for the meetings here, but was invited by my countrymen to speak. Before I came, they wrote me to speak on the political and social situation of Bohemia and of Austria. When I came to speak to them, I saw

CHAPTER

TWO

LOBBYING FOR AN INDEPENDENT STATE

A postcard, preserved in the Woodrow Wilson Papers in the Library of Congress, marks the beginning of a new phase in Masaryk's life. The postcard was mailed from Rome to New York shortly before the end of 1914.

Masaryk to Emanuel V. Voska, December 27, 1914:

Again I am beyond frontiers in a neutral country. A harder regime is commencing at home: In Moravia two men were executed for keeping and distributing the Russian manifesto. In Prague our editor Dušek from Čas was arrested; it is not permitted to publish it and hence it is not known in public. The first case where an editor was imprisoned by *military* authorities who now have the upper hand over the civilian. I do not know how it all will come out, most probably badly. I also do not know if I shall be able to go back. I shall stay here till Jan. 6th (Hotel Flora) then shall go to Geneva; Hotel d'Angleterre. Greetings from Masaryk.

Although it is not known how and when this postcard came to be deposited in the President's archives, it is certain that it is one of the first documents related to the establishment of contacts between Masaryk and the Czech-Americans in the early stages of the First World War. Emanuel V. Voska, a Czech immigrant who came to America at the age of 19 in 1894, was active in various Czech-American organizations. As an American citizen he traveled in Europe in the summer of 1914 when the war broke out. Before returning to the United States in September 1914, Voska offered himself to Masaryk as a courier for his contacts with the Western countries.

The strongest group in America to support Masaryk's program were the Czech immigrants who entered into close cooperation

with the Slovak-Americans. More than a million people of Czech and Slovak origin lived in America in the period of the First World War. After the outbreak of the hostilities the advantages of Masaryk's reputation among his compatriots in the United States became evident. The American Czechs and Slovaks provided him with an initial base for his revolutionary activity and were unswerving in their support of his aims. Their lobbying for the independence of their country was, however, a gradually evolving process. In the first years of the war they had to organize their forces and cope with the fact of American neutrality.

In March 1915 most of the scattered Czech groups were united in the Bohemian National Alliance (BNA); in October of that same year, the BNA formally entered into an agreement with the Slovak organization, the Slovak League of America, to pursue jointly the aim of political independence. The Czech Catholic immigrants formed the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics in February 1917, and allied themselves with the BNA. Finally, in February 1918, the three groups, the BNA, the Czech Catholics, and the Slovak League agreed that together they would consider themselves to be the American branch of Masaryk's movement, the Czechoslovak National Council.

Before the Czech and Slovak immigrants could develop their anti-Habsburg propaganda effectively, Masaryk sought assistance from individual American sympathizers, among whom Charles R. Crane was the key person. Masaryk informed Crane in a letter written on February 3, 1915, from Geneva that the Czechoslovak revolutionaries "prepare the extreme steps a nation can and must do to get her independence," and asked for financial help.[3] Crane furnished material assistance and arranged for the first interview by an American correspondent with Masaryk during the war. Masaryk was visited in London by a *Christian Science Monitor* reporter who then wrote a lengthy article based on his conversation with the Czech leader.



Masaryk's portrait, drawn and signed for the *Christian Science Monitor* from a photograph, published on December 1, 1915. Newspaper and Current Periodical Reading Room, Library of Congress.

From the article "Slav Issue As Basis for the Great Conflict," published by the Christian Science Monitor *on December 1, 1915:*

"An exile from Bohemia with a price set upon his head by the Austrian government", were the words in which Prof. T. G. Masaryk was described quite recently by one who knows him well. The professor is at present in London, and accorded a representative of the Christian Science Monitor a more than cordial reception in his study at Hampstead, looking out over the hills away beyond the Heath. Professor Masaryk has been described as one of the greatest figures in the Slavonic world, and it is not necessary to have more than a few moments conversation with him to recognize that the cause he has so much at heart occupies his entire time and all his thoughts.

The London University has now founded a new school of Slavonic studies, and Professor Masaryk has been appointed lecturer in Slavonic literature and sociology. Interesting as is this work he has undertaken, the Professor recognized that it is far less important than the other work he has in hand. Professor Masaryk is a Bohemian, and was professor of philosophy in the Czech University of Prague. He has also taken an active part during many years, not only in the internal politics of Bohemia, but in the larger field of Austro-Hungarian affairs, as a member of the Austrian Parliament.

In December last, he explained, I was compelled to leave Prague, owing to the persecution of Bohemian politicians by the Austrian government. My friends, he continued, are in prison, but I departed before being arrested being convinced that I could better accomplish the great objective I have in view, if I were free, than if confined in a prison cell. I would have been arrested had I stayed, he explained, because I was, and always have been, in opposition to the Austrian government.

It is, then, your desire to enlighten the public as to the real facts regarding Austria's recent political doings?

Yes, replied the Professor, it is exactly for that purpose that I am here in London. I realize full well that Austria is guilty, and that she is determined to keep my country, Bohemia, in subjection. I am consequently working here in London, as I have in Rome, Paris, and Geneva, to rouse politicians to recognize what Austria is doing, and so to strengthen their sympathy with Bohemia. . . .

The Professor then turned to the great Slav question. We have, as you know, he said, practically seven Slav nations, that is we have the Bohemians and Slovaks, the Poles, the Serbo-Croats, the Slovenes, the Bulgarians, and Russians, whilst in Germany also there is what may best be described as a splinter of a Slav nation who are called Serbs, but they are very different to the Serbians themselves. Of these nations I have mentioned, only the Russians, Bulgarians, and a part of the Serbians are really independent, that is, have their own states. The great point is that at one

time or another, almost all of these Slav nations have been free. This means, therefore, that at some time they were subjugated, and are consequently striving to regain the liberty they formerly possessed. You may sum up the Slav question by saying that it is the struggle of those Slav nations which were formerly free to regain their freedom. Russia, of course, being the greatest Slav nation, can help the smaller Slav nations, and these nations expect this help from Russia. Even the Poles, the Professor continued, are now obviously opposed to Germany and her policy, as has been so clearly shown during the present war. They expect far more from Russia than they ever expected to obtain from Germany or Austria.

Pausing for a moment, and then pointing to a map of Europe, the Professor said: You will see from a glance at this map that the present war is based mainly, if not entirely, on the Slav question; the Slav question is the so-called eastern question. When Austria attacked Serbia, Russia was compelled to come to her rescue. Russia could not stand by and see the Slavs in Serbia annihilated. And it is for the same reason that the Slavs in Austria, and especially the Bohemians, are in sympathy with Serbia and Russia. Still pointing to the map, the Professor explained how the Slav peoples stretched really from the Gulf of Danzig on the Baltic down as far as the Aegean Sea and the Adriatic, constituting in Central Europe a peculiar Slav zone, but remember, he added, they are not free Slavs, and the fact that they are not in possession of the freedom which would be theirs is what gives rise to the perpetual unrest in Europe. Do not forget that the Slavs are ever striving for liberty and will continue to strive.

You asked me just now what would be the effect of the event of the Slav question being solved. Of course, the Professor went on, no one who is at all familiar with the question will ever think that the Slavs will immediately endeavor to form themselves into one nation. The first step to be accomplished is for them to obtain their independence. Imagine, if you can, the Slavs free in Bohemia, in Poland, with the South-Slavs. There is no question that this would develop into a mutual understanding which would end in definite treaties, military and otherwise. . . .

When the solution of the Slav question is reached, the Professor said in conclusion, the different Slav nationalities will certainly maintain their individuality. The Polish Slavs, he said, with real enthusiasm, will be free, as will the Slavs in other countries. Thus they would constitute a number of small states, but they would unite when a question of common interest was involved and in that way prove and exert their strength.

Not all the people who were willing to recommend Masaryk to Wilson's attention believed in the feasibility and success of Masaryk's aim. The American journalist Norman Hapgood, a friend of Wilson's, sent a copy of one of Masaryk's memoranda from London to the White House on January 29, 1917, but said in his

accompanying letter: "I myself am not for an independent Bohemia, but I think Professor Masaryk deserves a hearing."[4]

Most of the American Czechs did not doubt that Masaryk's goal was attainable, or at least desirable. It would have been premature to propagate the novel idea of an independent Czechoslovak state before the United States had entered the war. But the Bohemian National Alliance, bound by the rules of American neutrality, looked for an opportunity to declare their sympathies with the Allies in their fight against the Central Powers. The opportunity was found in May 1916. Responding to what he regarded as pro-German propaganda, the leader of the BNA, Ludvík Fisher, explained the position of the Czech-Americans in sharp criticism of the so called American Embargo Conference. The anti-German and anti-Austrian statement was written in the form of a letter addressed to all members of Congress. A copy of the letter, dated May 5, 1916, from Chicago, was sent to President Wilson.

Letter of the Bohemian National Alliance criticizing the pro-German tendencies of the American Embargo conference, dated May 5, 1916, from Chicago:

Within the last few days members of the Congress of the United States of America have been deluged with appeals and letters prepared by the American Embargo Conference and designed to create an impression that the American people are not in sympathy with the President in the stand he has taken with regard to the relations of this country with the so-called Central Powers, and more particularly with Germany.

There is little doubt in the minds of all well informed people that the concentrated action resulting from the deliberations of the American Embargo Conference represents a minority of the American people, and indeed does represent only American citizens and residents of German origin; it cannot even be said that this action is undertaken in behalf of any citizens of Austrian origin, because it is a well known fact that most former Austrian subjects are bitterly opposed to the Austrian government in the present world crisis.

American citizens in sympathy with Germany, and whose sympathies apparently lead them so far as to induce them to give preference to the welfare of Germany, rather than that of America, certainly have the right to express their opinions no matter what these may be, and it is not our intention to deny them such rights, but we cannot help remarking that if they were anxious to help maintain peace they should have addressed their appeals to Berlin and Vienna in the fateful days of July and August,

1914. It is the height of irony to address appeals for maintenance of peace to the American Government, the government of the one country that has always gone so far as was consistent with national honor to uphold the peace of the world.

There is certainly little doubt that those opposed to the action of the American Embargo Conference form an overwhelming majority of the citizenship of this country. Were American citizens of Slavonic, English, French, Italian and Belgian extraction less loyal to the country of the adoption they certainly could organize a demonstration in comparison with which the action of this conference would appear puny indeed. But such demonstration has not been organized, nor do we belive [sic] it will or should be prepared.

Nevertheless, we deem it our duty to call your attention to the fact that we are unalterably opposed to the aims of the American Embargo Conference, and the appeals it has engineered.

The foreign policies of this country certainly should not and cannot be dictated by the interests of any of the belligerent powers; but our aim must be the protection of the rights of American citizens under international law, and the maintenance of national honor. Properly understood, we are of the opinion that national honor and the maintenance of the rights of American citizens are perfectly consistent with the interests of humanity as a whole, and when the President of the United States takes this position, we believe he should be upheld by all loyal American citizens.

If the Central Powers have come into collision with all our accepted notions of liberty and freedom; of the rights of men; with all our conceptions of the interest of this nation, as well as humanity, they have only themselves to blame and the brutal methods of warfare beginning with the violation of Belgium and ending with the sinking of the Sussex.

In closing we may say that the Bohemian National Alliance is entitled to speak in behalf of five hundred forty thousand American citizens of Czech extraction, and we have little doubt that in calling your attention to the matters hereinbefore referred to we are speaking in behalf of a vast majority of American citizens of non-German origin.

Our aim has simply been to call attention to the fact that the recent appeals to members of Congress are biased, to say the least, and that at best they represent a small portion of American citizenship.[5]

Buoyed by the declaration of the Allies, in January 1917, that "the liberation of the Czechoslovaks from foreign domination" was one of their war aims, the Czech and Slovak immigrants convened a big meeting in New York and sent a message to President Wilson.

Telegram of a Czech-American committee to Woodrow Wilson, January 15, 1917:

Undersigned appointed as a committee on behalf of United States citizens gathered tonight in a mass meeting at Bohemian National Hall, New York, earnestly beseech the President and Congress to support the liberation of Czechs, Slovaks and other Slavs proposed by Allied Governments.

L. C. Frank, B. G. Gregr, A. B. Kuokol [sic], M. Getting[6]

When this message was being sent, the American entry into the war was still several months away. And Woodrow Wilson was still the President of a non-belligerent nation when he received a letter from the Slovak League of America congratulating him on his second inauguration. This letter, preserved in the Woodrow Wilson Papers in the Library of Congress, indicates clearly that even before the American declaration of war (on Germany in April 1917, and on Austria-Hungary in December 1917) Wilson was regarded by the representatives of small Central European nations as the advocate of their rights.

Slovak League of America to Woodrow Wilson, March 6, 1917:

The American citizens of Slovak descent cannot on this memorable occasion refrain from joining their voices in congratulating and thanking you not only for the very efficient work which you have performed as their Chief Executive and leader, during the trying four years that have elapsed since your first inauguration, but also for becoming a champion of the cause of their oppressed brethren in their distant home-land.

Prophets are men endowed with the power of reading human hearts rather than musty tomes; you have shown yourself to be a true prophet when to the Senate you declared that the small nations of Europe have an equal right with the powerful ones to governments established on the American basis, their consent. You then voiced the yearnings of the millions now forcibly gathered under governments to which they not only never did consent but from which they always have, for vital reasons, dissented.

As every individual has the inalienable, natural right to shape his own destiny, so have nations; as it is a high crime against nature's God to trample under foot this right of the individual, so it is an immeasurably greater crime to crush the collective right of individuals bound together with sacred ties into a nation.

Your welcome words are to the oppressed nations of the world as a shining star of hope breaking through the lowering clouds that have darkened their skies for centuries, and the American citizens of Slovak

origin would consider themselves lacking in patriotism and in loyalty to their adopted country, if they did not, on this occasion, express their heartfelt thanks to you for the stand you took on behalf of their brethren, and if they would not, in these days of crisis, solemnly reaffirm their oath of allegiance to the United States of America and pledge their undivided support of their Chief Executive.

God grant that four years hence, when you will lay down the burdens of your exalted office, your ideals will be materialized and that you will be followed into your private life not only by the esteem of your fellow citizens, but also by the blessings of those millions across the seas who will have survived the present struggle and who will be forever grateful to you for materially aiding them in realizing their just and centuries-old desires.

In the summer of 1917 the military situation of the Allies was far from excellent and Russia went through a period of political turmoil, but the Czechoslovak soldiers fought well on the Eastern front. The good fighting spirit of Masaryk's army in Russia was brought to the attention of Woodrow Wilson.

Letter of Ludvík Fisher, president of the Bohemian National Alliance, to Woodrow Wilson, July 5, 1917:

May I be permitted to call your attention to the fact that in the recent successful Russian offensive the most signal services were rendered by the Czecho-Slovak soldiers fighting alongside of the Russians?

The Russian official war bulletin of July 3 states that the Czecho-Slovak brigade captured 62 officers and 3,150 soldiers, fifteen guns and many machine guns, and that many of the captured guns were turned against the enemy.

The brigade referred to is the first brigade of the Czecho-Slovak army formed in Russia principally out of Bohemian and Slovak prisoners of war. During the old regime these volunteers formed merely Bohemian units of the Russian army, but Minister of War Gutchkoff sanctioned the formation of them into a separate Bohemian army which swore fidelity to the provisional Bohemian government in Paris, and Minister Kerensky apparently had full confidence in them, because he placed them in the very forefront of the offensive which meant so much to the future of Russia and to the entire cause of the Allies.

I beg to assure that soldiers of our race in the United States army will render as good an account of themselves as their brothers in Russia.[7]

In the spring of 1918, Masaryk's compatriots in America received good news from Prague. At a manifestation in the Czech capital, the citizens openly expressed their aspirations for freedom and even cheered Wilson as their champion. Ludvík Fisher, Ma-

saryk's indefatigable lobbyist, speaking for Czech-American organizations, again reminded Wilson of the existence of the Czechoslovak independence movement.

Telegram of Czech-American organizations to Woodrow Wilson, April 19, 1918:

A deep feeling of devotion to you who have given the world so much moral strength to fight against the barbarous violence of the Austro-German autocracy has always swayed the Bohemian people of the United States and led them to stand by you and their new country and in the present moment when the forces of light are in a death struggle with the enemy of democracy on the Western battlefields of Europe, when the democratic world is sacrificing everything to stem the flood of oppression that threatens to engulf all free nations there comes the joyous news that our brothers in Bohemia, our mother land, raised their voices at a manifestation in Prague and in the name of the ten millions of Czecho-Slovaks cheered Woodrow Wilson, the great President of this Republic, in the firm hope that the ideals of freedom and self-determination of nations as he expressed them will surely be the outcome of this terrible struggle. Stirred to the very depths of our souls we too, the Bohemians of the United States organized into the Bohemian National Alliance raise our voices which we join to the voices of the Bohemian nation of the old country to cheer for you and to say to you again we love and respect you, your ideals which are also our ideals, even as to our brothers in Bohemia, President Wilson is to us a bright star of hope of better days, a hope that independence and freedom shall be the lot of our people united into the Czecho-Slovak state.[8]

Attached to this telegram was a list of 13 Czech-American organizations whose representatives signed the enthusiastic message to the President. Wilson instructed his Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, to convey his thanks to Ludvík Fisher and his associates.

Telegram of Robert Lansing to Ludvík Fisher, April 12, 1918:

The President directs me to say that he is deeply touched by your message of the nineteenth in which you voice the appreciation of your fellow Czecho-Slovaks in the United States for the stand the President has taken in advocacy of the rights of the human race to undominated control of their own destinies. The presence among us of many thousands of your fellow countrymen, who have made their home with us and become assimilated with our national life, is proof not only of the welcome which our commonwealth extends to such worthy elements, but of the sympathy

of the newcomers with the broad principles of democratic union upon which this country builds up its national faith and of their desire to become a helpful part of the enduring civic organization we have framed. To all such the people of the United States hold out the hand of earnest sympathy and gladly share in the aspirations which animate them and their kindred in their old country.[9]

When Masaryk came to America he discussed his program in a meeting with Czechs and Slovaks in Chicago on May 28, 1918. In an unprepared, spirited speech he described his personal experiences during the last years and presented an overview of his revolutionary activities.

Masaryk's speech to Czechs and Slovaks in Chicago, reported by the Czech-language newspaper Slavie *on May 31, 1918:*

I was in Germany when the war broke out. I wanted to go to Paris and London to reconcile the Serbs and the Bulgarians and to win the agreement of the English and French government for this reconciliation. Suddenly the war started. I had not believed that the war was really approaching; I expected a conflict, but much later. The war, in my realization, would be terrible and therefore I was reluctant to believe that it was coming. As the trains in Germany were reserved for the army, I could not return promptly. I saw the German preparedness which made me anticipate a terrible war.

Finally I returned. There was no political life in Bohemia. The parliament had been adjourned a long time ago, the government suppressed all political activity after the outbreak of the war. Political parties existed only nominally, not even their executive committees were allowed to meet. Police spying was so pervasive that it sowed distrust among brothers and created an atmosphere of general suspicion. The journals had to publish whatever the police had forced upon them. Opposing journals were persecuted.

I saw our soldiers when they were sent to the front. The population of Prague accompanied them [to the trains] and in the countryside the civilians rioted at the railway stations together with the soldiers. The soldiers carried Czech emblems and flags, and soon we were to learn that they were punished for that.

Then followed cruel persecution of the press, of people and associations, especially the Sokols. The first victim fell in Moravia. The young Sokol Kratochvíl was condemned to death by shooting for carrying on him the manifesto of the Russian commander Nicolai. He was followed by a second and third victim, then by others. Our soldiers were punished by death. They refused to fight and surrendered. The Czech regiments were ordered decimated, the persecution of the people was intensified. Many journals were banned, people were imprisoned, and we came into

possession of a list of persons earmarked for jail at any greater political stirring.

We, the Representatives, could not meet and arrange a plan, to say nothing of conducting resistance activity. All weapons were confiscated. Resistance was unthinkable, revolution was out of the question because the military machine was working relentlessly and made an organized resistance movement impossible. Having no arms whatsoever, who could make a revolution?

And yet we started a revolution and our soldiers did it in the first place. They realized that the hour of final decision had come. In this I see the great discipline and strength of our people and an assurance for the future. For years in the past we had sung the praises of the Slav program as the basis of our politics. In 1912 we sent medical doctors and money to Serbia, and now we were supposed all of a sudden to go and shoot the Serbians. The Czech soldier said No and his resistance was felt all over Bohemia. That was the revolution, and it continued. We do not know how many of our soldiers have been executed, only after the war will we know. . . .

Seeing all this I said to myself: you yourself must decide, you cannot do less than those soldiers. I almost felt reproach for not having made an earlier start. All this led me abroad. At the beginning of December 1914 I left for Italy, but I still wanted to return to put my affairs in order. In Switzerland I learned that my return was no longer possible.

After due consideration I decided to try to organize all our colonies. In Switzerland the Czechs, mostly workers, promptly declared themselves against Austria and for a Czech Republic, and wished to enlist in the Allied armies as a Czech Legion. Czechs in France, England, and Russia had the same plans. And the Legions *were* being formed.

Now it was a question of a unifying program that could be approved by our people at home. Our actions abroad will be politically significant only if our people at home act in the same way. Unity at home and abroad impresses others and gives us strength and courage. I have tried to unify all the separate efforts. That has required hard work if only for mechanical reasons. It has been difficult to maintain contact with the distant colonies during the war, but the contact with the homeland has been still more difficult. Anyone can imagine how it has been done. But all has gone well, every colony has been assigned its special task.

America has been entrusted with financing the movement. My first contacts with America concerned finances, after all any sacrifice can be expressed in dollars and I have always believed that a dollar given is the symbol of the purest sacrifice and should be [regarded as such]. War and revolution cost money, therefore it is necessary to make sacrifices without which the independence of the Czechoslovak nation would not be possible.

That was in 1915. The organizing effort succeeded and then I presented the declaration against the Austrian government. A terrible blow

against the Slav cause was Bulgaria's decision to join Germany but I overcame that blow. The next step was the need to organize an army, at first in Russia. The beginnings were bad, but the results were encouraging. At my departure from Moscow on March 7th, 50,000 beautiful, strong Czech boys were prepared, waiting for their chance to go to France which was the yearned-for aim of us all after the conclusion of the [separate] peace by Russia.

[The move to France] was considered before and we agreed with the French government that the [Czechoslovak] army should be transported across America. I led the way and I hope that before long our soldiers will be in France. After the first 50,000 another 50,000, already registered, will follow. There are 20,000 [Czech and Slovak] prisoners of war in Italy and a good half of them are already fighting alongside the Italian army.

In the present circumstances all this is a very definite anti-Austrian program. An armed revolution cannot be undertaken at home but [our compatriots] are informed of the events [abroad] and approve our actions. Our unity has been until now, and will be in the future, the guarantee of our successes.

The first recognition was given to us, as always, by generous France in the time of the premiership of Briand who promised assistance to the Czech people. When President Wilson sent his inquiry to the Allies concerning their program, their response included, among other things, the independence of the Czechoslovak nation. That was solemnly promised by the Allies and we have the right to ask them to keep their promise. And they *will* keep it.

Later Wilson stated the American program several times; not in a definite fashion but in main outline. He expressed the idea of American democracy according to Lincoln: government of the people, by the people, and for the people that shall not perish from the earth. Wilson expressed what we desire: that no people should be forced to live under a government which it neither wants nor recognizes. On this democratic basis we all will be Americans. The last hour of all monarchs has struck. A government of the people shall not perish from the earth!. . . .

I am certain that without a free Bohemia there will be no free America. This is not talking big. Bismarck said: A master of Bohemia is the master of Europe. There is deep truth in this statement. Our significance is that of a bastion against Germany. If we will be free, the Poles, Yugoslavs, and [the Austrian] Italians and Romanians will be free, too. The Habsburg state must disappear. What is Austria? Nine nations and one dynasty which, assisted by army, bureaucracy and nobility, exploits all, even the Germans and Hungarians. America has a choice; it can opt for nine free nations or for one degenerated dynasty. Today it is commonly known what Austria is. The Habsburg idea implies lack of reverence for everything, including religion that has been twisted to nefarious purpose. We Czechs are the real opposite of Austrianism and we must be free. That

will mean freedom also for the big nations, as even England and America are endangered by Germany.

I decidedly refuse to share the fear of those timid people who see a bad omen in the present German [military] successes. Even if we fail and Austria survives, the advance of our nation is better assured than before. Austria has learnt what Czech resistance means and because of this resistance the Czech nation has much improved its reputation. . . .

Not to be afraid, that is the main issue. We Czechs seem not to know how strong we are. We are nine to ten million. Let us clench our teeth and let us say: We won't yield! — and that will be the end of pessimism.

The attachment of the Czech and Slovak immigrants to Masaryk in 1918 was matched by their devotion to President Wilson. It was a genuine reverence, clad, as was the fashion of the time, in a somewhat ornamental style and in an emotional, but sincere, rhetoric. On July 4, 1918, the American Czechs and Slovaks organized what probably were their most joyful and extensive celebrations of American independence and sent a "solemn declaration" to the White House.

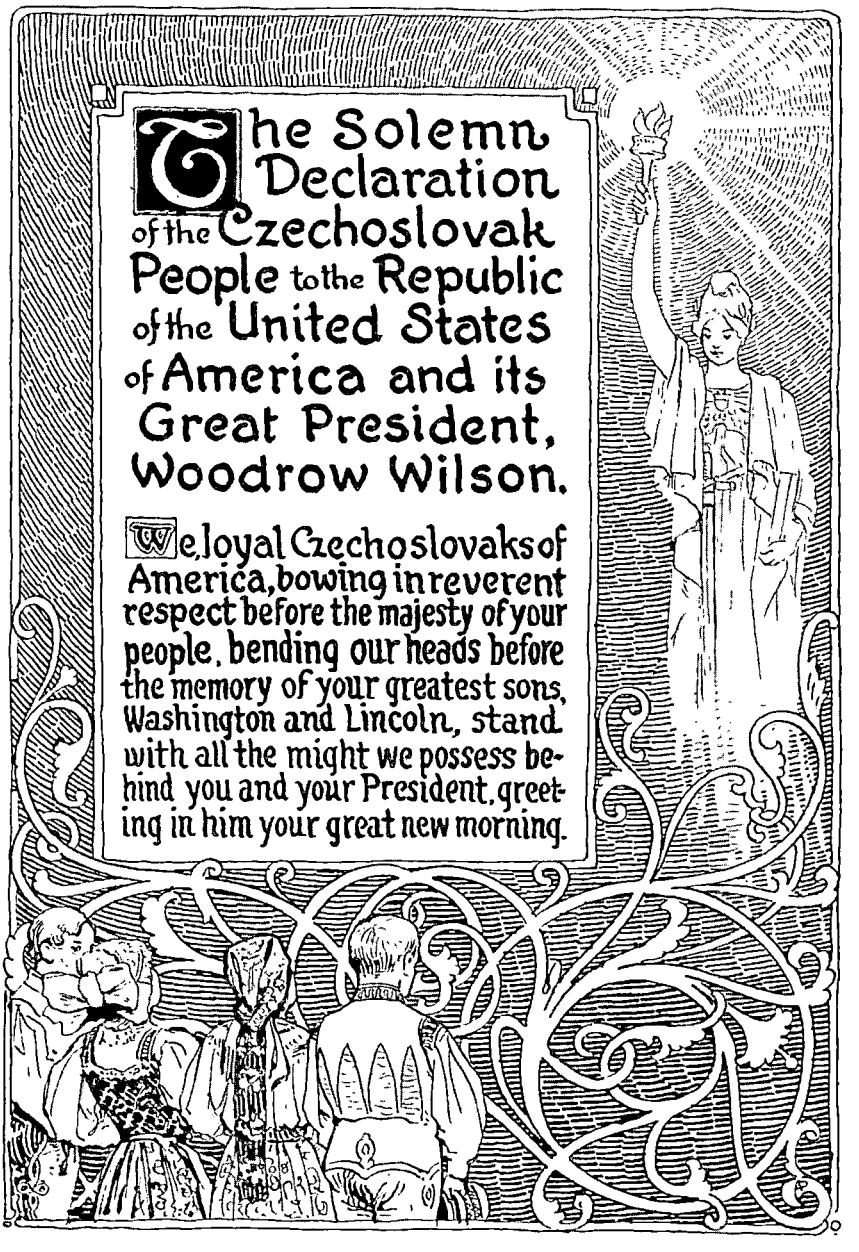
Declaration of Czech and Slovak immigrants, addressed to the American people and President Wilson, July 4, 1918:

We, loyal Czechoslovaks of America, bowing in reverent respect before the majesty of your people, bending our heads before the memory of your greatest sons, Washington and Lincoln, stand with all the might we possess behind you and your President, greeting in him your great new morning.

We came here from the land of suffering and oppression. It is on this account that we hailed America like a rising sun after the dark night of humiliation. And she received us — poor, unknown, insignificant. She received us, and her sun warmed us from the first moment we set our foot on her soil — the big sun of a freer, happier life than that we had lived in our oppressed native land.

We learned to love America, for we are the sons of the land which in the twilight of history was the first in the world to arise and fight the battle of democracy and self-determination of her people. We are the sons of the land which shone like a great beacon light of truth and faith in the life of the XVth Century. When the whole world slept we were awake. And the democratic legions under our great leader of peasant soldiery, Jan Žižka of Trocnov and Jiří of Poděbrad, fought a desperate battle for freedom against the German and Magyar violence and brutal law of might.

We love this land — for the ideals of July 4, 1776, incorporated by her great leaders into the law of life and written indelibly into the hearts



A declaration of the American Czechs and Slovaks addressed to Woodrow Wilson, dated July 4, 1918. Woodrow Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

of the nation by the blood and sacrifice of her sons; the ideals of democracy which Lincoln set before his united country cleansed of the stain of slavery; those are the heritage of the glorious past and present of the Czechoslovak people as well.

In our blood and in the beating of our hearts, we bore the sacred law of freedom, democracy and brotherhood. It was on this account that our hearts understood the soul of this Great Republic, and that our brothers on the Labe, Vltava and Váh lifted to her their hands and tearful eyes in the awful hour in which the bitter, tormenting fate wrote its threats in their souls. And their appeals were not in vain, for over the vastness of the oceans, over mountains and dark valleys of death there came to the Czechoslovak land a voice like a bugle announcing victory, singing a great Marseillaise of Life and Hope into their bitterness of disappointment and despair.

It was the voice of a man speaking the message of God's brightest angel:

> "The world must be made safe for Democracy! The nations shall determine their own destinies. They shall rise from the graves of centuries to do the work of God, which is the work of man, in the language of their mothers and in the traditions of their race."

Thus spoke the man — Woodrow Wilson. Thus, through him, spoke the whole American Nation. Thus spoke God, who has His beginning in the hearts of men and His end in the eternity of worlds and days.

Strengthened by the might of his glorious courage, our brothers in the old country gave their death pledge, April 13, 1918, within the walls of their ancient capital:

> "And in firm, unshakable faith in the final victory of our most sacred rights, in faith in the victory of justice, victory of right over might, freedom over slavery, democracy over privilege, and truth over falsehood, we raise our hands today, on the threshold of New Era of world's history, and, by the dear memory of our fathers, before the eyes of the resurrected nation, and at the graves of our fallen, in great harmony of our souls, we promise for today and for all the future: we shall remain where we have taken our stand. We will keep on till we win!"

Repeating this solemn pledge given by our brothers, having on our lips the name of this country and her President, we too lift our hands today, July 4, 1918, as we are gathered under the folds of the flag of this Great Republic, and solemnly pledge ourselves to be loyal and true to the government of the United States and its President.

This is our country. We are and will remain to be true to her in laboring for her, true to her in her struggle, in her sufferings, true to the grave.

Even as the forefathers of America followed Washington, we follow you, our President. Let the millions of eyes of the children of America, looking to you from all corners of this land with immeasurable love and confidence, strengthen your soul and steel you to great deeds.

Millions of eyes of the suffering nations look to you over the oceans — ten millions of our people in Europe, one million of sons and daughters of this land. And in their hearts rings the solemn pledge of faithful allegiance to the country of our adoption, which, like a mother, took us under her protecting roof. The farmers of green Texas, fertile Nebraska, the miners of Pennsylvania and Colorado, the workers of Illinois and the builders of great cities, people of Czechoslovak origin, Bohemian people from forty eight states of the Starry Union, greet their new country in the old glorious song of the Hussite Warriors for Democracy:

Ye Soldiers of our God and of His Law
Him ye shall pray to, Him adore
And He shall crown the fight with victory.
Tis He commands us, recking naught of death,
For love of neighbors to resign our breath
If need be, Courage, therefore, and be men!

Thus we stand here now. Simple, unblest with riches but strong in the faith in our President, in the great American Nation, devoted to both the very depths of our souls, today, on this eventful 4th of July, we let our voices ring in thunder notes far east to the city over which rises the cupola of the capitol, to Washington and its White House, sending our hearts greetings:

Long live the American People!

Czechoslovaks in America

CHAPTER

THREE

MASARYK IN THE SPOTLIGHT

The perception of Masaryk as one of the most significant leaders of the Central European nations grew steadily stronger among the American public in 1918. One important group of image makers, the journalists, sided with Masaryk from the beginning of his visit to the United States, and their respect for the Central European visitor helped popularize not only Masaryk personally, but also his political cause. The tone was set by an editorial on the eve of Masaryk's arrival in Chicago.

The editorial "Welcome to Prof. Masaryk," published in the Chicago Daily Tribune *on May 4, 1918:*

When the history of this war is written it will contain some inspiring chapters devoted to the part played by Bohemia in the conquest of Prussian imperialism. By Bohemia we mean the Bohemian people, a nation which for centuries has maintained its moral and cultural integrity though surrounded by perils and unfriendly pressures. Look at the map and realize that the geographical location of Bohemia with Germany on the north, Hungary on the east, Austria on the south, all neighbors ambitious for power, tells the story of this unconquerable people at a glance.

Few realize how much the spirit of the Bohemians in America has done to check enemy propaganda and stimulate loyalty to our cause among the foreign born of our population. Few realize the courage it has taken for Bohemians at home to oppose Austrian tyranny and keep up the fight for Bohemian self-realization. And today Bohemian troops are fighting with the Italians, while one of the most noteworthy conferences of the year, just held at Rome, offers promise of an Italian-Slav rapprochement which may do more to remove the Balkan threat to future peace than anything yet hoped for.

It is, therefore, at a significant moment that America receives the Bohemian patriot Masaryk. This learned and indomitable leader has escaped from Russia, whence the German influence has driven him. The United States is honored in the presence of this statesman. He brings not

only the latest authoritative observation of the Russian situation but also a knowledge of the Austro-Hungarian and Balkan complex which should be of great value to our government and public in forming correct judgement of events and right policies. Since the great war began he has been an exile but a tireless worker in the allied cause. Americans do not realize that the low blow struck from Russia at Germany, the Galician offensive under Brussiloff in June, 1917 gained a considerable part of its force from the Czechoslovak army organized from prisoners by Prof. Masaryk. Brussiloff said that these men, perfidiously abandoned by the Bolshevik-poisoned Russians, "fought in such a way that the world ought to fall on its knees before them."

Bohemians to the number of 120,000 are prepared to fight again and many already are fighting against Germany.

America welcomes this great leader of the staunch Bohemian people, Thomas Garigue [sic] Masaryk. We feel sure he will feel at home among Americans.

The sympathies of the academic world for Masaryk were expressed by the President of Chicago University, who welcomed Masaryk on May 5, 1918.

Greetings of the President of Chicago University Harry Pratt Judson, addressed to Masaryk, as recorded by the Chicago Daily Tribune, *May 6, 1918, and by* Slavie, *May 7, 1918:*

Professor Masaryk! On behalf of the universities of this country and of American public I welcome you as the leader of a people that we know and highly respect. I am happy to say, as I truthfully can, that there can be no better citizens in America today than the Czecho-Slovaks. They are loyal to the flag of these United States, and thousands of their sons and brothers are fighting in France today for the common cause of justice and humanity.

I believe that your work, Professor Masaryk, will be crowned with the success it deserves. The ideals for which your people and mine are contending are essentially the same. Those ideals are liberty and justice, which the Bohemian people love above all things in the world. We welcome you most heartily and assure you that we, the Americans, will do our utmost for the magnificent aim personified by you.

The scene of Masaryk's enthusiastic reception by an overjoyed crowd in Chicago, vividly described by the press, was good proof of Masaryk's popularity among his compatriots. The politicans in Washington were reminded of his political stature. And Masaryk, a man of action, but never a platform orator, was faced with the

need to speak at large public gatherings. He attempted to master this new role with simple eloquence.

Masaryk's arrival in Chicago, as reported by Slavie *on May 7, 1918:*

Then came the most beautiful moment as the manly figure of our heroic leader rose in the automobile. For a long while he was prevented from speaking by an indescribable hurricane of enthusiastic and stormy ovation which filled Michigan Avenue like the roar of the sea and was carried to the distant streets of the inner city. Obviously moved by this unexpected scene, Masaryk finally began speaking admist complete silence while everyone present eagerly absorbed his every word.

Prof. Masaryk started in English, thanking Prof. Judson for his welcome. He recalled the past years when he had been invited by Chicago University to deliver lectures on a subject which today fascinates the whole educated world. "I should say," declared our leader, "that [your invitation] was a clear case of political foresight on your part. You are a constant reminder that real, sincere politics must be founded on science. I endeavor always to put my political views on a sound, scientific basis, on what science has taught me. Science is a truth, nothing more or less, and political truth is democracy. That is what the nations of the world are fighting for today — democracy.

Mr. President, you called us, the Czechoslovaks, good citizens of this country and I assure you that we really are. We did not come here just for a better existence, we came to seek freedom and democracy which are expressed by the United States and its great President Woodrow Wilson."

Prof. Masaryk then spoke in Czech to the tens of thousands of his enthusiastic compatriots, saying:

"Brothers, Czechs and Slovaks, I do not know what to tell you as I have already said much but I would like to mention one thing when we are here among ourselves. It was said here that I came from the people and went with the people, and I will tell you now how I got involved in [the present] politics. You have been informed about the events at home since the outbreak of the war. Parliament was suppressed to hinder us in expressing our views, political parties and journals were likewise suppressed, meetings were prohibited and we could not gather together to discuss how to cope with the situation. At that time I was in Germany and my intention was to travel to France and England. After the outbreak of the war I returned to Prague and the first thing I saw was the opposition of the Czech soldiers to military service. They resented going to war against the Slavs, they protested. They did that of their own will, without leaders, without any agitation, just by themselves. When I saw it I said to myself: You, as a Representative, cannot do less! Therefore I went abroad to do the same thing that the Czech soldiers had done: revolt

against Austria and the Habsburgs. That was the popular nature of my politics.

The mendacious Czernin has declared that the Czechs do not support the fight against Austria, that Czech mothers wish Austria's victory. I will prove that Czernin is lying and that the opposite is the truth. I have obtained letters of Czech mothers and I will quote from one of them which is typical of the opinion in Bohemia. A Czech mother writes to her son who became a prisoner of war in Russia: "Your father was buried and so was your brother, and you are not yet in the Czech Army?" This is how a Czech mother calls on her son to go and fight against the Habsburg Austria. This shows the strength of the Czech mothers, the significance of our movement and the thinking of our people at home.

When I was departing from Russia I took leave of 50,000 Czech soldiers who are to be dispatched to France as soon as possible. It is my task to speed up their transport. Before long we will have another 50,000 Czechoslovak soldiers who will be transported to France. That will be the best response to Czernin's lies!

Today we completely mistrust the Habsburgs, we do not want to have anything to do with them, we do not want to hear a word about them. We want our due: total freedom and an independent Czechoslovak state!"

Official Washington received Masaryk as an expert on Russia who, it was hoped, would throw some new light on the enigmatic developments in that huge, disorganized country. His idea of psychological warfare that made use of the antagonism between the Slavic peoples of Austria and the German-oriented government was, however, not always understood by the diplomats.

Memorandum written by Breckinridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State, on May 16, 1918:

I lunched to-day with Professor Masaryk, the Bohemian patriot, at Dick Crane's.

His idea of Russia, whence he has just arrived, is far from encouraging. He says that there is no possibility of the Russian people assuming any aggressive actions toward the Germans; that Germany is treating Russia in a very masterful way; that she is appropriating the Eukranian [sic] and southern districts to her own uses and will arrange to get all of the food and supplies now in those districts for herself. He does not know to what extent the supplies exist. He feels that the Germans will not enter either Petrograd or Moscow for two reasons: first, that being political centers they would incur political opposition for having broken flagrantly the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and, second, that if they were in possession of either or both places they would immediately become responsible for the feeding and supplying of the population there resident which they

would be unable to do. Their failure to do so, would be an immediate cause of antagonism as the Bolshevik now are blamed by the people there resident for the failure to provide food. Such provision is impossible alike for Germany and the Bolshevik and Germany can only profit by the antagonism to the Bolshevik on the part of the remainder of the population.

He feels that the spirits which are moving toward independence in various parts of the old Russian Empire, are hopeful signs but says that there is little hope that these independent separate movements will be co-ordinated.

He says that the Red Guard are a source of great embarrassment to the Bolshevik; that the people in other parts of Europe and in this country do not contribute to the Bolshevik any true, logical property and contends that in Bolshevism there is a real thought and a real idea; that the Red Guard are simply violent anarchists who masquerade under the cloak of Bolshevism and do the cause great harm. He says, further, that the only thing on which the Russian people are united is in establishing independent governments, but, that the objects and purposes of the establishment differ in each locality. He likened Russia to a great hospital in which there were a number of sick patients — the patients, for the purpose of the analogy being the independent movements for government — in which hospital the directing genius would order the same kind of medicine for all of the patients, prescribing quinine for each on Monday and some other medicine for all of them on Tuesday.

Butler Wright, Joe Grew, Julius Lay and Basil Miles were there. Grew recited the new Russian litany in the words: "Glory to God on high, on earth peace without annexation or indemnities!!"

Masaryk is particularly interested in spreading propaganda amongst the Checko-Slavs and fomenting them to revolt against Austria. The scheme seems to me impractical. There is little utility in propaganda particularly under a strongly centralized government, where most of the men are in the army, unless it is backed up by some strength and is given some force in the way of military help. Propaganda in itself can do no harm but it can lead to no tangible results.

Professor Masaryk feels that the situation is fraught with the greatest danger to the Allies and expects an early offensive in great force on the Italian front and fears the result of it. He says that Germany is conducting a very dangerous propaganda in Switzerland with the object of disconnecting Italy from the Allies and so estranging them that they will not co-operate properly and then administer a severe defeat upon Italy so that the central powers can turn their whole attention and their combined strength against France.[10]

In the press the main features of Masaryk's political portrait were drawn quite clearly. A good characterization of Masaryk was

published on the occasion of his visit to New York at the end of May.

From the article "Embers of Revolt in Austria-Hungary" published in the New York Times *on May 26, 1918:*

Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, President of the Czecho-Slovak National Council, which is also a provisional republican Government for Bohemia, recently arrived in Washington to lead the movement. His career reads like that of some potent international figure in our own days of revolution. He has risked his life many times for his principles. He began life as a blacksmith's apprentice, but rose to be Professor of Philosophy at the University of Prague before the war. He is now recognized as the foremost living Slavonic scholar. He early became interested in the democratic movement in Bohemia and soon became its leader. He was elected a member of the Austrian Parliament, but gave it up to devote himself to the political education of his nation. Dr. Masaryk opposed Austria-Hungary, and at the outbreak of the war he was sentenced to death and all his property was seized. He escaped to Paris, where he founded the Czecho-Slovak National Council, which now has branches in all the allied countries.

After Dr. Masaryk's escape his daughter was imprisoned in revenge; she was formerly a settlement worker in this country, and her release was finally brought about through the protest of American women's societies.

In Russia Dr. Masaryk organized the Czecho-Slovak prisoners into an army of 50,000, which he expects to see transported to France. Some of the men are already at Vladivostok. The main problem is shipping. Dr. Masaryk has just come from Japan, where he entered into negotiations for the transportation of the Czecho-Slovaks to this country and is encouraged at the prospect. As a demonstration to the people of this country of the ardor of the men of Bohemia for the democratic cause, Dr. Masaryk is desirous of seeing the army cross this country on its way to France.

The editorial "Dr. Masaryk," published in the New York Times *on May 27, 1918:*

Eyewitness of the impressive parade of Czech, Slovak, Jugoslav, Polish, and Russian societies which passed in review on Saturday night before the balcony where stood Thomas G. Masaryk, head of the Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak revolution, might have perceived that the distinguished statesman and scholar who is now visiting the men and women of his race in this country was something more than the leader of a single nationality. Those who from the galleries of Carnegie Hall shouted "Long Live our first President!" expressed what is rather more than a probability, if the defeat of the Central Powers is as sweeping as is hoped; but in the demonstrations of half a dozen Slav races for the

leader of one it was possible to recognize Masaryk as the emblem of the new Slav spirit.

The old Pan Slavism, which, despite the collaboration of many honorable and sincere men of liberal tendencies, served in effect little but the interests of the Romanoff dynasty and imperialistic Russia, died with the passing of that dynasty and the collapse of that Russia. Yet these times which see Russia fallen from her high estate have seen also the coming together of the westernmost Slav nations, the Czechoslovaks, the Jugoslavs, and the Poles, who have found a basis for alliance not only in kindred blood and kindred culture, but in their identical demands for national unity and freedom from Hapsburg and Hohenzollern. The western Slav nations, those who have been most affected by Latin culture, who have had to maintain their national individuality by hard struggle against heavy odds, have based their democracy in education and in the cultivation of an intelligent patriotism. So while Russia, endowed suddenly with a complete liberty for which her people were unprepared, stumbles and falls in the clutch of the German, the western Slavs are only the more determined, the more bitterly opposed to alien domination, the more firmly resolved to end German rule by complete victory in this war. And Russia, trying hard to be democratic, is looking to the westward to get new inspiration from the spirit of the Slav races who are fighting for freedom and who know what to do with it.

It is this sort of Slavic consciousness, a Pan Slavism, if it be that, which has no imperialistic ambitions, no desire to interfere with other nations, that is represented by Masaryk; for Bohemia has led the other nations in the fight against the Germans, and Masaryk is the leader of Bohemia. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler compared him, not without reason, to Mazzini and Venizelos, and the message which he gave to New York might have been spoken by either of them. "Democracy is political truth" — this is the utterance of a man whose faith is democracy and who is seeing it work out in practice among his people. His demand for liberty was not for the Czechoslovaks alone, but for all the multitude of peoples in Eastern Europe who have been given over to the Germans by Russia's downfall.

In the face of this position of the westernmost and most cultured Slav nations, now taking the lead of their race from fallen Russia, what becomes of the Slav peril which was such a terror to the Germans at the beginning of the war? The only peril left, from the German point of view, is this — that the Slavs may win the right to rule themselves instead of being ruled by Germans.

On May 27, 1918, Masaryk, certainly remembering his lectures of the summer of 1902, spoke at the University of Chicago. This time he presented himself as a revolutionary leader with human-

istic goals. The only preserved record of his lecture was made by a Czech-American reporter.

Masaryk's speech at Chicago University, reported by Slavie *on May 31, 1918:*

The program of the Allies is quite different from Germany's program. The Allies are fighting not only for democracy but also for the rights of all small nations. German imperialism aims at dominating all other nations. This German idea of imperialism is identical to the imperialism of the old Roman Empire. The Kaiser believes that his ancestors became emperors by God's grace and that God installed him as their successor.

This idea is the medieval idea that there must be only one Emperor and one nation in Europe and that this nation is Germany. This is the German imperialism. For this reason the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs consider themselves representatives of the European people. . . .

The Allies support the demands of small nations and this attitude is quite correct. The task of the Allies is to organize the small nations and Russia. One of these small nations is the Czechoslovak nation. The geographical situation of this nation in itself shows why it took the side of the Allies. It has been said that the master of Bohemia is the master of Europe. We have defended ourselves against Germany for many centuries and the Germans declare through their Mommsens that the only way of dealing with us is by eliminating us, Germanizing us. They say they have to crush the hard Czech skulls. Yes, we have hard skulls, we are not willing to succumb.

Before opening its way to Baghdad, Germany must first solve the Slav problem, and the Czechs are the first to be dealt with. If the Czechs can withstand the German pressure, the Yugoslavs, Poles, and Italians can withstand it too; we have united ourselves with these peoples to be able to resist more forcefully. No one should think that Austria disagrees with Germany and would be willing to turn against Germany in any way. In this war Austria cooperates with Germany in complete harmony, Austria is the German avantgarde.

America joined the Allies. The American idea is the democratic idea. America recognizes the rights of all nations. This is manifested in its constitution, in the speeches of President Wilson, and in the famous statement of Lincoln: "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people. . . ."

The Germans do not intend to rely on their own strength after the war, they want to rule and exploit other nations. We Slavs are peaceful, but at present we are for the war to the victorious end. I know the teaching of Tolstoy and many times I have argued with him about the impossibility of his principle of non-resistance against evil. And as I do not believe in this principle, I am for the war.

On our part the aim of this war is the fight for humanity. The principle

of humanity must be applied; the principle of unity, compassion, and love of neighbor must be realized. I came to the conclusion that the basic question is: Jesus or Caesar. Caesar, as described by Mommsen, is a rude, imperious, absolute dictator. I will always prefer Jesus and humanity. These are the ideals of the Slavs and I believe that they will become the ideals of the German people against whom we fight, after they have recognized the true value of humanity. We must bring the German people to this aim and we will do it.

How was Masaryk seen by his contemporaries in America in 1918? The impression he made in his personal appearances has been recorded by American journalists.

From the article "Lighting the Slav Bomb in Austria" by H.F. Sherwood, published in the New York Tribune *on June 2, 1918:*

What was there about the man which had made him such a popular hero? Was it his magnetic presence? The spare man who stood before them was sixty-eight years old. A thin gray mustache and beard scarcely hid the sensitive lips. The fine contour of his head was easily followed, for his hair was a thin fringe. There he stood, in somber evening dress, the color mounting to his cheeks occasionally as he glanced through his glasses out over the tumultuous throng, a quiet, scholarly looking man.

Perhaps he possessed oratorical powers which would sway men as an artist swings his brush.

He began slowly in a low tone of voice. It rose a little as he proceeded, but seldom did it take on the forceful tones of the trained and confident orator. He was never at a loss, however, for a word. Occasionally he stroked his face thoughtfully, passing his hand from his eyes downward over his mouth to his chin. That seemed strange for a speaker in Carnegie Hall, where it is difficult enough to be heard under any circumstances. Evidently he was not striving for oratorical effect. In fact, what he said smacked of the scholar in the study. He was not a great speechmaker such as we expect in a democracy to be. Only once did he exhibit his power over his audience. For a moment he addressed those before him in his and their native tongue. He spoke with the same slow, careful choosing of words. Suddenly raising his arm to a horizontal position, he pointed straight out with the index finger. A single sentence accompanied this gesture. It was as if a conductor had raised his baton and his chorus had risen to its feet in front of him. The great audience before him rose as one man and stood in serried ranks, obedient to his single word.

Was his message the key to his popularity? It seemed as if he delivered a simply told tale. It was his idea of why the war could not be won for the Allies unless Austria-Hungary was dismembered, and the different small nations comprising it each had an opportunity for freedom such as



Masaryk among the volunteers in the Czechoslovak Army Camp in Stamford, Conn., in September 1918. The dedication is to American journalist George Creel, who was chairman of the Committee on Public Information. Photograph from the collections of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



America possesses, founded upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

From the article "The New Masters of Siberia," published in the New York Sun *on July 14, 1918:*

The head of the council and idol of all the Bohemians and Slovaks is a slight, scholarly and rather frail appearing man of perhaps 60, with remarkably alert and perceptive eyes. He speaks literally perfect English, quietly and (from choice, not from difficulty) slowly. He has lectured in this country at the University of Chicago and elsewhere; and Mrs. Masaryk is American by birth.

It is said of him that in boyhood he was apprenticed to be a blacksmith, and that in 1877 he threw himself into a river at Leipsic to rescue a woman from drowning. Nothing about his physical aspect suggests such a history now. But he had an exciting and adventurous time of it in escaping, first from Austria-Hungary to Allied territory at the beginning of the war, and more recently from Russia to this country.

He had been proscribed by the Austrian Imperial Government, and would have been executed if he had been caught. As it was, his property was confiscated and his daughter, Miss Alice Masaryk, imprisoned. Her release was procured through energetic action by American women's societies, to which she was known for social service work she had done in Chicago.

When Breckinridge Long wrote his second memorandum dealing with Masaryk, the United States had already recognized Masaryk's movement as the *de facto* government of Czechoslovakia. The subjects of the conversation between Long and Masaryk were economic assistance and the situation of the Czechoslovak Legion in Russia. Masaryk used the opportunity to reemphasize his concept of the independence of small nations as a necessary and useful principle of international order.

Memorandum written by Breckinridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State, on September 17, 1918:

Tonight Dr. Masaryk came to my home at 9:30 at my request for a conference. My object was to direct his attention to McCormick instead of confining his attention to Baruch. My conception of the President's plan is that McCormick, Baruch and Hurley should co-operate. Baruch seems to have gotten started first and to have, either intentionally or accidentally, eliminated everyone else. I tried to steer Masaryk to McCormick and told him that when he received his money from this Government it would be necessary for him to co-operate with McCormick in

spending it; and that Baruch could buy but that he, with McCormick's approval, would have to pay for the purchases intended for the Czechs. I tried to get the President's plan working a little better than it appears to be working now.

After we had finished that he talked at length about his Czechs, their distress in the Volga and Ekaterinberg districts, the preponderance there of German and Austrian prisoners, the state of physical exhaustion of the Czechs and their need for moral and physical support. It is all borne out by our cables of to-day's and yesterday's receipts.

About the President's answer to the Peace Proposal of Austria, he was enthusiastic. He characterized it as "mise en scene".

He then took up Germany, her 80,000,000 of population of German stock and the 160,000,000 of other than German stock she ruled — Austrians, Bohemians, Hungarians, Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Roumanians and fragments of Italy and France. He likened the non-German population to the negro of America, in that they were the slaves and servants of the Germans. He argued that the dismemberment of Austria and the isolation of Germany by the establishment around her of small independent states — Poland, Bohemia, Roumania, etc., would remove all cause of war from Europe by releasing those 160,000,000 of peoples for independent and constructive work instead of keeping them repressed and under hostile influences.

He said that the solution of the future peace of the world was now possible and the scene of the real struggle lay between the Baltic and the Bosporus because Germany would evacuate Belgium and give up Alsace-Lorraine (not to France but as an independent state), and that if the national inspirations and human rights of the peoples of the east and south of Germany were realized there could be no more trouble.

He denied that the history of the world proved that small nations could not exist and cited Europe with 27 nations (not including the German states) only seven of which, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, England, Italy and Spain, were large ones.[11]

Masaryk's last speech in America, shortly before his return home as the elected president of the new state, was delivered at the Lawyers Club in New York. Masaryk spoke about his own feelings, about the reconstruction of Europe and about American assistance to the European nations. This little-known speech shows Masaryk at his best as the champion of cooperation among democracies.

Masaryk's speech at the Lawyers Club in New York on November 16, 1918:

My American friends, not only to-day but sometime since I have been

asked, "How do you feel, now that Germany and Austria are defeated; how do you feel being the head of a new government and state? You must feel very well. You must be happy."

I do not know whether I am happy, and I could not describe my feelings. I have the feeling of responsibility. I should say I have not the time to rejoice because I know I stand before a huge problem, and I am conscious of the responsibility, not only for my people but for all our nations with whom we will be in union and co-operation. Not one of us must fail. That is what I feel, and I am sure that all our nations in the East feel the same.

The task of this war, the aim of future peace, is to restore Eastern Europe for those who know history. I can say in one word what is to be done. The old Eastern question is to be solved. I mean by that, if we speak of reconstruction in France, in England, in Italy and Belgium, there is nothing to be reconstructed. There must be, of course, rebuilt what has been annihilated and wasted — buildings, churches, villages — but France has her own institutions, her own civilization, her government, her state, her policy. Not so in Poland or in Czecho-Slovakia or with the South Slavs. We have not only to rebuild but to create. We have to form a state. We have to settle the boundaries. We have to establish new governments; find the best form of government and administration, and we must lay the foundation for future civilization. That is only in the East of Europe where this reconstruction work is waiting for the workers of foreign nations and for workers of Europe and the new nations who are willing to help. The aim of this war is that these nations which have been oppressed by Prussia, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and by old Russia — all these nations must be liberated. You have a peculiar zone of smaller nations going from Finland down to Greece — eighteen in all — and all of these eighteen nations must be reconstructed, liberated and the foundation of future peace must be laid here. That is the great task.

We must have a free Poland. That means not only like the Germans wish to have it — the part of Russian Poland — but of course Austrian Poland and German Poland too. Not only a free Poland; we must have a free Czecho-Slovakia. We must have a free and united Rumania; we must have a free and united Jugo-Slovakia [sic]. The Italians of Austria-Hungary — excuse me if I speak of Austria-Hungary, that, is of the past — I say, the Italians must be redeemed. And then the nations in Western Russia, the Balkans — all these nations must be free. On what principle? The principle of democracy. That means on the principle of nationality also. The principle of nationality is not a kind of modern European Chauvinism. No. Nationality means something quite different. It is the endeavor of every nation — I say of every individual man — to unite with all mankind. We don't strive only for the uniting of smaller nations, but at the same time we are working for true internationalism. We do not like to have a Chinese wall around these liberated nations, but we say — and that is our first national platform — the nation is the natural order of mankind,

not the State of Europe — the European State. Take Prussia, Austria, the old Czaristic regime, wherever you look it is a state of dynasties, and that is the practical dynasty state — an autocracy. We wish to have a democratic state and such a state can only be founded on the nations. Not a dynasty any more; the nations are the real aim of administrative work. That is the new task in Europe. Mankind, as your President has declared, must be liberated and President Wilson says that is an American principle. Yes: but not only American, it is the principle of all nations and of all mankind. We accept it and we will live according to this noble general principle.

You speak, my dear friends, of helping us and, as my neighbor to the left expressed it, you must help by cash. That is true in some sense, I say to some extent. But it is not only money which governs and rules nations and governments, which shapes the true relations of all mankind, it is the heart which unites nations and all mankind. I am happy to say I found this heart here in the United states, and I am happy to use this occasion now to thank you American citizens for the sympathy you have shown not only to my nation but to all the nations who have been oppressed and who fought with you for liberty and freedom. Your government, your President, and the whole nation of the United States helped us and with cash. I can tell you that yesterday I signed a document giving us a loan. It is therefore not only sympathy but practical sympathy which your government and your people have shown to us. Of course, I know America well enough to know that you like to help if a man helps himself too. Be sure, American friends, we won't bother you in vain. What we can do ourselves, we will do, and if we come and ask for help you can be sure that we need it, and as I told you we will do our best to help ourselves quickly.

I suppose I dare say our nation showed that we know how to help ourselves. Under the most indescribable circumstances we have formed an army. We have revolted against Austria-Hungary, and though I am humble enough, I dare say, my American friends, that it was our nation and its revolution in Austria-Hungary which brought about this downfall of Austria-Hungary. Be sure of it, we won't ask your help — I repeat it — if we can help ourselves.

One of the speakers pointed to the fact that it is our duty — and I presume it is the duty of the National Government — to destroy anarchy, not to let anarchy grow. Yes, that is true. I know, and I am going home now thinking all the while what to do. I have a plan. I feel my responsibility that our country may show that freedom is not anarchy. I do not say that I will manage by repression; no, gentlemen. I suppose the best means to do away with some of the mistakes of freedom is to have more freedom. Yes, freedom in every country, in every nation must develop. No nation is free yet. We are growing. Democracy is in the very beginning. I imagine democracy is not older than 200 years, whereas autocracy has had thousands and thousands of years to develop and organize itself.

Democracies are in the beginning, and I know these nations in the East are now in the beginning of their democratic era. We will be careful, and I would say we will be sensible enough not to misuse liberty; and so I see before me the great task of working in that way with our government, that our republic be a member of the European peoples and of all mankind.

It is not any more a question of German Mittel-Europa as has been pointed out. No: we all have now the problem of liberating mankind. Mankind as a unit, as a whole, must be organized and the sense of this war is what those people who provoked the war had no idea it would be. We say too, unite the nations closer and unite all mankind. We in Bohemia and Slovakia — I may point to this geographical fact, a kind of a symbol if you like — we are the nearest to the United States. If you come from the West to Europe you will find after your friends in France and England and then Germany — the first nation which loves your nation is Bohemia. Go a step farther and you will find the Poles; you will find the Rumanians; you will find the South Slavs. All these nations look to you as their friend. I feel like that. I feel that I am at home though not a citizen of your noble nation. I may finish this my improvization — I did not know that I would have to speak — I may finish with the assurance that my nation as well as all other nations — the Poles, the Rumanians, the South Slavs, and the Italians, now redeemed, are thankful to you, to your Government and to your President.

You promised help. My American friends, I should say the aim we have, and you can help us, is a very interesting task. With a fair knowledge of Europe and of this European question you can make much. Your position is unique in this war. I take it from a practical, so to say, human standpoint. You are not in Europe. You have no territorial aims and you cannot have them. Every nation in Europe must know and does know that it is the principle of democracy you have been fighting for and you are standing for. It is a wonderful thing for a great nation to fight and work for a great principle. If it has been said "Noblesse oblige," I would say a democracy obliges, and democracy obliges you, my friends. You must help us. I do not ask you to help us — you must! It is your duty because you are and must be the best democrats and we will join you in democracy.[12]

Masaryk left New York on November 20, 1918, never to return. A newspaper report described his departure and recorded his farewell message.

The article "Dr. T.G. Masaryk Sails," published in the New York Times *on November 21, 1918:*

Among the passengers who sailed for Europe yesterday was Dr.

Thomas G. Masaryk, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, who was accompanied by his daughter, Miss Olga Masaryk, and Jaroslav Cisar.

The President of the new republic wore a gray overcoat, soft hat to match, and a pepper-and-salt suit. He said that, from the port at which he arrived in Europe, he would start almost immediately for Paris, and go from there to Switzerland. He expects to reach Prague, the Czechoslovak capital, in three weeks where he will go before the Assembly and take the oath of office. Before the ship, on which he sailed, left her pier at noon, Dr. Masaryk said:

> "Before leaving this country I wish to say a word of special acknowledgment and gratitude to the press of America. It is the truly democratic spirit of the American press which I learned to understand and appreciate. I am greatly indebted to it for the help so generously given to me in my endeavor to bring before the American people the political problem of my own and the other small nations of mid-Europe."
>
> "I do not feel entitled to address the whole American nation, but I trust to be permitted to say through the press that our nation will always be grateful to America for her warm and sincere sympathy with our cause. Our new republic will forever consider the great American commonwealth her elder sister."
>
> "May the friendship and the community of interest of the two democracies, in co-operation with the other democracies of the world, furnish a firm basis for the establishment of a new order in a transformed world."

CHAPTER

FOUR

MASARYK AND AMERICAN IDEALS

America meant more to Masaryk than the powerful, prosperous country whose entry into the war turned the scales in favor of the Allies. Masaryk regarded America as a *spiritual* force. The year 1918 was the culmination of his personal experiences with American political thinking. Working in close contact with American journalists, scholars, diplomats, and statesmen, he now saw more clearly than before the basic similarities between American traditions and the democratic aspirations of oppressed European nations. The relevance of American ideals for the reconstruction of Europe became one of the most frequent themes of his speeches, interviews, articles, and official memoranda.

From Masaryk's speech at the American Unitarian Association in Boston, reported by the Christian Science Monitor *on May 21, 1918:*

Now the democracy evolved by President Wilson, whereby the small nations are recognized as forming part of one international democracy, is the direct converse of the theory of the Central Empires. It embodies the ideas of religious freedom and humanity. It aims to organize all mankind, and relies upon an agreement of all nations great and small; and while Germany bases her whole policy upon force and militarism, the democratic nations will not allow it, except as a defensive measure. . . .

History tells us that while many small nations have arisen, only four or five big ones have developed. History is not for the suppression of the small nations. And under the newest theory of democracy that springs from the American people, you must recognize the small nation just as you recognize the individual. That is what President Wilson emphasizes when he speaks of the equality of all nations.

It is the American idea of a liberated mankind, that nations should not be forced to live under a sovereignty against their will. They should be allowed to seek refuge in the equality of nations which is preached

by President Wilson, which was preached by President Lincoln and which we regard as the real Kingdom of God.

Masaryk addressing the American public in an interview published by the New York Times *on May 26, 1918:*

Think of your time of struggle, when Washington was hard-pressed. Think what it meant to you when France came to your aid. That is what we ask of you today, to come to our help, and at the same time to take a step that will lead to the defeat of Germany. . . .

Now is the greatest opportunity in the history of the world to make a stroke for democracy and against imperialism by freeing the peoples of Austria-Hungary and of Eastern Europe from domination by foreign races. A peace aimed to give these peoples their long-sought rights is the only one that can endure, because it will rest on justice. It is an opportunity to duplicate your own great Revolution and its benefits many times over.

Masaryk was in Pittsburgh, meeting with his compatriots and other Slavic groups, when he received the news of an official declaration by the American government which was the first step toward the diplomatic recognition of his movement. In his response he spoke of "Americanization" as a welcome and beneficial process.

Masaryk's statement in Pittsburgh, reported by the Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch *on May 31, 1918:*

I am happy to note the recognition of the United States Government given by today's declaration of the Secretary of State telling that the Government of the United States has earnest sympathy with the national aspirations of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs. Yes, we accept with joy this declaration, the more so because, though being Czecho-Slovaks or Jugo-Slavs by birth, we all, even I for my part, can say we are Americans already. And if you speak of Americanization today, there is an Americanization going on all over the world, because all nations must accept the principle of liberty proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence, proclaimed by Washington, by Lincoln, by Wilson and by all Americans.

Yes, if we are here in the United States and rejoice in the principles of the Government of this country, we hope that soon there will be not only the United States of America, but a united mankind of all nations, great and small.

Masaryk's formal request for recognition was submitted to the State Department in a detailed memorandum at the end of August

1918. A whole section of this memorandum was devoted to the meaning of the American recognition which Masaryk, for specific reasons, regarded as more significant than the earlier recognition by France and England.

From Masaryk's memorandum "The Recognition of The Czechoslovak National Council and of the Czechoslovak Army," dated August 31, 1918:

We desire the recognition by the United States for reasons of principle: we consider the great American republic to be the mother of modern democracy, and therefore her recognition is of special value to us.

I would especially point to the fact that the development of American democracy out of the church organization (the well-known works of Borgeaud, Jellinek, etc.) to us Czechs must be sympathetical; the history of Bohemia since John Huss and the Hussite movement up to the present is permeated with a strong religious element, which brings us into a close spiritual relationship not only with England (the relation of Huss to Wycliff) but also with America. For a long time America has been to us the practical ideal of freedom — more so, that more than a million of our compatriots found their new homes in this country.

We invoked the principles of the Declaration of Independence for our revolution: on their basis the United States have given their recognition to different revolutionary movements — and we are convinced that there is not and cannot be a more just case before the political forum of the world than our case against the Hapsburgs. The United States simply cannot accept Austrianism, for that is a denial and a contradiction of the Declaration of Independence and of the American ideals as formulated by the best men of America. President Wilson in his second Inaugural Address (March 5th, 1917) declared that the American principles (the principles "in which we have been bred") are the "principles of liberated mankind" and that "the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations" — that "governments derive all their just power from the consent of the governed," and that "no other power should be supported by the common thought, purpose or power of the family of nations." And in his statement on Russia (June 9th, 1917) we read that "the people must be forced under no sovereignty under which it does not wish to live." America and Europe have to choose between the liberation of seven oppressed nations and the degraded, medieval Hapsburg dynasty, covering its crimes with the sacrilegious pretention of being a chosen instrument of God. . . .[13]

After the recognition by the U.S. government had been granted, Masaryk, speaking with a reporter, explained his situation and the importance of the American decision.

Masaryk's statement on the American recognition, published in the New York Times *on September 8, 1918:*

The recognition of the Czechoslovak nation by the United States we appreciate very much . . . because of the position of the United States as the oldest and greatest democracy. That is the emotional side. But the recognition has also its practical meaning.

This war has brought forth quite new international and diplomatic relations and situations. One of the peculiarities springing out of this happens to concern myself. As a private man I would be Commander in Chief of a big army, in fact of three big armies. I have to negotiate with the Governments at war with Germany and Austria-Hungary. The United States promises to send our boys help — the question arises to whom shall the United States send it, to a private enterprise, and to me as head of that enterprise or to a regular military force? . . .

None of us Czechoslovaks thought of self-aggrandizement. From the first our efforts were to fight the Germans and Austrians in their attempt to occupy Russia. We made our resistance felt, and this practical reason and the new international situation have been the inducements for the countries at war with Germany to recognize us. Besides, America was herself evolved out of revolution, so we could naturally expect America would appreciate our struggle for freedom and liberty.

And now with the recognition, the help which the United States promised us becomes direct — is legalized. Furthermore, as all the Allies depend to a great extent on America, the recognition of the United States is of the highest practical value. The great effect on our plans is not in any change in them, for I do not see any notable ones, but in the firmness that is given them, the promise that our national purpose is to be realized.

The American Declaration of Independence, mentioned in the memorandum of August 31, 1918, was considered by Masaryk to be increasingly meaningful toward the end of the war for its symbolic value and as a practical appeal to resist oppression. In October 1918, Masaryk prepared the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, which was clearly inspired by the American declaration of 1776. The Czechoslovak declaration (whose official version is in English) was drafted by Masaryk, edited with the assistance of several American friends, and released by Masaryk on October 18, 1918, as the final solemn act of his revolutionary movement. The acceptance of American ideals, expressed by Masaryk in his draft, was slightly amended, but remained substantially unchanged, in the preliminary text and in the final version of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence.

From Masaryk's Czech draft of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence:

We accept the democratic principles of America and France; we accept the American principles as laid down by president Wilson: the principles of liberated mankind — of the actual equality of nations — and of governments deriving all their just powers from the consent of the governed. These are the principles of Lincoln, of the Declaration of Independence and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. For these principles the Czech nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite Wars at a time when America was still unknown; in this war our nation is again shedding its blood for these principles on the side of America, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Serbia, Russia, Italy and Japan.

From the preliminary text of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, sent to Secretary of State Lansing:

We accept the modern democratic principles of America and France; we accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson: the principle of liberated mankind — of the actual equality of nations — and of governments deriving all their just power from the consent of the governed. We accept these principles of Lincoln, of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. For these principles the Czech nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite wars, at a time when America was still undiscovered; in this war our nation, with the Allies, is again shedding its blood for these principles.

From the final version of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, sent to President Wilson:

We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nation for centuries. We accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson: the principles of liberated mankind — of the actual equality of nations — and of governments deriving all their just powers from the consent of the governed. We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite Wars five hundred years ago, for these same principles, beside her Allies in Russia, Italy, and France, our nation is shedding its blood today.[14]

At a celebration of the Fourth of July in Prague in 1919, attended by a group of Czech-American soldiers, Masaryk described his leaning toward American democracy in a brief speech which had a strong personal note.

Masaryk's speech on July 4, 1919, in Prague:

Mr. Minister, Members of the Diplomatic Corps, Ladies and Gentlemen. Permit me at this auspicious moment to address a few words to our Czech soldiers from America. Boys and friends, you have heard the American Declaration of Independence and you have heard Mr. Crane explain this declaration, what it means too for our future relations between Czechoslovakia and the United States. I could not say more and could not express it better, but I will take the liberty of recalling my first visit last year to the United States. It was in May that I came to Washington and I was invited to stay in the house of my friend Mr. Crane's father. With Mr. Crane and some friends I had the privilege of visiting the battlefield of Gettysburg and I think I can say I was never more deeply impressed, and what impressed me most was this, that the battlefield is one museum of memorials: every soldier, officer or man who fought and fell there is commemorated either by a separate monument or by name on a general monument. In this way was democracy honoured. Not only the high general, but all who had lost their life for the liberty of the United States are unforgotten. And then I came to the cemetery and read the eternal message of Lincoln, I read of that true "government of the people, by the people, for the people" that never shall perish from off the earth. This message touched me deeply and I realized what American democracy means — (I say American democracy, for there are as many democracies as there are nations and states) and I accepted the principles of American democracy. I can say that these principles have been and ever will be the policy of my government and my life. They appeal to our people, our people have adopted them as their own and through them we shall for ever be united with the American people, united with them in the spirit of liberty and democracy. You, boys, are returning to your homes. We shall never forget what you have done for us. We have been and are united in endeavor for liberty and I hope that one day I may once more meet with you out there in your adopted country. Do not forget that the same ideals, the same principles ever unite us. Do not forget us, as we shall never forget you.[15]

And this is Masaryk's summary account of his relationship with America, translated from his book of war reminiscences.

From Masaryk's book Světová revoluce (The Making of a State):

I have had close personal and family ties with America. Since 1878 I have visited the country repeatedly. From the very beginning of my scientific and political career American democracy and the development of American civilization have aroused lively interest in me.

There is democracy and democracy. It is clearly evident from the latest historical studies of the development of the American Republic that democracy in the United States was built on religious foundations. Toc-

queville pointed rightly to the significance of the moral influence of religion on the American Republic. The considerable fragmentation of America into the most diversified sects weakened neither the Republic nor the democracy. The sectarianism is, indeed, a proof of both religious energy and modern individualization. Even the Catholics in America, as in England, are more robust religiously than in the Catholic states of Europe, due to the influence of a Protestant environment.

This religious factor was of special importance at the beginning of the American Republic. Inadequate communication in a huge, sparsely populated territory impeded the creation of an effective administrative center. The various religious communities and Churches, as organized bodies, became, therefore, very significant as unifying elements.

The American Republic is the work of pioneers. These energetic men demonstrated their vigor by breaking away from familiar surroundings. In America they were able to survive by still greater effort and hard work. The pioneers sought freedom and prosperity. The American Republic, even today, serves mainly an economic purpose and ideal, all the more because it is not confronted with political and nationality problems like those in Europe. The quests for independence and Puritanism were the real religion of the pioneers. The Constitution, phrased in the spirit of the rationalist philosophy of law then prevalent in France and England, is the true code of pioneer economics. By emigration the American colonies were alienated from the English dynasty. Being without a dynasty they had no aristocracy, no army, no militarism. The Republic was founded on organized religious communities, and its founders were not conquering soldiers but pioneers, mainly farmers, then traders and the necessary lawyers.

Thus the American state is different from the European states, namely from Prussia, Austria, and Russia; even the French Republic inherited the institutions of the old regime (like aristocracy and the army) which never existed in America. The American state developed and acquired a land the size of a continent, yet in the process it strengthened its original characteristics. During the gradual conquest of the West and the South the pioneer spirit remained a constant moral and political factor.

On many occasions, and also in the cemetery on the Gettysburg battlefields, I devoted much thinking to the idea that our [Czechoslovak] state would resemble America in that we, too, have no dynasty of our own and dislike a foreign dynasty; we have no aristocracy, no army and no militaristic tradition. On the other hand, owing to the tradition of our Reformation we do not have an intimate relationship with the Church — a minus point unless we realize that a democracy and a republic must be based on morality. Our restored state, our democratic republic must be based on an idea, it must have its own reason for existence that will be universally recognized.

The American constitution has some noteworthy peculiarities. Mainly the presidency. The President is accorded great power by the constitution.

It is the President who selects the government, and from among the members of the legislature. After the English fashion, the American President is *de facto* an elective constitutional king. The American example could indicate the way of correcting the deficiencies of parliamentarism against which protests are now raised everywhere, mainly its disunity caused by the growth and the splitting up of parties. Another significant principle is the subjecting of the constitutional validity of laws to the judgment of the Supreme Court.

The federal character of the American Republic and its democracy also gives us a good political lesson. It is the very opposite of European centralism which has nowhere proved to be successful. Even the small Swiss Republic shows the advantages of autonomy and federalism. But American federalism and autonomy must defend themselves against the centralization that is developing strongly to the detriment of autonomy. The desired harmony between the state governments and federal government has not yet been attained, nor have the technical shortcomings of this lack of harmony, such as diversity in legislation, needless overlappings, etc., been overcome.

In Europe, especially in Germany and Austria, "Americanism" is often criticized as a one-sidedly mechanical and materialistic view of life. One speaks about the almighty dollar, the lack of political sense, and the inadequacy of science and education. This one-sided, exaggerated criticism is especially unjustified coming from German quarters. As if public life in Germany were not dominated by mechanistic views, by a militaristic state machine! In Germany, materialism has triumphed both in philosophy and in practical life, and German science and philosophy have subordinated themselves to Prussian and pan-German rule of force. . . .

I like American culture and I think my sympathy is shared by our immigrants who are a considerable part of our population. In America we can and should learn not only about machines, but also about love of freedom and the independence of a human being. Political freedom in a republic is the mother of that typically American sincerity and openness in human relations in the social, political, and economic spheres. The ideal of humanity is realized in practice in exemplary hospitals. A philantropic and generous use of money has developed in America. In many respects America is creating fine examples of a future culture.[16]

CHAPTER

FIVE

MASARYK AND WILSON

The relationship between Masaryk and Wilson was based on political and intellectual sympathy rather than personal warmth. There was nothing private or intimate in their meetings. Masaryk's visits to the White House were always official and formal, leaving no room for purely personal conversations. Yet it seems that if it were not for the extraordinary circumstances of war which surrounded the two men with a hectic atmosphere, a true personal friendship could have developed. In the deeper layers of their correspondence, elements of warm interest, even mutual admiration, can be detected. For the historical record, however, the contact between Masaryk and Wilson remains a working relationship. The two main tasks which both Wilson and Masaryk had on their minds in 1918 were winning the war and laying foundations for a lasting peace.

The first message, addressed by Masaryk directly to Wilson, arrived in Washington on December 13, 1917. Masaryk sent a telegram from Kiev after he had heard the United States declaration of war on Austria-Hungary. He was convinced that America's full participation in the war against the Central Powers was the logical conclusion of a necessary development.

Masaryk's telegram to Wilson, undated, sent from Kiev and received in Washington on December 13, 1917:

The declaration of war on Austria-Hungary will be welcomed by European democracy. Quasi neutral position of the United States toward Austria was missing link in logical chain of your exquisite explanation of war. Austria is the typical medieval state being exploiting company of dynasty, army and bureaucracy, aristocracy and clergy. Allies aim at regeneration of Europe, liberation of small nations and strengthening of

democracy. Austria is the very negation of nationality and democracy. Austria is organization of violence, minority of Germans and Magyars oppressing Slav and Latin majority. Europe has to choose between degenerated dynasty and freedom of nine nations, and ruling Germans and Magyars will be taught to reason if forced to abstain from exploiting other nations. Polish Deputy revealed in Reichsrat amazing fact that during the war 30,600,000 [sic], all civilians, have been ordered to save the ramshackled empire. Even Pope obedient servant of Prussia and Austria reprimanded late Francis Joseph as bloody sovereign. Austria is mean and false. The dismemberment of her is sincerest object of war. In note of the Allies to USA the liberation of Italians, Armenians [sic], Slavs and Tchechoslovacs is demanded and that means the dismemberment of the despotic empire. Application of principle of nationality which is essentially . . . democratic and social — for a nation enslaved politically is exploited economically — affects peculiar zone of small nations between the West and East on territory from North Cape to Cape Matapan beginning with Laps, Finns, etc. down to Greeks. There are 19 [nations] divided among Russia, Austria-Hungary, Persia, Turkey. National antagonism raging exactly in this zone, and it is the organic affinity of central antinational and anti-democratic empires which united them to secure their Central Europe and way from Berlin to Bagdad and Cairo. Allies must prevent realization of pan-German Central Europe. Zone of small nations and Russia must be organized on democratic principle of nationality. . . . Germany must liberate [its] non-German nations. The Balkans must be reorganized. Russia is striving to become a federation of nations and states. If East Europe be controlled by Germany the Germans will be victorious and will rule world even if they temporary would yield in West demands of allies. Germany has absorbed Austria-Hungary as you rightly said, and by that Turkey. Germany is controlling Poland and adjoining countries till now under Russia. Russia is to become the tool of Berlin. In name of Tchechoslovac National Council — and I am entitled to speak in name of our whole nation — we express our satisfaction that people of United States has declared war on Austria-Hungary. There will be no liberation of Europe from German militarism and imperialism [if] our nation preserving her nationality against the German . . . push towards East [throughout] centuries will not be free as she has been. Without liberation of Bohemia and Slovakia Poland, South Slavs, Roumanians, Italians will not be united and liberated for there is close interdependence between these nations attacked by German aggressiveness. Austria-Hungary is strong and weak point of Germany, dismemberment of Austria is real and most effective weakening of Prussianized Germany. Dismemberment of Austria-Hungary removes . . . Prussian bridges to Balkans, to Asia and Africa. German nation must be forced renounce domination of non-German nations. Professor T.G. Masaryk, President of the Tchechoslovak National Council. Marsden.

NOTE: This cable is badly mutilated and obvious corrections made.[17]

The first meeting between Masaryk and Wilson is described in two documents. Shortly after his visit to the White House on June 19, 1918, Masaryk wrote a hasty note in Czech, summarizing the main points of the conversation. The note was published in a Czech collection of documents in Prague in 1953. For his own record and to inform his friends, Masaryk also wrote, or dictated, an English note on his meeting with Wilson. One copy of the note was handed to Richard Crane, the son of Charles R. Crane and private secretary to Robert Lansing.

English translation of Masaryk's Czech note on his meetng with Wilson on June 19, 1918:

Wednesday, 6-19-1918, 5,-5,45 p.m.

Mr. President I thank you for the honor and opportunity to recommend to your attention our nations.*

W. has a warm interest and is glad to be able to speak with me about a serious matter: about Russia, how to help.

a) To discuss (in detail and carefully) plan with Japanese — and what would that mean for Russia?

b) Could our soldiers be used for this purpose? I [told] him my view = vagueness of small intervention (50,000 or 100,000). I only hear about "nucleus" and nothing more.

Really — I never obtained more information.**

I would be for a war by Japan against Germ[any]. But difficulties:

a) mainly: How to pay Japanese? "Allies would finance" — but (I [said]) that is not enough, Japanese probably would wish territory.

b) whether they are prepared militarily.

Wilson knew that they had only 250,000 and the same in reserve — they could hardly gather one million.

He considers himself bound by Allies: Foch is milit. commander, therefore he is subordinate to him.[18]

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* – ** These two sentences are written in English in the original Czech note.

Masaryk's English note on his meeting with Wilson on June 19, 1918:

I spoke with the President from five to five forty-five. The main subject of the discussion has been the question of intervention in Russia, whether the Japanese could intervene in Siberia and organize Siberia, and whether our Bohemian troops could be used to that end. I explained my view on the matter, that I am not in favor of a so-called intervention, because I do not see what it would bring about. But I would be in favor

of renewing the war upon Germany by the whole Japanese army. The President was very well informed about the number of Japanese troops available, and we agreed that there are many difficulties, above all the question of how to pay the Japanese. Then the President asked my opinion about a propaganda work which the United States could easily start, to send business men with goods, conducting a barter, because the Russians would not accept money for their grain and the goods they have to exchange. The question of this barter has been studied for the President by the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Redfield, and perhaps tomorrow the President will hear his report. Then the Y.M.C.A. would be sent to Russia and the Red Cross. It seems the President has already chosen a man not a business man who would control this whole work. He did not give me the name of the man.

I asked the President to help our men from Russia to be brought to France. The political effect of our troops fighting in France is very great, it being the most effective anti-Austrian propaganda among all non-German and non-Magyar nations in Austria. On this occasion I emphasized the necessity of dismembering Austria if the war should be won. The President accepted this view and consented. I explained to him that there is a great propaganda conducted from Rome, and finally I urged him to help Italy: she deserves it for her loyalty and, militarily speaking, Italy, strengthened by American troops, could invade Austria and that would shorten the war. The President seemed to realize all this.

We parted. He was very friendly indeed, and asked me to come and give my opinion on points which he will submit to me.[19]

After it had become obvious that the Czechoslovak soldiers in Russia were entangled in a conflict with Bolshevik units, Masaryk asked the American government for assistance. Wilson, while maintaining his negative views of a military intervention, was finally impressed by the appeals of France and Britain and agreed to dispatch several thousand American troops to the area of Vladivostok, not to intervene in Russian affairs, but to safeguard "the country to the rear of the westward-moving Czecho-Slovaks." Masaryk was thankful for the decision.

Masaryk's letter to Wilson, August 5, 1918:

Mr. President: With the deepest satisfaction I thank you for your decision to help our Czechoslovak Army in Russia.

Mr. President, you have repeatedly announced the principles in which American citizens have been bred, the principles of liberated mankind, of the actual equality of nations, and the principles according to which governments derive all their just power from the consent of the

governed. The decision of the third of August to us constitutes a guarantee that these American principles will be realized. It is for these principles that our nation has been contending not only in this war, but already long ago; it is for these principles that our boys are shedding their blood on the endless plains of Russia and Siberia.

Your name, Mr. President, as you have no doubt read, is openly cheered in the streets of Prague — our nation will forever be grateful to you and to the people of the United States. And we know how to be grateful.

Believe me, Mr. President, Yours very sincerely,

Th.G. Masaryk[20]

Wilson's response to Masaryk, August 7, 1918:

My dear Mr. Masaryk: Your letter of August 5th is greatly appreciated. I have felt no confidence in my personal judgment about the complicated situation in Russia, and am reassured that you should approve of what I have done.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

Woodrow Wilson[21]

Masaryk was, understandably, ebullient when the United States government recognized his revolutionary movement as the de facto belligerent government of Czechoslovakia. In his letter of thanks to Wilson, he stressed the value of American political principles.

Masaryk's letter to Wilson, September 7, 1918:

Mr. President: Allow me to express the feeling or profound gratitude for the recognition of our Army, the National Council, and the nation.

After arriving in the United States I paid my first visit to the Gettysburg Cemetery—after a year's sad experiences in Russia I wished to collect my mind at this solemn place of America's great struggle for democracy and unity; I read America's eternal message, cast in iron, that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall never perish from this Earth. At an historical moment of great significance Lincoln formulated these principles which were to rule the internal policies of the United States—at an historical moment of world-wide significance you, Mr. President, shaped these principles for the foreign policies of this great Republic as well as those of the other nations: that the whole mankind may be liberated — that between nations, great and small, actual equality exists — that all just power of governments is derived from the consent of the governed, these, you say, are the principles in which Americans have been bred, and which are to constitute the foundation of world-democracy.

In accordance with these principles of American democracy you, and the Government of the United States, have recognized the justice of our struggle for independence and national unity; I am entitled and greatly honored to thank you, in the name of our whole nation, for this act of political generosity, justice and political wisdom. America's recognition will strengthen our armies and our whole nation in their unshakeable decision to sacrifice everything for the liberation of Europe and of mankind.

My best wishes to you, Mr. President, in your difficult and responsible work for America and the world.

Believe me, Most sincerely and respectfully yours,

T. G. Masaryk[22]

Wilson's response to Masaryk, September 10, 1918:

My dear Dr. Masaryk: Your letter of September 7th has given me a great deal of gratification. It reassures me to know that you think that I have followed the right course in my earnest endeavor to be of as much service as possible to the Czecho-Slovak peoples, and I want you to know how much the Secretary of State and I have valued the counsel and guidance which you have given us. It will always be a matter of profound gratitude to me if it should turn out that we have been able to render a service which will redound to the permanent advantage and happiness of the great group of peoples whom you represent.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

Woodrow Wilson[23]

When Masaryk came to see Wilson on September 11, 1918, the questions under discussion included: assistance for the Czechoslovak Army in Russia, the recent agreement between the Czechoslovak National Council and the British government, and the possibility of a Japanese supreme command over foreign troops in Siberia. The fragmentary note, written by Masaryk in Czech and published in Prague in 1953, shows that the understanding between Wilson and Masaryk had developed to the extent of confidentiality in some questions.

English translation of Masaryk's Czech note on his meeting with Wilson on September 11, 1918:

With Wilson, Wednesday, 11 Sept 1918 (2-2,20 a.m.)

1. In addition to my [written] thanks also my personal thanks.

2. Apology that sending [of supplies] to Siberia is not fast enough but they do their best.

3. Today [he received] cable about our agreement with Engl. government. He noticed that [it stipulated] clearly [English] command.

He fears, as he says *between ourselves*, that British always try to use everything for themselves. There is a certain, not misunderstanding, but a certain. . . (I helped: *tension*) yes, tension, but that will be corrected. Also about French that they do not respect sufficiently sentiments of Russ. people.

About Jap. supreme command = he fears that Russians would not want it, neither would Americans like it, and possibly neither your soldiers?

I [said]: If Japanese give greatest number of soldiers it would be fair that they [have] supreme command. The [Russian] people would not grudge too much, not for long. There is Germ[an] intrigue exaggerating tension between Japanese and America.

To that he remarked that if Jap. will have greatest number of soldiers, they may have command. (He said "Greater than you.")

4. I [said to] him: French possibly somewhat nervous as they had invested much money; but they will acquiesce.

He noticed that English, Japanese were not acclaimed in Vladivostok after landing as Amer. (and Italians).

5. They will send me agreement with England so that I [could add] some comment for him.

6. Germ[an] ethnographic map with some notes will be sent to him.

7. I agree with Wilson that one should first try [to settle things] peacefully, shooting only last resort if absolutely necessary.

8. He said good-bye to me (I rose) thanking me for coming personally to express my appreciation for what they [the Americans] were doing for us [the Czechs and Slovaks] so willingly and with such pleasure.[24]

In October 1918 Masaryk became the head of the Mid-European Union, a group of Central European representatives residing in the United States. On October 26, 1918, the Mid-European Union, convening in Philadelphia, issued a democratic manifesto called the "Declaration of Common Aims." Masaryk used the opportunity of sending the declaration to Wilson to explain his concept of European reconstruction.

Masaryk's letter to Wilson, November 1, 1918:

Mr. President,

On behalf of the Democratic Mid-European Union I have to thank you for your kind message which, unhappily, was not delivered in time, I take this opportunity to submit to you this copy of the Declaration signed in Philadelphia.

Our union tried to replace the German plan of Mittel-Europa by a

positive plan of reorganization of the many smaller nations which are located between the Germans (in Germany and Austria) and Russians; there are about eighteen such nations, beginning with the Finns and ending with the Greeks. The proverbial German push toward the East is directed against this peculiar zone of smaller nations, and it will be successful unless they are liberated and organized. The primary aim of the war and the coming peace is the reorganization of the East including now Russia, and the first condition of this reorganization of Eastern Europe and through it of Europe and mankind, is the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, composed of eight non-German nations, oppressed and exploited by a degenerate dynasty and reckless feudal aristocracy supported by the Germans and Magyars.

The reconstruction and regeneration of Europe is a difficult task; but every creative policy, not acquiescing in given political and social formations, is difficult; it was difficult to defeat the German-Austrian autocracy, it will be difficult to put a new form of life into its inheritance.

Mr. President, we see in you one of the greatest leaders of modern democracy and constructive policy; it is in making a sincere attempt to apply such a policy to our particular nations and to the whole of Europe that we hope you will engage your interest in our Union's endeavors.

Most sincerely yours,
T. G. Masaryk[25]

Wilson's response to Masaryk, November 5, 1918:

My dear Dr. Masaryk:

Allow me to acknowledge with sincere appreciation your letter of November 1st with its important enclosure, the formal Declaration of Common Aims of the Independent Mid-European Nations. The Declaration seems to me to be admirable alike in substance and in temper, and I need hardly assure you that the principles and ideals which it sets forth are my own. I shall esteem it a privilege to cooperate in any way that is possible in the realization of the aspirations which it embodies. I congratulate you on the sobriety of counsel which it indicates.

Cordially and sincerely yours,
Woodrow Wilson[26]

The last meeting between Masaryk and Wilson took place on November 15, 1918. Masaryk, fearing a loss of prestige for the American president, advised Wilson against being personally involved in the detailed European questions at the peace conference. His apprehension is shown in a Czech note written in his hand and published in facsimile in Jan Herben's biography *T.G. Masaryk.*

English translation of Masaryk's Czech note on his meeting with Wilson on November 15, 1918:

Wilson, to say good-bye, Friday, 15 Nov. 1918, 2,15-2,45 p.m.

As always a very matter-of-fact discussion—he began at once.

1. *Poles.* Danzig is not Polish and Germans in Prussia would be cut off. Free access would be sufficient.

2. What about *Russia*? I [said] = perhaps without Finland (and Poland) unite all former [Russian territories] in feder. republic.

3. *Should he go to [peace] congress and participate?*

Yes, but not discuss special questions. From his declarations it can be seen that his strength [is] in questions [of principle], it can be seen that he does not know the details. (He accepted this criticism without resentment.) America (he) unique position = not having territor. wishes, and can defend principles. He [said]: can defend in details too; he is of Scotch origin, "stubborn." I [said] that he did not know all the details, could become entangled and weaken his position.

4. Germans *were* beaten on the battlefield.

I [said] that it would have been better if they had been beaten completely; they will blame their defeat on Austr[ians'] treason, starvation, etc.[27]

The last part of the correspondence between Masaryk and Wilson, letters and telegrams from the years 1918–23, form an epilog to the remarkable relationship. The epilog, although mostly encouraging and optimistic, has melancholy undertones. Masaryk's American wife died on May 13, 1923. Wilson, his health failing, was followed in office by a Republican president. Wilson's idea of a peaceful reconstruction of the world with American participation never materialized. He died on February 3, 1924.

Masaryk's first telegram from independent Czechoslovakia to Wilson was an enthusiastic New Year's message.

Masaryk's telegram to Wilson, January 2, 1919:

In the first New Year in which after a long time of the darkness of war light of freedom and peace is beginning to glimmer over Europe and world, I beg to greet you, Mr. President, on my own and our people's behalf from the free capital of the free Czechoslovak Republic. Our nation shall never forget that it was you, Mr. President, who by his kind sense of freedom and justice has brought about the disruption of the immoral state combination called Austria-Hungary and it was you [who] by his knowledge of our right in the most critical moment has made possible the revolution which brought us our national independence. We greet you [as] the spokesman of the political ideals of the great American Re-

public, of the ideals for which America in this war contested and conquered. These ideals are one with the ideals of our nation and will always find an enthusiastic defender in the free Czechoslovak Republic.

President Masaryk[28]

Wilson's response to Masaryk, January 10, 1919:

My dear Mr. President: Your telegram of the second of January which was delayed in reaching me has given me the profoundest pleasure. It is deeply gratifying to me that the Czecho-Slovak peoples should recognize in me their friend and the champion of their rights and I beg you to believe that I shall be always happy to serve the Nation in any way that it is in my power to serve it. I hope that you will let me know from time to time what services of counsel or action you think I could render it. I rejoice in its establishment and hope for its permanent prosperity.

Woodrow Wilson[29]

In the middle of March 1920 Masaryk cabled to Washington his thanks for Wilson's greetings on his 70th birthday (March 7, 1920):

Masaryk's telegram to Wilson, March 15, 1920:

Mr. President: Thank you heartily for your kind message. In return allow me to express my best wishes for your health. I can fully appreciate the exhausting strain you had to undergo during the war and in Paris and I know how sincerely and honestly you worked for the peace. I only wish you and your country's great authority may remain the powerful reconstructive action in the development of new Europe.

T.G. Masaryk[30]

On the occasion of his 66th birthday (December 26, 1922) Wilson was greeted by a telegram from Masaryk:

Masaryk's telegram to Wilson, December 27, 1922:

Ready it will prove that Czechoslovakia is the land of Wilson. With warmest birthday greetings to you and to both you and Mrs. Wilson a joyous Christmas and happy New Year.

Masaryk[31]

Wilson's response to Masaryk, December 28, 1922:

Your message is deeply appreciated. I hope that the stout young republic over which you so worthily preside will itself have many propitious birthdays throughout a long period of peaceful prosperity and happiness. I shall expect with greatest pleasure the Christmas gift you so generously promised me.

Woodrow Wilson[32]

Two compassionate letters were exchanged between Wilson and Masaryk on the occasion of the death of Charlotte Garrigue Masaryk.

Wilson's letter to Masaryk, May 19, 1923:

My dear Friend,

Will you not allow me to express to you the genuine grief and very deep sympathy with which I learned of the death of Mrs. Masaryk. My thoughts go out to you in profoundest sympathy, and I wish that there were some touch of friendship by which I could assist in cheering and steadying your spirit in the face of this tragedy.

I very often think of you and always, you may be sure, with the deepest and most genuine interest in your own personal welfare as well as in the welfare of your people.

Please accept assurances of my warm regard and always think of me as

Your sincere friend,
[Woodrow Wilson][33]

Masaryk's response to Wilson, dated June 15, 1923 in Marseille:

Dear Mr. Wilson,
My Dear Friend,

Thank you for your very kind letter; I am happy knowing that you feel so friendly towards me & our people. My wife was a real American, living up to the best & loftiest American ideals; I shared her views & accepted her americanism [sic] & that brought me to you in 1918. I bilieved [sic] in the American ideals as you expressed them.

With gratitude & in sincere friendship,

T.G. Masaryk[34]

In November 1923, on behalf of Masaryk, officials of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington presented Wilson two albums with pictures of streets, squares, parks, bridges, and other public objects named or renamed in honor of the American president. Wilson sent a letter of thanks to Prague.

Wilson's letter to Masaryk, November 23, 1923:

My dear President Masaryk,

I yesterday received at the hands of the Charge of the Czechoslovak legation here the really magnificient volumes in which you have so thoughtfully had bound photographs of places and objects which citizens of Czechoslovakia have been so gracious as to name for me. I feel highly

honoured at such evidences of their confidence and friendship, and shall treasure the albums as among my most valuable possessions.

I hope that everything goes happily with yourself and the admirable little republic over which you preside. It is a matter of intense pride with me to have had some part in bringing it into the family of nations.

With very warm regards,

Cordially and Gratefully Yours,
[Woodrow Wilson][35]

On December 28, 1923, in a brief telegram, Masaryk sent his last New Year's greetings to Wilson. And a day later Wilson cabled what turned out to be his last communication to Masaryk

Wilson's telegram to Masaryk, December 29, 1923:

My dear Mr. President,

Your radio message pleased me greatly. It is delightful to be reminded of your friendship, and I hope that the New Year may bring to you and to the gallant republic over which you preside the highest and happiest fortunes. Pray accept my warm salutations and think of me always as

Your sincere Friend, [Woodrow Wilson][36]

These are Masaryk's comments on the personality of Woodrow Wilson, translated from his book of war reminiscences.

From Masaryk's book Světová revoluce (The Making of a State):

My relations with President Wilson were purely matter-of-fact. In all my actions I relied on our just cause and the weight of my arguments. I believed then and I still believe that decent, educated people can be enlightened and convinced by arguments. In my personal discussions with Wilson and in my memoranda and notes I relied solely on arguments and the strength of carefully stated facts. In all this I sought continuity with the President's declarations and writings. Already before the war I had known his writings about the state and the development of the American Congress. I read his speeches carefully and was able to quote his statements in support of my ideas. . . .

When the question was discussed in government circles and in the press whether President Wilson personally should go to Europe to take part in the peace negotiations I gave him my opinion that he should not go or, at least, should not remain in Europe after the opening of the conference. Knowing Wilson's character and his enthusiasm for the League of Nations as the main point of the peace negotiations, and knowing the personalities of the European peacemakers, I feared that both sides would be mutually disappointed. After a long war resulting in a terrible strain on minds and nerves of the peace negotiators, it might easily happen that mutual disillusionment would be aggravated by the

PRESIDENT
ČESKOSLOVENSKÉ
REPUBLIKY

Marseille, 15/VI/23.

Dear Mr. Wilson,
My dear Friend,

Thank you for your very kind letter: I am happy knowing that you feel so friendly towards me & our people. My wife was a real American, living up to the best & loftiest American ideals; I shared her views & accepted her americanism & that brought me to you in 1918. I believed in the American ideals as you expressed them.

With gratitude & in sincere friendship

T. G. Masaryk.

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Masaryk's letter to Wilson, dated June 15, 1923. Woodrow Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

experience of personal weaknesses of the participants. I thought that President Wilson might impair, even lose the high authority which he had gradually won in Europe. But the President, aware of the great importance of the peace conference, wished personally to defend his American ideals. He was convinced that it was America's mission to unify mankind and that he could accomplish this task.

We also discussed the question why President Wilson had not formed a coalition government, as the Allied states had done in Europe, but had chosen his cabinet ministers only from the Democratic Party. I asked specifically whether it would not be proper to take politicians of the Republican Party with him to the Paris negotiations. President Wilson thought that in Paris quarrels would arise between the two opposing parties. But he also admitted that he had no talent for compromises and coalitions. "I tell you frankly" — these were about his words — "I am a descendant of Scottish Presbyterians and am therefore somewhat stubborn." I had a different interpretation. One of the consequences of the war, in America as elsewhere, was a sort of dictatorship. Individual statesmen gained decisive power. At the same time Wilson's contact with Congress became closer. I watched this development the more keenly because I knew Wilson's opinion of the centralization of Congress. This trend toward centralization was in my view greatly assisted by the constitutional position of the American President. The American constitution followed too closely the English monarchical model in defining the position of the President. I did not have the impression of partiality in Wilson's choice of military and naval commanders; on the contrary, he appointed many Republicans demonstrating his objectivity. But I admit that the President was somewhat touchy and disliked being criticized.

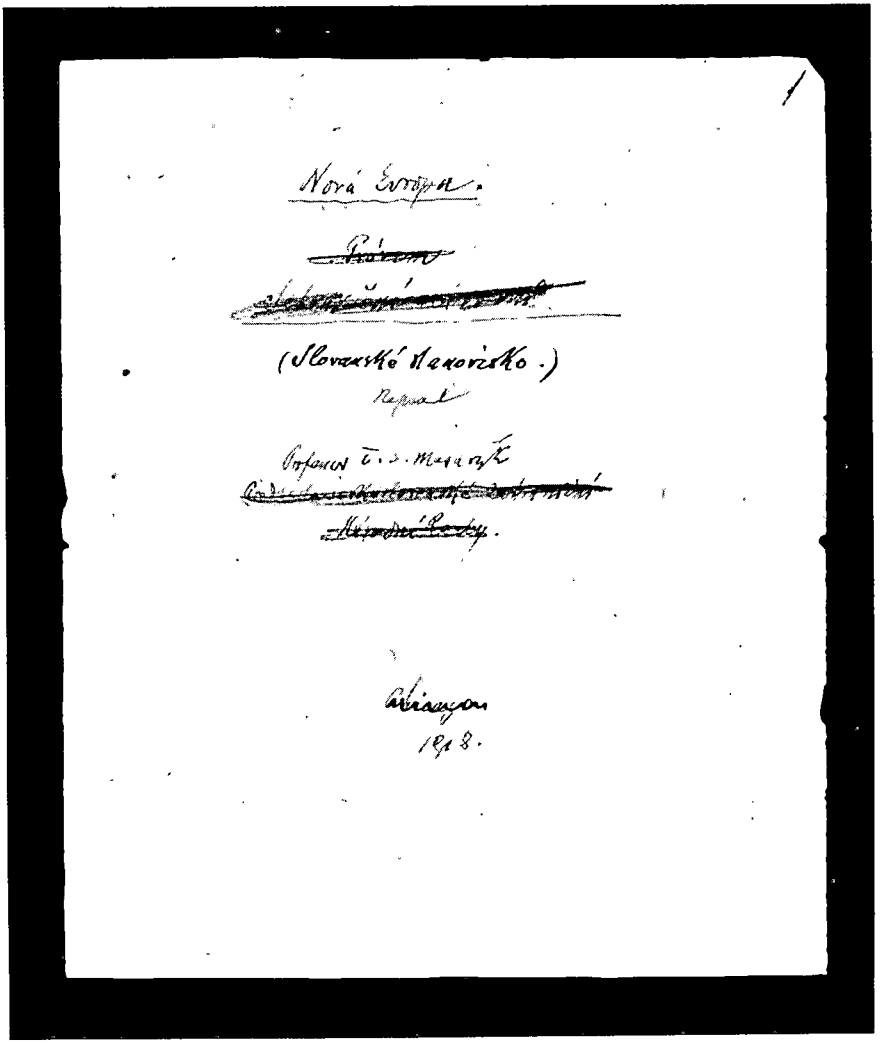
I started my personal relations with President Wilson relatively late. I arrived in Washington on May 9 [1918] and met Wilson for the first time on June 19, the invitation being conveyed by Mr. Charles R. Crane. In all my political campaigns abroad it has been my method to try to influence the statesmen by public declarations, articles and interviews. And before I saw the President I spoke with people with whom he was in contact and who had a certain influence on him. Discussion with men who already know the facts is, naturally, more fruitful and can take less time.

The significance of Wilson's decision against Austria was spontaneously recognized by our people at home; a visible proof of our gratitude are the buildings, streets, squares and institutions named after Wilson. It would not be difficult for me to portray his character both as a man and as a statesman. I heard much about him from people who were quite close to him. I read his speeches very carefully and occupied myself intensely with his thinking. I observed the initial warm reception of Wilson in allied countries which later became cool to him. The Germans, too, accepted him, and later turned against him. From the beginning I saw in Wilson a conscientious interpreter of Lincoln's democracy and

American political and cultural ideals in general. I have already mentioned his view of America's destiny. He would have described his ideals in a more practical fashion had he known more of Europe and its difficulties. He made a clear distinction between the "Allies" and America, only an "associated" power in his terminology. The continental dimension of the United States accounts for his being too abstract in dealing with European politics. His great notion of the self-determination of nations was too general to provide a safe guiding principle for Europe. And he can be at least partly blamed for the lack of understanding for his plan of the League of Nations. It was a magnificent and just concept, mainly the idea of making the League an essential part of the peace settlement.

Unlike other American thinkers Wilson impressed me as a theoretician rather than a practical man, his thinking was more deductive than inductive. In this respect it was interesting to hear that he preferred to correspond with his ministers (even typing his decisions and suggestions with his own hands). He was probably a somewhat solitary man, a status conducive to a calm and matter-of-fact judgment of political affairs. He showed these qualities, I think, in his attitude toward Germany and in his decision for war; he stayed cool, registering the individual acts, and after enough of them had accumulated, he declared war in a resolute way. The American people followed him. He was equally resolute in conducting the war; this was why the Germans turned against him. Ludendorff understood correctly the gravity of Wilson's replies to the German proposals for an armistice and peace. Roosevelt and others were, in my view, not fair in saying that Wilson ought to have declared war earlier.

Wilson was and remains one of the greatest pioneers of modern democracy. Already in his first political campaign for the governorship of New Jersey he proclaimed the faith and confidence in the people as the basis of democracy, in opposition to monarchism and aristocracy: nations are regenerated from below, not from above; monarchism and aristocracy always and everywhere lead to decline. This proved to be true on a grand scale in the world war: three great monarchies with their aristocracies perished in the clash with more democratic nations.[37]



Title page of the Czech manuscript of Masaryk's *The New Europe.* T. G. Masaryk Papers, MMC 3502, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

CHAPTER

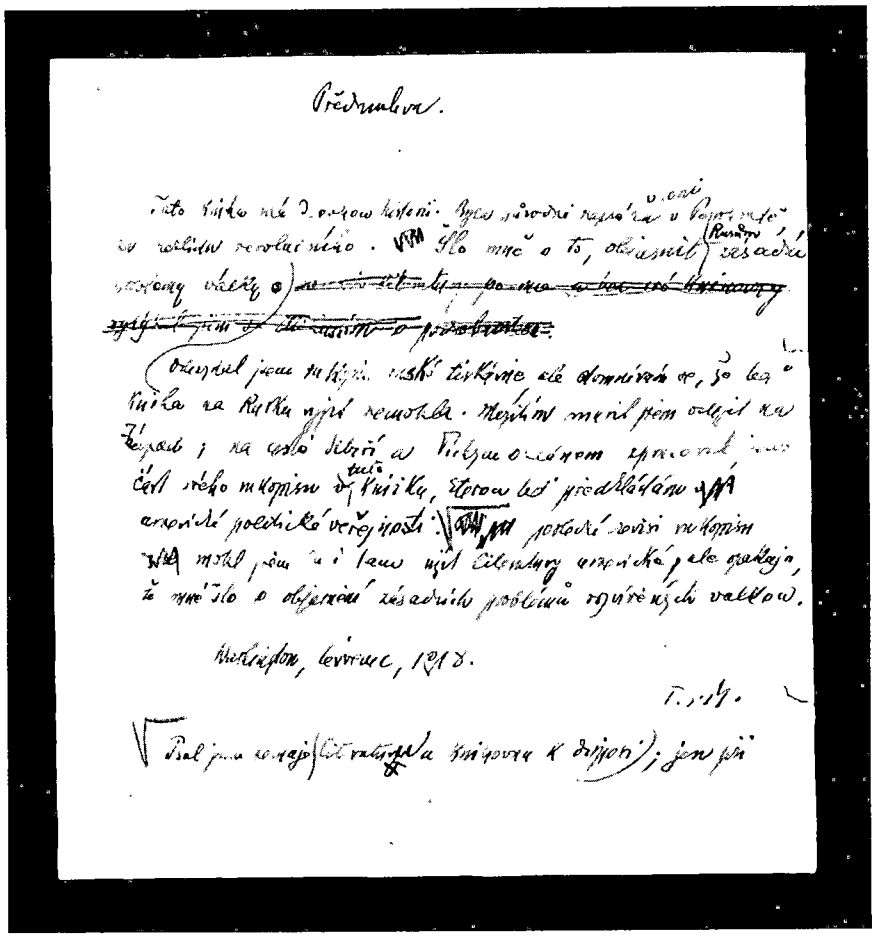
SIX

THE NEW EUROPE

The most valuable *Masarykanum* in the Library of Congress, and probably in any library or archive outside Czechoslovakia, is the complete manuscript of Masaryk's book *The New Europe (Nová Evropa).* The manuscript was donated to the Library of Congress by Masaryk's secretary Jaroslav Císař, who had received it as a present from the author for translating the work into English. Washington is the proper place of custody; the final version of *The New Europe* was prepared mainly in the U.S. capital in 1918. But the book has a history of its own, as turbulent as the era in which it was written.

Our main sources of information about the origin of *The New Europe* are, first of all, Masaryk's three prefaces written at different times; the first preface, dated January 15, 1918 in Kiev; a second unpublished preface, dated July 1918, in Washington; and the preface to the first English and French edition of the book, dated October 1918, in Washington. Additional insights into the history of the book were obtained from Josef Kudela's *Profesor Masaryk a československé vojsko na Rusi* (*Professor Masaryk and the Czechoslovak Army in Russia*) and from Masaryk's war memoirs, *Světová revoluce*; a few interesting details were added in a private letter written by Jaroslav Císař.

From all the known facts and dates it can be extrapolated that Masaryk wrote the first basic version of *The New Europe* in one brief creative period of several weeks during his second stay in Petrograd, between September 8 and October 16, 1917. It was a time of great tension in Russia, with a new revolution lurking



Předmluva.

Preface of the Czech manuscript of Masaryk's *The New Europe*. T. G. Masaryk Papers, MMC 3502, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

around the corner. Masaryk visited southern Russia in the second part of October, 1917, and after his return to Petrograd he intended to correct and amend his manuscript. He sat down to work on a day that quickly proved to be a bad choice for untroubled literary activity. The date was November 7, 1917. The Bolshevik Party sent its troops into the streets of Petrograd, seized the main points of the city and established the Soviet regime. Three days later, on November 10, Masaryk departed for Moscow hoping to leave the revolutionary upheavals behind him. But the revolution traveled with him, as it were. He arrived in Moscow in the midst of street fighting and spent several dramatic and dangerous days in and around the hotel Metropol. As a writer's haven Moscow was no better place than Petrograd.

On November 22, 1917, Masaryk arrived in Kiev where he spent most of his remaining time in Russia, organizing the Czech Army and working, whenever possible, on his book. The date of the first preface, January 15, 1918, indicates that about this time Masaryk decided to publish his work. He did not consider the manuscript as finished but, seeing the impossibility of completing it before his departure to the United States, he concluded that the book should be printed as it was, with a possible later revision. His main purpose was to tell the Czech and Slovak soldiers his views of the European future. In leaving the manuscript in Kiev he hoped to provide his soldiers with a political legacy for a better understanding of their efforts and sacrifices.

Again the revolutionary turmoil interfered with Masaryk's intentions. One copy of the manuscript was handed to the Czech printer and publisher in Kiev Věnceslav Švihovský, but before the book could be printed the Ukraine became the chessboard of violent political and military moves. On February 8, 1918, Bolshevik troops entered Kiev while the Czech soldiers stationed in the area maintained neutrality in the domestic Russian conflict. On March 1, the Czechoslovak Army was withdrawn from Kiev, one day before the city was occupied by the Germans. Masaryk's manuscript, left in Kiev during the evacuation, was recovered by the Czech soldier V. Svoboda, who crossed the German lines dis-

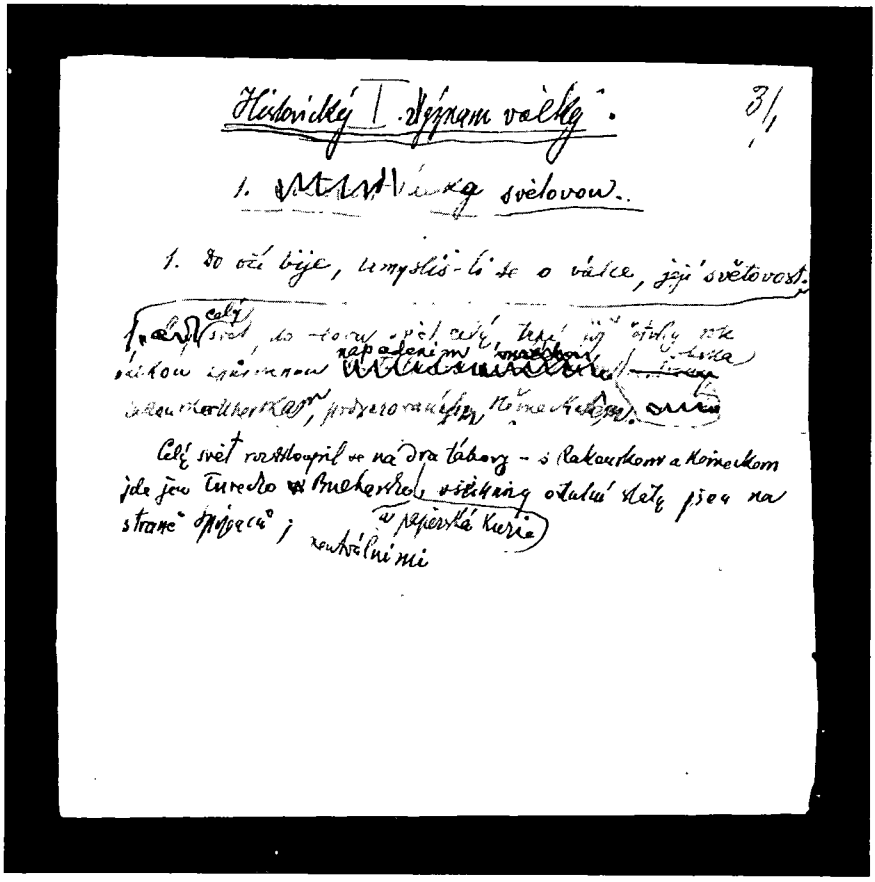
guised as a civilian, found the manuscript, and brought it back to the safe custody of the Czechoslovak troops.

Owing to the chaotic situation, *The New Europe* could not be published as a book in Russia. The Czechoslovak soldiers, nevertheless, had a chance to read Masaryk's text. The secured manuscript was published in installments, beginning in April 1918, in the Czechoslovak Army newspaper, *Československý deník.*

All this was unknown to Masaryk. Since March 7, 1918, he had been on his way through Siberia and Japan to the United States. He assumed that the manuscript copy left in Kiev was irretrievably lost. During his long journey on the Trans-Siberian train he resumed his work on *The New Europe*, reviewing and amending the copy he carried from Russia to America. Working on the manuscript was also one of his occupations on the ship in the Pacific Ocean.

He now intended to publish the book in the United States. In July 1918, in a new preface written in Washington, he presented the work "to the American political public." But being too busy as a statesman in the final stages of the war, Masaryk did not find enough time for his literary pursuits. He worked on his manuscript intermittently throughout his whole stay in America and wrote the final version of the preface in October 1918. Several weeks before his departure from the United States he turned the Czech manuscript over to Jaroslav Císař who dictated a preliminary translation into English. The time was, however, too short for publication in America and the manuscript, supplemented by an English version, crossed another ocean with its author.

Masaryk took the text of *The New Europe* to London, where the English translation was revised by Robert W. Seton-Watson. The book was then quickly published in English and in French for "private circulation," mainly for the use of the diplomats who were gathering for the peace conference in Paris. The English text of *The New Europe*, published at the end of 1918, was considered by Masaryk to be the "original." A Czech version, almost identical to the manuscript preserved in the Library of Congress, was published in Prague in 1920.



The first page of the Czech manuscript of Masaryk's *The New Europe*. T. G. Masaryk Papers, MMC 3502, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

NOVÁ EVROPA·
STANOVISKO SLOVANSKÉ·



NAPSAL
T·G·MASARYK·

1920.
NÁKLADEM GUSTAVA DUBSKÉHO
V PRAZE·

Title page of the first Czech edition of *The New Europe,* illustrated by Adolf Kašpar. (D523.M2139)

The New Europe, first written for the Czechoslovak soldiers in Russia, then intended for the American public, and finally circulated among the Allied diplomats, was a book for anybody in its time. In this work Masaryk expressed his need to explain why he had started his revolutionary activity in the first place, and what he hoped for in the future. Read in today's changed world, *The New Europe* is a reminder of Masaryk's vision rather than the balance sheet of a project that awaited fulfillment. Somewhat incorrectly, the book was regarded by some readers as Masaryk's program for the immediate rearrangement of Europe after the First World War. More properly, it was Masaryk's ideal picture of Europe's long-term objectives which would need much effort and courage to be achieved.

At the heart of *The New Europe* lies Masaryk's demand to create an independent Czechoslovak state. This, however, is not an isolated goal. Masaryk also demands an independent Poland and Yugoslavia, and a whole zone of independent nations between Germany and Russia. The political reconstruction of Eastern Europe is considered by him "the principal problem of the war." He invokes the principle of national self-determination, but he also sees that in many territories with mixed population the border lines between the states cannot be based on ethnographic factors. The new states in which the small oppressed Slavic nations will exercise their political freedom will be created within historical and natural borders. Inevitably, these states will include national minorities who will be guaranteed their civil rights by an international agreement, and possibly by an international arbitration tribunal for national questions.

In Masaryk's eyes national independence was not an end in itself but a necessary stage in a prolonged process. As the next stage in a more distant European future he foresaw a federation which would not be imposed by a central authority but would be agreed upon by free partners. He wrote:

> A real federation of nations will be accomplished only when the nations are free to unite of their own

> accord. The development of Europe points to that end. The program of the Allies answers fully to this development: free and liberated nations will organize themselves, as they find necessary, into greater units, and thus the whole continent will be organized.[38]

As a practical politician Masaryk saw that a free union of European nations had several preconditions among which the most important was the end of the German supremacy in Europe. Masaryk demanded a complete end to German hegemonial plans, including the dissolution of the Habsburg empire as the willing instrument of German imperialists. He hoped for a permanent victory of the republican and democratic ideal over the antidemocratic, absolutist forces. He thought it could not be otherwise:

> It is not possible that this gigantic sacrifice of lives, health, and fortune should have been offered in vain; it is not possible that the present organization of states and nations from which the war has sprung should remain unchanged, that the responsible statesmen, politicians, leaders of parties, individuals, the nations, and all humanity should not comprehend the necessity of radical political reorganization. The war and its significance have knitted mankind closer together; humanity is today an organized unit . . .[39]

This dream did not come true and was shattered by another world war. But it is difficult to find an alternative for Masaryk's hope. In the words of the Czech-American historian Otakar Odložilík: "The background against which the ideas of *The New Europe* have to be projected has changed profoundly. Details which had their significance at the time of writing have withered in the changing climate. But the beacon of light, Masaryk's unbounded faith in democracy and humanity, has lost nothing of its brightness and radiant energy."

The evaluation of American influences in Masaryk's life is open to further study, but it is obvious that Masaryk, the optimist,

drew a part of his strength from the Anglo-Saxon cultural resources. In *The New Europe* he paid this tribute to England and America:

> All my life I was an assiduous, passionate reader and a conscious observer of contemporaneous world happenings. If I had to say which culture I considered to be the highest I would answer, the English and American; at any rate, my stay in England during the war, and a very critical observation of English life convinced me that the English, as a whole, come nearest to the ideals of humanity. The same impression was made upon me by American life.[40]

This personal confession of faith may be considered an appropriate final statement of this documentation.

NOTES

1 *Alice Garrigue Masaryk, 1879-1966: her life* (Pittsburgh, University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, c1980), p. 14.

2 In International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom, *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion* (Boston, Mass., International Council [1908?]), p. 536-565.

3 Charles R. Crane Papers, Columbia University Library.

4 Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress.

5 Ibid.

6 New York Times, 16 Jan. 1917.

7 Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress.

8 U.S. Department of State Records, File 763.72119/1614, National Archives.

9 Ibid., File 763.72119/1616.

10 Breckinridge Long Papers, Library of Congress.

11 Ibid.

12 In Lawyers Club, *Meeting of the Lawyers Club, New York City, Saturday, 16 November 1918* ([New York, 1918]), p. 8-12.

13 U.S. Department of State Records, File 763.72/11172, National Archives.

14 Various drafts and the final text of the Declaration are in the custody of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. For the complete history of the Declaration see George J. Kovtun, *The Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence: a history of the document* (Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, 1985)

15 U.S. Department of State Records, File 860F.46211, National Archives.

16 Tomáš G. Masaryk, *Světová revoluce: za války a ve válce, 1914-1918* (V Praze, Čin a Orbis, 1925), p. 267-270.

17 U.S. Department of State records, File 763.72/8108. *Marsden* was the pseudonym in Masaryk's British passport.

18 *Dokumenty o protilidové a protinárodní politice T.G. Masaryka* (Praha, Orbis, 1953), p. 21.

19 Richard Crane Papers, Georgetown University Library.

20 Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 *Dokumenty o protilidové a protinárodní politice T.G. Masaryka* (Praha, Orbis, 1953), p. 22.

25 Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress.

26 Ibid.

27 Jan Herben, *T.G. Masaryk*, v. 3 (V Praze, Mánes, 1927), following p. 728.

28 Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Tomáš G. Masaryk, *Světová revoluce: za války a ve válce, 1914-1918* (V Praze, Čin a Orbis, 1925), p. 366-375.

38 Tomáš G. Masaryk, *The New Europe (the Slav standpoint)* (Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press [1972]), p. 77.

39 Ibid., p. 25.

40 Ibid., p. 126.

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A microfilm (540 reels) of this collection with an accompanying index (3 v.) has been published by the Library.


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