KOSMAS

N° 26.0

by the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences (SVU)

KOSMAS ISSN 1056-005X

Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal
(Formerly *Kosmas: Journal of Czechoslovak and Central European Studies*, Vols. 1-7, 1982-1988, and *Czechoslovak and Central European Journal*, Vols. 8-11, 1989-1993).

Kosmas is a peer-reviewed, multidisciplinary journal that focuses on Czech, Slovak, and Central European Studies. It is published bi-annually by the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences (SVU)

Manuscript submissions, books for review, and correspondence concerning editorial matters should be sent via e-mail to the editor, Francis D. Raška. The e-mail address is raskakosmas@yahoo.com In the event that postal contact proves necessary, the correspondence address is Francis D. Raška, Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of International Studies, U kříže 8, 15800 Praha 5, Czech Republic.

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"We" and "the others": The English-Speaking Political Emigration to Communist Czechoslovakia in the 1950s

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Introduction

> *…"Years later, the "us" and "them" of my life would become Jews and Gentiles, and still later women and men, but for all of my growing up years "us" and "them" were socialists and non-socialists; the "politically enlightened" and the politically unenlightened; those who were "struggling for a better world" and those who, like moral slugs, moved blind and unresponsive through this vast inequity that was our life under capitalism…"*[1]
>
> Vivian Gornick

In February 1948, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia finally managed to seize power in the country and for a little over forty years it had full control of the state and its society. In the initial phase of the Soviet-style communist regime in Czechoslovakia, authority was centralized in the hands of the prominent personalities within the Party. Little by little, the character of the country altered. Some of the changes took place quickly; others were slightly more difficult to achieve. Nevertheless, the representatives of the regime had tried and tested means of eventually reaching their goals. Consequently, it is important to realize that a pervasive atmosphere of fear and suspicion was omnipresent in the 1950s.

On the whole, it should be borne in mind that it was the representatives of the Communist Party through its policies and decisions that shaped the form the everyday life of the citizens took. It was likewise the Communist Party that tried to push through their monopoly on "truth," a concept indeed which was bent and twisted according to their perceived needs. Naturally, the "truth" was a variable quantity, which could be modified or adjusted if the exigencies of a particular situation so demanded.[2] It should also be remembered that it was the representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia who decided who the "enemy," who had to be uprooted, was at any particular time, and, correspondingly, who the "friend" that deserved

support was. By having the power to do this, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia created what can be termed the "we" group and the "they" group. The division, however, was by no means rigid. A friend one day could well prove to be an enemy the very next. Therefore, it can be argued that nobody could feel secure at times.

Yet not withstanding all this, Czechoslovakia became one of the places where a number of foreign communists sought refuge. Some of these defectors were from English-speaking Western countries, such as Great Britain, the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand. Moreover, a number of them requested political emigrant status, which in many cases was granted. However, even though the English-speaking political emigrants were communists, or declared themselves to be supporters of communism, they were never fully trusted by the Czechoslovak authorities. They were "different" and being "different" was a serious handicap to be saddled with in the spy-mania and paranoia of the 1950s. They were, therefore, the object of constant surveillance. Nonetheless, whenever the communist regime found they could be "useful" in any way, such as by increasing the effectiveness of a campaign for instance, it took advantage of their presence in the country – this was especially so when it came to anti-Western propaganda.

The paper presents the preliminary results of research into the subject of English-speaking political emigrants and defectors who, for one reason or another, found themselves in Czechoslovakia in the late 1940s and 1950s. This English-speaking community in Czechoslovakia was neither united nor constant during the period in question. The group numbered among its members those who worked for communist or communist-affiliated organizations that had their headquarters in Prague; there were some who applied for a residence permit in the country for a variety of personal reasons; there were the defectors who sought a better life or safety behind the other side of the Iron Curtain, and so on. The paper concentrates primarily on those English-speaking defectors who were granted political emigrant status; however, many of the conclusions drawn are, of course, also valid for the other categories to be found among the communist English-speakers in Czechoslovakia during this time.

The goal of the paper is to investigate the functioning of the regime and the "we" – "they" clash in the 1950s based on a sample from a small group of English-speaking emigrants who were present in the country. The aim is to identify the reasons that lay behind the fact that the representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia did not (and indeed from their point of view could not) trust the English-speaking defector even though he or she had been granted political emigrant status. On the other hand, this did not prevent the Czechoslovak communists from not missing any opportunity to legitimize the paranoia of the time by ostentatiously exhibiting the "awakened" from the "imperialist" war camp.

The paper itself is divided into four parts. The first analyses the situation in Czechoslovakia and presents the problem of "we" and the "others" in the country in the 1950s. The following section deals with the question of political asylum in Czechoslovakia in general terms. The third part then touches on some aspects of the everyday life of the English-speaking communists and political emigrants living in Czechoslovakia. Finally, the last part of the paper demonstrates the interconnection between the activities of the English-speaking defectors and the politics of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The topic of English-speaking defectors to Czechoslovakia in the 1950s and the English-speaking community in general has so far been relegated to the margins by historians from both sides of the former divide. In contrast, the opposite could be said about Greek, Yugoslav and, to a certain extent, also Italian, communist emigration to Czechoslovakia.[3] The paper is based on archival research and on published and unpublished memoirs. There is no literature written on the topic of English-speaking political emigration in Czechoslovakia as such. General works either omit the issue altogether or, exceptionally; devote at best a minor comment to the phenomenon. Last but not least, I would like to stress that I use the term "emigrant" and "emigration" in the text, where, at times, it might seem more logical to employ "immigrant" and "immigration." By doing so, I follow the practice of the Communist Party documents of the time, a convention that has since been adopted by Czech historians of the period.

"We" and the "others"

The idea of communism attracted many people in the East just as in the West.[4] Among the well-known reasons for this would have been for example pre-war international developments, especially the consequences of the Great Depression, the propagated advances made by the Soviet economy, the rise of fascism and Nazism, and the increase in prestige of the Soviet Union during the war. The Soviet system was seen by many people worldwide as a model that should not only be admired, but also adopted in their own countries.[5] To illustrate this, one can also point to the fact that the Communist Parties of Italy and France, for instance, played an integral role for three years in the governments of their respective countries and their constituency was anything but marginal.[6] The position of the Communist Party of Finland should likewise not be omitted even though the Finnish situation was far more complicated due to the location of the country on the borders of the Soviet Union.[7]

As a result of international developments in the late 1940s and early 1950s, communist party membership and support for the Soviet Union came under increased suspicion in the West. However, despite this being the case, there were still a number of people, whether communist party members or not, who were highly sympathetic to the Soviet system and, to a certain extent

correspondingly, sceptical of capitalism. Many Western communists, again whether party members or not, were truly dedicated to the widely-proclaimed construction of a better and fairer society – not only in their own countries, but throughout the world.[8] When Howard Fast, for example, the American novelist and recipient of the Stalin Peace Prize in 1954, became a member of the Communist Party of the USA in 1943,[9] he declared: *"... now [I] become part of an edifice dedicated singularly and irrevocably to the ending of war, injustice, hunger and human suffering – and to the brotherhood of man."*[10] Indeed, many of those who joined the communist parties of their countries claimed in later years that they believed in the substance of communism, in the creation of a just society where everyone would be equal and people would no longer have to fear bloodshed and war.

Fast's sentiments were echoed by many and often added to in their subsequent autobiographies. Such writings, however, need to be read critically and carefully because of their often self-serving character. A further distinction must also be made in the case of communist sympathizers. People who were not members of the party did not feel the need to give unquestioning obedience to their home communist party, or to the Soviet Union and its leader. In contrast, communist party members often believed in the higher authority embodied in the communist party and in the dictates of J. V. Stalin, and from a long-term perspective considered their disciplined obedience was justified.[11] For some, British and American communists included the idea of creating a communist society and following in the footsteps of the Soviet state meant everything.[12] A few of these people, whether idealists, fanatics, opportunists or just plain, ordinary men-or-women-in-the-street, we will probably never know, had the chance to experience Soviet-style communism at first hand, in Czechoslovakia or elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe or in the Soviet Union itself. In many cases they sobered up when they realized the practice was different compared to the ideal.

One further item should be mentioned before turning to the question of the English-speaking emigrants and foreigners in Czechoslovakia. Long before the Second World War, the notion of "fraternal help" and mutual solidarity had been a central tenet of communist party membership. All communists were united in a special kind of brotherhood that transcended national boundaries.[13] Yet, however reasonable such a precept may seem at first glance, it should be remembered that the Soviet Union wanted not only coordination in the communist movement. It also demanded complete subordination, with no exceptions.[14] In the case of Czechoslovakia, for instance, the authorities were on many occasions directed to carry out a particular action without any explanation being given as to why. In the context of political emigration, for example, one might mention the case of the USSR's American agents, Joel Barr and Alfred Sarant, who found refuge in Czechoslovakia in 1951. Their real identity was hidden from the

Czechoslovak communists. Nevertheless, following instructions they took care of them for a certain period of time before they moved to the Soviet Union.[15]

In the 1950s, especially at the time when revolutionary fervour was rife and the rule of the country was in the hands of communist zealots, matters concerning foreign ideological supporters were high on the agenda. Consequently, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, sometimes because of "orders" from above, and sometimes of its own volition, played a somewhat important part in extending a helping hand to its fraternal counterparts – both from the East and the West. In the latter case, this included offering advice on political questions, and also, for example, providing foreign comrades with long stays in all-expenses-paid well-known Czechoslovak sanatoriums.[16] On top of that, leading members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia encouraged so-called "progressive" tours for Western communists so that they could see for themselves the great strides the country had made since 1948.[17]

The Czechoslovak case was rather special in one other respect, too. Its geographical location in the heart of Europe was significant. Indeed it was this physical factor that led the Czech historian, Karel Bartošek, perhaps with some slight exaggeration, to describe the role of the country's capital, Prague, at the end of the 1940s and in the 1950s as a "Czechoslovak Geneva." It was the headquarters of several international communist or communist-affiliated organizations – such as The International Union of Students, The International Organization of Radio Broadcasting from 1949, The World Council of Peace between 1951 and 1954 and The World Labour Union Federation from 1956. [18] All of these institutions had both Czechoslovak and foreign employees, some of whom were from the West. In addition, many members of Western communist parties and fellow-travellers, British and Americans among them, regularly visited Czechoslovakia and Prague, where, among other things, they would meet their colleagues or friends living and working in a country behind the "Iron Curtain."[19]

One further and crucial aspect of the subject being researched needs to be noted before we proceed with the analysis proper. After 1948, a feeling of "otherness" began to spread throughout the country. In the period of the late 1940s and early 1950s, any person, state or organization, whether hostile or friendly, could be categorised as "the other" and this "other" carried the labels "the untrustworthy," "the suspicious," "the dangerous." Moreover, being trusted one day, or perhaps more precisely believing that one was so, did not mean that it would necessarily be the same the following day.[20] It can be argued that creating "the other" through the dissemination of various such "truths" was part and parcel of the whole mechanism of power and control in the period in question. Relating this to the matter of our analysis, it is possible to argue that the strident anti-Western propaganda characteristic of the time was vitally important as a means of legitimizing the newly-established

communist state. For this reason, the English-speaking communist emigration proved to be a useful tool in the 1950s.

Czechoslovakia, in fact, played a very active role in Soviet anti-Western propaganda. The West, its political and economic system, some representatives of its culture and political leaders were portrayed in extremely unfavourable colours, to say the least. The anti-Western propaganda exhorted citizens to be vigilant and to be aware at all times of what was going on around them, thus creating an endemic atmosphere of fear in the country.[21] The "other," it was claimed, was lurking just behind the Western border waiting to pounce. The scenario was re-enacted when it came to depicting the "traitor" in the communist camp itself, the non-compliant Tito and his recalcitrant Yugoslavia.[22] The "other" of course was not confined to foreign states. It was all too easy to be branded the "other" in the case of natives of Czechoslovakia, too – if they were religious, had property, or simply were, for one reason or another, of nuisance value to the ideology or a representative of the ideology.[23]

But to return to the subject of the analysis, it is indeed possible to say that anti-Western propaganda likewise often portrayed some of those Czechoslovak citizens who had any contact with Westerners as traitors to their country. The West was to become the personification of evil and not a day went by without people hearing or reading diatribes about how Western leaders wanted another world war, how they lied all the time, how they supported the return of fascism and Nazism to Europe, how they itched to use the A-bomb again. This would be coupled with information on American dollar imperialism, racism, espionage, sabotage, etc. [24] Then ever-ending barrage achieved its purpose and to a certain extent affected the people subjected to it in a variety of ways. However, it should be borne in mind that even in the dark times of Stalinism in Czechoslovakia the communist authorities did not manage to control totally the private lives, language and thinking of the citizens of the country.[25]

A hostile atmosphere spread through the country. In general, the "others" were often characterized, in the parlance of the day, as a nest of spies and saboteurs. Even the slightest contact with "the other", whether at that point in time or in the past, left an indelible stain on the person concerned. This, of course, had a very practical impact on the Westerners who lived or worked in Czechoslovakia since, after all, they were "the tangible other." The names of Western diplomats, suitably vilified, and of various other embassy personnel and journalists, who were present in Czechoslovakia, also appeared daily in the communist press. *The New York Times* reporter for example, Dana Adams Schmidt, was singled out in order to discredit the Catholic Church and to rid the country of Vatican influence during the so-called "Čihošť miracle" affair, in which it was alleged by some members of the local congregation that a cross had moved of its own accord in the parish church of Čihošť, a village in Bohemia This of course was grist to the mill, as far as the communist

authorities were concerned.[26]In addition, some foreigners were expelled from the country outright; while others were forced to flee Czechoslovakia for their own safety.[27]Several Westerners were arrested and arraigned before the courts (e.g., the case of William N. Oatis).[28]This was the multi-layered reality of communist Czechoslovakia that faced the English-speaking defector who decided to seek political emigrant status in the country in the 1950s.

"The communist Geneva" – the right place for political asylum?

After this brief analysis of the situation in Czechoslovakia, it is time to examine the position of foreigners and political emigrants who found refuge in the communist state in the 1950s. Foreigners, especially those from the West, who advocated communism or were members of Western communist parties, were on rather shaky ground if they applied for a residence permit, or its renewal, or for political emigrant status in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s. The whole business was anything but straightforward. These people coming as they did from the "imperialist and warmongering" West, could naturally belong to the category of "the others." However, they were communists and the entire thrust of the internationalist ideology of communism should of course elevate them into becoming members of the "we" group. In simplified words, the "we" – "they" clash was black-and-white. In communist rhetoric the "we" group build socialism and belong to the camp of peace, while "they" attempt to destroy the achievements of socialism and desire war. In other words, "we" are the "good" and "they" are the "bad." If this vision of the world is applied to the case of English-speaking emigrants in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s, an ambivalent and somewhat contradictory picture emerges.

Now that we have looked at the situation in Czechoslovakia in the Stalinist period, it is time to carry on with the analysis of political emigrant status itself. When it comes to the topic of political asylum in Czechoslovakia, first of all, it is very interesting to note that Czechoslovakia did not have the legal status of political asylum enacted in its legislation for a considerable length of time.[29] This was the case despite the fact that in the 1930s a number of German and Austrian refugees were accepted by the Czechoslovak authorities as political asylum seekers who had escaped Nazi persecution.[30] In contrast to Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, for instance, had the institution of political asylum codified in the Stalin Constitution of 1936.[31] According to clause 129 of the Soviet Constitution, the USSR granted political asylum to foreign citizens who were persecuted in their country of origin for their "progressive" attitudes, for their belief in the protection of the interests of the working class, for scientific research or for fighting to free their nation.[32]

In Czechoslovakia, even though many attempts were made to resolve the anomaly, the question of political asylum was not legally codified until the 1960 Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.[33] Even then however, it was couched only in general terms. Clause 33 stated: *"The*

Czechoslovak Socialist Republic grants asylum to foreign nationals who are persecuted for standing for the interests of the working-class, for participation in the national liberation fight, for scientific and cultural activities or for activities concerning the defence of peace." [34] Until then, applicants for political emigrant status were dealt with on a more or less *ad hoc* basis. Furthermore, given the paradoxical nature of the matter in the 1950s, one might not be too surprised to learn that the Czechoslovak communist authorities themselves were not entirely sure about the number of political migrant applications they had granted, especially among the English-speaking community.[35]

Generally, if a foreigner decided to seek political asylum in Czechoslovakia, two options were available. The person could either do so at a Czechoslovak embassy or consulate abroad or could enter Czechoslovak territory and see what transpired. In the latter case, the frontier guards had been issued with special instructions in December 1948 which stated that if a foreigner appeared on Czechoslovak soil, great care should be taken in his or her interrogation. Moreover, if it turned out that the individual had left their country for political reasons and might potentially look for asylum in Czechoslovakia, the Ministry of the Interior was to be informed immediately. The officials at the ministry stressed that they were mainly interested in people who had fled Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece and English-speaking countries and, additionally, also in Spanish republicans who had escaped from France.[36]

The procedure to be undergone in the process of applying for and being granted political asylum was somewhat complicated, as well. Moreover, until 1953 the procedure was unclear. After then, the initial step for the applicant, and his or her family if they were also present, was to contact the Czechoslovak Red Cross. The headquarters of the Czechoslovak Red Cross was located in Prague. The Red Cross had received special instructions on how to assist the asylum seeker. It played a key role in getting the applicant over the bureaucratic hurdles, such as contacting the appropriate authorities to submit the asylum request and completing all the requisite forms. In addition, the Czechoslovak Red Cross helped the applicant to find suitable accommodation. They also provided board (or, until the end of May 1953, rationing tickets) and clothing if necessary. It was likewise part of the Red Cross remit to try and find work for the individual concerned while the asylum submission was being considered. With regard to the final decision on whether the individual in question (and their family) would be granted political emigrant status, it was agreed that a special commission within the Ministry of the Interior would be created to discuss each case as it arose. Their task was, among other things, to seek verification of the personal data pertaining to the applicant. One of the ways of doing so was to ask fraternal communist parties to forward information on the person concerned if they could. This of course was not always possible and checking the authenticity of the data presented was in some cases a long and arduous process.

Nevertheless, if the commission were agreed that the individual under scrutiny should be granted political emigrant status in Czechoslovakia, a government resolution was prepared and the applicant was informed in due course.[37]

Once political emigrant status had been granted, the successful candidate was obliged to follow the instructions of the communist state carefully. A residence permit had to be obtained and the relevant authorities had to be notified, and kept informed, of accommodation, employment, schools, if children were involved, and so forth. On the other hand, the government was of the opinion that Czechoslovak authorities should take care of the political emigrant even after he had been given asylum. Again, it was the Red Cross which looked after material and cultural needs. They helped the emigrant to find a decent job and also to gain access to both political and professional training, schools, recreation, medical care, and whatever else might be necessary. The government indeed had decided that the political emigrant should possess all the advantages of a Czechoslovak working-class citizen.[38] However, despite all this, the political emigrant was, as mentioned earlier, never fully trusted. As contemporary documents testify, the spy-mania of the early 1950s had a marked effect on how the foreigner was perceived. In due course, the relevant authorities were urged to keep both eyes fully open when dealing with all the non-natives who were present in the country. Similar sentiments were impressed on accommodation providers and also on workplace colleagues and supervisors of the political emigrant.[39]

This is probably an appropriate place to ask whether or not political emigrants were welcomed in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s by the communist policy-makers. I am personally convinced that the communist authorities were well aware of the potential usefulness of these people and did not approach the question solely in terms of communist internationalism or brotherhood and solidarity. It is possible to argue that making use of these ideological supporters who found refuge in the country fulfilled the latent function of confirming the legitimacy of the communist system not only at governmental level but in the eyes of many Czechoslovak citizens. The authorities were keen to parade the former "enemy" who had "awakened." However, in terms of communist internationalism these communism supporters were never "the enemies", they have always belonged more to the "progressive group. "The demonstrative and theatrical conversion from the "they" to the "we" group, suitably choreographed and scripted was performed before the general public and every step was taken to convince the spectator of its authenticity. However, very often it was nothing more than a sham, empty words and phrases, a trump card played by the regime, since the Western political emigrant had long been part of the "we" group in their own country – but what about Czechoslovakia?

To conclude this part of the paper, it might be interesting to touch on the question of where political emigrants who moved to Czechoslovakia in the 1950s came from and also, to a certain extent, what motivated them to make

such a radical decision. The largest group of defectors to Czechoslovakia were refugees from Greece but that is a story in itself and differs from the subject of this paper. At the end of the 1940s, for instance, there were some 12,000 Greek nationals in the country.[40] Following their defeat in the civil war, many Greek communists and their families sought asylum in the countries of the Soviet bloc. In a similar manner to Czechoslovakia, it was possible to find entire Greek-speaking villages in Poland, for example.[41] The Greeks were followed by Italians – in 1950, for instance, there were 214 Italians in Czechoslovakia, some of whom worked for the communist propaganda radio, *Oggi in Italia*.[42] The third largest group were from Yugoslavia and comprised those who did not agree with or support Tito's political leadership (in 1950 there were some 150 of them in the country). After the Yugoslavs came the Spaniards. Again in 1950, there were some 58 of them in the country.

We now come to the subject of English-speaking political emigrants. It is clear that the decision to defect was very often no mere personal whim but stemmed directly from the macro-political developments in the home country of the individual concerned and developments in the international arena.

Some aspects of the everyday life of the English-speaking communists and political emigrants in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s

This part of the paper presents the preliminary results of research and perhaps poses more questions than actually gives answers; nonetheless, even though this may be the case, I believe some generalizations and conclusions can indeed be made. Some are of course also valid for non-English speaking emigrant groups, while others hold true for English-speakers who lived in Czechoslovakia without having political emigrant status.

When analysing the situation of the English-speaking communist community in Czechoslovakia; it is important to realize that dealing with the individuals in question was a rather complicated affair as far as the authorities were concerned for the simple reason that, unlike the other groups of emigrants we have mentioned, it was not possible to view them as a cohesive whole. There were various Americans, Britons, Australians and New Zealanders in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s – most with completely different backgrounds and personal histories. The number of English-speaking communists in Prague and elsewhere in the country differed year by year – newcomers arrived, others left. After reaching Czechoslovak soil and finding a way of living, some renounced their original citizenship and requested political emigrant status and, ultimately, became Czechoslovak citizens. Others, in contrast, were satisfied with a residence permit and the extraordinary privilege, in their opinion at least, this gave them to witness at first hand the building of a just society. Still others, such as those mentioned earlier who worked for communist or communist-affiliated organizations

based in Prague, expected to return home or go elsewhere when their contracts finished.

It should be again noted that the English-speaking communists who appeared in Czechoslovakia during Stalinist times were in a somewhat ambivalent position. On top of everything else, they had taken up residence in a country where anti-Western hysteria was being whipped up daily by the government and by the media. The Czechoslovak population were forever being warned against the deceitful intentions of the West and suddenly somebody from the "warmongering camp "was not just prowling about beyond the border but was actually within the communist state itself. Furthermore, and this, too, should be kept in mind, these people spoke the language of the enemy, English (on the other hand it is important to bore in mind that English was the official language of the communist or communist-affiliated organizations in Czechoslovakia). How then were they received by the population at large whose image of world order was thus thrown into disarray? Indeed confusion was further confounded by the fact that the authorities did not confine the English-speakers to some remote area or keep them out of reach of the local citizenry. One last point in this regard should also be made as it highlights another weak spot for the English-speaking communist emigrants, again in contrast to the Greeks, Italians or French communities for example, and that was the fact that the domestic communist parties of the English-speaking countries were never so powerful or had such a strong constituency base that this could be used as leverage in any argument with the host country Czechoslovakia.

While in the case of some political emigrant groups the question of why they decided to re-locate to Czechoslovakia is relatively easy to answer, this is not so when it comes to citizens of English-speaking countries, some of whom indeed emanated from the opposite end of the globe. If they had been members of home communist parties, was the decision a personal one? Or did they, in fact, act on instructions received from Moscow? Both alternatives are documented. Moreover, one may well ask, if the geographical position of Czechoslovakia or the image of Prague played any specific role in their thinking? Was it the good reputation the country had in Western communist circles that attracted them? For example, bizarre as it may seem at first glance, some of the Australians who lived in Prague in the 1950s had a deep admiration for and had acquired their knowledge of the country from the German-speaking Prague-based reporter and writer Egon Erwin Kisch, who had gained hero status and a broken leg in Melbourne in1934 by jumping on to the quay from the ship on which he was a passenger in a successful bid to defy the Australian government and avoid deportation.[43] Perhaps, too, the English-speaking foreigners expected the standard of living to be higher in Czechoslovakia than in the other Soviet satellite states in Central and Eastern Europe. Yet there still remains one final, nagging question: why, if they were

such believers in the communist ideal, did they move to Prague, or some other Czechoslovak city, and not to Moscow?

When dealing with the English-speaking communist emigrants in Czechoslovakia, it is important to differentiate between those who were already present in the country at the time they requested political emigrant status, and those who came to the country to seek refuge. Again, as with other emigrant political groups, the political situation in the home country, particularly in the early 1950s, must be taken into account.[44] The domestic situation was probably toughest for American communists caught up in the fallout from the arrest and indictment of the Rosenbergs and David Greenglasson spying charges in 1950 and during the period when the McCarthy anti-communist "witch hunt" was at its peak.[45] Some of the Americans who settled in Czechoslovakia might well have seen themselves as potential victims of the measures taken against communists in the United States. Others might have good reason to fear for their future at home. On the other hand, of course, there were those who quite simply did not agree with the capitalist way of life or how their country was being run and passionately placed their faith in the idea of communism.[46] In contrast to the newcomers who moved or escaped to Czechoslovakia to seek refuge, one might well suppose that the situation and motivation of those who had already been resident in Czechoslovakia before requesting political emigrant status would have been slightly different. It may well have been the case that they had established good working and/or personal relations in their host country, which they wanted to keep, and this would have been the decisive factor in their wanting to stay.[47]

The number of native English-speakers who sought political emigrant status in Czechoslovakia was never as high as it was in the case of Greeks, Italians or even Yugoslavs. For example, in 1950 there were at least nineteen English-speaking defectors, who had been granted political emigrant status, in the country. Although there are slight discrepancies in the figures recorded in the Communist Party documents, it is possible to demonstrate conclusively that during this particular year there were at least fifteen American, two Australian and two British political emigrants in Czechoslovakia.[48] The numbers probably fluctuated somewhat year by year in the 1950s with some leaving and others arriving. Unfortunately, as is evident from archival documents, the authorities from the International Department of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia did not do a very good job when it came to keeping records.

Nonetheless, despite the lack of wholly reliable data, it is possible to reach the conclusion that only a small number of the English-speaking political emigrants, most probably only two to three in the early 1950s, found jobs as manual labourers or semi-skilled workers in Czechoslovak factories.[49] Moreover, archival evidence seems to support the hypothesis that the vast majority of the English-speaking political emigrants lived in Prague and only

a few took up residence outside the Czechoslovak capital. Indeed those who did confined themselves to other large cities in the Czech part of the country, Brno and Hradec Kralové to be precise. Only one of the political emigrants in the 1950s, a blue-collar worker, lived elsewhere. In his case it was in Hodonín. However, as his wife was of Czechoslovak origin, it is reasonable to assume that this may have been instrumental in his choosing to settle in that particular area. Another interesting fact is that the vast majority of the English-speaking people who asked for political emigrant status in Czechoslovakia were married couples.[50]

As was mentioned earlier, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia emphasized the need to help the political emigrants with their material and financial security, their social and cultural needs and also with their political training and schooling. One of the first problems that needed to be addressed and resolved on a long-term basis after the person had been granted political emigrant status was the question of providing adequate and appropriate accommodation for the individual and, if necessary, his or her family. Housing, in general, was one of the most acute challenges the Czechoslovak state had to face in the 1950s.[51]It thus happened that on more than one occasion the political emigrant was allotted a flat that used to belong to somebody who had either fled the country or been persecuted by the communist regime. For this reason, one can readily suppose that some of the newcomers might have experienced a somewhat guarded welcome in the neighbourhood.[52]It seems to have been the case, too, that the English-speaking defectors often had better accommodation than their Czechoslovak counterparts. Of course it must also be borne in mind that the English-speaking emigrants spoke a language that was quite unknown to the majority of the population of Czechoslovakia in the 1950s.

Accommodation, in fact, proved to be one of the easier hurdles the political emigrants had to overcome. A thornier problem was finding suitable employment. It seems to have been the case that getting work was closely linked to the fact that the English-speaking political emigrants often had difficulty acquiring a basic working knowledge of the Czech language, despite their best efforts. Where possible, it was usually arranged for such people to make use of their own mother tongue – English. Some were given teaching posts at third-level; it is documented that this was so with at least three of the English-speaking political emigrants, with one lecturing at Charles University, another at the University of Economics, and a third at the Institute of Chemical Technology in Prague.[53] Others, again at least three, were taken on as scientists in the sovietised Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Several English-speaking emigrants were employed in the English section of the national broadcasting company or in the English language press published in Czechoslovakia, while among the remainder; many found jobs as English-language teachers or as translators.[54] It is worth noting that a few of the English-speaking emigrants did not hesitate to cooperate with the State

Security services and regularly provided information about their colleagues at work.[55]Correspondingly, of course, the political emigrants themselves were not immune from being the targets of such practice on the part of their fellow-workers and, at the same time, were constantly under surveillance by the security organs.

It is quite difficult to reconstruct at this juncture what the English-speaking political emigrants did in their free time. However, it is documented that they used to socialise not only with one another but some of them regularly met members of the communist parties of their home countries who visited Czechoslovakia.[56] It was of course entirely natural that the political emigrants kept in touch since they all spoke English as a mother tongue and, no doubt, often shared the same or similar opinions and experiences of living in the communist state. In 1952, political emigrants of American origin decided to form a special club of their own, with, of course, the approval of the Czechoslovak authorities.[57] The club was designed to be a forum where political issues would be discussed, and the members could engage in public enlightenment and politically educational work.[58] For this purpose, several of the English-speaking political emigrants gave public lectures to workers in factories, some of which proved to be very popular.[59]

Having mentioned issues associated with finding accommodation, earning a living, and the recreational activities of the English-speaking political emigrants, it is time to touch on some aspects of family life. It is documented that not all the marriages survived the radical move from home country to Czechoslovakia. In at least two cases it can be shown that the couple got divorced, the ex-wives moved back to their country of origin and their former spouses re-married, this time to Czech women.[60] Matters were more complicated for those political emigrants who had children. On occasion, the parents adopted a Czech surname, which often meant that the children had to find totally different identities, a situation that must have been anything but easy for them.[61] These children, moreover, enrolled at Czech schools, had to adapt to the Czechoslovak curriculum and had to face the same indoctrination as their Czechoslovak counterparts. Czech, Soviet and socialist history, literature, culture and politics thus became an integral factor in the formation of their personalities. In addition, when they reached the appropriate age, they joined the socialist youth organization – the Pioneers.[62] As a result of all this, for some of these children using Czech became more natural than using English, while in many cases their parents had problems with even the simplest everyday communication in the language of their host country.[63] I am convinced that in a situation like this a certain gap had to develop between the parents and the children that must have been difficult to overcome in later years.[64] The situation was, however, similar to children of parents who emigrated to the West.

The interconnection between the English-speaking defectors and the politics of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

It is now time to return to what was said at the beginning, i.e., that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia often made use of the English-speaking political emigrants present in the country. Again, this was especially the case when it came to anti-Western propaganda since each and every English-speaking emigrant who made a public statement condemned his or her former government, its representatives abroad, its political and military alliances, its economic system, and so forth. To illustrate their contribution to the prevailing atmosphere of distrust and suspicion, one could mention the Nadlers as a case in point. In their public statement of 1950 they condemned the activities of the American Embassy in Prague, which, they emotively alleged, had tried to force them into espionage against Czechoslovakia.[65] Of course, this can be indeed considered as probable even though it may be slightly difficult to prove.

It is possible to allude to a few interesting examples of English-speaking people who defected to Czechoslovakia in the period of the late 1940s and in the 1950s. A notable instance was that of the Wards. Herbert Ward was a bass violinist and Jacqueline, his wife, was a dancer. In their public statements to the press they condemned the "witch hunt" which was taking place in the United States and which had forced them to leave their country. In addition, they heaped praise on the people's democracy and the socialist system. In a press conference in November 1954, for example, they maintained: *"Instead of having to look for jobs, the jobs are so plentiful and there are so many opportunities [in Czechoslovakia], that we can freely choose the best way in which we want to develop and in which we want to present our own work. For us that is very important – that there is so much culture here."*[66] Of course, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia never missed an opportunity like this to glorify the advantages of the socialist system and the corresponding disadvantages of the capitalist system.

Another case worth mentioning would be that of James Miller Robinson. He was one of those people referred to previously who worked in a factory in Prague. His presence in Czechoslovakia and his willingness to cooperate with the regime, served the purposes of communist propaganda extremely well and the authorities were not slow to put him to the best possible use. *"An American negro named James Miller Robinson walked through the gate of the American Embassy in Prague one day in June 1949, and slapped down on the guard's desk his passport and a letter stating that he had renounced his American citizenship which 'was second class at best."*[67] Whether this was the exact way Miller gave up his American citizenship is, of course, another matter. Nevertheless, the communist propaganda machine took up his case as a good illustration of how racist the capitalist states were and what a good life, in contrast, was now open to the poor and ill-treated man in a people's democracy. Robinson's services were called upon a number of

times by the communist authorities to help verify some of the data of other black American political emigrant applicants and his recommendations were taken into account by the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.[68]

Of course the communist regime in Czechoslovakia did not manage to change every aspect of the previous system overnight. Indeed many Western cultural and other organizations still functioned in the country in 1950, i.e. two years after the communists had seized power and installed the Soviet system of government. Among the most prominent of these groups would have been the British Council, the United States Information Service, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Salvation Army, the Swedish Information Institute, the French Institute, etc. [69] It naturally took some time for the communist authorities to decide what to do with these organizations. Later, despite an intense campaign in the press condemning these organizations as nests of spies, they were not initially closed down, and if nothing else this meant that Czechoslovak citizens could still visit them.[70] The Party bided its time and eventually waited for a suitable occasion to arise so that they might step in.

It took two years before such an "occasion" came. On 24 March 1950, three Czechoslovak planes, piloted by Czechoslovak pilots, were "hijacked" and flown to Erding in West Germany. The event, of course, immediately dominated Czechoslovak-American relations, and, somewhat later, those between Czechoslovakia and Britain, too.[71] At the same time, the government had got the excuse it had been waiting for. They could now begin the campaign to get rid of those Western organizations. First on to the stage was George Shaw Wheeler, an American who had come to Czechoslovakia with his family in 1947 and who was a lecturer at the University of Economics in Prague, and he indirectly helped to achieve their desired result.[72] At a press conference convened after the Erding incident, the Wheelers publicly asked for political emigrant status in Czechoslovakia. [73] They condemned the hijacking, mentioned Gestapo methods, and spoke of a murderous foreign policy being pursued by the United States and NATO. In a similar vein, they expressed their shame when accusing the American diplomatic mission in Prague of espionage. The Wheelers then went on to describe life in the United States as impoverished and wretched and stated that only in the Czechoslovak people's democracy had they had the chance to discover what real democracy was. The conference concluded with Eleanor Wheeler expressing how happy they were to raise their children in such a pleasant and just environment.[74]

After this public performance, Wheeler together with Arna Rides, a British woman and a former employee of the British Council in Prague who had asked for political emigrant status in February 1950, gave lectures in various factories and labour collectives on the theme of the "horrors of American and British imperialism" and informed their worker audiences that the Western warmongers desired nothing more than another world war.[75] At

the same time, some Czech employees of the Western organizations themselves made an appearance in public and denounced the activities of the USIS and of the British Council, claiming that both were a nest of spies and saboteurs. Following this, the American and British embassies received several diplomatic notes that ended with the ultimatum that their cultural appendages would be shut down. The efforts of the communist authorities were successful and the organizations closed their branches in Czechoslovakia.[76] As an aside and to serve as a reminder of the complex and multi-faceted approach of the Czechoslovak communist policy towards foreigners and political emigrants, one might mention that even after the public performance of George Shaw Wheeler and after a book with his "true story" had been published that same year,[77] he was not really trusted by the communist authorities and the State Security services kept a close eye on his activities.[78]

Conclusion

The question of defectors and the English-speaking political emigration to Czechoslovakia is a complex matter and deserves further research. Nonetheless, it does appear that in the 1950s, at a time when revolutionary fervour was at its height and an atmosphere of fear pervaded everyday life, the largest number of defectors probably arrived in the country. Indeed, during this decade Prague became an important destination for political emigration. This, I believe, can be partly ascribed to the international situation with the Cold War getting "hotter" and to developments in the internal politics of those countries from where the emigrants came. Therefore, one might well ask why the codification of political asylum status into the Czechoslovak statute book took so long. However, on the other hand, it can be argued that this could have been the result of the fact that the communist authorities understood the Party as being above the laws and therefore the codification of asylum was everything but a priority.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was indeed interested in fellow-parties in the West, and in their members and supporters. Sometimes on its own initiative, at other times on directives received from the Soviet Union, the emphasis on fraternal solidarity found tangible realization. One aspect of this was that the Party was ready to accept political emigrants from English-speaking countries and, notwithstanding the fact that they did not regard them as entirely trustworthy; the newcomers were treated quite well overall. The defectors were provided with accommodation, political schooling and training, and were helped to get a job commensurate with their skills and education. Of course, it can be argued that nothing the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia did for the English-speaking political emigrant was for free as can be seen in the propaganda campaigns in which the foreigners took place.

This brings us back to one central, and indeed paradoxical, feature of the subject in hand. In the 1950s, anti-Western propaganda had reached fever-

pitch in the country. Day and night people were bombarded with warnings about the wicked intentions of the West. They were cautioned to keep their eyes and ears open and to treat anything from the other side of the Iron Curtain with deep suspicion. The English-speaking political emigrants, whatever their individual motives may have been, took part in this Czechoslovak campaign against the West. Nevertheless, even when doing so they always belonged to the "other "camp. Despite all the demonstrative declarations and public utterances, meticulously scripted or edited by the Party hacks, in the eyes of the public at large and those of the Party faithful, they never became, and indeed never could become, fully fledged members of the "we" group.

A few questions, the answers to which are uncertain, have still to be asked. Why did the defector appear in Prague in the first place? Did the political emigrant want to be part of the "we" group and for example build socialism in a foreign country? Was he or she aware of the divisions that actually existed? How did the political emigrants cope with being the "other"? Did their children, who acquired and spoke perfect Czech and attended Czech schools, also belong to the "other" group, even in cases where the family had adopted a Czech surname? Moreover, what did the English-speaking political emigrants actually expect from their stay in Czechoslovakia? Did the reality of 1950s Czechoslovakia correspond in any way to their vision of a communist utopia? If not, why did they stay? How did their experience in the communist state influence their own further personal development and their private and family life?

To conclude the paper, which intentionally has left the reader with more questions than answers, it is possible to say that analysing the life of a somewhat small, and at first sight rather marginal, group enables us to uncover the mechanism of power and its functioning within the Soviet-satellite state, Czechoslovakia, in the initial phase of the communist dictatorship. It offers a somewhat natural interconnection between micro- and macro-history. Last but not least, it should not be forgotten that the 1950's left a scar that is embedded in the psyche of the nation: a scar about which much more remains to be told.

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Tne Journal *Svědectví* and the Struggle for Democracy in Communist Czechoslovakia

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Introduction

One of the most important activities of the Cold War-era Czechoslovak exile was the publication of various periodicals in order to disseminate information. [1,2] These journals tended to be geared towards very specific political or religious audiences, were often partisan in nature, and the size of their circulation varied. Moreover, only a few publications contained information from reliable sources inside Communist Czechoslovakia.[3] *Svědectví (Testimony),* which was the most important such journal, informed readers for 35 years. Jacques Rupnik, a prominent political scientist and *Svědectví* editorial board member, recalled to this author that *Svědectví* was basically a one-man show with its founder, Pavel Tigrid, firmly in control. Rupnik stated that he was unaware of the source of funding for *Svědectví*, but he unequivocally proclaimed his certainty that financial contributors did not influence the content of the journal in any way. Rupnik added his opinion that, in today's Czech Republic, there is no publication possessing the same journalistic quality enjoyed by *Svědectví*.[4] The purpose of this article is to analyze the contribution of *Svědectví* to the struggle for freedom in Czechoslovakia in the years following the 1968 Soviet invasion.

Pavel Tigrid's Vision and Conflicts

The exile journal, *Svědectví*, is most closely associated with the name and activities of Pavel Tigrid. Tigrid, born in 1917 in the northern Bohemian town of Semily to fully-assimilated Jewish parents, was a journalist who spent the Second World War working for the Czechoslovak service of the BBC. After the war, Tigrid returned to Czechoslovakia and worked as chief editor for the *Christian Democratic Party* journal *Obzory (Horizons)*.[5]After the Communist takeover of 1948, Tigrid found himself in exile yet again. He was instrumental in helping to establish *Radio Free Europe (RFE)* in 1950, and served as the director of the Czechoslovak Desk in Munich. In 1952, he was summarily dismissed by Ferdinand Peroutka, fellow Czechoslovak journalist exile and director of Radio Free Europe's Czechoslovak broadcasting in New York, due to differences of opinion with older Czechoslovak exiles.[6]

After working in a number of part-time and freelance positions, Tigrid founded *Svědectví* in 1956 in New York together with fellow exiles Vilém Brzorád, Jan Čep, Jiří Horák, Josef Jonáš, Jiří Karnet, Jiří Kolář, Emil Kovtun, Radomír Luža, Mojmír Povolný, and Emil Ransdorf.[7] In 1960, Tigrid moved the

journal's operational activities to Paris where he would remain throughout the rest of the Cold War.

From the outset, most exiles of the 1948 generation distrusted those who settled in the West after 1968. After all, most of the post-1968 émigrés who became actively involved in exile politics had held positions of privilege in Communist Czechoslovakia and had been actively involved in the events of the Prague Spring. Tigrid, however, saw the usefulness of involving post-1968 émigrés in the exile discussion, especially because they maintained contacts with dissidents in Czechoslovakia that most post-1948 exiles no longer had.[8] Already in the early 1960s, Tigrid maintained clandestine contacts with people in Czechoslovakia, a fact that led to the resignations of many members of the original editorial board of *Svědectví.*[9]

The West European Left, was shocked by the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968. *Svědectví* reprinted in 1970 the preface by Jean-Paul Sartre to Antonín Liehm's book *Generace* (Generations). Sartre prophetically wrote:

> *If we read the interviews in Liehm's book and thus are able to decipher the Czechoslovak reality, we will quickly realize that Soviet representatives, called to action and formed by a system governing in the name of the Cause, could not have acted in any other manner. It is necessary to condemn the regime and the factories of relations that created it, consolidated it, and arrested its development. After 1968, we need to abandon moralistic platforms as well as illusions of reform. The machine cannot be repaired, but nations must attack and discard it. There is only one way for revolutionary forces in the West to help Czechoslovakia effectively and in the long-term: Listen to voices that speak to us about Czechoslovakia, collect documents, reconstruct events, and make attempts at deep analysis, not in relation to the present situation, but to reflect the structures of Soviet society and people's democracies and their respective relations. These analyses should be utilized for the sake of an objective and unprejudiced reevaluation of the problems facing the Western Left, its goals, tasks, possibilities, and varied organizational forms. All of this should occur in an attempt to answer the basic question of the era: How to unite and remove old entrenched structures and in what spirit to create new ones, so that the next revolution can spare future*

> *generations the danger of creating socialism as it exists in its present-day form.*[10]

Svědectví did look at new ways to tackle the problems in Czechoslovakia and, as mentioned above, dissidents and exiles alike were key to this effort. In the same issue of *Svědectví*, the editorial column brings voluminous information on the situation in "normalizing" Czechoslovakia. Two notes about Alexander Dubček, namely "The Hero of Myšík Street" and "Guilty" are worthy of mention.[11] This enthusiastic appraisal of Dubček's heroism, however, failed to last over the following two decades. As late as 1988, when Dubček was awarded an honorary doctorate at the University of Bologna, he missed the opportunity to plead actively for democracy and human rights at a time when Communist totalitarianism in Europe was already failing.[12] *Svědectví* also provided accurate information on the situation in Czechoslovak culture and science. It described how attempts to create a "healthy nucleus" in the Party had failed:

> *It took longer than expected, but a "good thing" has succeeded at last: A mid-level, healthy nucleus (in districts and local organizations) has been created from incompetent comrades, below average, defective as humans, police snitches, informers, and opportunists, who have realized that their time has come-and they are not mistaken…The broadest dragnet involves the intelligentsia-it can be described as a pogrom…Among writers and artists, the yield is hopelessly poor: Pavel Bojar, Ivan Skála, Vojtěch Cach, Jiří Hájek, and, on all four extremities, dragged in Vilém Závada.*[13]

Information on trends in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences correctly predicted plans for mass dismissals. The future would show that the worst reprisals would mostly involve the leadership of the best institutes.

Pavel Tigrid, himself, praised as "important" documents on the history of the Czechoslovak reform movement published by ex-Communist, Jiří Pelikán: Panzer überrollen den Parteitag and the Report of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party on Political Trials and the Completion of Rehabilitations. The first provides documents from the XIV Extraordinary Party Congress in 1968. The second is even more remarkable:

> *The factual, accurate text of archival documents will introduce the reader to graphic, conservative, murderous, and cynical structure of Czechoslovak "socialism" in the 1950s.*[14]

In 1971, *Svědectví* published an essay by a young Czech essayist using the pseudonym of René Sidkar, devoted to the "new Left" in Czechoslovakia entitled *Doprava nebo doleva(Tothe Right or to the Left*) defending the philosophy of the "correct new Left", which was being replaced by deviant usurpers.

> *Inside the "new Left" exists a number of trends…Assuming that these conflicting trends can unite, despite their sharp polemic, this heterogeneity of opinion confirms the lively character of the leftist movement. The future Czechoslovak Left will have to be alive not only to accept foreign concepts, but based on specific circumstances, also develop its own methods of local struggle.*[15]

The next issue brought a detailed reply to Sidkar by Erazim Kohák entitled *Co je nového na levici? (What is New on the Left?)* In this text, Kohák disagreed with Sidkar and his concept of the "new Left":

> *Philosophy creates a framework within which the nation uses opportunities given to it by its history. Revolutionary fanaticism does not create the foundation for a free, democratic society: It creates only a basis for a new revolutionary rule by a new caste of true believers…No, my friend Sidkar, the Czechoslovak problem was not caused by the fact that a change occurred from, in principle, a good government of true believers to the hands of deviationists or non-believers…Our problem is true belief and "samoděržaví." The new Left offers us only a „new belief" and a „new elite." Today, it is an anomaly of intellectual radicals from "better families" and the proletariat of the Third World. That will not help us. We do not need to supplant wrong "true belief" by a "better belief", an unreliable elite by a better elite, bad fanaticism by a better one…We part with the principles of radicalism of the "new Left" based upon intolerance, dogmatism, and oppression, masked as "direct democracy." A free society cannot be built on "true belief" and wantonness: its foundation rests on humanity, democracy, and the defense of human rights. I know that social conditions change, the same ideals need to find different*

> *programs in different conditions. Yet, in principle, Masaryk and not Mao remains the basic truth of freedom.*[16]

Already in 1971, *Svědectví* published articles by "reform Communists", who found themselves in exile. A proclamation by Jiří Pelikán,*Jak dál? (How to proceed?)*, was reprinted from his periodical *Literární listy*. He defended the program of the *Prague Spring* and hoped for attempts to renew a "truly revolutionary" *Communist Party*. He considered the possibility of "a brand new revolutionary party to unite the fighting opposition, particularly the youth…which wishes to distance itself from the *KSČ (Czechoslovak Communist Party)* and hopes to fight the current regime from leftist, socialist positions…"[17] He argued:

> *There is only one response to the question: "What should we do"? Fight! Fight as the situation allows and, as soon as we start, we must not imitate other examples. Instead we must choose our own methods of attack and retreat and make compromises when necessary. We must always ceaselessly fight for our rights, our freedom, our independence, and our own path to socialism. Only then will we be morally entitled to international solidarity, which still exists and will grow in proportion with the development of our struggle.*[18]

However, Tigrid immediately made it abundantly clear that, in his opinion, it was not in the interest of the Czechoslovak cause to come together in the form of some "national front" along the lines espoused by Pelikán. Tigrid wrote:

> *…Our goal is not to belittle the political program of our Marxist colleagues or to deny them the right to propagate this program to people at home. In the same spirit, however, we possess the right to criticize this program, its dissemination, and purported justification without considering the impact of this criticism in Prague on either political elites or the broader masses. For all of this to make sense, a free decision of the people on whether to accept or reject this program must therefore be strived for and guaranteed.*[19]

Tigrid described the new wave of political exiles after August 1968 as individuals, who "for 30 months" were trying to explain past history. They had written articles in virtually all world newspapers and journals and had their books published by large publishing houses. They had been interviewed as individuals and together in groups on television and radio stations throughout the world. With few exceptions, post-1948 Czechoslovak exiles did not participate in the propaganda activities of the 1968-era émigrés. Tigrid agreed: "The *Prague Spring* was undoubtedly a people's movement, but it would not have happened without a revolt of the heads and limbs of the Party, that possessed all power in the country."

> *…We, the post-February exiles, felt that only direct participants in the Czechoslovak reform movement should speak, even more since they were responsible for much that preceded it and for what had become intolerable…We feel the time is ripe to state publicly something about our relationship to our former political opponents, who are now also political émigrés. The basic question is whether they also became our political friends? If yes, then why; in what way, and to what extent.*[20]

In the editorial comments of the same issue is an analysis and criticism of an open letter by Professor Eduard Goldstücker to the minister of interior in Prague, after his application for an extension of his exit visa was rejected, published in *Les lettres francaises* and in *the Times Literary Supplement.*In the letter, Goldstücker likened his own fate to that of Jan Hus. This provoked an outcry. The *Times Literary Supplement* published a reply by Professor J.P. Stern of Cambridge, who questioned why Goldstücker remained a *Communis*t after all his personal experiences and after all the crimes committed by the *Communists*.

> *How dare he speak about freedom which was destroyed by the Communists in Czechoslovakia in 1948? What else, but chance of racial origin and fate caused that Goldstücker ended among the accused and not among the guilty? Goldstücker was defending himself that, as other Communists, he was guilty of replacing thought with blind trust, and that he suppressed criticism during Stalin's rule…Goldstücker also defended the Communist takeover in 1948…Professor Goldstücker has religious views of the world. He is neither Hussite, nor Lutheran, but Calvinist. Already in his youth, he saw the truth and was one of the chosen ones. Others are*

> *destined for damnation…Chosen ones are allowed to do anything. Traumas and injustices suffered by the damned are not interesting; traumas and injustices suffered by the just ones (particularly Professor Goldstücker) are extraordinarily interesting...For Goldstücker, history begins and moral lows coincide with the time when he himself suffers injustices. He then offers a very selective view of the past. As we saw, only then was he willing to admit his own share of guilt. Such a confession belongs to an infantile universe, where a simple "I'm sorry" erases damaging acts from the past and from the present responsibility for its consequences. It would not be fair, however, to underestimate Professor Goldstücker's attempts at atonement. By his arguments, he only documents that by his own decision he placed himself (perhaps forever) into a magic circle. This illustrates again the paradox that even genuine Communist reformers could not reform the Communist Party without denying its ideological basis and thus themselves.*[21]

In 1972, several political trials took place in Czechoslovakia, twenty years after the trials of Rudolf Slánský and his co-defendants. This time, Milan Hübl, Karel Kyncl, and Jaroslav Šabata were among the accused. *Svědectví* published a lengthy treatise by émigré philosopher Ivan Sviták bearing the title *Twelve Times about Trials*. Sviták described both some well-known facts and some lesser-known details of the 1950s trials as well as the recent ones. Sviták characterized those involving Hübl, Kyncl, and Šabata as "strikingly political." When the presiding judge, Dr. Kašpar, reprimanded Hübl (a *Communist*) for bringing politics to the trial, Hübl replied that, since three quarters of the prosecution is based on politics, the defense has to be political as well. Sviták also mentioned that the behavior and presentations of the prosecutors and judges caused mixed impressions. At times, they threatened by mentioning other misdeeds and additional collaboration in criminal activities while, on other occasions, they admitted to the vagueness and shallowness of the presented evidence. The impression was that these prosecutors and judges wanted to frighten the defendants, but, at the same time, to avoid possible future accountability. Sviták learned that the explanations lay in the upper echelons of the *Party* apparatus. Both the case and its prosecution had not been adequately thought through. The arrest of the defendants occurred upon the decision of the *Party* and the prosecution was based on *Party* wishes as well. The trial had to proceed in harmony with the decisions and wishes of the *Party*. Before and during the trials, the disciplined judges asked for directives along *Party* lines.

The *Party* leadership was trapped by this-the court asked for advice as to the severity of punishment. "At a Party weekend retreat, Orlík (castle-author's comment), active betting went on. The years of sentence were adjusted according to the behavior of the accused during the trial. Who behaved reasonably and who was most particularly arrogant? It was complete chaos." In one or two cases, the court ordered a harsher penalty than that requested by the prosecutor. The judge was instructed at the last moment, but they failed to inform the prosecutor… [22] In his treatise, Sviták also quoted from the conclusions of Pelikán's publication, *Report of the Commission of the Central Committee of KSČ on Political Trials and Rehabilitation*, which has been described above. The same issue contained personal reminiscences of Heda Margoliová-Kovályová, widow of the executed *Communist* functionary, Rudolf Margolius.[23]

In 1971, an interesting article by Ivan Pfaff was devoted to the issue of collaboration with the occupiers or the dictatorial regime in Czechoslovakia. Pfaff introduced his treatise by invoking post-war theories of "collaboration of the entire nation" and collective guilt of the identification of all Germans with Nazism.

> *We laughed at statements that millions of Germans did not know about concentration camps located a few kilometers from their city domiciles and even less about torture and murders committed by Nazi sadists. Only tens of revelations of identical crimes in Stalinist camps and jails published during the Prague Spring in our domestic press and in a series of testimonies in books led us to doubts concerning the validity of the theory of collective guilt…Only those affected knew the true extent, methods, and system of bestialities which met and often even exceeded Nazi practices.*[24]

Pfaff asked whether the theory of collective guilt applied as well to Czechoslovaks. Was the theory of collective guilt merely a legend, myth, or a construction in a nation that did not resist dictatorship?

> *The answer to this difficult question explains whether collaboration with the totalitarian system is an individual pathological deviation, or a phenomenon of the entire society…Discussion of collaboration opened only after the occupation (1968), when it gained a broader parameter-collaboration not with the domestic totalitarian regime, but with the foreign occupying power.*[25]

The author compared the situation during Nazi occupation and after 1968. He concluded that what took Nazis two and a half years, the Soviets accomplished through Husák's regime in thirteen months.

> *Specific members of the pressure group pushing the "governments of realists" were then and now the "activist newsmen." During the war, Lažnovský, Krychtálek, Křemen; as well as Moc, Svěrčina, and Švestka today. "Revolver writers" appearing from nowhere...This is evidence of the porous bottom of the human reservoir available to the collaborationist regime. There is a difference: While in 1940, they usurped the press by a spontaneous putsch without the blessing of the leading group, during the spring and summer of 1969, the initiative came from above. Collaborating journalists during both occupations attacked moderate members of the leadership. Today, more than during the war, the press is the main platform of denunciation. Journalists also lead attacks against the political emigration...Both Nazis and Soviets prefer "realists" over fanatics. Hácha was more useful than Vlajka (Czech fascist organization). What appears to be personal rivalry (the Husák-Bĺák conflict) is nothing, but a replay of a useful Nazi recipe...It is interesting that, after 1969, the most brutal collaborators control education and culture (Hrbek and Brůžek). The main effort after the autumn of 1969 focused almost exclusively on the cultural front. Hrbek issued an imperative order for mass denunciations, by which he exceeded his master teacher, Emanuel Moravec.*[26]

Pfaff did not limit himself to mere comparison and analysis of collaboration during the two occupations, but brings up collaboration in the nineteenth century, which moved within the confines of being police informers or denunciators. He provided examples of well-known personalities such as Václav Hanka, Karel Sabina, or one of the most prominent representatives of Slavic culture of the nineteenth century, the Slovak poet and protestant minister, Ján Kollár. He concluded, however, that the continuity of collaboration in Czech societal development over the last 120 years cannot be characterized as a tradition and that even the most skeptical defenders of the theory of "collective guilt" are not entitled to label this nation as one of collaborators. Collaboration never involved the majority, but only certain individual or ideological groups.

Those often belonged to political or culture elites. In the context of the entire society, they remained, but an isolated minority.[27]

ADDRESSING THE SUDETEN GERMAN ISSUE (DANUBIUS CASE)

One sensitive issue that was tackled by *Svědectví* was that of the post-war transfer of the Sudeten Germans. The matter became more relevant thanks to the official West German policy towards Central and Eastern Europe known as *Ostpolitik,* which was put in place by Social Democratic chancellor, Willy Brandt. An article by Dalibor Savička elaborates on the issues of Munich, the post-war transfer, the lobbying power of expellee groups in West Germany, the issue of West German-East German relations in the context of the evolution of Czechoslovak-West German relations.[28] More detailed articles on the issue of Czech-German relations appeared in later years. The discussion started in the 54th issue of *Svědectví* in a letter by dissident Slovak historian, Ján Mlynárik, who wrote under the pseudonym Danubius. Mlynárik wrote:

> *…Czechs needed Slovaks in a united state as a counterbalance to a German minority numbering three million. After the expulsion of the Germans, this reason disappeared…The question appears whether it is opportune for Slovaks to remain with the Czechs in one state, which could sooner or later suffer from the curse and revenge of a strong German nation. Should the Slovaks bear responsibility for the expulsion of the German minority by the Czechs, i.e. something they did not do?*[29]

The letter triggered a long-lasting, sharp discussion on the pages of *Svědectví*, in which exiles as well as dissidents inside Czechoslovakia participated. In the next issue, an article appeared by Petr Příhoda writing under the pseudonym Pribram.

> *After the war, it was attempted to escape the time of history. This explosion is presented as an act of justice, as a revenge for the injustices of the occupation…A trial of history is initiated. Its first casualties are Czech Germans and so-called collaborators. The transfer of three million Germans is an act without parallel in Western or Central Europe…Its implementation is a chapter which most likely will never be written in Bohemia because it was quickly forgotten; its justification cannot be agreed to with a clear mind.* [30]

The 57th issue of *Svědectví* introduced the topic in an editorial as follows:

> *The editor of this Journal has decided, not easily, to devote a substantial part of this issue (which could have been a much easier celebration of a jubilee) to the study of some events and circumstances that contributed to falls in our modern history. It is a variation on topics that have been avoided or were kept silent: about the transfer of Czechoslovak Germans between 1945 and 1947, about the right of Slovaks to self-determination, about Eduard Beneš, whose name, against historical truth, we for a long time connected with that of Masaryk.*[31]

The introduction to this discussion was written by Dr. Johann Wolfgang Brügel, an important Sudeten German antifascist, who spent the Second World War in London. Already in the summer of 1939 in Paris, Brügel co-authored with Leopold Goldschmidt and Walter Kolarz an outstanding analysis of the consequences of any transfer of the German population discussed and demanded by the Czech domestic resistance.[32] Brügel discussed the matter and complained that his book *Tschechen und Deutsche*, which was critical of the transfer had been largely ignored by the Czechoslovak exile. He also mentioned discussions with Dr. Jaroslav Stránský and Ambassador Karel Lisický, who shared Brügel's opinion. Others, however, defended what happened and rejected Brügel's hypothesis that, without the transfer, the events of February 1948 could not have taken place.[33] In this context, it should be noted that Brügel had belonged to the splinter pro-Czechoslovak fraction of the *Treuegemeinschaft sudetendeutscher Sozialdemokraten*, referred to as the *Zinnergruppe*, which, on 18 October 1940, divided the Sudeten German *Social Democratic* exile led by Wenzel Jaksch. The *Zinnergruppe*, after some reluctance, endorsed Beneš's transfer plans.[34] Brügel failed to mention this fact in the *Svědectví* introduction.

Ján Mlynárik penned his theses on the transfer of the Sudeten Germans in this issue of *Svědectví*. The full text of the document provoked controversy. This is not surprising as Mlynárik's treatise is one-sided and tendentious. It implies that the transfer involved the same methods used by the Nazi occupiers against Czechs and Jews.[35] In his conclusion, Mlynárik writes:

> *The mass uprooting of Czechoslovak Germans represented a violation of basic human rights, namely the right to a homeland and the right to a country. If we now vehemently proclaim our support for human rights and their upholding, the right to a homeland*

> *and a country is something we must postulate not only in the present, but also in an historical sense…The uprooting of Czechoslovak Germans is not only a German tragedy, but also our tragedy…*[36]

Svědectví, of course, published articles by others, both at home and in exile, who agreed and disagreed with Mlynárik, and neither dissidents, nor exiles ever arrived at a unified conclusion on the Sudeten German issue. It should be noted that this material was published again in 1990 by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences under the title *Češi, Němci, odsun. (Czechs, Germans, Transfer!)*[37]The entire discussion can be found in this volume.

Most interesting is the reaction of members of the editorial board of *Svědectví*, Jiří Horák, Josef Jonáš, Radomír Luža, and Mojmír Povolný. Below is a selection of their correspondence with Pavel Tigrid. These authors were also the leaders of the recently renewed Council of Free Czechoslovakia.[38] They wanted their correspondence to be confidential, but they were very critical of material published in *Svědectví.* Povolný addressed the issue in a letter in January 1979.[39] Revealing is a letter sent to Tigrid by Radomír Luža:

> *…I did not have time or interest to pay attention to the discussion with the authors of several articles in Svědectví, which brought a mixture of truths and half-truths and often discuss key events of our recent history without devoting any attention to reality. Ignorance of sources is often replaced by arrogance, superficiality, and tendencies covered by loud slogans. But, when you, in the last issue of Svědectví tried to rub around my nose your insinuations and you are visiting TGM (Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk-author's comment), it is difficult to be quiet over something that we here in the United States call "BULLSHIT!"*[40]

In a three-page single-spaced letter, Luža tore the *Svědectví* articles apart.

> *…A condition for any discussion is that it has to be based on facts, led in a factual tone, and must attempt to be objective and honest. A journalistic scheme of flagellation, prejudice, and spastic attempts at generous interpretations without attention to historical context cannot supplant the lack of factual historical knowledge…Should you translate composition by Mr. Pribram into English and thus deprive it of the glitter of expression, it would be rejected at any better*

> *university in the West, which would require some evidence for his conclusions. It is a "journalistic version" that has nothing to do with facts…The same can be said about some of the articles about transfer. Today, the young German historians admit that transfer cannot be isolated "as Czech." Transfer was a part of historical situation and the policies of the Allies, who led air attacks against German civilians, and formulated the basis of collective guilt….You should remember how enthusiastic you has been over these hard concepts of modern war in your broadcasts from London…It is interesting, and it says a lot about our national character that, among Poles, even today, there is no beating on the chest over the fact that they expelled the purely German population from territories that unquestionably belonged to Germany…*[41]

Luža did not avoid a personal invective:

> *...By the way, I did not see you criticizing Israel for its politics of reprisal or, is it "quod licet Iovi, non licet bovi"? I wish to remind you of the prejudice you repeated, that, after May 1945, it was not allowed for several months to play Beethoven…You know very well that in Israel, German composers were not played until the visit of Mr. Adenauer…Svědectví is not your personal property, but it belongs to the Czech or Czechoslovak cause. Every member of the editorial board acknowledges and always has acknowledged your unquestionable merits in founding this, today the best Czechoslovak journal. Precisely because of this, Pavel, stop entertaining me with bullshit!*[42]

Tigrid reacted to this letter in a brief note to Povolný explaining his position.[43] Luža wrote to Horák and Povolný expressing doubts that Tigrid would make his letter public.

> *It is imperative to prevent Pavel from doing whatever he wants with Svědectví. I am trying to scare him. We shall see how he reacts. He plays the hand of the Prchala crowd and Pachman. Irresponsible rascal! You remember how once in New York he admitted that he is a rascal and said "Yes, I am a rascal!" But,*

> *Pejskar is worse. He is an absolute ass, who gave České slovo and Poradní sbor to the Pachman and Prchala crowd. There is no place for him in the Council...*[44]

The correspondence between the "Young Turks" of the renewed *Council of FreeCzechoslovakia* is a valuable source of information about their personalities and their differing styles of communication. Mojmír Povolný was always very diplomatic, yet remained firm and was very persuasive. Radomír Luža, on the other hand, was very direct and could be rather abrasive. This author had the privilege to meet both these exiled patriots on many occasions, and they were very helpful to him in his research. Their personalities are best reflected in their letters.

Members of the editorial board sent their *Position (Stanovisko)* to *Svědectví* on 13 February 1979.

> *Articles and letters of anonymous authors who reside in Czechoslovakia and use the pseudonyms Jan Pribram and Danubius appeared in the last few issues of Svědectví. These articles deal with the Czechoslovak resistance during World War II, the defeat of Czechoslovak democrats in 1948, and with the transfer of the German minority from Czechoslovakia. Without offering a detailed analysis of these opinions, we found them often to be historically inaccurate, without foundation, or even misleading. Explanations of various events are often taken out of historical and political context. Moral judgments lack objectivity, which is absolutely necessary when evaluating complicated questions pertaining to the ideals, deeds, and even the existence of the Czechoslovak nation. As members of the editorial board of Svědectví, we have to distance ourselves publicly from these opinions so that our silence could not be misconstrued as agreement with the content and conclusions…We are aware of the extremely sensitive position of Czechoslovakia in the heart of Europe and its heritage by which this position is encumbered by Munich, the German occupation, the Second World War, and its consequences. We therefore consider the transfer of the German minority from Czechoslovakia as a definitive solution to a very painful and tragic question in the interests of security and territorial integrity of the Czechoslovak state. By the same*

> *measure, we consider it to be equally important for friendly relations between Germany and Czechoslovakia and for order and peace in Europe. The Czechoslovak resistance during the Second World War and the struggle of Czechoslovak democrats in the period between the liberation of the Republic in 1945 and the Communist putsch in 1948 require no myths. It is not historically possible to question their existence and lighten their effects as do articles by Pribram and Danubius…Jiří Horák, Josef Jonáš, Radomír Luža, Mojmír Povolný*[45]

Povolný sent the *Position* to Tigrid accompanied by a covering letter

> *…I know your position only from news about several of your presentations in Germany. It is not in harmony with mine, but I am convinced that it has its moral foundation. I hope that you will acknowledge the moral basis of my opinion. Besides, I am convinced that, to this day, you cannot imagine how deep is the moral wound within us left by the occupation and our experiences with the Germans…I hope that, in light of this experience, you will understand better our reactions to Danubius, Toni Herget, Pachman, etc. Finally, my own concept of Czechoslovak politics and its long-term tasks and perspectives contradicts this continuing subversion of the Czechoslovak state, not by criticism (which I would welcome), but by the relentless calling into question its bare existence and the ability of Czechs and Slovaks to have their own state….*[46]

Povolný concluded:

> *It is easy for me to write because I am convinced of our unbreakable friendship, based upon its roots beyond politics, public matters (even journalism!), and even beyond our common fate.*[47]

What elegance! The style of various members of this group varied greatly, but they were all honest, open, and direct. They remained friends despite often having sharp differences of opinion. Backstabbing and useless bickering by members of the older generation of political exiles based on political party rosters was absent. *National Socialists*, *Social Democrats*, and *Catholics* could

work together productively. Indeed, unity was the trademark of the *Council of Free Czechoslovakia* under Povolný's leadership.

In February 1979, the 74th *Communication of the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted* (*VONS*) reported that several signatories of *Charter 77* were interrogated by the police on the suspicion that they contributed to Danubius's text. Among them was Václav Havel and, interestingly, also "Danubius" himself, Ján Mlynárik.[48]

Danubius's article provoked a wider discussion. Dissident (and former *Communist*), Milan Hübl, responded with a three-part treatise entitled *Notes on the Expulsion of Czechoslovak Germans* published in samizdat between 5 February and 25 March 1979.[49] Hübl concluded by quoting Czech historian, Jan Křen:

> *The expulsion of millions of people from the places where they lived for centuries was an intervention that reflected a cruel and wild time of war and a life and death struggle. This solution did not bring only gains and good deeds to the countries that were solving questions of threats to their existence as states in this manner. It has to be accepted in its most realistic and substantive dimension: as a tragic historical necessity.*[50]

Mlynárik rejected Hübl's Notes as "a correct, class-conscious Bolshevik and Marxist-Leninist discussion that leaves no stone unturned…"[51]

Dissident philosopher, Ladislav Hejdánek, entered the discussion on 10 March 1979 defending Danubius against the criticism of Milan Hübl and also Luboš Kohout[52] Hejdánek deplored the transfer as damaging to the Czech, but not Slovak, national character and reminisced over Czech bestialities during the May 1945 uprising in Prague. His Letter to a Friend received a sharp rebuttal from Radomír Luža, who, as an active member of the wartime domestic resistance and a history professor in the United States, rejected Hejdánek's opinion. Luža wrote:

> *As long as Czechs are not "chosen people", general historical categories have to apply to them and their history cannot be judged ex post by the criteria of the 1970's.*[53]

He then brought factual historical data, including current Sudeten German activities to support his rejection of Hejdánek's opinion. The discussion was also entered by former Communist official, Zdeněk Mlynář.[54] He recalled a recent meeting organized by the Catholic organization *Opus bonum* in Franken (Germany) and defended the conclusions reached there regarding the matter of

Czech-German relations. In a rather lengthy and verbose article, Mlynář was critical of Danubius's theses, but, even more so, of Hübl's opinion. Danubius's thoughts were summarized as "primitive and basically socialist", while those of Hübl were also described as "primitive and pretending to reflect Realpolitik." In one aspect, however, Mlynář was absolutely correct. He pointed out that "the division of Germany is not inviolate and that the might and glory of Moscow in its present form is not forever." This was noteworthy at the time Gromyko's (Soviet foreign minister) campaign against American Minuteman missiles in Western Europe had wide support and socialist parties were winning elections. The discussion was concluded by a collective editorial of a group of Czech intellectuals (Toman Brod, Jiří Doležal, Milan Otáhal, Petr Pithart, Miloš Pojar, and Petr Příhoda) under the pseudonym Bohemus.[55] They attempted to address the issue of the transfer from a historical perspective. They rejected the "moralization" of history and addressed Czech-German relations through the ages, the history of the Second World War, and the transfer as well as its historical, legal, ethical, political, economic, sociological, and cultural consequences. In his later analysis, historian, Jan Křen, characterized the approach of Bohemus as "the only correct one", even though he did not agree with all assumptions that were presented.[56]

No topic in the history of *Svědectví* stimulated such a lively and sharp discussion. The sixtieth issue contained letters by Erazim Kohák from Boston and German historian, Rudolf Hilf. Kohák welcomed the discussion. Hilf's comments were moderate in tone and he concluded:

> *What can never happen again: One-sided German or one-sided Czech solutions. The future and peace must belong to the collective effort of all people of good will.*[57]

Yet, Hilf did not miss the opportunity to take a jab at the members of the editorial board (Horák, Jonáš, Luža, and Povolný):

> *...who reacted passively and negatively by repeating antiquated phrases of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia: There is little difference between them and Karel Douděra on the pages of Rudé právo.*[58]

Ján Mlynárik, who started this discussion with his provocative article, concluded in a letter to the members of the editorial board of *Svědectví* under the pseudonym, Hraničář.[59] Mlynárik compared *Stanovisko* to Husák's methods. He attacked defenders of the transfer by stating that "definitive solution" from the perspective of history is analogous to Gottwald's "with the USSR forever!" Mlynárik also addressed the letter of Radomír Luža:

> *Fecal-anal expressions of Radomír Luža apparently speak about the author rather than about the problem itself. If anyone "shat bullshit" into our lives, it was those who administratively, militarily, by naked force, or even by passive approval-implemented the transfer of the Germans. This is something we must deal with for ourselves and for our children. We have the right to ask what you left for us here: When the going got tough, you ran away and now, from the New World, are "freely shitting" all over us. That is how our generation, which is not responsible for the transfer, views it…How come Mr. Luža is suddenly an ally in his views on Czech-German relations with the reform Communist Hübl on one hand and with the ultra-leftist dogmatic Václav Král on the other? What unites them from the Vltava (river-author's comment) to the New World? Is not this alliance interesting? Luža is thus exactly in harmony with Czechoslovak and Soviet historiography. Fathers, you wrote your page of Czech-German relations practically. You are witnesses, actors, and implementers of the "historic deed"…Write memoirs to inform us how it really was.*[60]

Mlynárik expressed the bitterness of a member of the younger generation and also some distaste for the exiles, who "deserted the battle when the going got tough." He compared positively the views of Zdeněk Mlynář in contrast to those of Hübl, whom he accused of writing half-truths and quoting facts out of context… "The problem of bad conscience is probably a phenomenon affecting every generation, even ours." Mlynárik concluded his letter by paying tribute to Pavel Tigrid:

> *It is not a generational problem: it is a problem of conscience, a problem of ethics. Pavel Tigrid, one generation older, had been rejecting the transfer in its specific forms as an editor in Czechoslovakia. He is rejecting it by publishing articles even today. It is not praise: it is only recognition of personal integrity with which he remains in many ways a role model. I believe that reasonable and thinking people, not full of hatred and revenge, not adhering to their past stupidities or even crimes, would find common language in the*

> *interest of their survival and in the interest of peaceful existence of their children.*[61]

The discussion on German transfer requires little comment. Emotions flared on both sides of the argument. The matter was also debated in the Franken seminars sponsored by *Opus bonum* and organized largely by Tigrid. No consensus was reached throughout the remainder of the Cold War. It is noteworthy that later historical research based on archival sources indicates that Mlynárik's arguments are flawed in some cases and, at best, oversimplified in others. The discussions have been ongoing since the fall of *Communism*, fortunately in a milder and more constructive tone. Both Czech and German historians participated.[62]

THE VOICE OF DISSIDENTS

Another matter covered in depth by *Svědectví* was the systematic persecution of dissidents by the *Communist* authorities in *Communist* Czechoslovakia. Exile efforts on behalf of dissidents were aided by the signing of the *Helsinki Final Act* by both Western and Soviet-bloc countries in 1975. The *Helsinki Final Act* basically codified human rights in Europe into international law. *Svědectví* not only pointed out the violations of the *Helsinki Final Act* by the Czechoslovak authorities, but also published dissident ideas on how to make Czechoslovakia a more pluralistic and tolerant society. In fact, several issues of the journal contained contributions only from Czechoslovak-based dissidents.

A real breakthrough in the issue of human rights in Czechoslovakia was the establishment of *Charter 77* by Czechoslovak dissidents. This organization included people from all walks of life and its main mission was to expose the Czechoslovak government's violations of commitments it had made when signing the *Helsinki Final Act*. The founding document of the *Charter* was reprinted in *Svědectví.*[63] *Charter 77* members managed to get their ideas published in *Svědectví* thanks to an elaborate smuggling network organized by Tigrid in cooperation with other Czechoslovak exiles. *Svědectví* also published some thoughts of Ludvík Vaculík depicting the repression against himself and other *Charter 77* signatories.[64] Even Josefa Slánská (the widow of Rudolf Slánský) addressed an open letter to Gustav Husák, which read as follows:

> *The campaign being waged in these days against Charter 77 and its signatories recalls the 1950s when it was possible to condemn anybody for anything, using the slogan "Have faith in the Party, comrades", and over 10,000 resolutions were organized demanding death, including yours. And now people, from Socialist Youth members to pensioners, are expected to condemn Charter 77 and its signatories*

> *without knowing the Charter's content. The first consequence of this campaign is arrests, searches of homes, dismissals from work, and other persecution. Would you really wish for people to have guilty consciences once again because, out of fear, they protest against something they do not know and thereby cause harm to citizens who want nothing other than to help keep the commitments that bind this country and its citizens. I therefore request that you do something to end this campaign of denunciation and repression.*[65]

The financing of *Charter 77* activities was handled by the Czechoslovak émigré physicist, František Janouch, who established the *Charta 77 Foundation* in Stockholm. In addition, the dissidents became so embarrassing for the *Communist* regime that many were pressured to emigrate in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. In exile, they continued to speak out on behalf of colleagues at home and their homeland in general.

In this context, we should mention the 58th issue of *Svědectví*, which brought contributions of several *Charter 77* signatories entitled *Chartists about Themselves and among Themselves*.[66] Tigrid reprinted articles by several key Chartists *From Charter 77 Informations,* Volume 2, Number 2 (1979). Ludvík Vaculík wrote an essay *Comments on Courage*.[67] He addressed the role of *Charter 77* and its development and also addressed the issue of courage and bravery. He noted that the attack of the "normalization" regime in 1979 is not directed against "heroes." According to Vaculík, the heroes of dissent were getting only "a measured dose of repression" that the regime felt obligated to use. Yet, the regime did not like doing that, not wishing "to elevate them to the status of heroes."

> *The war should remain under a pseudonym, without known faces or data. That is why explosives of a new type are placed into the game, without destroying anyone existentially or physically, only to change their internal norms (like neutron bombs): undamaged "empty suits" go to and from work…*[68]

Vaculík's essay received a critical reply from fellow dissident, Václav Havel, who pointed out the absurdity of the fact that Vaculík himself was not imprisoned for his novel *Guinea pigs(Morčata*), while Jiří Gruša was in prison for his novel *The Questionnaire (Dotazník*). It could have been the other way. Havel agreed with Vaculík that oppression of thousands of anonymous people is worse than the imprisonment of a known dissident. He emphasized, however,

that the dissident was sentenced because he had not been silent about the inconspicuous and anonymous oppression of thousands. Havel concluded:

> *Some of us are in this hard and discouraging confrontation with the secret police for two years, some for ten years, and some for their entire lives. Nobody likes it and none of us knows how much longer we can stand it. Every one of us has the right to retreat into the background, omit some things, have some rest, or even emigrate when we cannot stand it anymore. All of it is understandable, normal, human, and I am the last one to hold it against anybody. What I do not like is when people are not telling the truth and you, excuse me, are not telling the truth this time.*[69]

The next contribution was by Petr Pithart, *On the Back of Others*:

> *Two years ago, about one thousand people decided to claim the right of co-responsibility for conditions of human rights in this country. An active minority, if you wish. The purpose was to create an organization without party prejudice and corresponding mistrust. The purpose was proven even in the courage of signatories and also in their belief in the liberating effects of the honest word. Today, I think that a little hope for a constructive dialogue with the authorities (and that is what we hoped for!) started to fizzle out on our side when we could not and later even did not want to face the active minority now among us; the minority which took our worries on their backs. When a group of enthusiastic, selfless, risk-taking, hot, impatient, and often radical people usurped responsibility that should have been collective, we were afraid that our free union would change into a sect "of the last just ones." We were afraid that we could close ourselves in a ghetto of pompous exclusivists who risked becoming comfortable; We could not prevent a groundswell of a self-informed group of activists who were in a hurry to take care of matters. They chose the style of addressing the world in the name of one thousand signatories…*[70]

Pithart's essay received a focused reply from Václav Havel. Havel admitted that activists are more active than passive people in all systems. He stressed, however, that this fact does not depend on the conditions in different societies.

> *It does not matter what people think about this or that "active minority": Hitler and his comrades were an active minority when they were striving for power in Germany. Professor Masaryk represented an active minority when fighting for the Czechoslovak Republic without anyone's authorization. In the Protectorate, the active minorities were Vlajkaři (a Czech fascist group) as well as members of the resistance. Activists always were, are, and will be more visible than passive people…What always matters is what such people are doing and whether it is good or bad…It matters whether they prepare the genocide of nations or, on the contrary, fight for greater freedom so that passive gardeners can tend their gardens in peace even in the event that they are, for example, Jewish…A reader who knows nothing about Charter 77, can get the impression from your essay that the Charter consists of ten to thirty usurpers who do everything and nine hundred fifty passive signatories (in whose name you speak) who disagree with the usurpers…I take your essay as an expression of disagreement you are trying to settle with somebody and you are camouflaging it into the veil of political science thought on active minorities.*[71]

Havel's criticism was somewhat verbose, but to the point.

Luboš Dobrovský, who addressed all the participants of the discussion, summarized it:

> *…And we have a new unhelpful argument. It is Czech…It does not make sense and demonstrates a lack of patience and uncontrolled passion.*[72]

Dobrovský analyzed the individual contributions and brought out their positive aspects. He praised Vaculík for addressing courage and also his lament over the years people he admired had lost in prison…And Havel reprimanded him for it! Simply because Havel was angry, he even questioned Vaculík's honor. Anger is a bad advisor…

> *Why such an angry tone, Václav Havel? For us, when there is argument, hurrah!...Petr Pithart took upon his back the weight of argument…Those most active among us want too much, but they accomplish less and less… So!...This argument does not bother me…What bothers me, however, is not thinking matters through. Anger, too much affectation, purposeful or innocent inconclusiveness, short circuits, intolerance, invectives, and lack of self-criticism. This does not read well…*[73]

This discussion illustrates the relations between important *Charter 77* members. It testifies well on behalf of the *Charter* that arguing members published their disagreements openly. Tigrid reprinted the discussion without their permission.[74]

The next issue of *Svědectví* was labeled a "Prague Issue". The editor of the issue (referred to as M.) provided an introductory "explanation."

> *When the editorial office came with the idea of a Prague issue, they may have hoped for some unity among the domestic and foreign opposition. We have the first results here: The issue is a polemic with the emigration, and, in fact, a deliberation about whether to leave or stay. For emigres and exiles, it is not encouraging reading. At best, it is an assurance that their decision was correct…It is not merry reading for us [the domestic resistance] either. None of the contributions provides rational reasons why to live here. This decision rests, it appears, outside of reason. It is also debatable what requires more courage…We do not concern ourselves with those who merely seek a better existence; such men bet on more favorable conditions, their own fitness, and luck…But he, who seeks his participation in developments of national prosperity, moral improvement, and more national independence, bets on the great power of history and time. Are we saying that pessimists leave, whereas optimists stay? Here at home as well as wherever you are, the argument over allegiance to the native clod is laughed at…We feel that our existence here is a continuing reproach of you over there. Our life is a vile compromise. Tigrid has fought against this vile compromise with honor; today it is already antique.*

> *Mlynář fights with "brand new" honor. They ganged up on us…You live off us, not only for us. What did the editors have in mind when planning this issue? Please answer only next time and do not spoil our issue!...We can read you like a book!...Dobrovský's commentary, written in June, is not correct. It is not a description of reality, but only an exercise needed to calm the relationship between man and his nightmare when sitting by the fire in a cave. It represents the creation of a new reality through words…When you were not discouraged by Švejk's signature of Charter 77, would these few words of introduction do the trick?*[75]

The Paris-based editorial board explained:

> *The holders of power wanted to fence in "their" land of real socialism with ramparts that were broken. It is a contribution, no matter how modest, to wider knowledge that the divider between Eastern and Western Europe, between "those here" and "those over there" is a roadblock which is artificial, scandalous (and hopeless) as is the Berlin Wall…It does not signify harmony and monologue, but, on the contrary, a dialogue, diversity, disagreement, and conflict.*[76]

The article *Charter 77 and Real Socialism* deserves careful reading.[77] The author, Miroslav Kusý, introduces *Charter 77* as a child of Czechoslovak real socialism, a forced union of the mighty and the powerless, not conceived in love:

> *It is a product of rape, not acknowledged by its father. The authority labeled it as a loser, but this could not hide the conditions into which the child was born. It was born from the marasmus of post-August consolidation and the Normalization process, which is without perspective. This factual lack of perspective is perceived both by the representatives of power as well as the representatives of the powerless. The first created their concepts in "real socialism" and the latter in their draft of the Charter movement.*[78]

Kusý continued:

Real socialism is what we have here! But what do we have? For some, it is a price increase in stores for common folks and stability of symbolic prices for the elites in special shops. The central group of Soviet armies, incredible sums of money for the arms race, honorary degrees and decorations for the shah of Iran (ready for Khomeini as well), energy crisis, obsolete machinery, discrimination against entire large social groups, and a movement for the defense of human rights…The realized ideal corresponds exclusively to "idealized reality." The bigger the clash between the ideal and the reality is, it is necessary to cut and curtail the ideal and to praise the reality…Charter 77 entered the political scene during the period of ideological resignation, political apathy, and moral nihilism of the nation. On the surface, nothing was going on that would gain the attention of the public. They arrested some young musician of whom nobody, but the young public cared…Somewhere they ratified some international pacts: It meant nothing to the nation, as people knew nothing about it. Somewhere in Helsinki, we participated in some conference at the highest level: There was a loud campaign surrounding it (because of the Soviet initiative-author's comment) , but it did not attract the nation's attention…And into this idyll exploded the bomb of Charter 77. It has ruined the reputation of the authorities, it damaged its facade of socialist consolidation, and that is why the authorities reacted against it with a well-known hysterical campaign. It was no longer a manifestation of dissatisfaction by an individual that could be "taken care of" quietly. It was a public collective protest with significant, worldwide publicity…Reservations of the nation with respect to the Charter are growing as the Charter indirectly reaches the nation's conscience. This exclusive union of the Chartists decided to live in truth, in the struggle against evil, and injustice. Some may have it, but we (i.e. the overwhelming majority of the nation) cannot afford such a luxury. We have children, villas, and summerhouses under construction, we have pending requests for a "valuta promise" (a foreign currency allowance for vacations abroad-author's comment), mortgage, and we want to have a quiet old age. We could lose hunting licenses

> *and rest and recreation in the Tatras. Of course, we want to be your fans and we want to keep our fingers crossed for you. But, through your challenge, you also step on these fingers and demand more from us. You are trying to demystify the game, but the game is between the authorities and us. We are involuntary participants, yet we are in it and we are used to it. You are telling us that it is dishonest to vote for resolutions we do not believe in…When we silently accept all the dishonesty around us, which, from time to time, hits some of us. It is an agreed price for the fact that we are not overworked on the job, that we look for what we need on company time…*[79]

Kusý then characterized the relationship between *Charter 77* and the authorities. He admitted that the *Charter* declaration was insufficient for a political program. "With such a program, even the most loyal opposition of the government of His highness in any constitutional monarchy would fail."

> *Why then was there such an irritated reaction by the authorities to it? The Charter's demand to call things by their real name was viewed by the authorities as subversion. The request by Charter signatories for strict adherence to socialist legislation was equally subversive.*[80]

All this served to confirm Kusý's initial statement that *Charter 77* represented an absurd reaction to absurd conditions. Likewise, it reflected a certain dose of purely Švejk-like features of the Czechs. This accurate description of *Charter 77* and the reality in 1979 Czechoslovakia ended on an optimistic note: "History has shown many times the significance of moral power, and how the example of human courage, the ability to resist falsehoods, evil, and lawlessness have changed the public conscience."[81]

As has already been stated, Tigrid advocated collaboration with the post-1968 wave of exiles. Many of them were reform-minded *Communists*, assembled around Jiří Pelikán. After the *Charter 77* declaration was made public, Pelikán and his *Listy Group* were joined by former Communist functionary, Zdeněk Mlynář. Mlynář was not overly popular, but managed to become a spokesman for exiled "democratic socialists." Tigrid's attitude was not in harmony with the majority of post-1948 exiles, who did not wish to be tarnished by any association with ex-Communists. In 1979, *Svědectví* printed an extensive conversation between Mlynář and Tigrid.[82]

Tigrid introduced the conversation as an exchange of opinions between two people who stand, or better stood, on opposing political and ideological

positions. Due to the importance of this dialogue, extensive excerpts are included here.

> *Tigrid: When you were starting, I was practically at the end. You started on the ruins of our defeat, the ruins of the losing democratic generation. My public life is the First Republic, the war against Hitler (I spent it in the London resistance), and three years in the uncomfortable embrace of the National Front. Then came another emigration. I am in it thirty years. You, for about a year. How can we agree with each other when we project experiences from completely different backgrounds?*[83]

Mlynář replied that his life began after the war and that he perceived the discontinuity of the development of Czechoslovakia brought by the year 1948 only much later, after the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956. Only then did he start to change his opinion of the First Republic.

Tigrid returned to the first three postwar years when a platform was presented for the stepwise liquidation of parliamentary democracy.

> *Tigrid: That attempt to work with the Communists was necessary. We had to provide evidence of truth: Living off of weakened democrats with a strong, power-usurping Communist Party was not possible.*[84]

Tigrid pointed out that, before the war, democrats had many friends among the *Communists*, particularly in culture. Even in London, they worked closely with the *Communists* and returned home hoping that the *National Front* would signify true cooperation. They were wrong. Mlynář admitted that, after 1948, he joined the *Communist* sectarianism hook, line, and sinker.

> *Mlynář: I fell for the mentality of leftist radicalism. What mattered was defining the right goal, suppressing the enemy, and everything else would fall into harmony with utopian goals.*
>
> *Tigrid: And it went fast. A year or two after the victorious February (1948-Communist putsch-author's comment), the class struggle ruled and we saw the liquidation of entire classes of the nation unseen before in the Czech mentality, unseen also in other people's democracies-they executed 300 political prisoners, even women! Tens of thousands of*

people ended in jail, in uranium mines, in miserable employment conditions. Confidantes and janitors terrorized the nation. How did so much hatred afflict the dove-like Czech nature?

Mlynář: That dove-like character perhaps belongs in Hanka's Manuscript, rather than in every ordinary day of this century. Already after Munich and during the Nazi occupation, it became clear what hatred, lust for property, revenge, and various shades of human vileness could cause…

Tigrid: I will attempt a rapid Mr. Brouček's trip to the future. I can imagine that you, the Communists, who were chased into emigration by fate, will return. (You are young.) And that you will return to power-Why not? You will not be prevented from doing so in democratic conditions. That assumption upsets me. I am suspicious that you would attempt to trip the socialists and democrats again, so they would fall on their backs…And why not employ the old Bolshevik methods? From the point of view of a democrat: What are these boys, with whom we are in cahoots now, going to do to us? When are they going to trip us?

Mlynář: In politics, one has to be careful and not fall for various promises and phrases. After all, the Communists are not the first ones or only ones who swallowed their original allies in political alliances although they are masters of that craft in modern politics. But, "those boys" today are not the same as they were years ago…In the past, "those boys" were direct exponents of the Communist Party of the Leninist ilk, belonging to the international Communist movement directed from Moscow. Without all that, they are not those "same boys."

Tigrid: In other words: Right idea, wrong implementation. Let us try again?

Mlynář: Not at all. As far as I am concerned, and many reform Communists held this position at the very beginning of our reformism, sometimes in 1956, but not already in 1968…

> *Tigrid: What if the overwhelming majority of Czechs and Slovaks at the first possible opportunity would not want "socialism with a human face" or even socialism at all for that matter? What if they would want something else?*
>
> *Mlynář: Perhaps we can agree that the most important is that the overwhelming majority of people in Czechoslovakia would have a real opportunity to say what they want?...*[85]

Mlynář then defended the *Prague Spring* and stated that, without the Soviet intervention, the conditions in Czechoslovakia would be much better. In a discussion about pluralist democracy, Tigrid doubted that Mlynář appreciated that the *Communist Party* would have to abandon its constitutionally-guaranteed leading position (hegemony) and that it no longer would be the avant-garde of the chosen class.

> *Tigrid: Frankly, we already trusted Gottwald, Slánský, Nosek once...Can we or should we trust the reform Communists who understood only when they lost their power? When they get it back, would they continue to be reformers?*
>
> *Mlynář: The basic question is: What can we expect from the representatives of the movement that created the totalitarian system? Is it possible to believe that they would create a possibility to be put on trial in a "normal" general election? This is a matter that should not be based on or hidden in drivel as was the case in 1968. Dubček's leadership refused, and I agreed, even to ask this question much less to answer it.*
>
> *Tigrid: How much Marxism-Leninism remains in your blood circulation?*
>
> *Mlynář: I believe that the only road to escape totalitarianism is to give complete political freedom to the opposition, even to that which is politically and ideologically oriented differently than the regime. Perhaps as in the same framework of possibilities like Charter 77…Yet, without a change in the political*

> *system, I cannot imagine the implementation of such a system.*[86]

Tigrid doubted the possibility that Stalinism could be reformed. It must be destroyed. He also expressed doubts about the depth of changes in the makeup of *reform Communists*. Tigrid wished to learn, so far unsuccessfully, who Zdeněk Mlynář was today? He pointed out that many of Mlynář's colleagues were poisoning the minds of young people at Western universities by painting "rosy pictures" of "true socialism." Tigrid emphasized that he cared for the facts and their definitions, while Mlynář preferred tactics and procedures. He also emphasized that "real socialism" cannot be reformed and is incompatible with pluralist democracy. For one system to exist and survive, the other system has to be (internally) destroyed.

> *Tigrid: More research is needed in order to avoid a repetition of what happened after the war when we used the same language and terms, but each of us meant something different. Let us not play the National Front-game ever again and let us not pretend that there is strength in unity. Yet, something unbelievable has happened: Had someone told me twenty years ago that a joint political struggle would unite Jan Patočka and Jiří Hájek and that the fanatical Communist, Zdeněk Mlynář, would defend publicly the "musical underground", or that Václav Havel and Gertruda Sekaninová-Čakrtová would go together to the Ministry of Justice in order to protest abuse, I would have, without a doubt, advised him to see a psychiatrist. And it is so…*
>
> *Mlynář: What matters is not that we embrace one another here…but to relay answers home that what we lived through in our lives and what we witnessed at different times as well as what wounded us, marked us, and forced us into exile cannot repeat itself.*[87]

MILAN KUNDERA'S CENTRAL EUROPE

In 1984, the most internationally renowned Czech author, Milan Kundera, provoked a vigorous intellectual debate with remarks made in the article, *The Tragedy of Central Europe,* published on 26 April in the *New York Times Review of Books*.[88] This article developed further Kundera's thesis that Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania historically belonged to Central Europe in contrast with the Byzantine civilization of Eastern Europe, i.e. Russia. While Central European values stressed democratic diversity, Russian culture

leaned towards centralism, standardization, and imperial expansion. According to Kundera, Soviet *Communism* was thus the fulfillment of Russian history. Central Europe "disappeared" after 1945 and was seen as nothing but a province of the Soviet empire. *Svědectví* responded to this assertion by initiating a discussion entitled *"Lot, Kidnap, Escape…? Europe, Russia, and We*[89] In the first part, entitled *Český úděl* (The Czech Lot), Kundera's article, originally published in *Listy* on 19 December 1968, was reprinted. Kundera described the *Prague Spring* and lamented that it was the historical fate of the Czechs, who were sandwiched between and pushed by the Germans and the Russians. He argued that the Czech tradition of highly developed culture, intellect, and critical reflection compensated for their military weakness. He claimed that, during the *Prague Spring*, the Czechs had shaken off their legacy of the small mentality and got into the spotlight of world history. Their spirit was not broken by the Soviet invasion and "the Czechoslovak autumn" was even more momentous than the Prague Spring and gave every reason for optimism because the nation had finally realized "the Czech potential."[90] Václav Havel responded in February 1969 in the journal *Tvář* in an article entitled *The Czech Lot?* Havel rejected Kundera's optimism and characterized "the Czech lot" as nothing but a self-adulating, pseudo-historical myth. Political realities demanded action and moral courage to stand up for universal human values rather than clichés about "tiny, unfortunately located, good, and intelligent Czechoslovakia suffering at the hands of its wicked neighbors."[91]

Kundera's indignant reply entitled *Radicalism and Exhibitionism* originally published in *Host do domu* in 1969 was also reprinted.[92] Milan Šimečka criticized Kundera in an article entitled *Other Civilizations*. Šimečka stated:

> *The spiritual Biafra after 1968 was decidedly a home-made affair…People who made life so miserable for my friends and myself over the last fifteen years…all spoke Czech or Slovak…Anyway, I would not try to convince Americans that the East is the radical negation of the West. Many of them think so anyhow…It certainly makes more sense to emphasize Russia's European tradition.*[93]

Émigré Czech historian, Milan Hauner, characterized Kundera's article in the *New York Times Review of Books* as one-sided and as having "racist overtones."[94] *Svědectví* also published commentaries by János Kis, Francois Bondy, and Georges Nivat reprinted from the French journal, *Le Débat*. These comments were very critical of Kundera's sweeping generalizations. This debate on Kundera concluded with a conversation between Philip Roth and Milan Kundera that had originally been published in the *Sunday Times Magazine* in

May 1984. Its Czech translator, the dissident writer, Zdeněk Urbánek, commented:

> *Now that my work is completed, I am not sure whether to offer it for reading. It is total rubbish. Roth should have silenced his partner after the second sentence. We need not grieve about some of those who have left.*[95]

The 75th issue of *Svědectví* brought a well-written article by Lord Chalfont, *A Brief Guide to International Terrorism*.[96] For the reader, it is interesting how this problem has grown since then, culminating in the attacks on the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001 and how international travel has changed since then. Whereas borders in Europe have virtually disappeared, passports are now required for travel between Canada and the United States.

The twentieth volume of *Svědectví* contains a review of Kundera as a "guru of Western society" by Milan Jungmann entitled *Kundera's Paradoxes*. Jungmann acknowledged Kundera's talent, but was disturbed by his catering too much to the taste of Western audiences.

> *It is this "unbearable lightness of writing" that attracts the mass reader to Kundera's novels-He sees in them an ideal kind of "philosophical" prose that is accessible to him (with his superficial knowledge) and pleasant reading at the same time. There are no obstacles in his path…and his vanity is flattered.*[97]

Jungmann also challenged Kundera's assertions that Kundera was a totally unknown author at a time when he wrote his first novel. Kundera had been considered to be one of the leading intellectuals in the country ever since he entered Czech literature as a poet "who believed in Marx's vision of a new man and a new society." According to Jungmann, "Kundera has created a biographical cliché for the ignorant, foreign reader…" For Jungmann, Kundera's writings resembled more "a witty charade rather than the accomplishment of a keen intellect." Jungmann was also irritated by the prominence of sexual motifs in Kundera's works verging on pornography and by his obsessive linking of eroticism with violence. Jungmann's review was clearly unfair to Kundera. The next issue of *Svědectví* contained contributions by Květoslav Chvatík, Ivo Bock, Petr Král, and Josef Škvorecký, all of whom defended Kundera and challenged Jungmann's basic literary outlook: "It is unacceptable to identify an author's opinion with the views of his characters." Chvatík even suggested that Jungmann's adherence to old-fashioned values indicated that he was still rooted in the rules of socialist realism.[98]

AFTER THE VELVET REVOLUTION OF 1989

The fall of Communism was welcomed and analyzed by Tigrid in the 23rd volume of *Svědectví* in 1990. Tigrid wrote:

> *What happened? Let us attempt to define it in three sentences. The pages of the 1989 calendar were marked red because they signaled:*
>
> *- The end of Communism as a totalitarian "dictatorship of the secretariat", bureaucratic, often embarrassingly overage clique of leaders who based their claim to power on a onetime dynamic ideology, but proven by its implementation to be inconclusive, deceitful, and murderous…It is not possible to determine accurately the beginning of the end. It is clear that it was possible to postpone it, but not to stop it by anemic reforms;*
>
> *- The end of the Soviet imperium as the center of world Communism.*
>
> *- Defeat in the Cold War led by the USSR against the democracies.*
>
> *- The end of a half century division of the world into East/West, and of the Iron Curtain and its ugliest symbol, the Berlin Wall; the weakening of the Soviet Union as a world power;*
>
> *- The end of Marxism-Leninism as an ideology and as a social utopia.*
>
> *- The end of foggy illusions about "the third way" between real socialism and capitalism, about the aborted child called Eurocommunism, about "socialist market", and similar ideological abortions.*
>
> *- The end of illusions about bright futures and allegedly glorious past.*[99]

A detailed and thorough analysis of the role of *Svědectví* can be found in the article *We did not want an Émigré Journal: Pavel Tigrid and Svědectví* by Neil Stewart.[100]

In 1990, Tigrid transferred the editorial office of *Svědectví* to Prague. Its publication was terminated with Issue 93 two years later. Tigrid himself died in 2003 in France.[101] Pavel Tigrid summarized his life, experiences, and opinions in an interview with Petr Kotyk, entitled *I was not Homesick*, in Héricy, France, where he lived. In this interview, Tigrid stated that he considered this little village to be his home.[102] Tigrid worked in exile with his wife, Ivana (neé Myšková), a journalist and activist in the area of human rights.

She worked for *Amnesty International*, founded the organization *Help and Action* for aid to people who had been discriminated against by the *Communist* authorities in Czechoslovakia and the *International Committee for the Support of Charter 77* in Paris. She died in France in 2008.

It can be said that *Svědectví* fulfilled its goal of providing a debate on various aspects of *Communist* Czechoslovak society and it helped both Czechoslovak dissidents and exiles by providing them with a forum to voice their opinions. Tigrid should be credited for rising above petty quarrels among different generations of exiles and working toward the common goal, namely the liberation of Czechoslovakia from *Communist* rule. After the fall of *Communism*, President Václav Havel officially recognized Pavel Tigrid for his work to free his homeland and Tigrid himself served for several years as Minister of Culture of the Czech Republic, shortly after the split of Czechoslovakia into two separate states.

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Historians and the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia. Three interesting stories.

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Introduction

The aim of our study is to show how historians have coped with the Communist totalitarian regime in Czechoslovakia. They had several options: to fight against the regime; to serve the system; or to try to somehow survive without getting involved with the regime. We investigate this issue using the example of the life stories of three very interesting historians – Josef Macek, František Graus and Jaroslav Mezník. [1]

How was research into history carried out in totalitarian Czechoslovakia? Let us take a look at several particularly interesting figures in Czechoslovakian historiography that had to come to terms with the conflict between the inner freedom of research and the political commissions of the totalitarian state.

Josef Macek

The first of the presented figures is the renowned historian Josef Macek (8 April 1922 – 10 December 1991). In order to properly understand his life views and changes, one should briefly recall several basic facts from his life.[2] Josef Macek came from a working class family. After his studies at secondary school, he was interested in studying at Charles University in Prague. This was not possible, however, due to the universities being closed within the country in 1939 by the Germans. Immediately after the end of World War II, he applied to study history and auxiliary sciences of history at the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University in Prague. In light of the unusual post-war situation, he was allowed to complete his studies earlier than was the norm. Josef Macek consequently completed his studies in 1948 with the degree of doctor of philosophy. The February 1948 coup d'état determined another direction in Macek's life. Josef Macek became a servant of the emerging regime. He fully identified with the Communist ideas, viewing Marxism as an instrument for bringing about changes in the social system. Marxism thus became a guide to scientific knowledge and interpretations of the past.

The establishment of the Communist regime greatly assisted Macek's rapid academic and political career. Despite being just a young erudite historian, at an early age he was the recipient of honours that most historians would attain only during the later years of their career. Macek's professional rise was, of course, enhanced by the fact that Communist functionaries were suspicious of older scholars who had not been influenced by Marxism. The Communist regime primarily focused their controls and supervision on subjects in the humanities. Leadership positions at university departments and institutes were

therefore assigned to young Communists whose loyalty was assured. In 1952, Josef Macek became director of the Institute of History of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague at the age of thirty. The Communist functionaries expected the newly established institute to produce an interpretation of Czechoslovak history in the spirit of Marxist-Leninism. This task became Josef Macek's greatest mission, and he consequently published the conceptual Marxist work *Husitské revoluční hnutí* (*The Hussite Revolutionary Movement)* in 1952.[3] The Hussite Movement in his interpretation represented a massive class war, the traditions of which had affinities with the founders of the Socialist revolutions and the builders of Communism. Macek's book became a key tool for interpretation of the Hussite epochs in Czechoslovakia for decades.

Over the following years, Macek wrote and published additional work in a similar spirit imbued with a dynamic feeling for revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideals.[4] Worthy of mention is, for example, his book *Husité na Baltu a ve Velkopolsku* (*The Hussites in the Baltic Sea Region and in Greater Poland)* from 1952 in which he had an interest in depicting the international element of Hussite history.[5]

Josef Macek became a renowned figure in Marxist history in Czechoslovakia. If we were to characterise his oldest work in some fashion, it would consist of a simplified view of the observed events, a reduction of history to a class struggle conditioned by economic interests and the employment of journalistic clichés. The author transferred the criteria and terminology of the 19th and 20th centuries to medieval history. Macek would subject all of the portrayed events to one goal, that being the elevation of the role of "the workers" in history and their importance for the transfer into Socialism and Communism. The Hussites thus represented a period where "class conflicts" appeared in society. His work is a clear example of Marxist schematism, dogmatism and deformation of history.[6]

The author began to abandon his working methods after the year 1956 when he started to gradually find fault with the ideological positions of his youth. Macek began to realise that Marxism failed to take into account various sides of societal development. The historian welcomed the critique of Stalin and his repressive regime by Khrushchev. He, nevertheless, continued to implement a Party understanding of science. This served to enhance his political position in Czechoslovakia. He became a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1960 and was elected a member of the National Assembly in 1964. His international activities, participating in numerous foreign congresses and conferences, served to contribute to Macek's diversion away from Marxism. These not only involved activities focused on the East, but also in the West (Austria, Italy, and France). Marxist terminology disappeared from Macek's books in the middle of the 1960s. His interest shifted to specific human fates such as, for example, his work on King Jiří of Poděbrady from 1967.[7]

As director of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences, Macek supervised the publication of the so-called black books regarding the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the Warsaw Pact *Sedm pražských dní* (*Seven Prague Days*) in 1968. He consequently refused to vote in the National Assembly for approval of the contract for legalising the stay of Soviet armies within Czechoslovak territory in autumn of 1968. The consequences were not surprising, with expulsion from the Communist Party, removal from his post as director of the History Institute and forced departure from the Institute. In light of the fact that Macek had a number of influential friends, he did not end up doing manual labour in a boiler-room, but obtained a position in the Institute for the Czech Language in the Academy of Sciences where he focused on historical semantics. Despite various conflicts, he remained in this position up until 1973 when he was finally forced to abandon the workplace. He consequently found another position in the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences.[8]

Of even greater difficulty than the forced changes in his employment, was the fact that he was not allowed to publish in Czechoslovakia. His books were consequently published abroad with the help of numerous friends (in particular in France and Italy). His studies were published in Czechoslovakia under the names of other authors. The fact of his having been stripped of his political functions actually had a paradoxical and positive influence on Macek. He was able to dedicate himself fully to historical research. During the 1970s he compiled and wrote his most significant historical work *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích* (*The Age of the Jagiellons in the Czech Lands)* which, however, could only be published after the changes to the political regime in 1989.[9] The author presented a graphic and unusually lively picture of Jagiellon Bohemia in the work.[10]

Josef Macek has been used as a model example in order to demonstrate how dramatically his perspective of the world and relationship to dogmatic Marxism-Leninism evolved. J. Macek fully placed himself at the service of the Communist regime, resulting in the reward of numerous functions and high positions within the framework of Czechoslovakian historians. At a later point, J. Macek began to abandon his dogmatic position and finally definitively parted with the regime in Czechoslovakia in 1968 when he condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the Warsaw Pact. He was consequently not actually imprisoned, but was stripped of his employment and placed in the inferior position of a passive employee in a different branch of science than his primary area of expertise. He was most affected by a ban on publishing which continued up until the fall of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia in 1989.

František Graus

František Graus (14 December 1921 – 1 May 1989) was another extremely interesting example of a historian coming to terms with the Communist regime. He was Macek's contemporary and friend. In many respects

the career of František Graus mirrored the career of Josef Macek, with different conclusions of course.

František Graus was born in the city of Brno in Czechoslovakia.[11] He came from a wealthy Jewish family which was not Orthodox, however. This future historian attended a German primary school and then secondary school in Brno. He lost his father at the age of nine, which negatively influenced his upbringing. The German schools that František Graus attended were markedly nationalistic. German nationalist tendencies also began to influence the young František to the displeasure of his mother who consequently removed him from the German secondary school and had him placed in the Czech state Jewish school. In light of the fact that his mother decided to remarry at the time to a Christian, František, who was emotionally close to his mother, decided to declare himself an Orthodox Jew including adhering to all of the religious regulations. He consequently submerged himself in studies of Hebrew, Latin, ancient Greek and religious texts. He was a genuine expert in Judaism by his graduation in 1940. World War II had begun, however, by this time with the realisation of the German plans for extermination of the Jews. František Graus along with his entire family were sent by the German occupant regime to the ghetto in Terezín in December 1941. There Graus became a teacher at a school for boys, a role he failed to carry out particularly conscientiously. The Germans consequently transferred him to a workplace for inventory of old Jewish literature which was being brought to Terezín from numerous locales throughout Europe. Graus made the acquaintance of the Brno sociologist Bruno Zwicker in Terezín who introduced him to classic Marxism. Thanks to Graus' work in the library, he had access in Terezín to confiscated books of Marxist and Communist literature. Graus began to intensely study the subject matter and actually became a member of the illegal Terezín Communist party in 1942.[12]

Graus' work position protected his entire family from being sent to a concentration camp for a long period of time. This lasted up until September 1944 when František Graus was deported to the Auschwitz extermination concentration camp. In contrast to his brother, František Graus survived the madness of the war. After his return to Czechoslovakia, he began to consider placing all of his powers into the service of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. He soon forsook this idea. He decided to become a historian and began to study at Charles University in Prague. Graus wanted to become a historian of the latest history, the history of the worker's movement. His teachers, however, encouraged him to focus on the Middle Ages, which consequently served to define his entire professional career. As early as his first year of studies at Charles University, Graus began to prepare his doctoral thesis under the name *Chudina městská v době předhusitské* (*The Town Poor during the Pre-Hussite Period).*[13] He received the degree of doctor of philosophy in 1948 after defending the work. His career trajectory took off relatively quickly over the following years. He became an associate professor in Medieval History in 1951 and full professor in 1967.[14]

František Graus worked as of the year 1951 as a university teacher at the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University in Prague. He became part of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences in 1953 where he remained up until 1970. Upon entering the Institute of History he worked as an external lecturer at Charles University. Despite his undoubted high education and impressive knowledge of European literature, František Graus leaned toward a Marxist view of the world. His ideological view of history fit in with the plans of the Communist totalitarian regime in Czechoslovakia. František Graus created a tandem along with Josef Macek, which ruthlessly rose up the ladder of academia and battled against otherwise (i.e. non-Marxist) thinking historians.[15]

Josef Macek's recollections indicate that František Graus excelled amongst other historians in terms of his knowledge and perspective. Macek viewed Graus as the leading expert in Marxist theory in the field. Graus viewed the Soviet Union as a liberating force and actually wrote an account of Stalin's views on economic questions.[16]

Despite his dogmatic positions, František Graus focused in his work on themes similar to those being dealt with outside of the Communist world: the history of mentalities, the history of the Jews, and the history of groups at the edge of society. Worthy of mention is his key two-volume work *Dějiny venkovského lidu v Čechách v době předhusitské* (*A History of Country People in Bohemia during the Pre-Hussite Period*).[17]

Over the course of the 1960s, František Graus began to abandon his views and positions on dogmatic Marxism. He gradually completely broke away from the Marxist camp. His numerous contacts with Western European historians, along with his stays at universities in Paris and Constance, undoubtedly also contributed to this state of affairs.[18] His leanings toward European themes can be seen in his publication released in German *Volk, Herschel und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger. Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit* in 1965.[19]

When the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the Warsaw Pact under the supervision of the Soviet Union occurred in August 1968, Graus was just about to set out on another study stay in Western Europe. He legally left Czechoslovakia in the autumn of 1968 and took up a position as a visiting professor at the University of Gießen in the former Federal Republic of Germany. He rejected a call to return to Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1970 and from that time became an *émigré* for the Czechoslovak authorities. An undoubted advantage for him was the fact that his family stayed with him abroad in exile. František Graus moved to the university in Basel, Switzerland, in 1972 where he lectured up until his death in 1989. Graus' situation in exile was simplified by the fact that he had maintained earlier numerous friendly relationships with historians in Western Europe who assisted him quite often when he was in exile. Graus, a former Czechoslovak passionate Marxist and dogmatic historian, because a non-Marxist historian of a European format. The prestige and dignity enjoyed by František Graus in Europe was confirmed by his

being chosen as one of the editors of the German journal *Historische Zeitschrift* in 1983.[20]

The example of the historian František Graus has served to show the fate of an intellectual who in his early youth fully served Communist and Marxist ideology, only to abandon these opinions and ideas after confronting the reality of Czechoslovak totalitarianism of the Communist regime. In a similar fashion as with the case of Josef Macek, František Graus realised over the course of the 1960s that he would not be able to freely present and publish his ideas and views within the totalitarian regime. While Josef Macek was removed from his employment and banned from publishing after 1968, František Graus refused to live out the rest of his life in a Communist totalitarian state and therefore opted for exile in Western Europe (the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland).

Jaroslav Mezník

Not all of the historians in Czechoslovakia, of course, were fully dedicated to Marxist dogmatic ideology and the Communist party after the year 1945. One of these figures was Jaroslav Mezník (31 December 1928 – 28 November 2008) whose extremely interesting fate and views will be presented here. Jaroslav Mezník differs from the previously mentioned historians not only in terms of his different philosophy of life, but also by the fact that he wrote up and actually published during his own lifetime his memoirs entitled *Můj život za vlády komunistů (1948-1989) (My Life Under Communist Rule (1948-1989))*.[21]

This future historian was born in Bratislava where his father worked as a civil servant.[22] The democratic views of his father, the lawyer Jaroslav Mezník, consequently significantly influenced the young Jaroslav. His father was named Vice-President of Carpathian Ruthenia in 1933, although his mother with their small children continued to live in Bratislava for several years. The rest of the family also moved to join their father in Uzhhorod in Carpathian Ruthenia in 1937 where young Jaroslav attended school. As a result of the accession of Nazism and the events connected with this, the family left Carpathian Ruthenia in the autumn of 1938 and settled in the city of Brno. The family continued to be touched by dramatic events. In May 1941, the father of the future historian was named regional President of Moravia. He was consequently arrested by the Gestapo for his anti-German and anti-Nazi views on 7 November 1941 and shot a week later in Brno on 14 November 1941.[23]

After the end of World War II in 1945, Jaroslav Mezník decided to dedicate his life to the study of history, concluding his studies at Brno University in 1953. He consequently worked in an archive and after completion of his internship, worked in the Institute of History of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Apart from this he also taught as an external lecturer at the Brno Philosophical Faculty. It should be emphasised that Jaroslav Mezník, in contrast to Josef Macek and František Graus, never joined the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and never adopted Marxist-Leninist ideology. Jaroslav

Mezník received his associate professorship in 1969 on the basis of a treatise on Pre-Hussite Prague. He was viewed as one of the most gifted and most capable historians in Czechoslovakia by his peers. His life was radically changed, however, by the totalitarian regime. He was arrested for his democratic views and opinions on 31 January 1972 and sentenced to three and a half years of imprisonment in July 1972 for so-called subversion of the state.[24]

During his imprisonment he was placed in five prisons in succession (Bohunice, Plzeň – Bory, Litoměřice, Ruzyň and Pankrác) since as a so-called political prisoner he was not allowed to stay in one place for too long a period in order to prevent him from assimilating with one prison environment. Jaroslav Mezník was released from prison on probation on 23 December 1974. His personality can be characterised by the fact that he attempted to prepare a specialised historical study during his imprisonment in order to maintain his sanity. This sounds truly incredible in light of the fact that a historian needs a large library and sources for their work, something which Jaroslav Mezník did not have, of course, in prison.[25]

After his release from prison, Jaroslav Mezník was not allowed to carry out academic work in research institutes or at universities. The Communists were of the opinion that individuals who had different (i.e. anti-Communist or non-Communist) views and opinions should be re-educated via manual labour; thus he was forbidden from performing any form of participation in the above-mentioned research institutions. From this time Jaroslav Mezník earned a living as a stock clerk in the national company Transporta Brno up to the year 1988. Jaroslav Mezník was also forbidden any form of publication activity by the totalitarian regime. The perversity of the system can be seen by their choosing to destroy Mezník's already typeset book *Praha před husitskou revolucí* (*Prague prior to the Hussite Revolution)* at the printing press in 1972.[26] The period of his life after his return from prison was characterised by continual observation by state security, interrogations, various forms of persecution and mental oppression. The nobility of Jaroslav Mezník's character is evidenced by the fact that he refused to buckle under this pressure and continued to carry out his historical research. He published his work in so-called "Samizdat" publications or under the names of his friends. He never even hinted at an attempt to come to terms with the Communist powers, which would have enabled him to receive an improved position.[27]

After the fall of the Communist regime in 1989, Jaroslav Mezník became fully involved in the building of a democratic society in Czechoslovakia, becoming a deputy in the Chamber of the Nations of the Federal Assembly in 1990 and Dean of the Philosophical Faculty of Brno University in the years 1994-1995. He received a professorship for his specialised work in 1991. Jaroslav Mezník, of course, considered the opportunity to return to his students in the lecture halls as his greatest personal victory.[28] One of Mezník's students wrote of him as follows, "Jaroslav Mezník was always charming due to his immediacy, unaffected modesty and

considerateness. He consequently achieved the natural respect and admiration of students."[29]

Jaroslav Mezník's book *Lucemburská Morava* (*Luxembourg Moravia)* published in 1999 is viewed as his most significant work. In the piece the author summarised his lifelong research on the period of 1310-1423.[30]

Mention has already been made of the fact that Jaroslav Mezník wrote his memoirs of the period of Communist rule in Czechoslovakia during his own lifetime *Můj život za vlády komunistů (1948-1989) (My Life Under Communist Rule (1948-1989))*.[31] In the work the author was not primarily interested in relating his own personal life, but instead wanted to reflect on the more than 40 years of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia from the perspective of a direct participant in events as well as dealing with the subject matter as a historian able to analyse the events in a wider context.[32]

The life story of Jaroslav Mezník serves as an example of the fate of an individual of firm character and persuasion who experienced numerous injustices at the hands of the totalitarian regime as a result of his views and historical truth. Several years of imprisonment and after his release another 15 years of harassment by the totalitarian Communist system could still not break his spirit. Paradoxically, Jaroslav Mezník was full of optimism about life during this period. After the fall of the Communist regime, Jaroslav Mezník dedicated the rest of his life to an attempt at helping create a democratic society based on humanitarian and ethical principles in Czechoslovakia and consequently in the Czech Republic as of the year 1993.[33]

Conclusion

Three interesting fates of historians during the period of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia have been traced here. Each of them represents a different type of relationship with the totalitarian regime. Josef Macek and František Graus established their careers in the service of the Communist regime only to later have a falling out. Josef Macek was punished for this with a loss of employment and a ban on publication. František Graus solved the situation through emigration. The case of Jaroslav Mezník is somewhat different. Jaroslav Mezník never placed himself at the service of the Communist regime and was consequently arrested and imprisoned, becoming a so-called political prisoner when he dared to criticise the regime. After his release he was not allowed to be employed in areas where he could make use of his profession and additionally experienced a ban on publishing in Czechoslovakia.

There has been a focus here on the careers of three individuals who ranked among the most significant figures in the science of history during the given period in Czechoslovakia. It should be mentioned that the majority of historians in Czechoslovakia behaved in a somewhat different manner. The majority of the historians tried to survive in some fashion or to co-exist with the regime, as opposed to publicly criticising it. The author is of the opinion that research in other post-Communist countries could in the future map out the fates

of additional historians. A consequent mutual comparison would serve to further shed light on the relationship of intellectuals to Communist totalitarian power.

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6 Čornej, 'Směřování Josefa Macka', 137, 141.

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23 Mezník, Můj život, 7-8.

24 Team of authors, 'K životnímu jubileu', 541-42.

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26 Mezník, 'Bohunice', 294; Mezník, Můj život, 163. The work was published after the fall of the communist regime in 1989 – Jaroslav Mezník, Praha před husitskou revolucí (Praha: Academia, 1990).

27 Team of authors, 'K životnímu jubileu', 542-43; Válka, 'Jaroslav Mezník', 73.

28 Šmahel, 'Jaroslav Mezník', 227-28; Borovský, 'Jaroslav Mezník', 200. Selection of Jaroslav Mezník´s most important texts was published in collection in 2008 – Jaroslav Mezník, Tvář stárnoucího středověku. Výbor článků a studií (Brno: Matice moravská, 2008).

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Bohemian and Czech Jews in American History

Miloslav Rechcígl, Jr.

Jews have lived on the territory of the historic Czech Lands for some 1,000 years. They have played an important role in the social, economic and cultural development of the country since the times of the Duchy and the subsequent Kingdom of Bohemia, through the establishment of independent Czechoslovakia, and the Successor State, the Czech Republic.[1]

The Bohemian or Czech Jews who immigrated to America represent a *terra incognita.* Relatively little is known and relatively little has been written, with the exception of Guido Kisch's now classical monograph, *In Search of Freedom,*[2] written in 1949, which dealt primarily with the emigrants from the Czech Lands around the year 1848; and my own study, which focused on the earliest arriving Bohemian Jewish pioneers in America. [3]

The purpose of this study is to take a comprehensive look at the immigration and settlement of the Bohemian and the Czech Jews in America at the onset of the 19th century and beyond and to evaluate their contributions. The first part deals with the arrival and the settlement of the immigrants in different States of the Union. The second part deals with the contributions of the selected Bohemian and the Czech Jews in different areas of endeavor, including American Judaism, public service, military service, business, culture, biological and medical sciences, physical sciences and engineering, and humanities and social sciences.[4]

Identification of Bohemian Jews

One of the difficulties has been to identify who is Jewish, since most of them came to America when the Czech Lands were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. German being the official language of the land, it is altogether not surprising, that being enterprising, they easily mixed with the German element, and as such, were *a priori* considered Germans or Austrians, or even Hungarians. This was true even though they had a separate identity and established their own culture. They were not Germans, they were Bohemian Jews. After the Czechoslovak Republic was established, many of these Jews identified themselves as Czechs Jews, having learned the Czech language and becoming a part of the Czech cultural milieu.

Despite the initial difficulties of identifying them as a group, after some experience, the present author soon developed the skill of 'guessing' whether a given surname might be of Bohemian Jewish origin. Here are some examples of the typical Bohemian Jewish names: Abeles, Adler, Altschul, Arnstein, Bleier, Bloch, Block, Bondi, Bondy, Busch, Eckstein, Eidlitz, Eisler, Eisner, Eitner, Epstein, Ernst, Fantl, Feigl, Fischel, Fischer, Fleischer, Fleischner, Frankel, Freud, Freund, Fried, Fuchs, Furst, Fürth, Glaser, Grünberger, Grund, Grünfeld, Grünhut, Günzburg, Haas, Hahn, Hammerschlag, Heller, Hirsch, Hofmann,

Jeiteles, Kahler, Karpeles, Katz, Kauders, Kisch, Klauber, Klein, Kohn, Korbel, Kraus, Krauskopf, Kuh, Langer, Lederer, Löbl, Loewy, Löw-Beer, Lustig, Mahler, Mandl, Meisl, Meissner, Munk, Neumann, Pam, Pascheles, Petscheck, Pick, Popper, Porges, Reich, Rosenwasser, Rosewater, Schlesinger, Schmelkes, Schulhoff, Spira, Stein, Steindler, Steiner, Stern, Strauss, Tauber, Teweles, Vogel, Wehle, Weidenthal, Weiner, Weil, Weinberger, Weinmann, Weiss, Weisskopf, Weltsch, Winternitz, Wolf, Zeisel, Zucker, Zweig.

The identification was, of course, easier, when their names were based on German translations of the Czech towns, such as Austerlitz (Slavkov), Brandeis (Brandýs nad Labem), Brod, Bunzlau (Boleslav), Haurowitz (Hořovice), Janowitz (Janovice), Jenikau (Jeníkov), Nachod (Náchod), Neustadtl (Nové Město), Nicolsburg (Mikulov), Politzer (Politz – Police), Postelberg (Postoloprty), Prag (Praha), Pribram (Příbram), Raudnitz (Roudnice), Strakonitz (Strakonice), Taussig (Tauss – Domažlice), Teplitz (Teplice), Turnau (Turnov).

Some of these Jews had typical Czech names, such as: Dubský, Forman, Holý, Hošek, Hubatý, Jahoda, Jellinek, Kafka, Kulka, Kussy, Mánes, Morawetz, Placzek, Písecký, Pokorný, Poláček, Pollak, Roubíček, Růžička, Slezák, Sobotka, Stránský, Tuschka, Vodička, Voskovec, Zelenka.[5]

Bohemian Jewish Settlers in Individual States

This section ignores the Bohemian Jewish pioneers in America from the 16th to 18th centuries, which were the subject of my earlier study. The emphasis here is the immigrants who came to America in the first half of the 19th century and their descendants.

Virginia

Around the turn of the 19th century several members of the Block (originally Bloch) Jewish family from Švihov, a village in Bohemia, settled in Virginia. [6] Among them were Jacob Block (ca 1765-1835) and his son Abraham Block (1780-1857). Jacob lived originally in Baltimore, MD but later moved to Williamsburg and soon after to Richmond in Virginia. Abraham arrived in America in 1791 at the age of 12 years and grew up in Virginia. He established himself as a merchant and in 1811 was married to Frances Isaacs with whom he had seven children. The following year he served as captain during the War of 1812. After the war he returned to his business. In 1823 he decided to move to Arkansas where he thought he would find better conditions for business.

Other members of the large Block family lived in Richmond at that time. The patriarch of the family, Simon Block (bef. 1742-1823), the father of Jacob and grandfather of Abraham, resided in Richmond in 1804. Some six years later he moved to Williamsburg and finally he ended up in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Abraham's brother, Simon Block, Jr., (bef. 1790-1826) lived in Richmond since 1794 or earlier, and later moved to Missouri. Abraham's second

brother Eleazer Block (1797-1886), a native of Švihov, was one of the lucky Americans who had the privilege of acquiring university education at that time. He attended the College of William and Mary and around 1826 settled by the Mississippi River and opened a law practice. Abraham's sister Louise, who was born in Virginia, married Abraham Jonas, a close friend of President Lincoln. Their son Benjamin Franklin Jonas (1834-1911) became Senator for the State of Louisiana. [7]

Maryland

The next State to register the entry of a Bohemian Jew at the beginning of the 19th century was probably Maryland. His name was Levi Collmus (1782-1856) who settled in Baltimore.[8] Although some sources state that he arrived in 1798, as a lad of 15, or in 1800, a declaration of naturalization he made in 1822 states that he arrived at the port of Baltimore in September 1806. He gave Prague as his birthplace and his age as 40 years. He was a dry goods dealer.

Levi Collmus participated in the War of 1812. According to his application to the U.S House of Representatives for a pension, he "was engaged in the battle near Baltimore which took place on the 12th day of September, 1814." Although he married a Christian, Collmus was one of the electors of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation in 1831. He became treasurer of the United Hebrew Benevolent Society when it was formed in 1834. Though buried in a Christian cemetery (Greenmount Cemetery), he was given a burial according to the full Orthodox Jewish ritual.[9]

In the 1840s, several Bohemian Jewish families settled in Baltimore. Among them was Charles Winternitz (1815-1891), a native of Deštná, Bohemia, who came with his wife and five children, in 1845. After six months in Baltimore, he began an iron business. Within two years he owned two stores in the city, and was very successful. His firm, Charles Winternitz & Sons, did the heaviest iron business in the city of Baltimore. He had eight children, of which three--David, Lewis and Hiram--were associated with him in business. Two of them, Samuel G. and William, carried on individually their own iron businesses. [10]

In 1845, Adolf Guinzburg (ca1820-1908) settled in Annapolis, the capital of Maryland.[11] He was a merchant. He lived there until 1873 when he moved to Clearfield, PA, where he opened a men's clothing shop. His brother, Rabbi Dr. A. Guinzburg (1812-1873) immigrated with his family to Baltimore in 1849. Apart from his theological responsibilities he also taught at Newton University. He later moved to Rochester, NY. [12]

In 1849, Leopold Franz Morawetz (1818-1892) immigrated to Baltimore from Roudnice, Bohemia. [13] He was a physician specializing in surgery and obstetrics, having received his medical training at Prague and Vienna Universities. He opened a practice in Baltimore and was among Baltimore's first physicians. One of his sons, Victor Morawetz,[14] became a prominent lawyer; the other son, Albert became a diplomat.

Pennsylvania

At the turn of the 18th and 19th century, Isaac Phillips (1794-1851) came to Pennsylvania from England, where his ancestor Phineas Phillips originally emigrated from Bohemia. He was a member of the foreign commission and exchange firm of R. I. Phillips, who became a prominent figure in the Philadelphia business world. His firm was the first American representative of the House of Rothschild. Isaac's son Barnet Phillips (1826-1885), a founder of the American Jewish Historical Society, achieved distinction as a scholar, soldier and journalist. In 1872 he joined the staff of the *New York Times*; at the time of his death he was in charge of book reviews.[15]

David Winternitz (*1818) immigrated to America from Bohemia and settled in New Castle, PA in 1825. His son Isaac Adler Winternitz became a physician as did his grandson David Henry Winternitz (*1891). The latter was born Hoxie, KA, where his father moved. [16]

Francis J. Grund (1798-1863), a native of Liberec, Bohemia, was long a resident of Philadelphia, and a frequent contributor "to the public prints**."** He made his first impression as a Washington correspondent of the *Public Ledger*. Grund played an active role in the city's politics. He edited a Whig newspaper, *the Daily Standard*, during the campaign of 1840; and he afterwards became a staunch supporter of the Tyler administration. On October 26, 1842, *The Spirit of the Times* reported that Grund had been appointed "weigh master" in the Philadelphia Custom House. Lambert A. Wilmer [17] recalled that Grund, while holding "a fat office in the Custom-House," controlled the "political department" of the *Evening Mercury*, the organ of the Tyler administration in Philadelphia. He established a Philadelphia journal *The Age,* which he edited from 1843-63, and was the author of *The Americans in their Moral, Social, and Political Relations* (1837), *Aristocracy in America* (1839), *Algebraic Problems, Elements of Chemistry* and of *Natural Philosophy* and *Plane and Solid Geometry*.

His insightfulness is evident from the discussion in his book, *Aristocracy in America*, of Philadelphia's culture: "The society of Philadelphia is, on the whole, better than that of Boston or New York. There is less vulgar aristocracy than in other Northern cities. Not that I mean to say that there are not people to be found in Boston and New York that could rival the Philadelphians in point of 'gentility but in the good 'city of brotherly love' there is, probably owing to a seasonable admixture of a large number of European, and especially French families, a higher tone, greater elegance, and, in every respect, more agrémens. The New-Englanders are an arguing people, and annoy you, even in society, with mathematical and political demonstrations. The Philadelphians have more taste, and have the best cooks in the United States."[18]

S. E. Rosenbaum (*1822), a Czech Jew from Golčův Jeníkov, Bohemia, settled in Allentown, PA at age 25 in 1847. According to Guido Kisch, he had talents for art and journalism. He kept a careful diary, a veritable

'human document' of man's enterprise, striving, and endurance. His American career as a peddler and window-shade painter was beneath his talents and education. In his later years, his frequent spells of disappointment and despondency find tragic expression in the final pages of his diary – which he added some fifty years afterwards, at the age of seventy-five.[19]

Adolph Brandeis (1822-1906) from Prague briefly visited Pennsylvania in 1848 after he emigrated from Bohemia to New York. He was the father of the famed Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis.

During 1853-1854, Rabbi Bernard Illowy (1814-1871), of Kolín, Bohemia, served as rabbi in Philadelphia. He then moved to St. Louis.

Louisiana

The earliest known Bohemian Jew to settle in Louisiana was Samuel Kohn (1783-1853), who was born in a tiny Bohemian village of Hořany. It is surmised that he arrived around 1806 or earlier. Through wit, grit and acuity, he rose from a penniless immigrant to become one of the wealthiest financiers in New Orleans. In due course, Kohn became a banker, moneylender, investor, and a real estate promoter. He also built dwellings and commercial buildings throughout the city and was one of the major promoters of suburban construction. [20]

Samuel Kohn had several brothers, including Simon and Joachim. In 1819 or 1820, when Joachim [21] was 19 or 20 years old, Samuel brought him to New Orleans and set him up in the commission brokerage line. He and his with several partners owned ships and handled cargoes on the Mississippi River, in the Caribbean, on the Atlantic seaboard and in Europe. After Samuel Kohn moved to Paris in 1832, Joachim acted as his agent in America. Joachim was successful in his own right. He was a member of more corporate boards than any other Jew in his time.

A third member of the Kohn family, Samuel's nephew, Carl Kohn,[22] was brought to New Orleans by Samuel in 1830 or 1831. He achieved a level of success and prominence equal to that of his uncles. Like them he became engaged in merchant banking, commission brokerage and various other business enterprises, culminating in his election to the presidency of the Union National Bank.

Apart from Kohns, several members of the Block family lived in New Orleans, including Abraham Block (1780-1857), Jacob Block (1808-1888) and Louisa Block (*1800), the mother of the future senator Benjamin F. Jonas (1834-1911).

Some Bohemian Jews resided here only temporarily, such as Dr. Simon Pollak (1814-1903) from Domažlice or Philip Wohl (1823-1895) from Karlovy Vary, both of whom later moved to St. Louis. MO.

Missouri

Missouri was the next state in which Bohemian Jews appeared in the early part of the 19th century. According to Isidor Bush, it was Wolf Block (ca 1765-bf 1840) from Švihov, who previously lived in Baltimore, MD and Richmond, who moved to St. Louis in 1816. Other family relatives followed suit so that the Blocks were the most numerous Jewish family in the city. Wolf Block's cousin, Eleazer Block (1797-1886),[23] was apparently the second Block who came to St. Louis, after completing his studies at the College of William and Mary. He became the first "Hebrew lawyer" in that city.

A couple of decades later, the St. Louis' Blocks were joined by Abraham Weigl (1802-1888) and Nathan Abeles (1814-1885), from Bohemia, who married into the Block family.

Around 1840, Charles A Taussig (*1822), son of Seligman Taussig from Prague, came to St. Louis, followed, a year later, by his brother John Seligman Taussig (1832-1911)[24] with their cousin William (1826-1916). Charles Taussig, jointly with Adolph Abeles, brother of Nathan Abeles, opened a very popular general store at Park and Carondelet Streets, which became widely known as far as Jefferson Co. [25]

In 1840, Adolph Klauber (1816-) arrived from Bohemia and established an iron and metal business in St. Louis. He became one of the founders of congregation B'nai El. His son David, born in 1858, joined him in business and both became important members of the Jewish community. [26]

In 1845, a young physician Simon Pollak (1814-1903), of Domažlice, joined the growing St. Louis Bohemian Jewish community. He obtained his doctorate in 1835 and immigrated to America in 1838. After a short stay in New York, he went to New Orleans and then to Tennessee, before permanently settling in St. Louis. He established a highly successful ophthalmology and ear clinic and an institution for blind. During the Civil War he served as a general inspector of hospitals. [27]

Isidor Bush (1822-1898) came to St. Louis in 1849, after a short stay in New York, where he first immigrated after the unsuccessful revolution in 1848 and when he had to flee from Austria. He was married to Theresa Taussig, sister of Charles A Taussig. He opened a general store in Carondelet with his brother-in-law Charles A. Taussig, who was already in business with Adolph Abeles. By 1853, Bush and Taussig bought out Abeles and continued profitably in the south St. Louis location. In 1851, Bush purchased one hundred acres of land in Jefferson Co., south of St. Louis, at a place called Bushberg, where he successfully grew grapes. Before long he gained a reputation as a leading authority in viniculture. [28]

Arkansas

The earlier mentioned Capt. Abraham Block (1780-1857), from Virginia, resided in the state of Arkansas by 1823. His family soon followed. They were considered to have been one of the original pioneer settlers and the

first Jews to settle in Arkansas.[29] Abraham had established a store in the village of Washington, AK that had prospered and had drawn trade from a wide area in Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana, so that he soon became one of the wealthiest men in the county. In 1830s and 1840s, the Block firm began to open branches in other towns in the southwest Arkansas. According to his obituary, he was esteemed by all who knew him, and the businessmen of New Orleans and the planters of Red River and southern Arkansas all knew him.[30]

Massachusetts

The year of 1827 marks the arrival in Boston of Francis Joseph Grund (1805-1863) from Prague. In contrast to the humble background of most of the early immigrants from Bohemia, Francis J. Grund was already educated when he came to America, with a degree from the Vienna Polytechnic. He was a mathematician of note who wrote textbooks on arithmetic, algebra and geometry, in addition to texts on chemistry, astronomy and natural philosophy. In 1827, after a year of teaching mathematics in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, he settled in the United States. He continued teaching mathematics in Boston until 1833, subsequently engaging in journalistic work. In 1837 he settled in Philadelphia, where he served as an editor of the Whig newspaper *Standard and Grund's Pennsylvanischer Deutscher*. Some credit him with inventing journalistic sensationalism, full of hints of best sources and information from behind the scenes. [31]

Kentucky

The first Bohemian Jew in Kentucky was probably Louisa Block (*ca1800), who was married there in 1829 to Abraham Jonas. Her father Jacob was native of Švihov, Bohemia, who immigrated to the US at the end of the 18th century.[32] Louisa and her husband lived first in Williamstown in Grant Co., KY. Four of their sons were born in Kentucky, all of whom served in the Confederate Army. One of the sons, Benjamin Franklin Jonas (1834-1911) was a lawyer who became senator for Louisiana. [33] In 1836 the family removed to Quincy, IL where they became close friends of President Lincoln. [34]

In 1853, Lewis Naphtali Dembitz (1833–1907), whose mother came from Prague, opened a law practice in Louisville. He soon entered politics and held important offices in the Republican Party. He was a member of the National Republican Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for President. [35]

Around 1853, another Bohemian Jew, Edward Klauber (1835-1918),[36] settled in Louisville, where he opened a popular photographic studio. One of his sons, Adolf Klauber (1879-1933) was a drama critic for *New York Times* and later became a theatre producer. [37]

The most interesting Bohemian Jewish family in Kentucky was that of Moritz Flexner (1820-1882) from Všeruby, who settled in Louisville in 1854.[38] Although he was just a peddler and later a shopkeeper, he managed to provide

all his children university education. Without exception, they became prominent in their professions.

New York

A large number of Bohemian Jews came to New York in the early part of the 19th century. However, most of them stayed for only a short period and then moved on to other states, particularly to the south. This is why New York City may be called "Gateway to America." [39] This group included Dr. Simon Pollak, who came here in 1838, Leopold Weisskopf in 1839, Louis Fleischner in 1839, Solomon Adler in 1843, Charles S. Kuh in 1844, Rabbi Issac M. Wise in 1846 and Samuel Klauber in 1847.

Among the early arrivals, only a few people made New York City or New York State their permanent home. Among them are Leopold Eidlitz, who came here in 1843, Marc Eidlitz and David Abeles (1822-1897) in 1847, Max Maretzek, Lewis Hahn (1828-), Philip Brockman, Julius Bunzl and Henry Dormitzer in 1848. Leopold Eidlitz (1823-1908) was one of the most prominent architects in the US, while his brother Marc (1826-1892) became one of the most famous building contractors and entrepreneurs in New York City.

Max Maretzek (1821-1897) managed several opera companies at the Academy of Music, NY and was one of the pioneers in popularizing grand opera in the US.

It is noteworthy that already in 1848 the New York Czech Jews had their own congregation "Ahabath Hesed." Their synagogue stood on 133 Ridge Street and their burial ground in Cypress Hill Cemetery. Their first rabbi was Falkman Teberich, while Ignatz Stein served as president of the congregation. The parent organization, recorded as early as 1846, was not a synagogue but a mutual aid society, called 'Bohemian Brothers." This society is mentioned in the minutes of Emanu-El Congregation in New York of May 30, 1847, under the name of 'Bőhmischer Verein.' Simon Klauber was president, Charles S. Kuh vice-president, Dr. Brockman as treasurer and M. Opper was secretary. [40]

Illinois

Henry Horner (1817-78) was the first Bohemian Jew, and one of the first four Jews to settle in Chicago. He came to America in 1840, and, was hired in Chicago as a clerk for a clothing house, where he remained until he opened his own wholesale and retail house, Henry Horner and Co. His company started at Randolph and Canal Streets. In 1859 Horner built a large store at Nos. 78, 80 and 82 West Randolph Street, and in 1864 he moved his business to South Water Street. His grandson, bearing identical name, became governor of Illinois.[41]

In 1852, Joseph Benedict Greenhut (1843-1918) from Horšovský Týn, Bohemia immigrated with his parents and settled in Chicago. He was a volunteer in the Union Army during Civil War and took part in the battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. He was made adjutant general

and chief of staff of 3rd Brigade, 3rd Div. of the 11th Army Corps and took part in the campaign and battles of his brigade in Tennessee. After 1869 he conducted a distilling business with unprecedented success. He erected largest distillery in the world at Peoria, IL. In 1887 he organized the Distillery and Cattle Feeding Co., with a capital of $35 million, comprising practically all large distilleries in the country. When Pres. McKinley and his entire cabinet visited Peoria in 1899 they were guests of the Greenhuts. [42]

Michigan

Solomon Weil (1821-1891) was the first Bohemian Jew to come to Michigan. He was a native of Bohumileč near Čkyně, Bohemia, from which he emigrated in 1843, settling in Ann Arbor. He was the first Jew in that city. He was soon joined by his future wife Dora and his brothers: Leopold, Moses, Marcus and Jacob, and his father Joseph. They all first conducted individual businesses but later decided to pool their resources and establish a family-run tannery J. Weil & Bros. Jacob Weil (1827-1912), who was highly educated, having initially studied in Prague to be a rabbi and later graduated from the University in Budapest, was chosen to be the firm's president. Just three years after they bought the tannery, the R.G. Dun & Company reported the brothers' worth as $50,000, and their business as "one of the most successful firms in the West." By 1861, the tannery employed from 40 to 50 men. Five years later their real estate was worth about $100,000. [43]

In 1847, three Lederer brothers, Charles, Henry and Emanuel, also from Čkyně, Bohemia, settled in Ann Arbor. Subsequently they moved to Lansing, Michigan, where they established a tannery, soap manufacturing and general store.

In the same year another Bohemian Jew arrived, named Abraham Weidenthal (1818-1848), who after two years moved to Cleveland, OH, where he became a prominent journalist.

Wisconsin

Among the earliest Jewish immigrants to settle in Milwaukee in 1844 was Isaac Neustadtl (d. l877) from Bohemia. [44] He started out as a retail grocer on Third Street but soon involved himself in the insurance business. Apart from his successful business, he was very active in the political and civic affairs of the city. In 1852/53 he was elected city alderman in the Second Ward, which contained the largest segment of Milwaukee's Jewish population. Neustadtl sympathized with the European revolutionary movement of 1848 and headed an association in Milwaukee for aiding political refugees from Europe. On Yom Kippur in 1847, 12 Jewish pioneers held their first services at the home of Isaac Neustadtl at Chestnut and Fourth Streets, leading to the establishment of Emanu-El, the first Jewish congregation in Milwaukee.

The second Bohemian Jew to come to Milwaukee was Josef B. Schram (1817-1900) in 1846, after spending some time in Boston. He opened a grocery

store which he conducted for twenty-six years. His son Louis B. Schram (*1856) studied at Yale and received a law degree from Columbia in 1879. Since then he successfully practiced law in Milwaukee.

The third Bohemian Jew to come to Milwaukee was Solomon Adler (1816-1890), who originally immigrated to New York in 1843. He established a men's store in Milwaukee, jointly with Jacob Steinhardt which existed till 1852. He then formed another firm with his brother David under the name A & D Adler Co. When Solomon Adler retired from the firm and left for New York, the company was reorganized as the David Adler and Sons Clothing Co., which grew to be one of the largest wholesale clothing houses in the United States. While still in Milwaukee, Solomon was very active in Jewish affairs and held the office of secretary of the first Jewish cemetery organization in Milwaukee, as well as secretary of the first Jewish congregation in Milwaukee and the first president of the newly consolidated congregation Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun.

In 1847 and the following years a number of other Bohemian Jews settled in Milwaukee, including Adolph Weil (1847), Henry Katz (1847), Bernard Heller (1848), Jacob Morawetz (1849), Jonas Schoenmann (1850), Isaac Stránský (1850).

Ohio

As mentioned earlier, Simon Block (1742-1832) moved to Cincinnati sometimes after 1810; he was the first Bohemian Jew in Ohio. When Simon Block died in 1832 Cincinnati's Jewish congregation mourned "the loss of Simon Block, Esq., formerly of Richmond, Va. This venerable gentleman had filled the office of Parnass. . . . Being the oldest amongst us, we considered him as the father of this congregation." [45]

In 1848, Adolph Brandeis (1820-) from Prague, Bohemia came to Cincinnati scouting for a new home for his extended family, after immigrating first to New York that year. In January 1849 he worked for a Cincinnati grocery store, which gave him the necessary experience for his future business. Later that year, twenty-six members of Gottlieb Wehle's family from Prague arrived in New York to join him. Adolph Brandeis soon married Gottlieb Wehle's daughter who accompanied the family to Cincinnati. They stayed for about a month and then all members minus two moved to Madison, IN. The two who remained were Dr. Sigmund Dembitz and his son Lewis N. Dembitz (1833-1907). Here then Lewis' father practiced medicine while young Lewis studied law. He did it in the fashion of the day by obtaining an employment and reading law in the office of a rising lawyer John Bernhard Stallo.

In 1849, another Bohemian Jew, Abraham Weidenthal (1818-1848), a native of Hostice, moved to Cleveland, OH, after first immigrating to Michigan in 1847. He brought with him his new wife, Rebecca Neuman (1823-1890), also a native from Bohemia, whom he married at Ann Arbor, MI in 1847. Other members of the Weidenthal family, including Gottlieb's mother Rebecca, his bothers Bernard and Leopold, and sisters Fanny and Charlotte joined them the

same year. The youngest Gottlieb's brother Emanuel (1827-1897) arrived in Cleveland with his wife Julia and their six children around 1865. A least three of these children, Maurice, Henry and Leo became prominent journalists in Cleveland.

In 1849, Joseph Lőwy (1797-1870), another Bohemian Jew, arrived from Nové Hostice, together with his sons Leopold, Ignatz and Albert and daughter Dorothea. Two years later Dorothea Lőwy married Bernard Weidenthal.

Notable Personalities among the Bohemian Jews in America

Most Bohemian Jewish immigrants established themselves quite quickly in their new homeland and many of them achieved remarkable success, in just about every area of human endeavor. Although most major areas are covered here, because of the lack of space, only a few most representative individuals in specific areas are included.

American Judaism

Several prominent American rabbis can claim Czech ancestry. Among them, by far, the leading place is held by Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, originally spelled Weiss (1819-1900), who was born in Lomnička, Bohemia. In July 1846, he immigrated to NY and in September 1846 was elected rabbi of the Jewish congregation of Albany, NY where he remained until 1854 when he was elected rabbi of the Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun Congregation of Cincinnati, where he officiated until end of his life. In Cincinnati he began publishing a weekly newspaper *The Israelite* (later *The American Israelite*). He was a pioneer, founder and organizer of Reform Judaism in US and most influential Jewish personality in US at his time. He was instrumental in organizing the Union of American Hebrew Congregation (1873) and in founding Hebrew Union College (1875), which he served as president until his death. In 1889 he also founded the Central Conference of American Rabbis and served as its president until the end of his life. [46]

Bernard Illowy (l8l2 1871) from Kolín, Bohemia was probably the second most influential rabbi in America of Czech ancestry. He was an orthodox rabbi and scholar educated at the rabbinical school in Padua and the University of Budapest. At time of his immigration to US in 1848 he was the only Orthodox rabbi to hold a doctorate degree in the US. He served as rabbi in New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Syracuse, Baltimore, New Orleans and Cincinnati. He stressed Orthodox observance in his sermons and was a powerful speaker, accomplished lyricist, and great Talmudist.[47]

The third rabbi of significance was Maximilian Heller (1860-1929), a native of Prague, who was educated in Prague and Cincinnati. He became rabbi in Chicago (1884-86), Houston (1886-87) and of the Temple Sinai in New Orleans (s. 1887), where he served for more than 40 years. He was active in communal affairs and in1912 was appointed professor of Hebrew and Hebrew

literature at Tulane University, where he served until retirement in 1928. He was a Charter member of Central Conference of American Rabbis, serving as their president from 1911-29.[48]

Stephen S. Wise (1874-1949) was a descendant of a long line of rabbis in Moravia in the 17th and 18th centuries. After immigration to New York as a child and after his ordination as a Reform rabbi, he led a congregation in Portland, Oregon, where his liberal political convictions inspired him to fight for child labor laws and for the demands of striking workers. A charismatic orator, he became a champion for social justice and civil rights and was one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He later became a strong advocate and vocal supporter of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 'New Deal.'

Other rabbis of note include Emanuel Schreiber (1852-1932), Moses J. Gries (1868-1918), Eugene Kohn (1887-1977, James G. Heller (1892-1971), and Leo Jung (1892-1977).

Public Service

Executive Branch - In the Executive branch of the Federal Government, Madeleine Albright (1937-) achieved the highest rank, having been named the Secretary of State by President Clinton. She was born in Prague to Czech diplomat Josef Korbel and his wife. Although she received her doctorate relatively late in life (1976), her career then skyrocketed. She became a legislative assistant to Senator Edmund Muskie, followed by similar appointment with the National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. Later she was given a chair at George Washington University. She became an advisor to Presidential candidate Walter Mondale and to Michael Dukakis. When Bill Clinton became President, she was named US Ambassador to the UN and his next term, he appointed her Secretary of State.[49]

The second highest position held by a Bohemian Jew was Caspar Weinberger (1917-2006), whose paternal grandfather was a native of Bohemia. He served in the administrations of three U.S. presidents, as director of the Office of Management and Budget, as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and as Secretary of Defense. He was noted for his budget-cutting ability until, as Secretary of defense, he pressed for huge annual increases in military spending.[50]

A third very influential person was Charles William Taussig (1896-1948), whose paternal grandfather was a native of Prague. Charles W. Taussig was President of the American Molasses Company in 1933, when he became one of the original members of the "brain trust" of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. From 1935 to 1936, he served as Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration. Taussig co-chaired the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission in 1942, and was chairman of the American delegation from 1946 until his death in 1948. He also served as a member of the

President's Council for the Virgin Islands, chairman of the U.S. Commission to Study Social and Economic Conditions in the British East Indies, and on the United Nations Conference on International Organization. [51]

Legislative Branch - Two senators of Bohemian Jewish ancestry are Benjamin F. Jonas of Louisiana and John F. Kerry of Massachusetts.

Benjamin Franklin Jonas (1834-1911) was a grandson of Jewish immigrant from Švihov, Bohemia. He enlisted in the army during the early days of the Civil War and was later promoted to the rank of major. He was a member of the Louisiana state house of representatives in 1865. Following the war, he served as a US Senator during Reconstruction as a Democrat from 1879 to 1885. He was the second Jewish US Senator from Louisiana.[52]

John Forbes Kerry (1943-) is the senior United States Senator from Massachusetts, and, until recently, was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. As the Presidential nominee of the Democratic Party, he was defeated by 34 electoral votes in the 2004 presidential election by President George W. Bush. Senator Kerry is a Vietnam veteran, and was a spokesman for Vietnam Veterans against the War when he returned home from service. Before entering the Senate, he served as an Assistant District Attorney and Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts. In 2003 it was discovered that Kerry's paternal grandparents came from Horní Benešov, Moravia. They were Jewish but prior to immigration to US they changed their names and switched to Roman Catholicism. His grandfather changed his name from Fritz Kohn to Frederick Kerry. Until this discovery, Senator Kerry thought that his ancestors were Irish Catholics.[53]

Among Congressmen, Adolph Joachim Sabath (1866-1952), a native of Záboří, Bohemia, gets the highest honors. He served as a member of the US House of Representatives from Chicago, Illinois, from 1907 until his death. He served for 23 terms, representing Chicago's Southwest Side, and was chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee. He was known for his advocacy of immigration and social welfare reform.[54]

Judicial Branch – Several Jewish judges with roots in the Czech Lands were appointed to American courts. Two of them held the prestigious posts as Associate Judges of the Supreme Court. The first was Louis D. Brandeis (1856-1941), a native of Louisville, KY, whose father Adolf emigrated from Prague to America in 1848. As a very successful attorney in Boston (1877–1916), he was known as "the people's attorney" for his defense of the constitutionality of several state hours-and-wages laws, his devising of a savings-bank life-insurance plan for working people, and his efforts to strengthen the government's antitrust power. His work influenced passage in 1914 of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act. Appointed by President Wilson to the Supreme Court of the United States (1916), he was noted for his devotion to freedom of speech. Many of his

minority opinions, in which he was often aligned with Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., later were accepted by the court in the New Deal era.[55]

The second notable jurist of Czech extraction was Felix Frankfurter (1882-1965), a native of Vienna, Austria, whose mother was born in Uherský Ostroh, Moravia. In 1900 the family emigrated to the United States. After graduating from City College of New York in 1902, Frankfurter entered Harvard Law School. In 1906 Henry Stimson, a New York attorney, recruited Frankfurter as his assistant. When President William Howard Taft appointed Stimson as his secretary of war in 1911, he took Frankfurter along as law officer of the Bureau of Insular Affairs. In 1914, Frankfurter returned to the Harvard Law School as professor of administrative law. Over the next few years he acquired a reputation for holding progressive political views. A founder member of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) he criticized the Tennessee Anti-Evolution Law and joined the campaign to overturn the death sentence.

When Roosevelt became president he often consulted Frankfurter about the legal implication of his New Deal legislation. In 1939 Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Frankfurter as a Supreme Court justice. Frankfurter took a strong stand on individual civil rights and this led to him being condemned by some as an "extreme liberal."[56]

State and Municipal Government - At the State level, Henry Horner (1878-1940), whose maternal grandfather immigrated to Chicago, grew to prominence as a lawyer and politician. His political career began in 1914 when he was elected probate judge of Cook County, a post to which he was reelected four times. The younger Horner's ability and impeccable reputation led the Democratic organization to nominate him for governor of Illinois in 1932. Defeating the Republican nominee by a vote of 1,930,330 to 1,364,043, he became the first Democratic chief executive of the state in 17 years. During his tenure as governor (1933-40) he made many notable contributions to the welfare Illinois. His interest in Lincoln resulted in the gathering of one of the finest collections of 'Lincolniana' in the U.S., which he donated to the Illinois State Historical Library.[57]

At a municipal level, Julius Fleischmann (1871-1925), a son of a Moravian Jew, became mayor of Cincinnati (1900 – 1905). He was the son of Charles Louis Fleischmann, the founder of the Fleischmann Yeast Co. He left college to become the company's General Manager in 1894 when he was twenty-two years old. The wealthiest and also the youngest man to serve as the city's mayor, he was remembered for vastly improving Cincinnati's park system and railways.[58]

Other mayors of Bohemian Jewish ancestry include Isaac W. Taussig (1850-1884), mayor of Jersey City, NJ; William Taussig (1826-1913), mayor of Carondelet, MO; and Walter M. Taussig (1862-1923), mayor of Yonkers, NY,

Military Service

Bohemian Jewish immigrants participated in just about every war in which the US was involved. First was Solomon Bush (1753-1795), whose father immigrated to Philadelphia and who was an officer in the Pennsylvania militia (1777-87). In July 1777, he was appointed deputy adjutant-general of the state militia by the supreme council of Pennsylvania. In September 1777, he was dangerously wounded in the thigh during a skirmish, and had to be taken to Philadelphia. When the British captured the City in December 1777, he was taken prisoner, but released on parole. His brother, Jonas Bush, was also on the roll of Revolutionary soldiers.[59]

During the Civil War, Color Sergeant Leopold Karpeles (1838-1909) , a native of Prague, was instrumental in turning the tide of the May 1864 Wilderness Campaign, which saw his 57th Massachusetts Regiment suffer the highest casualties. Karpeles was badly wounded but he refused to relinquish the flag and be evacuated until he fainted from loss of blood. Karpeles spent most of the next year in military hospitals, and was discharged in May of 1865. He received Congressional Medal of Honor for his bravery. He settled in Washington after the war and was rewarded for his military service with a job in the post office, which he held until his death.[60]

Robert Eugene Steiner (1862-1955), a son of a Bohemian Jewish immigrant, served as captain in the Greenville Guards and major in the 2nd Regiment of Alabama National Guard. He raised a cavalry regiment (1916) and, appointed colonel, served with it on the Mexican border. He was promoted to brigadier general of the National Guards (1917), brigadier general of US Army (1917), and Commander of the 62nd Infantry Brigade. During World War I he returned in command of the 31st division and later was appointed brigadier general (1919).[61]

Several high-ranking officers were in the US Navy. Edward David Taussig (1847-1921), son of a Bohemian Jewish immigrant, became a Rear Admiral. He served in the European and Pacific Stations and in the Coast Survey. He commanded the Bennington (1898-99), took possession of Wake Island for the US, and took charge of Guam in 1899. He also served in the Philippines and in North China.[62]

His son Joseph Koefler Taussig (1877-1947) was promoted through ranks to Rear Admiral in the US Navy. He participated in Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, Boxer Campaign, Cuban Pacification, World War I, and the Nicaraguan Campaign of 1927. He retired as Vice Admiral.[63]

Claude Charles Bloch (1878-1967), a son of a Bohemian Jewish immigrant was also a Navy officer of note. He advanced to Rear Admiral (1923) and then to Admiral (1942). He served on the SS Iowa in Spanish-American War and was named the Commander-in-chief of the US Fleet (1938- 40). He was made the Commandant of the Navy Yard Pearl Harbor and held the post during the Japanese attack in December 1941.[64]

Commerce and Industry

Merchants & Other Businessmen

As one would expect, many Bohemian Jewish immigrants and their descendants became businessmen in America.

Among merchants, Abraham Block (1780-1857) of Švihov, Bohemia, arrived in Washington, AK in 1823 and soon established the mercantile business that was to become one of the most prosperous in the state.

David Adler (1821-1905) organized his David Adler and Sons Clothing Co. in Milwaukee. This grew to be one of the largest wholesale clothing houses in the United States.

Louis Fleischner (1827-1896) founded a major and highly acclaimed wholesale dry foods business in Portland which ranked among the first in Oregon.

Louis Taussig (1837-1890) founded The Taussig Co. in San Francisco, which became one of the largest wholesale liquor establishments in the west, eventually expanding into Cincinnati, New York City and Kentucky.

Jonas L. Brandeis (1836-1903), of Prague, was the founder of the J. L. Brandeis Stores in Omaha, Nebraska. At the top of its game, Brandeis had around fifteen department stores in its chain. The flagship store downtown became one of Omaha's most prized symbols of modern culture. Brandeis was Nebraska's department store. At its peak in the early 1970s, the chain had 3,000 employees and $100 million dollars in sales. The Crossroads Mall store opened in 1960 with mixed results but soon took off and proved to be one of the best stores in the chain, earning an average of $38 million. Crossroads proved to be extremely successful for Brandeis, despite the risk of opening the first new Brandeis in 50 years. Locations opened across the entire state, downtown (Columbus and Hastings) and in the malls (Conestoga in Grand Island, Southroads & Westroads in Omaha, and Gateway in Lincoln). Soon locations were developed into Iowa.

Albert Pick (1869-1955), a native of Chicago, was a son of Czech immigrant who settled in Chicago. Beginning as a merchant (1893), he ended up as an owner of a large hotel chain. He was president of Pick Hotels Corp. to 1930 and then chairman of the board. In addition he was President and director of Fort Hayes Hotel Co., Anderson-Madison Realty Co., Continental Press Inc. and High St. Hotel Co.; vice president and director of Hotel Antlers Co., Belden Hotel Corp. of Youngstown; and vice president and director of North Shore Bank, Miami Beach, FL, etc**.** [65]

Frederick Brown (1870-1960), born in Plzeň, Bohemia, came to the US in 1888 and settled in NYC. After 1898 he became one of the largest real estate operators in the country. Among the many properties he owned or handled in transactions that were worth more than $2 billion were the hotels Savoy, Sherry-Netherlone, Majestic, New Yorker, Vanderbilt residence, the Park Row, Ruppert

buildings and hundreds of others. He also owned the Hamilton Fish and Stillman residences, the Hippodrome and a large portion of R. H. Macy property. He was responsible for many developments in Central Park West, Park Ave., Fifth Ave., 57th St., and many other major and well-known streets in NYC. [66]

Louis R. Lurie (1888-1972) was a Chicago native whose father was Bohemian. He was the president of The Lurie Company in San Francisco and was among those citizens to whom San Francisco's unprecedented growth was attributed. He financed, built and sold number over two hundred enterprises, most of them leading office and commercial buildings.[67]

Bruce A. Gimbel (1913-1980), whose maternal great grandfather emigrated to US from Bohemia, headed for 22 years the Gimbels department-store chain, an iconic American store. [68]

Coleman E. Adler, 2nd (ca 1946-), a Los Angeles native of Czech ancestry, is president of the Adler's, five stores in New Orleans, LA. Adler's has become one of the largest retailers in the city, with 5,000 square feet of fine jewelry and 20,000 square feet of upscale gifts and accessories, including jewelry, bridal accessories, antiques, furniture, porcelain dolls, china, and more. When he was ten years old, Coleman Adler travelled with his father to major markets of the world to learn as his father picked and graded stones for their store.

Manufacturers

Tobias Kohn (1817-1898) from Prague wove the first piece of silk goods produced by a loom in the US and is known as the founder of the silk industry in this country. [69]

Charles Louis Fleischmann (1835-1897) from Krnov, Moravia was an innovative manufacturer of yeast who in the late 1860s created America's first commercially produced yeast. This revolutionized baking, enabling today's mass production and consumption of bread.[70]

Joseph Benedict Greenhut (1843-1918) ,from Horšovský Týn, founded the Great Western Distillery in Peoria, IL, the then largest distillery in the world. [71]

Joseph Bulova (1851-1935) from Louny, Bohemia, established in 1875 in New York a jewelry and watch manufacturing concern, later known under the name Bulova Watch Co. [72]

Sigmund Eisner (1859-1925) from Horažďovice, Bohemia, was a large clothing manufacturer. His Red Bank, New Jersey Company, the Sigmund Eisner Co., was a chief supplier of uniforms for the American Army and the exclusive manufacturer of uniforms for the Boy Scouts of America. [73]

Henry Waldes (1876-194l), a native of Prague, was an industrialist, known worldwide by the snap fasteners manufactured in his factories in Prague, Dresden, Long Island and Switzerland. Waldes employed thousands of workers; his factory in Long Island alone had more than fifteen hundred. The New York Company, which first opened its sales office in New York in 1911, was

incorporated in New York in 1925 under the name Waldes Kohinoor. The Long Island company was started in 1919 under the name Waldes & Co. Henry Waldes was senior partner in the New York company and practically commuted between Prague and New York City during the 1920s. He lived through the Nazi invasion of Prague but eventually succeeded in 194l to come to US.

David Philip Wohl (1886-1960), son of a Bohemian Jewish immigrant, became a giant in the shoe industry, as well as one of the honored and esteemed philanthropists in St. Louis. [74]

Ralph Kleinert Guinzburg (1891-1957), New York City native, was of Bohemian ancestry. He was president and director of the I. B. Kleinert Rubber Co., manufacturers of rubber ware. Under his leadership the firm expanded from seasonal manufacture of ear muffs to dress shield manufacturer. Other lines of apparel were gradually introduced and in addition the company produced many new articles in which rubber was combined with fabrics. He was an advocate of putting notion departments in department stores and of extensive advertising and merchandising methods. He was also a director of the Federal Employment Service. [75]

Charles William Taussig (1896-1948), a native of New York, was of Bohemian ancestry. He was president of American Molasses, a firm founded by his grandfather William Taussig and is still owned almost entirely by Taussigs. It has plants in New Orleans, Montreal, Boston, Wilmington, N. C., and a brand-new sugar refinery in Brooklyn. Its subsidiary Sucrest Corp. refines and sells sugar. Its subsidiary Nulomoline Co. sells cane syrup preparations to bakers. Its most famous product is "Grandma's Old Fashioned Molasses," which in winter is sledded in huge casks into Maine's lumber camps. So financially conservative is the firm that it has almost no debts and its net worth is estimated well over $2,000,000.[76]

Esther Lauder (nee Mentzer) (1906-2004), a daughter of a Bohemian Jewish father, established in New York her world famous Este Lauder cosmetics firm. [77]

Corporate Executives

Among other corporate executives of note, Michael D. Eisner (1942-), whose grandfather Sigmund immigrated to the US from Horažďovice, would probably be in the lead. Michael Eisner was the longtime chief executive and chairman of the board of the Walt Disney Company and the man generally considered responsible for Disney's monumental success in the 1990s. During the 1970s and early '80s Eisner earned his reputation as a keen businessman, first as a programming director for ABC television and then as president of Paramount movie studios. He took charge of Disney in 1984 and turned it into a media giant whose interests included movies, sports franchises, theme parks and television networks.[78]

Another entrepreneur was Henry W. Bloch (1922-), whose grandfather was an immigrant from Janovice, Bohemia. Bloch is the co-founder and

honorary chairman of the board of H&R Block, which he and his brother, Richard, founded in Kansas City, MO in 1955. As the world's largest tax services company, H&R Block in 2007 served more than 20 million clients at more than 12,500 U.S. retail offices and through its digital tax solutions. [79]

Bankers

One of the first bankers among the American Bohemian Jews was Moritz O. Kopperl (1826-1883). He immigrated to Mississippi from Moravia and in 1857 set out for Texas. In 1868 Kopperl became president of Texas National Bank, which was verging on failure, and brought it back to sound financial condition. He took over the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway in 1877 and served as its president from 1877 to 1879. He also brought the railroad, which became a part of the Santa Fe System, back to financial stability.[80]

Another successful financier was Jacob Furth (1840-1914) from Švihov, Bohemia, who played a pivotal role in the development of Seattle's public transportation and electric power infrastructure, and he was the founder of Seattle National Bank. After the great fire, Furth pledged his support as president of Seattle National Bank. He promised that the bank would make no effort to profit from the fire. Subsequently, he backed this pledge with $150 million in bank loans. In the financial panic of 1893, Furth saved Seattle from financial disaster by forestalling his own board of directors from calling in all the loans.[81]

Michel Nathaniel Robert de Rothschild (1946-), born in Paris of Bohemian ancestry. He is an American banker and member of the prominent Rothschild banking family of France. Known as Nathaniel, he is the first child and only son of Elie Robert de Rothschild. He will inherit from his father one-sixth of Chateau Lafite-Rothschild vineyard and one-quarter of Rothschild & Cie Banque. Following the 1981 nationalization of banks by the government of Francois Mitterrand, Nathaniel de Rothschild left France and established a financial services business in Manhattan, where he now makes his home on Fifth Avenue.

Arts and Letters

Writers

Franz Werfel (1890-1945), a native of Prague, was a prominent novelist, playwright, and poet. An identified Jew, Werfel narrowly escaped the Nazi regime and immigrated to the US. Here he wrote in 1941 his famous *The Song of Bernadette.* [82]

Joseph Wechsberg (1907-1983), a native of Moravská Ostrava, Moravia, was a free-lance writer in the US s. 1938. He was a writer for *New Yorker* magazine s. 1943 and member of its staff since 1948. He authored numerous novels, including *Looking for a Blue-bird* (1945), *Homecoming*

*(*1946*), My Vienna* (1968), *Prague, the Mystic City* (1971), *The Waltz Emperors* (1973), *The Lost World of the Great Spas* (1979), etc.

Egon Hostovský (1908-1973) of Hronov, Bohemia was a popular Czech novelist who first came to the US in 1940, and permanently settled here in 1948. His works have been translated into English and other languages. [83]

Arnošt Lustig (1926-2011), was born in Prague and in 1970 moved to the US. He was a popular author of novels, short stories, plays, and screenplays whose works have often involved the Holocaust.[84]

Publishers, Journalists

Francis J. Grund (1798-1863), an immigrant from Liberec, Bohemia, was admired as a journalist. A *New York Times* editorial said upon his death: "He was a man of very great ability, and for many years exerted through the newspaper Press a very marked influence on the course of current events. He was a man of learning - not only speaking several languages with facility, but familiar with their literature and master of their philosophy." [85] He established a journal *The Age,* which he edited in Philadelphia from 1843-63.

Edward Bloch (1816-1881), from Bohemia, established in 1854 in Cincinnati Bloch & Co., the first Jewish publishing house in US. [86]

Rosa Sonneschein (1847-1932), a native of Prostějov, Moravia, was the founder, editor and publisher of the *American Jewess,* the first English-language periodical targeted to American Jewish women. [87]

Isidore Singer (1859-1930), a native of Hranice, Moravia, was an editor of the twelve-volume authoritative *Jewish Encyclopedia* and founder of the American League for the Rights of Man. [88]

Leo Weidenthal (1878-1967) was a son of immigrant from Hostice, Bohemia. He was editor of the *Jewish Independent* and founder of Cleveland Cultural Garden Federation. In 1917 he became editor of the *Jewish Independent*, a weekly founded in 1906 by his brother Maurice, a former *Plain Dealer* and *Press* reporter. Leo's brother Henry was also a journalist, once managing editor of the *Press* and *News.*

Harold Kleinert Guinzburg (1899-1961), a grandson of a Bohemian Jewish immigrant from Prague, became a publisher who cofounded Viking Press in 1925 and headed it until his death, acquiring the works of such authors as James Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, and August Strindberg. In 1926 he founded the Literary Guild Book Club.

Edward Rosewater (1841-1906), from Bukovany, Bohemia, was the founder of the daily newspaper *The Omaha Daily Bee* which developed into the largest and most influential newspaper in the mid-west. [89]

Arthur Ochs Sulzberger (1926-), a great grandson of Rabbi Isaac Wise, became publisher of *The Times* in 1963. He built a large news-gathering staff at *The Times*, and was publisher when the newspaper won a Pulitzer Prize in 1972 for publishing *The Pentagon Papers.*

Joseph Pulitzer (1847-1911), a newspaper publisher of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* and the *New York World*, a native of Makó, Hungary, was of Moravian extraction. The family name comes from a town Politz (Police), where Pulitzer's ancestors had lived generations earlier. Pulitzer introduced techniques of "new journalism" to the newspapers he acquired in the 1880s and became a leading national figure in the Democratic Party, crusading against big business and corruption. He left the US two important legacies. In 1892, Pulitzer offered Columbia University's president, money to set up the world's first school of journalism, although it would not be until after Pulitzer's death that this dream would be fulfilled. He further established the noted Pulitzer Prize awards, which by now have been expanded to reward achievements in newspaper and online journalism, literature and musical composition. Prizes are awarded yearly in twenty-one categories. In twenty of these, each winner receives a certificate and a US$10,000 cash award.[90]

Music Composers

Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) a native of Kaliště in Bohemia, was eminent composer and conductor, noted for his 10 symphonies and various songs with orchestra, which drew together many different strands of Romanticism. Although his music was largely ignored for 50 years after his death, Mahler was later regarded as an important forerunner of 20th century techniques of composition and an acknowledged influence on such composers as Arnold Schoenberg, Dmitry Shostakovich, and Benjamin Britten. He came to US in1908, where he became a conductor at Metropolitan Opera and later at New York Symphony Orchestra and in the New York Philharmonic. [91]

Rudolf Friml (1879-1972) from Prague, Bohemia is best known as the composer of romantic 1920s operettas. Beginning in 1912 he wrote music in different styles for Broadway. Skilled at evoking far-away times and places through music, Friml also composed music for films, often based on his popular musicals such as "Rose Marie" and "The Vagabond" King. [92]

Eric W. Korngold (1897-1957), a native of Brno, Moravia, was a child prodigy who was brought to Hollywood in 1934 by Reinhardt. He composed operas, symphony works, chamber music and songs. Under contract with Warner Bros. he composed music for many films. He won two Academy Oscars for musical scores. [93]

Jerome David Kern (1885-1945), whose maternal grandparents came from Bohemia, is often called the father of American musical theater. Kern is remembered for more than a thousand songs for more than a hundred stage productions and movies, including such American standards as 'A Fine Romance,' 'Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man,' 'The Last Time I Saw Paris,' 'Long Ago and Far Away,' 'Lovely to Look At,' 'Ol' Man River,' 'Smoke Gets in Your Eyes,'and 'They Didn't Believe Me,' etc. [94]

Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), whose mother Pauline Náchod was born in Moravia, was a prominent classical composer and conductor. During the

rise of the Nazi party in Austria, his music was labeled, alongside swing and jazz, as "degenerate art." After the rise of Hitler to power in 1933 he immigrated to America. [95]

Hugo David Weisgall (1912-1997) from Ivančice, Moravia, was an American composer and conductor who taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary, Juilliard, and at Queens College. He is considered one of the most important U.S. opera composers for the literary quality of his chosen texts and the individuality and effectiveness of his music. His works include the operas The Tenor (1950), The Stronger (1952), and Six Characters in Search of an Author (1956); his last completed opera, Esther (1993), won wide acclaim. [96]

Performing Musicians

Arthur Schnabel (1882 1951), from Lipník, Moravia, was a pianist of note. After coming to US in 1933, he was accepted as one of the greatest interpreters of Beethoven, as well as of Mozart and Schubert. [97]

Rudolf Serkin (1903-1991), from Cheb, Bohemia, was an eminent pianist, known for his interpretations of the Viennese classics. He helped to establish the Marlboro Music festival, in Vermont, and served as its artistic director. He received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1963. [98]

Rudolf Firkušný (1912-1994), of Napajedla, Moravia, was a renowned Czech pianist who immigrated to US in 1940 and devoted considerable part of his career to the promotion of Czech music abroad, including the works of B. Smetana, L. Janáček and B. Martinů. [99]

Rudolf Kolisch (1896-1978), of Moravian ancestry, was a violinist and leader of string quartets. He played a right-handed violin left-handed - an extremely rare occurrence in classical music settings.[100]

Franz Allers (1905-1995), from Karlovy Vary, Bohemia, was a prominent conductor who lived in US since 1945. He made his debut at the Metropolitan Opera in NY in 1963. He was recipient of Antoinette Perry Awards for "My Fair Lady" (1957) and for "Camelot" (1961). [101]

Another conductor of note, Jan Walter Susskind (1913-1980) from Prague, became music director of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, then of the Aspen Music Festival, CO and the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra. [102]

George Szell (1897-1970) was an internationally renowned conductor of Czechoslovak ancestry. Prior to assuming his post of music director of the Cleveland Orchestra in 1946, he was music director of the German Opera and Philharmonic of Prague and director of the Scottish National Orchestra. At the time of his death, the Cleveland Orchestra was known as one of the finest in the world. [103]

Among opera singers, Ernestine Schumann Heink (1861-1936), from Lipov near Prague, was a famous contralto and mezzo soprano. She made her U.S. debut as Ortrudth in Metropolitan Opera in 1899. Her repertoire included about 150 parts and her voice was particularly suited for the Wagnerian roles.

Leo Slezák (1873-1946), of Šumperk, Moravia, was a famous tenor who appeared in America for the first time as Otello with the Metropolitan Opera in 1909. He sang 72 performances, of 10 roles, most often as Otello, Tannhauser and Manrico. [104]

Theatre and Film

Max Reinhardt (orig. Maximilian Goldmann (1873-1843), of Moravian ancestry on his mother's side, was an influential director and actor who is credited with establishing the Salzburg Festival. After the Anschluss of Austria to Nazi-governed Germany in 1938, he immigrated to the United States, where he had already successfully directed a popular stage version of Shakespeare's "A Midsummer Night's Dream."[105]

Fred Astaire (orig. Austerlitz) (1899-1987), whose ancestors were Prague Jews, was rated as the greatest dancer of the twentieth century, and the most influential dancer in the history of filmed and televised musicals.[106]

Walter Slezák (1907-1983) was a character actor of Czech ancestry whose range stretched from the villainous Nazi in Hitchcock's "Lifeboat" to signing in the Metropolitan Opera's "Gypsy Baron." [107]

Ernst Deutsch (1890-1969) was a worldly acclaimed 'expressionist style' actor. In 1938 he emigrated from Prague to the US where he gave theater performances and recitals in New York and also film work in Hollywood, primarily in anti Nazi movies. [108]

Hugo Hass (1901-1968) of Brno, Moravia, who began his film career in Czechoslovakian comedies, had to flee the country when Hitler's armies marched in. Haas resumed his acting career in Hollywood, specializing in oily European villains. Once he'd saved up enough capital from his acting jobs, Haas set up shop as an independent producer and director, turning out a dozen low-budget melodramas between 1951 and 1959. [109]

George Voskovec (1905-1981) from Sázava, Bohemia was a stage, screen and TV actor who received notoriety in US for his award-winning performance in off-Broadway production of "Uncle Vanya" and for his role as Fritz Brenner in the Nero Wolfe TV series. Before coming to US he was a very popular performer in pre-War Czechoslovakia, usually performing jointly with his colleague and close friend Jan Werich. [110]

Harry Horner (1910-1994), from Holice, Bohemia, began his career working with Max Reinhardt in Vienna. When Reinhardt moved to the United States in the early 1930s, Horner went along with him. During World War II, he served as production designer and set designer for the U.S. Army Air Forces show Winged Victory. As an art director, Horner won two Oscars, one in 1949 for his work on William Wyler's 'The Heiress' and another in 1961 for Robert Rossen's drama 'The Hustler.' His son James Horner (1953-) also won two Academy Awards for his score and song compositions for the film 'Titanic' in 1997 Oscar-winning compositions. [111]

Miloš Forman (1932-) from Čáslav, Czechoslovakia, is an actor, screenwriter, professor and two-time Academy Award-winning film director. In the US he achieved success with the film "One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest" which won five Academy Awards including one for direction and "Amadeus," which won eight Academy Awards. [112]

Adrian Brody (1973-) is of Czech ancestry on his mother's side; his mother is Sylvia Plachý, a photojournalist. He received widespread recognition and subsequent acclaim after starring in Roman Polanski's 'The Pianist' (2002). He is the youngest actor to win the Academy Award for Best Actor in a Leading Role, at 29 years old.

Fine Arts

Leopold Eidlitz (1823-1908) from Prague, an architect of note, was exponent of the 'Gothic revival' in architecture and built some of the most beautiful buildings in New York.

Richard Joseph Neutra (1892-1970) of Bohemian ancestry, who worked with Frank Lloyd Wright, is known for introducing the International style into American architecture. [113]

Victor Gruen (1903-1980) of Moravian ancestry was a famed architect and city planner who pioneered the regional shopping centers and revitalization of city core areas.[114]

Paul Strand (1890-1976), whose parents were Bohemian Jews, was one of the most important figures in American twentieth-century photography.

Oscar Berger (1901-1997) of Moravian ancestry on his mother's side was a famous caricaturist and cartoonist. Berger attended many sessions at the United Nations and illustrated virtually every important world leader to be seen there. [115]

Will Eisner (1917-2005), whose mother was Czech, was an innovative and influential illustrator and writer, often referred to as the "grandfather" of the graphic novel. Eisner's greatest success was 'The Spirit '(1940-52), a newspaper comic strip about a wisecracking, masked detective.[116]

Humanities and Social Sciences

Philosophy

Herbert Feigl (1902-1988) from Liberec, Bohemia was a philosopher specializing in logic and methodology of physics, and moral philosophy.

Ernest Nagel (1901-1985) from Nové Město, Moravia was a philosopher of science, who was elected a member of the National Academy of Sciences. [117]

Heinrich Gomperz (1873-1942) was the son of the famed philosopher Theodor Gomperz from Brno, Moravia. He served on faculty of University of Vienna since 1904 and as a professor since 1924. In 1934 he was forced to retire and in 1935 he emigrated to US, at the invitation of the University of Southern

California. He was noted for the development of pathempiricism, based on R. Avenarius' epistemology. He later developed theory for understanding purposeful and meaningful processes.[118]

Stephen Körner (1913- 2000), from Moravská Ostrava, was a philosopher trained at Charles University and Cambridge. He was a leading scholar in the theory of knowledge and the philosophies of science and mathematics and an authority on Kant. After a distinguished career in England, as a professor of philosophy and dean at Bristol University, he spent the remainder of his career as a professor at Yale University at New Haven.[119]

History

Gotthard Deutsch (1859-1921), a native of Dolni Kounice, Bohemia, was a scholar of Jewish history. In 1891, at the invitation of Isaac Mayer Wise, Deutsch moved to the United States to accept the chair of Jewish history and philosophy at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. After eleven years of teaching there, he was appointed dean. He was a member of the editorial board of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and the author of *Theory of Oral Tradition* (1895), *Philosophy of Jewish History* (1897), *Memorable Dates of Jewish History* (1904), *History of the Jews* (1910); and also of several novels and two volumes of essays.[120]

Hans Kohn (1891-1971) was a noted historian, specializing in history of ideas and history of nationalism. He immigrated to the US in 1934 from Prague and taught modern history at Smith College in Northampton, MA. From 1949 until 1961, he taught at City College of New York. Kohn also taught at the New School for Social Research. He wrote numerous books and publications, primarily on the topics of nationalism, Pan-Slavism, German thought, and Judaism, and was an early contributor to the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where he died.[121]

Eleanor Flexner (1908-1995), author and historian, was the daughter of the noted education reformer Abraham Flexner. After graduating from Swarthmore College with high honors in English and history in 1930, she attended Somerville College at Oxford University for one year. Back in the United States, she held a series of promotional and editorial positions in the theater and with the Institute of Propaganda Analysis, the Foreign Policy Association, and Hadassah. In 1938 she published a book of dramatic criticism entitled American Playwrights, 1918-1938, and in 1957 moved from New York to Northampton, Mass. Her classic account of the "first wave" of American feminism, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, was published in 1959; it was based on a pamphlet she had published in 1954. "The story," she said in her original preface, "deserves telling"; CS was notable in demonstrating that the topic was worthy of serious scholarly and analytical study. Flexner was particularly prescient in her use of race, gender, and class in interpreting the struggle for women's equality. Her analysis was a

source of inspiration for "second wave" feminists and laid the groundwork for subsequent generations of women's history scholars.[122]

Saul Friedländer (1932-) is a Holocaust historian from Prague who won a Pulitzer Prize. He was awarded the prestigious prize in the non-fiction category for his book *The Years of Extermination: Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939-1945*. Having survived the Holocaust, he moved to Israel, eventually winning the nation's top civilian honor, the Israel Prize, for his scholarship. He currently serves as a professor at the University of California at Los Angeles. [123]

Theodore K. Rabb (orig. Rabinowicz) (1937-), from Teplice, Bohemia, is a historian of the early modern period and is Emeritus Professor of History at Princeton University. He authored numerous books and is also co-founder and editor of the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. [124]

Art History

Paul Frankl (1878-1962), a native from Prague, Bohemia, was a member of faculty of the Univ. of Munich, and in 1921-34 he held the position of professor of art history at the University of Halle. In 1934 he was dismissed and in 1938 emigrated to US. In 1940 he joined the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, NJ. He made important contributions to history of architecture through studies on the Romanesque and Gothic periods and initiated research in area of German glass-painting.[125]

Lorenz C. Eitner (1919-2009) from Brno, Czechoslovakia, emigrated to US in 1935. After war service, in 1948 he earned an M.F.A. degree from Princeton University and in 1952 Ph.D. Since 1963 he held the position of professor and chairman of the arts department at Stanford Univ., in addition to being director of its museum. He specialized in 19th century French and German art design, and art of the early medieval period.

Music History

Paul Nettl (1889-1972) was Vrchlabí, Bohemia. He privately studied violin and music theory, while attending University of Vienna, where he obtained Dr. juris degree and Dr. phil. Degree. Since 1933 he was Docent at German University of Prague and in 1933-39 he served as director of German Broadcasts on Czech Radio. In 1939 he emigrated to US by way of Netherlands. Since 1946 to 1964 he was associated with Indiana University, Bloomington as professor. He wrote numerous books, including the *Story of Dance Music* (1947), *The Book of Musical Documents* (1948), *Forgotten Musicians* (1951) and *Beethoven Encyclopedia* (1956). [126]

Frederick Dorian (1912-1991) was born in Vienna; his father came from Roudnice, Bohemia. In 1934 he emigrated to France and in 1936 to US. In 1936 he joined the faculty of Carnegie-Mellon University, becoming a full professor in 1947. In 1973-77 he was a member of faculty of Marlboro, VT Music Festival and professor of music at Curtis Institute, Philadelphia. He is the author of The History of Music in Performance: The Art of Musical

Interpretation from the Renaissance to Our Day (1942), The Musical Workshop (1942), Commitment to Culture, Art Patronage in Europe, Its Significance for America (1964).[127]

Literary Criticism

Erich von Kahler (1885-1970) from Prague was a renowned literary scholar and essayist. He was a prolific writer, and the themes of his writings and lectures often reflected his political involvement, although he was a widely respected literary critic, especially of Thomas Mann. He explored the study of history, the new roles of science and technology, and the changing relationship of man to his changing world. [128]

Erich Heller (1911-1990), from Chomutov, Bohemia, although trained as a lawyer, devoted his entire career to literary scholarship. He was an authority on modern German and European literature on which subject he had written a large number of books. [129]

Peter Demetz (1922-) from Prague, whose mother was Jewish, holds the chair of German and comparative literature at Yale, and is an authority on sociology of literature, literary theory, and German 18th century thought and literature. [130]

Isaac Bacon (1914-2007) from Svinov, Moravia, was a linguist who thirteen days after Adolph Hitler entered Prague earned his Ph.D. at Masaryk University in Brno. His specialty was High German and early new High German linguistics.[131] He was the fourth Dean at Yeshiva College, in New York (1959-1977) and later taught at Penn and Columbia. He was at Yale as a Ford Foundation Fellow and was visiting professor at Johns Hopkins.

Sociology

Alfred Schütz (1899-1959), whose mother was from Bohemia, was a noted philosopher and sociologist. He worked on phenomenology, social science methodology and the philosophy of Edmund Husserl and others. Schütz is probably unique as a scholar of the social sciences in that he pursued a career as a banker for almost his entire life, teaching part-time at the New School for Social Research in New York and producing key papers in phenomenological sociology that fill three volumes. [132]

Paul Felix Lazarsfeld (1901-1976) of Moravian ancestry, was a pioneering sociologist, specializing in analyzing the impact of all mass media on society. The founder of a major center at Columbia University, he promoted the growth of social research centers to expand empirical sociological studies and his studies served as the foundation of voter forecasting used today.[133]

Economics

At least three outstanding American economists had Czech roots.

Frank William Taussig (1859-1940), whose father was a Bohemian Jewish immigrant in St. Louis, taught economics at Harvard from 1882 to 1935.

He was an authority on international commerce, especially U.S. tariff and developer of import-export theory and wage-fund theory. [134]

Joseph Alois Schumpeter (1883-1950) of Třešť, Moravia, who was Taussig's successor at Harvard from 1932-50, was a pioneer in the field of econometrics and specialist in the history of economic theory and economic development, including studies of business cycles, capitalism, and socialism in economic and sociological perspective. [135]

Karl Pribram (1877-1973) was a Prague-born and educated economist who held important positions before and during World War I in the Austrian government, with the International Labor Office in Geneva in the 1920s, and after emigrating to the United States in 1934, with the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., the U.S. Social Security Board and the U.S. Tariff Commission. His research dealt primarily with economic theory and political economy, his writings covering topics in labor economics, industrial organization and in the history of economic thought. Pribram was also prominent as social philosopher and sociologist. Pribram was described by Nobel Laureate Friedrich A. Hayek as "without exception the most learned man in the field." [136]

Herbert A. Simon (1916-2001), of Czech ancestry, was a professor of computer science and psychology at Carnegie-Mellon University from 1949 until his death. He was a pioneer of the development of computer artificial intelligence. His highly original work on decision-making, in which he argued that business executives often fail to maximize profits because they make decisions without assessing all information and long-term effects, earned him the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1978. [137]

Political Science

Josef Korbel (1909-1977), a native of Kyšperk in Bohemia, was a Czechoslovak diplomat and a noted educator, who is now best known for being father of Madeleine Albright, who became the first woman Secretary of State. After 1945 he served as Czechoslovak Ambassador to Yugoslavia and following the Communist takeover, he was forced to immigrate to the US. He became professor of political sciences at the University of Denver, where he was founding Dean of the Graduate School of International Studies, which now bears his name. [138]

Karl Wolfgang Deutsch (1912-1992) from Prague, Bohemia received Dr. juris degree from Charles University and M.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard. In 1942-58 he was a member of faculty of M.I.T., since 1952 as a full professor of history and political science. From 1958-67 he was Professor of government at Yale University and since 1967 Professor of government at Harvard, in 1971 being named Stanfield Professor of International Peace. Deutsch's greatness as a social scientist was due to his erudition and his ability to develop new concepts that led to insights on fundamental issues, such as nationalism and political integration or disintegration within and among states. Professor Deutsch was an

innovator in applying quantitative methods to social-science research and in assembling data on population movements, languages and international trade. [139]

Richard Elliot Neustadt (1919-2003), a native of Philadelphia, was a great-grandson of a liberal Czech journalist who fled Bohemia in 1848. He was the Special Assistant of the White House Office from 1950-53 under President Harry S. Truman and during the following year, he was a professor of public administration at Cornell, then from 1954-64, taught government at Columbia University, where he wrote *Presidential Power* (1960),in which he examined the decision-making process at the highest levels of government. During the 1960s Neustadt continued to advise Kennedy and later Lyndon B. Johnson. With his book appearing as it did just before the election of John F. Kennedy, Neustadt soon found himself in demand by the President-elect. . During the 1960s Neustadt continued to advise Kennedy and later Lyndon B. Johnson. Neustadt later founded the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, where he taught as a popular professor for more than two decades. Neustadt also served as the first director of the Harvard Institute of Politics (IOP), which was founded as "a living memorial to President John F. Kennedy that engages young people in politics and public service."[140]

John H. Kautsky (1922-) is a grandson of the noted politician and philosopher Karl Kautský of Prague. After completion of his education at Harvard, from 1955 he was a member of faculty of dept. of political sciences at Washington University at St. Louis, since 1963 as a full professor. He has done research on modern ideologies, political development, comparative politics, politics of modernization and of traditional empires and authored important publications, such as *Communism and the Politics of Development: Persistent Myths and Changing Behavior* (1968), *The Political Consequences of Modernization* (1972), *Karl Kautsky: Marxism, Revolution, and Democracy* and *Marxism and Leninism: An Essay in the Sociology of Knowledge.* [141]

Education

Julia Richman (1855-1912), a native of New York City, was the first woman district superintendent of schools in the City of New York. Her innovations, leadership and curriculum brought an entire new dimension to public school education at the beginning of the twentieth century. She had come from a long line of rabbis in Prague, Czechoslovakia, that dated back to the fifteenth century. [142]

Abraham Flexner (1866-1959), a son of a Bohemian Jewish peddler from Všeruby in Bohemia, is credited with major reform of medical education in the US which put the American medicine on the top. He was also instrumental in founding the prestigious Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, NJ, of which he became the first director. [143]

Legal Scholarship

Hans Kelsen (1881-1973) from Prague was an authority on theory of law and international laws. He was considered one of the most important legal philosophers of modern time.

Paul Abraham Freund (1908-1992), whose grandfather immigrated to St. Louis from Bohemia, taught law at Harvard University from 1946-70. He was an authority on public and constitutional law and editor-in-chief of a definitive, multi-volume history of the Supreme Court.[144]

Fred Herzog (1907-2008), a native of Prague, served as an attorney and judge in Vienna. After the 'Anschluss' he escaped to the US, where he a law degree from {University of?] Iowa. He became associated with the Chicago-Kent School of Law and in 1970 became its dean. In 1973 he accepted the post of the assistant prosecutor of the State of Illinois. In 1976 he was named the Dean of the known John Marshall Law School. He died on March 21, 2008, at age 100. [145]

Eric Stein (1913-), a native of Holice, Bohemia, is Charles University and University of Michigan educated lawyer. Widely regarded as an eminent scholar in international and comparative law, Eric Stein is Hessel E. Yntema Professor of Law Emeritus at the University of Michigan Law School. In 2001 he was recipient of a Medal of Merit First Degree from Czech Republic President Vaclav Havel for "outstanding scientific achievement." He has been made an honorary citizen of the Czech town of his birth.[146]

Charles Fried (1935-), a native of Prague, is a prominent American jurist and lawyer. He served as United States Solicitor General from 1985 to 1989. He is currently a professor at Harvard Law School. From September 1995 until June 1999, Fried served as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. [147]

Nina S. Appel, (1936-), a native of Prague, escaped from Nazism with her parents as a small child. She was educated as lawyer and since 1973 she has been associated with Loyola University School of Law as a professor, in 1983 becoming the longest serving dean in history of the School.[148]

Psychology

Alfred Adler (1870-1937), of Bohemian ancestry, was the founder of the school of individual psychology. Although one of Sigmund Freud's earlier associates, he rejected the Freudian emphasis upon sex as the root of neurosis. Adler's theory focused on social forces, and his therapy, while still concerned with the analysis of early childhood, was also interested in overcoming the inferiority complex through positive social interaction.[149]

Max Wertheimer (1880-1943) from Prague is considered the founder of 'Gestalt School for Psychology' and promoter of application of Gestalt methodology to other social sciences. He stressed importance of wholes in learning and problem solving and discovered phi phenomenon concerning illusion of motion in perception.[150]

Edward Louis Bernays (November 22, 1891 - March 9, 1995), was a pioneer in the field of public relations and propaganda (along with Ivy Lee), referred to in his obituary as "the father of public relations". Combining the ideas of Gustave Le Bon and Wilfred Trotter on crowd psychology with the psychoanalytical ideas of his uncle, Dr. Sigmund Freud, Bernays was one of the first to attempt to manipulate public opinion by appealing to, and attempting to influence, the unconscious. He felt this manipulation was necessary in society, which he regarded as irrational and dangerous as a result of the 'herd instinct' that Trotter had described**.[citation needed]** Adam Curtis's award-winning 2002 documentary for the BBC, The Century of the Self, pinpoints Bernays as the originator of modern public relations, and Bernays was named one of the 100 most influential Americans of the 20th century by *Life* magazine.

Marie Jahoda (1907-2001), a native of Vienna of Bohemian Jewish ancestry, was an extraordinary social psychologist. She contributed significantly to the analysis of the authoritarian personality and developed the theory of 'Ideal Mental Health.' She argued that theories should be considered as an essential tool for acquiring substantive knowledge about people and the social world, not as the ultimate goal of social psychology.[151]

Biological and Medical Sciences

Anesthesiology

Carl Koller (1857-1944) from Sušice, Bohemia introduced cocaine as a local antiseptic in eye operations (1884) and thus initiating era of local anesthesia in medicine and surgery. [152]

Pathology

Simon Flexner (1867-1946), a son of a Jewish peddler from Všeruby, developed Flexner serum for cerebrospinal meningitis (1907) and directed poliomyelitis research which led to identification of virus causing the disease and discovered dysentery bacillus. He was appointed the first director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, after first serving as professor at Johns Hopkins.[153]

Milton C. Winternitz (1885-1959), a son of a Bohemian Jewish immigrant, was a pathologist of note, under whose leadership as dean from 1921 to 1931 has been called 'the boom years' of Yale Medical School, the decade in which the school emerged as one of the top medical schools in the country. [154]

Hans Popper (1903-1988), a son of Bohemian Jew from Kralovice, was an authority on liver diseases and a principal figure in the founding of the Mount Sinai School of Medicine of the City University of New York.[155]

Immunology

Karl Landsteiner (1868-1943) was a native of Vienna, whose mother Franziska, nee Hessová, was from Prostějov, Moravia. In 1922 he came to the

United States to join the staff of the Rockefeller Institute (now Rockefeller Univ.). For his discovery of human blood groups he won the 1930 Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine. As a result of his research in immunology and the chemistry of antigens and serological reactions, he made valuable contributions in hemolysis and in methods of studying poliomyelitis. In 1940 he identified, in collaboration with A. S. Wiener, the Rh factor.[156]

Pediatrics

Among the most prominent women medical authorities of Bohemian Jewish descent was Helen Brooke Taussig (1898-1986), who is credited with founding pediatric cardiology. Taussig also devised a surgical treatment for infants born with "blue baby syndrome" and her new operation subsequently saved literally thousands of "blue babies" from dying. She played a key role in alerting American physicians to the dangers of thalidomide, a drug whose use had produced large numbers of deformed newborns in Europe.[157]

Neurology

Karl H. Pribram (*1919), a son of a Prague-born noted physician Ernst August Pribram, is a professor at Georgetown University , and an emeritus professor of psychology and psychiatry at Stanford University and Radford University. Board-certified as a neurosurgeon, Pribram did pioneering work on the definition of the limbic system, the relationship of the frontal cortex to the limbic system, the sensory-specific "association" cortex of the parietal and temporal lobes, and the classical motor cortex of the human brain. To the general public, Pribram is best known for his development of the holonomic brain model of cognitive function and his contribution to ongoing neurological research into memory, emotion, motivation and consciousness. He is married to the bestselling author Katherine Neville.

Biochemistry

Gerty Theresa Radnitz Cori (1896-1957), from Prague, shared with her husband Carl Cori, also from Prague, a Nobel Prize in physiology and medicine. Their work was described as one of the most brilliant achievements in modern biochemistry, and responsible for a new conception of how hormones and enzymes cooperate.[158]

Heinrich Benedict Waelsch (1904-1986) from Brno, Moravia was a member of faculty of School of Medicine at the University of Prague. In 1938 he emigrated to US. In 1939 he became a member of the faculty of Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons, rising to full professorship in 1954. His specialty was intermediary metabolism, esp. of the central nervous system. His hypothesis of compartments of metabolism influenced the study of brain biochemistry. He was the author of *Ultrastructure and Cellular Chemistry of Neural Tissues* (1957). [159]

Physical Sciences and Engineering

Mathematics

Kurt Gödel (1900-1978), a native of Brno, Moravia, received Dr. phil. in mathematics from Univ. of Vienna in 1930. In 1930-39 he was associated with Univ. Vienna as privatdozent. He then immigrated to US and became member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton (1938-76), since 1953 as full professor of mathematics. He formulated "Gödel Theorem" that states that in any rigidly logical mathematical system there are proportions or questions that cannot be proven or disproved on the basis of the axioms within that system. Hence basic axioms of mathematics may give rise to contradictions. He was considered the greatest logician since Aristotle. [160]

Olga Taussky-Todd (1906-1995), from Olomouc, Moravia, in 1947, served as a mathematics consultant to National Bureau of Standards, in Washington, DC, while being concurrently a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. From 1957 she was a member of the department of mathematics at California Institute of Technology, since 1971 as full professor. She was recognized by her peers as one of the foremost mathematicians of her generation. Her research in algebra, number theory, and matrix theory has influenced scholars throughout her long and distinguished career. For more than 30 years, she had been the moving force in the development of matrix theory, and her influence on both pure and applied mathematics has been profound.[161]

Physics

Wolfgang Pauli (1900-1958), a son of a Prague Jewish physician, whose name was originally Pascheles, was a theoretical physicist and one of the pioneers of quantum physics. He discovered that atom's electrons each have their own unique quantum state. Now known as the 'Pauli exclusion principle,' this discovery earned him the 1945 Nobel Prize in Physics. [162]

Felix Bloch (1905-1983), a son of Jewish parents from Bohemia, received Nobel Prize for developing the nuclear magnetic resonance method of measuring the magnetic field of atomic nuclei.[163]

George Placzek (1905-1955) from Brno was also an outstanding physicist who made substantial contributions to the fields of molecular physics, scattering of light from liquids and gases, the theory of the atomic nucleus and the interaction of neutrons with condensed matter. [164]

Victor F. Weisskopf (1908-2002), whose father was born in Sušice, Bohemia, was a theoretical physicist of note. During World War II he worked at Los Alamos on the Manhattan Project to develop the atomic bomb, and later campaigned against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. He made major contributions to the development of quantum theory, especially in the area of quantum electrodynamics. One of his few regrets was that his insecurity about his mathematical abilities may have cost him a Nobel Prize when he did not

publish results (which turned out to be correct) about what is now known as the Lamb shift.[165]

Chemistry

Felix Haurowitz (1896-1987) was born in Prague, Bohemia. In 1922-38 he was a member of faculty of dept. of physiology and medical chemistry at the Prague University. After his dismissal by Nazis, he was invited to chair the dept. at University of Istanbul. In 1947 he emigrated to US soon joined thye faculty in the department of chemistry at Indiana University at Bloomington, since 1958 as distinguished professor. He was a pioneer in isolation of fetal hemoglobin, allosteric changes on hemoglobin on oxygenation, introduction of chemical aspects into immunology and into the problem of antibody biosynthesis. [166]

Walter Kohn (1923-), whose father was a native of Hodonín, Moravia, was a Holocaust survivor. He won a Nobel Prize in chemistry. His condensed matter theory made seminal contributions to the understanding of the electronic structure of materials. He played the leading role in the development of the density functional theory, which has revolutionized scientists' approach to the electronic structure of atoms, molecules and solid materials in physics, chemistry and materials science. [167]

Engineering

Gustav Lindenthal (1850-1935), a graduate of the Brno Polytechnic, established the reputation as one of the great bridge engineers of America. He is best known for the construction of the Queensboro Bridge, connecting Long Island and New York City, and the Hell Gate Bridge, which connects the railroads of the Bronx with Long Island. In contrast to his American contemporaries, his bridges were characterized by originality and boldness.[168]

Another engineer, Karl Arnstein (1887-1974), originally from Prague, specialized in the design and construction of airships. He drew plans and supervised the construction of some 70 Zeppelin airships and stratosphere balloons, among them the famous airship 'Los Angeles,' the first to cross the Atlantic. [169]

Arthur Aron Hamerschlag (1872-1927), a native of New York, NY, whose both parents were born in Bohemia, was an American electrical and mechanical engineer who served as the first President of Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, PA. [170]

One of the greatest minds among engineers was Theodore V. Karman (1881-1963), whose mother was Helen Kohn, a descendant of Rabbi Judah Loew, the 16th century Prague mystic who is said to have created the Golem. Karman was also a physicist, primarily active in aeronautics and astronautics. He is responsible for many key advances in aerodynamics, notably his work on supersonic and hypersonic airflow characterization. If there were a Nobel Prize for engineering, he would have earned it.[171]

Epilogue

There is no doubt that future research may uncover additional names of notable Jewish Americans with Bohemian or Czech roots.

In viewing the mosaic of individual portraits presented here, one is struck by certain characteristics shared by most of the Jewish immigrants from the territory of the Czech Historic Lands. They were all hard working, energetic, enterprising, resourceful, self-made people, with a sense of purpose and accomplishment, highly patriotic towards their newly adopted country, yet mindful of their roots and their cultural and religious upbringing. It is therefore fitting that we conclude this survey with a quotation from Thomas Čapek,[172] the historian of Czechs in America:

"Anybody browsing through Who's Who in American Jewry or The Jewish Encyclopedia must be surprised by the number of the famed names - physicians, jurists, industrialists, financiers and wholesalers who have originated on the territory of today's Czechoslovakia. They have attained both high economic and social status. You don't find them in the ghettos among the immigrants from Russia, Poland or Rumania. In learned professions they have overtaken us by far. Their pioneering spirit is well known."

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ESSAYS

Czechs and Slovak Medicine

By Vlado Simko[1]

Difficult Beginning

The birth of Czechoslovakia in October 1918 presented new perspectives in economy, social relations and in education/medicine. Two previously disjoined geopolitical regions were linked together. The western part, the historic lands of Bohemia and Moravia (also called Czech provinces) were until 1918 in the Austro-German Hapsburg orbit of influence. Their extensive industrial potential and routes of transportation were oriented north to south, to Austrian markets of the empire. Austrian banks had a strong hold in the Czech industry. Level of education and the Czech national historic self-assertion were incomparably higher than in the eastern Slovak part, until then the Upper Hungary.

As a consequence of purposeful intensive magyarization, Upper Hungary was almost devoid of schools teaching the Slovak mother tongue, resulting in virtual absence of larger scale Slovak intelligentsia. In 1910 the illiteracy in Upper Hungary[2] (Slovakia) was 10 times higher than in the Czech lands while the per capita income was 70 % smaller. A brief look at a railroad map of Austro-Hungary in 1918 illustrates in Slovakia extensive rail communications north to south, while there were only two rails connecting with the Czech provinces.

There was also a marked disproportion in occupations. In industry and handicrafts Slovaks in 1920 represented only 19 % workforce of the Republic population[3]. Up to 60% of Slovaks were employed in the agriculture, mostly as very small landowners. Compared to the western part, Slovakia was an economically underprivileged region. Chronic rural unemployment fueled a steady flow of emigration out of Slovakia.

Pozsonyi, later acquired by Czechoslovakia to become Bratislava, was before 1918 40 % Hungarian, 42 % German, 11 % Jewish and only 7 % Slovak[4].

Hungary in the past invested in the mining fortunes of Slovakia, supporting the industry with subsidies from Budapest. The markets were in the south and the communications in transportation, in culture and information were oriented north to south, Budapest being a center.

After 1918 the Slovak economy and industrial development faced a striking slow down. Czech provinces also lost their consumers in other parts of the dismembered empire and acquired Slovakia as a substitute market[4]. Slovak industries were suddenly exposed to the more advanced and productive competition of the Czech industry[2]. Economicburden was further aggravated by taxes, higher in Slovakia which remained under the Hungarian tax system until a tax reform in 1929 [2].

Financial situation of the new republic was also precarious. Defeated Hungary and Austria were required to pay reparations to victorious allies but "liberation costs" were levied also on the new nations that owed their independence to allied victory[5]. Czechoslovakia as the most prosperous was assigned to pay one half or 750 million gold francs.

Newly established Czechoslovakia faced a difficult task to correct this past geopolitical orientation in establishing new and strong west to east connections. The overall situation was further aggravated by the expulsion of virtually the entire Hungarian administration. The absence of a Slovak skilled workforce in industry, bank management, teaching, railroad and security personnel, purposefully induced by Hungary, led all these employees in 1918 to be Hungarians. They now had to pledge allegiance to Czechoslovakia or leave.

Hungarian authority collapsed[5] in most parts of Slovakia. Slovaks made little attempt to fill the void, to seize the power by their own effort, being short on human resources. While they procrastinated, the more experienced Czechs acted. On November 4, 1918 the Prague National Committee appointed a four-member Slovak authority under Dr. VavroŠrobár, assigned it necessary funds and seventy Czech gendarmes, to be sent to Skalica in western Slovakia, as a provisional Slovak government authority.

The Czechs are coming

Hungary did not give up easily despite the war defeat. After sending armed military up the Váh River as far as to Žilina, social unrest in Hungary resulted in a Hungarian communist renegade occupation of eastern Slovakia. Hungarian and German workers in Bratislava protested the new government by a general strike that had to be vigorously suppressed by units of Czechoslovak legionnaires returning from the Russian and Italian battlefields.

Subsequently, the garrison of Bratislava consisted of 6 regiments and 2 brigades, mostly of Czech personnel. Massive influx from the west resulted in thousands of important positions in Bratislava to be filled by Czechs. The administrative, economic and educational vacuum had to be quickly resolved.

Prior to 1918 the physicians who settled in Slovak territory acquired their skills at the medical schools in Budapest, Vienna and Prague. Most of the physicians in family practice were Jewish (46 %), only about a third of them declared in 1921 a Slovak nationality[6].

TABLE 1

PHYSICIANS IN FAMILY PRACTICE

Slovakia in 1921

NATIONALITY	Number	%	RELIGION	Number	%
Slovaks	*82*	*33.4*	*Jewish*	*113*	*45.9*
Hungarian	*67*	*27.3*	*R. catholic*	*57*	*23.2*
Jewish	*29*	*11.8*	*Lutheran*	*24*	*9.8*
Czech	*22*	*8.9*	*Gr. Catholic*	*1*	*0.4*
German	*22*	*8.9*	*various*	*2*	*0.8*
various	*2*	*0.8*	*not reported*	*49*	*19.9*
not reported	*22*	*8.9*			

Sulacek J, 2005

Specific situation arose in higher education. Hungarians founded in Pozsonyi the Elizabethan University in 1914 as a third one in Hungary. Most prominent was its medical school for which they constructed and assigned teachers and lecture rooms but it had only 40 students in 1918 (consequence of military draft). When first Czech doctors (K. Hynek) arrived to Bratislava, negotiations with the Hungarian faculty got to a standstill and the whole Hungarian staff had to leave, first to Budapest, then they established a medical school in Pécs. One prominent member of their staff was Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, future discoverer of vitamin C.

New Czechoslovak leaders acted promptly. In June 1918 a new Czechoslovak state university (named after J A Komenský- Comenius), KU was founded in Bratislava. Its medical school had 144 students in 1919. Shortly before, the third university in Czech lands (until then only the two historic universities in Prague and Olomouc), the Masaryk University was founded in Brno.

There is no university without teachers and Czech universities were mandated to delegate academic personnel to Bratislava. This was not without difficulty and it is remarkable that on a short notice so many qualified educated people were willing to arrive in the newly open territory west of Moravia.

Czech medicine was not without professional rivalries. Professors at the Charles University in Prague have for long faced stiff competition from the German School of Medicine at the Charles Ferdinand University. Czech medicine separated from Germans in 1862 and was legally sanctioned in 1882[7]. University teachers had to decide their allegiance but many of most prominent professors remained at the German school. Czech professors of medicine, Purkyne, Eiselt and Gregr founded the Czech Medical Society and its publication flagship, the Czech Medical Journal. The Czech Medical School in

Prague had a larger number of students due to the influx from other Slavic nations to Prague.

Arrival of Czech clinical academicians to the newly established Komenský University (KU) proceeded with admirable enthusiasm and vigor. Young doctors realized a new opportunity compared to the crowded Czech job market. The outstanding among them was prof. KristiánHynek, a talented internist and administrator. He became the first rector of UK and also founded the Pavel J. Šafárik Learned Society and the KU Medical library.

The Society of Czechoslovak Medical Doctors was founded in June 1920 in Bratislava[8] and carried its name until 1938 when it became the Slovak Medical Society. Its flagship, Bratislavské Lekárske Listy (still in existence) was founded in 1921. Czech doctors in Prague assembled around the Czech Medical Society, until 1938 the predecessor of the Czechoslovak Medical Society of JE Purkyne[9].

Ever since the founding of KU in Bratislava, the stated goal was to train young Slovaks for academic leadership. The outcome was less favorable than expected. Aggressive Apponyimagyarization in the decades before 1918 had disastrous consequences in weakening Slovak intellectual resources.

In 1930 the Medical school at KU had twenty-two professors and 3 docents, all Czech. Most other university teachers were also Czech. All KU had 53 professors of whom 40 were Czech. In the Learned Society of Šafárik, only 20 % of its 90 members were Slovak[10].

There were many outstanding personalities at the Medical school of KU. Prof. StanislavKostlivý was an excellent surgeon and the first prorector of KU. Another key academician was prof. VilémHons, founder of the Department of Physiology[11]. Hons significantly contributed to founding of the Society of Czechoslovak Medical Students in Bratislava. Hons was the dean of KU Medical School in 1936 – 1937.

Prof. Antonín Spilka was among the first Czech academicians who arrived to Bratislava and was among the last to leave in 1938[12]. In 1919 he was instrumental in establishing the Institute of Morbid Pathology at KU and was its chairman until 1926 and also a dean of the Medical School in 1920 – 1921. Thereafter he chaired the Institute of Medical History until 1938.

Following Tables 2 - 4 illustrate the list of Czech rectors, deans and department heads at the KU. Other prominent Czech academicians in non-clinical professions also influenced the advancement of Slovak sciences (Table 5).

TABLE 2

CZECH RECTORS OF KOMENSKÝ UNIVERSITY

* Kristián Hynek	1919 – 1921
*Stanislav Kostlivý	1923 - 1924
*Jiři Brdlík	1927 – 1928
Albert Pražák	1928 – 1929
*Viktor Reinsberg	1932 – 1933
*Bohuslav Polák	1935 – 1936
Vratislav Bušek	1936 – 1937
Václav Chaloupecký	1937 – 1938
* Jan Lukeš	1938 – 1939

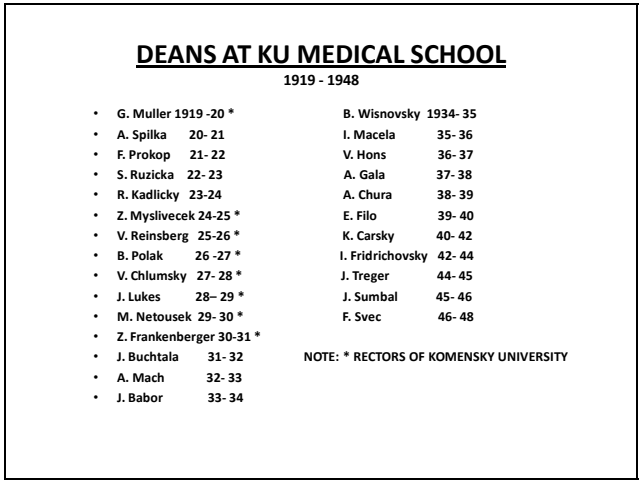
** MUDr.*

TABLE 3:

CZECH RECTORS AND DEPARTMENT HEADS AT KU

K. Hynek	Pathology, Internal medicine
S. Kostlivý	Surgery
J. Brdlík	Pediatrics
V. Reinsberg	Dermatology, Venerology
B. Polák	Pharmacology
J. Lukeš	Experimental Pathology
Z. Frankenberger	Embryology
Z. Mysliveček	Psychiatry, Neurology
M. Netoušek	Experimental pathology, Internal medicine
G. Mueller	Gynecology
V. Chlumský	Orthopedics
V. Teisler	Medical physics

TABLE 4



DEANS AT KU MEDICAL SCHOOL

1919 - 1948

- G. Muller 1919 -20 *
- A. Spilka 20- 21
- F. Prokop 21- 22
- S. Ruzicka 22- 23
- R. Kadlicky 23-24
- Z. Myslivecek 24-25 *
- V. Reinsberg 25-26 *
- B. Polak 26 -27 *
- V. Chlumsky 27- 28 *
- J. Lukes 28– 29 *
- M. Netousek 29- 30 *
- Z. Frankenberger 30-31 *
- J. Buchtala 31- 32
- A. Mach 32- 33
- J. Babor 33- 34
- B. Wisnovsky 1934- 35
- I. Macela 35- 36
- V. Hons 36- 37
- A. Gala 37- 38
- A. Chura 38- 39
- E. Filo 39- 40
- K. Carsky 40- 42
- I. Fridrichovsky 42- 44
- J. Treger 44- 45
- J. Sumbal 45- 46
- F. Svec 46- 48

NOTE: * RECTORS OF KOMENSKY UNIVERSITY

TABLE 5

OTHER CZECH ACADEMICIANS IN BRATISLAVA

- Albert Pražák: Literary history, Secretary of PJ Šafárik Learned Society
- Vratislav Bušek: Religious Law
- Václav Chaloupecký: Historian, trained with professor Pekař
- Božena Kuklová – Štúrová: Pathologist, first woman habilitated in Slovakia

Many leading personalities at KU were prominent in their professional field, winning international acclaim. Besides internists KristiánHynek, MilošNetoušek, there was the pediatrician JiřiBrdlík, neurologist ZdenekMysliveček and ZdenekFrankenberger, renowned for his work in embryology. Frankenberger was forced to abandon his academic post in 1938 and returned to Bohemia. Stanislav Kostlivý, the head of surgical department, dean and rector at KU trained his Slovak followers, among them Konštantín Čársky.

The School of Liberal Arts at KU had prominent Czech scientists, among them Albert Pražák, Karel Chotek, Václav Chaloupecký, Vojtech Ondrouch and J. Hromádka.

Ethnic Tensions and the Breakup of Czechoslovakia

The legacy of lower economic, industrial and educational standards inherited by Slovakia from Hungary generated continuous tensions. This was despite a remarkable rise in the delivery of education and services, transportation, communications, banking, medical and social needs. Many of the Slovak complaints to the central government about neglecting special consideration for the development of the eastern part of the Republic were justified, but not answered[2.]

By the right of seniority many higher posts in Slovak administration and services were held even after 10 years by Czechs. Part of the Slovak working class was disgruntled because of the large number of petty positions held in Slovakia by Czechs. Many school textbooks were in Czech and the language of teachers in Slovakia was also Czech. Ethnic frictions became more manifest as the economic depression took its toll. The pro-Nazi elements skillfully stoked the anti-Czech sentiment through Slovak autonomist politics.

Seeds of social and political discontent accompanied the party politics in Slovakia[3]. In the Hungarian tradition, in contrary to Czechs, Slovak politicians were highly oriented toward a cult of personality. In 1925 the Slovak Populist Party formally renamed itself Hlinka's Slovak Populist Party, HSĽS with autonomy for Slovakia being its main mission.

Initially, in 1920 the Slovak populist deputy Father FerdišJuriga declared: "We need a million Czechs in Slovakia"[3]. Later, when a new generation of Czech-trained skilled Slovaks arrived they saw in their Czech fellow citizens obstacles to their own advancement.

From the outset Šrobár preferred the Lutherans who were considered more open to Czechoslovakia and to Prague than the Catholics, many of whom were traditionally Budapest-oriented.This neglected the fact that most of the Slovaks were Catholics. They became ever more disgruntled, looking down on atheism prevailing among the Czechs. Catholics energized the separatist tendencies of the HSĽS.

A grave international situation developed due to the tide of Hitler's might and ambitions, which focused German sights on Czechoslovakia as an obstacle in the Hitler Drangnach Osten. Extremist in Slovak politics envisioned an opportunity in linking their goals with the pro-Nazi elements. The consequence of the Munich dictate and Nazi pressure from outside and from within Czechoslovakia was followed by the declaration of Slovak independent state in March 1939.

New Slovak constitution placed the real power under the firm control of one party, the HSĽS with its shock paramilitary troops, the Hlinka Guards[13]. Germany's aim was to recast Slovakia in the image of the National Socialist

Germany. Nazification of Slovakia was associated with ethnic purges. Alexander Mach, the leader of the Hlinka Guards intensively agitated against Czechs, Czechoslovaks and Jews. Long before the Slovak state adopted laws and decrees under which its Jewish population lost its constitutional rights, the animosity toward the Czech minority took an unprecedented course and toll.

Slovak became the only official language. Czechs who did not acquire Slovak citizenship were forced to leave their positions, including university teachers. Czech managers were often replaced by Germans and the Czech minority was subjected to "evacuation". While in Bratislava there were 30 thousand Czechs in 1930, in 1940 they dwindled down by 83 % [10].

In May 1939 all Slovak medical organizations became concentrated in the Association of physicians in Slovak State. Several members of the new executive committee prepared for their task by making a trip to Berlin to acquire experience how to eradicate the Marxist elements and how to solve the Jewish situation in medicine[6].

These political consequences drastically affected many physicians practicing in Slovakia[6]. In 1939 as many as 225 physicians, mostly Czechs and Jews, lost their membership in the professional association, the Slovak medical chamber. The property of many of them, medical equipment and even apartments became confiscated and were acquired by the Slovak ministry of Interior.

Situations unprecedented at universities in the democratic world became commonplace. Some historic reports described the academic upheaval in non-sentimental laconic terms: "During the first days of enthusiasm from having a Slovak state, several joyful medical professors (Filo, Chura, Šubík) paraded at the Medical school dressed in the uniform of Hlinka Guards"[14].

Slovaks expressed their disdain with Hitlerism in 1944 in the Slovak national uprising, one of the most massive anti-Nazi armed struggle in the German occupied territory. The rebel forces were aided by devoted Slovak medical personnel.

After 1945-Renewal with dark Clouds

After the end of World War II, Czechoslovakia was reconstituted, with a heavy burden of pro-Soviet commitments, fitting Stalin's strategic plans. Interrupted and discredited relations between Slovak and Czech academicians were partly renewed, never reaching the intensity of the pre-war period. During the Tiso's republic, vacated academic positions were filled, mostly by regime-dedicated Slovaks. Also, since 1930 a new generation of skilled Slovak professionals entered the academic life. After 1945 the academic selection criteria were often breached by offering undue preferences to communists and declared resistance fighters.

Legacy of Czech academicians in Slovak medicine left viable roots. The Slovak head of surgery and since 1941 the president-appointed head of the Slovak medical society, Konsšantín Čársky was married to Kostlivý's

daughter[13]. Prof. Alojz Chura, the head of pediatrics was previously an associate professor with JiříBrdlík. Professor Hynek was instrumental in promoting professional carreer of a talented Slovak, Emanuel Filo who became an eminent internist. Another famous Slovak internist, Dr. Ladislav Dérer developed his career under the leadership of Miloš Netoušek who was the head of Department of Internal medicine of KU until 1938, when Hynek departed to Prague in 1931.

FrantišekValentín, an excellent chemist studied first in Prague with prof. E. Votočka at the Czech Technical University. After 1938 Valentín became the head of the Institute of medical chemistry at the KU, renamed to Slovak university. The Czech pathologist, Professor Božena Kuklová married a Slovak (Štúrová).

Prof. Vladimír Haviar, prominent internist- cardiologist deserves credit for his uncompromising position during the years of Nazi totality[15]. Haviar trained with Hynek's first assistant, Professor Sumbal. During WW II Haviar saved Dr. Sumbal from expulsion from Bratislava. For Haviar's non-alignment with the totality he was academically proscribed and became active in the anti-fascist resistance. After 1945 prof. Antonín Vančura, the head of the 2nd Medical Clinic in Prague became instrumental in assisting with Dr. Haviar's habilitation.

After 1948, the subsequent forty years of communism were burdened by party- promulgated dishonesty[13] and political propaganda that did little for the betterment of free democratic relations between the Slovak and Czech medicine.

The rebirth of freedom in 1989 was followed by the breakdown of Czechoslovakia in 1992. Slovak medicine and medical institutions remain to a large extent independent from its Czech colleagues. Few professional societies still persist in mutual cooperation[16].

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Ivan T. Frolov: From the Rehabilitation of Genetics to the Philosophy of *Homo sapiens et humanus*

Vitězslav Orel and Margaret H. Peaslee

I recall with gratitude the years of my work with a man who was great and worthy in every respect, Ivan Timofeevich Frolov.

Mikhail S. Gorbachev[1]

Darkness fell over the science of genetics in the countries under Soviet domination during the period 1928 to 1964. Trofim Denisovich Lysenko (1898-1976), director of the Soviet Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, claimed to have developed a technique for dramatically increasing crop yield. Lysenko promoted the idea that organisms could acquire characteristics simply through forced physical changes in the parents. Lysenko had the support of the Soviet leadership, and Mendelian genetics, based on valid scientific verification, was declared "a bourgeois pseudoscience." Research in this field was discontinued. Many resisting geneticists in countries under Soviet rule were imprisoned and/or executed and some of their names have been on display in the Mendel Museum in Brno, Czech Republic.[2] A very personal story of this dreadful period was written by Vitězslav Orel and is titled, "Jaroslav Kříženecký (1896-1964), tragic victim of Lysenkoism in Czechoslovakia."[3]

A great deal of courage was required of an individual who chose to rebel against the established system, and Ivan Timofeevich Frolov (1929-1999) possessed the intellectual power and personal determination to attempt this very thing.

A series of books were published between the years 2001-2003 dealing with critical evaluation of the dramatic events in genetics in Russia during the second half of the 20th century, the science that had been subordinated to political ideology for so long.[4] In 2010 the book, *Filosofia Rossii Vtoroj Poloviny XX Veka* [Philosophy of Russia in the Second Half of the 20th Century], was published with 29 contributions describing the activity of I. T. Frolov, influential thinker, scientist of outstanding talent and working capacity, and organizer of the rehabilitation of genetics and its founder, Johann Gregor Mendel (1822-1884).[5] The collected authors were gathered from some 450 papers and 40 books that had been published in Russian and other languages and in different countries. Four contributions were by Frolov himself. During his study of philosophy at the Moscow University in 1953-56 Frolov was greatly disappointed by the teaching of a pseudo-science dealing with evolution and heredity as presented by Lysenko and his followers. Kiselev illustrates how this beginning student of philosophy took over the task of the rehabilitation of genetics which had been forcibly subordinated to Lysenkoism.[6]

In 1958 after his study of philosophical-methodological principles in the natural sciences, Frolov rejected Lysenko's misuse of Darwin's theory when writing his doctoral dissertation, "Determinism and Teleology." In 1962-5, having been appointed consultant editor of the international communist journal, *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, published in Prague during the new era of scientific revolution and globalization, Frolov was captivated by research into the philosophy of global problems within the context of sociology, ecology, and ethics. At that time he also communicated with Czech participants of the political movement, later known as "Prague Spring." He was inspired to study more of the origin and the development of the sciences. Soon he was elucidating the revolution in biology and genetics and applying the latest knowledge in physics, chemistry, mathematics, and the theory of probability. In this intellectual climate he wrote his thesis, "Problems of Methodological, Biological Investigation." [7] Rejecting the pseudo-scientific teaching of Lysenkoism he defended his explanation in 1965 with the support of the influential geneticist, Boris L. Astaurov (1904-1974), the first president of the newly established "All Union Society of Geneticists and Selectionists," who was in contact with the *Mendelianum* [Mendel Museum] in Brno. Astaurov recommended to Frolov that he focus on Mendel and the origin and development of genetics.

At that time Frolov was invited to Moscow to assist the prominent physicist Nikolai N. Semenov in writing the anti-Lysenkoist essay "Science does not tolerate subjectivism," considered by the high representatives of the Communist party to be an explanation for the end of Lysenkoism. After 1966 Frolov began teaching philosophy at Moscow University and sent his assistant, Stepan A. Pastushny, to Brno to study the new findings in the historical investigation about the research of J. G. Mendel and the origin of genetics. In 1972 in Moscow a book was published by Frolov and Pastushny: *Mendel, Mendelism and Dialectics*[8] and in 1975 in Brno the Czech translation under the title *Mendelism and Philosophical Problems of the Contemporary Genetics* appeared.[9] With the scientific rehabilitation of genetics, the long disparaged pseudo-science of Lysenko and his supporters was finished.

Later in his publications Frolov investigated the philosophy of global problems in the context of the natural sciences, sociology, ethics, humanity, ecology, and technology. He greatly appreciated the support given to him by prominent Russian scientists, such as the physicist Pyotr L. Kapitsa, the biochemist Vladimir A. Engelhardt, the geneticists Boris L. Astaurov and Dimitri K. Beljayev, and the historian of science Bonifatiy M. Kedrov. Between 1968 and 1977 Frolov served as chief-editor of the Soviet monthly journal *Problemy Filosofii* [Questions of Philosophy] and, thanks to his efforts, circulation of the journal soon increased from 25,000 copies to 55,000. Paying attention to genetic engineering, ethics of sciences, death, and immortality, he mentioned the views of prominent predecessors as Socrates, Kant, Goethe, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and other thinkers. The elaboration of philosophical-methodical principles in the developments in natural sciences and in genetics, in

particular, inspired Frolov's new style of thinking about the life of man and society in the context of the accelerated development of science, education, and culture.

During his second stay in Prague, 1977-80, Frolov organized "The Committee for Science" in the international communist journal engaged in the problems of science and ethics and humanism. Visiting the *Mendelianum* [Mendel Museum] in Brno he was surprised to see the recently published book by Edward O. Wilson, *Sociobiology: the New Synthesis*, 1975. The author proposed that sociobiology offers a basis for the unification of biology, social sciences, and humanities with the conclusion that the human mind was shaped as much by genetic inheritance as by culture.[10] Frolov carried a copy of the book to Prague where he carefully studied it. Returning to Moscow he organized the "Scientific Committee" also within the Academy of Sciences, dedicated to philosophical and social problems and techniques. He realized that the latest developments in science and technology were in opposition to the dogmatic teaching of the role of social classes.

It was the beginning of the peak period of his scientific activity later fully described in 1988 in his book *Filosofia i Istoria Genetiki: Poiski i Diskussii*' [Philosophy and History of Genetics: Investigation and Discussion].[11] On the last page of the book, reprinted in 2007, are seven portraits of prominent Russian geneticists. Among them is also an American, Thomas Hunt Morgan (1866-1945). A portrait of J. G. Mendel is in the first place. In the book Mendel is quoted in 16 pages. In the fourth chapter dealing with genetics of man Frolov drew attention to a sociobiology symposium organized in 1979 in New Hampshire by the representatives of biology, theology, and philosophy. The most important information was first published in *Zygon* and expanded by Frolov in his 1988 book.[12] The organizers expected that the discussion could contribute to the mutual understanding of contemporary social and ethical problems.

The image of Frolov as a brave and responsible scientist was soon recognized by Mikhail S. Gorbachev. From 1968 he and his wife Raisa Maximovna, who taught philosophy, sociology, and ethics, were subscribers to the philosophical monthly journal. Frolov welcomed the idea that Gorbachev introduced his teaching of global problems into the political realm, favoring the general problems of mankind over political class problems. In 1985, Frolov drew attention to the global value of contemporary problems, with the aim of creating "the new humane and democratic socialism" with the new thinking. Frolov came in contact with Gorbachev and in this context the political term *perestroika* [rebuilding] appeared in Gorbachev's reasoning. The cooperation of Frolov with the Gorbachevs is described in detail in the book by Sergej N. Korsakov, published in 2006.[13]

In 1987 Gorbachev's book "*Perestroika i novoe myshlenie dlia nashei strany i dlia vsego mira"* [Restructuring and the new thinking for our country and for the whole world] was published.[14] Two years later Frolov's paper

appeared, "*Perestroika: filosofskaia mysl i chelovecheskoe prednaznachenie"* [Restructuring: philosophical sense and man's foreboding].[15] The authors expected the new political reforms to contribute to the creation of liberal thinking on three planes: nature, man, and society.

In 1991 Gorbachev entrusted Frolov with establishment of "the creative group" for elaboration of proposals toward the democratization of the country. At the time Frolov was suffering from diabetes and his health was deteriorating. In August 1991 surgeons in Moscow decided to send him to a hospital in Duisburg, Germany, with the hope that a new curative process would be successful in restoring blood circulation in his legs. But it was too late and Frolov's left leg had to be amputated. In the meantime, political changes in Moscow were followed by the fall of Gorbachev, and Frolov had to accept an end to his own political activity. In 1991-1999 he continued his activity in Moscow as the director of the newly established "Institute of Man" inside of the Academy of Science. Frolov took his philosophy to his contemporaries in China and traveled there several times. In 1999 he died while disembarking from a plane in Shanghai.

In 1991 Gorbachev was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for introducing the new political thinking, and Frolov won the Global 500 Roll of Honour for his justification of global problems. In his publications Frolov repeatedly cited quotations by philosophers and naturalists and also by famous literary people, from antiquity to the present. The famous Russian writer, Fyodor M. Dostoevsky, who stressed that man himself is a mystery to be disclosed during the whole life of man, inspired Frolov to investigate man under different aspects of his existence. The manifesto of Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein urging man to a new way of thinking to avoid the tragedy from atomic weapons influenced Frolov's innovative political thinking. Frolov and Gorbachev visited Pope John Paul II at the Vatican in 1989 who admitted his knowledge of Frolov's publications. The Pope's first encyclical drew attention to the social aspects of man living in contrasting conditions, and supported Frolov's research in sociology.[16]

In his political activity Frolov was motivated by his philosophical-scientific viewpoint in contrast to the political motivation of Gorbachev. The failure of *perestroika* [restructuring] led Frolov to the solemn conviction that it was necessary to pay attention to concrete work for the improvement of the civil, scientific, and cultural level of a nation and, first of all, to the identification-knowledge and development of Man himself. Even the best idea cannot be practically effective when it is not realized with adequate means, at the high level of culture, science, genetics, technology, civilization, social structure, and man himself with spiritual humanism and democracy. Frolov hoped that the next fifty or even one hundred years would produce the achievement of new scientific and humane ideas worthy to the Latin dictum, *homo sapiens et humanus.*

In 2001 Gorbachev thoughtfully described Frolov's merits: "The process of *perestroika* [restructuring] was disrupted; the final aim was not reached. But the positive results achieved in these few years, viz. *glasnost* [openness], freedom of speech, religion and conscience, new opportunities for personal initiative, alternative elections, ideological and political pluralism, freedom of exit and traveling abroad, openness of contacts and communication with people all over the world, and many other democratic advantages, all these enable us to go on moving to real renovation and the strengthening of democracy in our country, to asserting the self-respect of the Russian people´.[17]

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Some 'lesser known' UNESCO World Heritage Sites in the Czech Republic

By Zdeněk Salzmann

Introduction

UNESCO World Heritage Sites can be such places as communities, monuments, buildings, landscapes, etc. that are of special cultural or physical significance. Since this UNESCO program was initiated in 1972, over 930 cultural and natural places throughout the world have been designated as world heritage sites. As of 2012, most of these are located in Italy (48), Spain (43), China (41), France (37), and Germany (36). But among the 145 countries that have benefited thus far from the program are many small and lesser known ones, ranging from Andorra to Zambia, each possessing at least one such site.

In the Czech Republic twelve sites have been chosen by UNESCO: the historic centers of Český Krumlov, Prague, and Telč; the pilgrimage church of St. John of Nepomuk on Zelená hora [hill]; the historic center of Kutná Hora and the Cathedral of Our Lady at Sedlec; The Lednice-Valtice cultural landscape; the gardens and castle at Kroměříž; the Litomyšl Castle; the historical village of Holašovice; the Jewish Quarter and St. Procopius Basilica in Třebíč; the Holy Trinity Column in Olomouc; and the Tugendhat Villa in Brno. Below are short descriptions, with illustrations, of those that deserve to be better known.

Not included in these descriptions are the historic center of Prague with its Charles Bridge over the Vltava River, dating from the fourteenth century; the picturesque historic part of Český Krumlov on the banks of the Vltava in southern Bohemia; the former silver-mining town of Kutná Hora with the church of St. Barbara and the cathedral of the Assumption of Our Lady at Sedlec, Kutná Hora's suburb; and the Holy Trinity Column in the center of the city of Olomouc. The historical monuments at these four locations are well known and visited not only by Czechs but by visiting foreigners because they are included in the many sightseeing excursions offered by the tourist bureaus of Prague.

The sequence in which the eight world heritage sites are presented here follows their relative location, from west to east. The sites are so different in nature that to choose any other sequence would have been not only difficult but somewhat arbitrary.

Holašovice

Very few foreigners visiting the Czech Republic - and actually very few Czechs - have ever visited the village of Holašovice, even though it is on the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. In fact, one doesn't even find the village on maps people consult when they are planning a visit to the Czech Republic. A

very small village, Holašovice is located in southern Bohemia, only several miles west of České Budějovice, the largest city south of Prague.

Like so many Bohemian villages, Holašovice is very old: it was first mentioned in written records during the second half of the thirteenth century, and in its origin was the result of the colonization of the South Bohemian border region. Although it was settled by Czechs eager to cultivate land that was their own, the total number of villagers apparently never exceeded one hundred. Two and a half centuries after the village's origin a disaster struck—all but two of its inhabitants were wiped out in 1521 by the bubonic plague. In succeeding years the village was repopulated by settlers mostly from Austria and Bavaria, which resulted in a German-speaking community in a generally Czech-speaking area. By 1530 the village, then known as Holschowitz, had a total of 17 inhabitants. With the exception of the period of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), the village prospered, its population remaining predominantly German. By the end of the nineteenth century, only about one eighth of the inhabitants were of Czech origin.

After most of the German population was forced to leave the Czechoslovak Republic after World War II, Holašovice was deserted and some of its buildings fell into disrepair before it was once again populated by Czechs from the country's interior. The oldest village buildings, a few of which date back to the eighteenth century although most were built during the second half of the nineteenth, were repaired and are maintained in the traditional ground plan around an elongated village square with a village smithy, a pond, and the small chapel dedicated to St. John of Nepomuk built in 1755.

Today, Holašovice is an exceptionally well-preserved example of a traditional Central European village. The style of its architecture, with the attractively shaped gables facing the square, is known as South Bohemian folk baroque. The historical village reservation consisting of some twenty farmsteads with their farm buildings and gardens, was designated by UNESCO in 1998 as a World Heritage Site.

Litomyšl Castle

Litomyšl is a town first mentioned in historical records near the end of the tenth century, when it began to serve as one of the stops on the trade route between Bohemia and Moravia. It lies about one hundred miles east of Prague. Bedřich Smetana, the well-known Czech composer, was born there in 1824.

An "old palace" and a fortress that existed in Litomyšl in the fourteenth century were destroyed during the Hussite wars of the first half of the next century and then damaged by several fires, the last one in 1560.

Construction of the castle that now dominates the Litomyšl scene goes back to the late sixteenth century, when two Czech architects of Italian origin were engaged by the noble family of Pernštejn. Considerable modifications were undertaken on the exterior of the castle beginning in 1719, as well as in the interior during the 1790s. At that time a theater was constructed in the western

wing of the castle, and today it is one of the oldest theaters in Europe to have survived intact. This immaculately preserved arcade castle in the Italianate Renaissance style with a few baroque features added during the eigthteenth century has been on the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites since 1999.

Historic center of Telč

Telč is a town in southwestern Moravia. It is an old community, the first reference to its existence dating back to 1180 (as villa Telcz). Buildings of ancient Telč were constructed of wood, but after a large fire toward the end of the fourteenth century, a new town was built of stone and surrounded by walls. The old location became an outlying part of New or Upper Telč. The town eventually came to be surrounded on three sides by connected artificial ponds, and fish-farming, the original purpose of the ponds, continues to the present day.

Today‘s appearance of Telč goes back to the second half of the sixteenth century when the nobleman Zachariáš of Hradec began rebuilding the town after another large fire. During the mid-seventeenth century the Counter-Revolution brought members of the Jesuit order to the town; besides buildings for the order‘s use, they also provided the town with a fountain and a new church. The town center has a Renaissance chateau which besides some Gothic elements of a mansion built in the same place several centuries earlier displays some features of Italian influence. Of equally outstanding artistic quality is the rest of the town square with its many arcades, passageways, and Renaissance houses with high gables of an impressive array of facades and styles. What makes Telč a unique settlement is that its architectural treasures have survided to the present day.

The historic center of Telč was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1992.

Jewish Quarter and the Basilica of St. Procopius in Třebíč

Třebíč is a town in southwestern Moravia on the Jihlava River. The site of the town is associated with a Benedictine monastery founded in 1101, but the origins of a community date only to the 1260s. The town that was slowly developing there was almost destroyed in 1468 when it was besieged by the Hungarian army of Matthias Corvinus.

An interesting characteristic of the history of Třebíč is that it was an important center of Jewish culture in Moravia, and was served by two synagogues. The original Jewish cemetery, located close to the Benedictine monastery, was destroyed in 1468, and its replacement, with several thousand tombstones, is one of the best-preserved Jewish cemeteries in the Czech Republic. All the residents of the town’s Jewish Quarter were deported by the Nazis during World War II; none of them survived.

The Basilica of St. Procopius (sv. Prokop), situated on a hill overlooking the town, was originally constructed during the thirteenth century and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It suffered much damage thoughout history,

and for more than two hundred years was used as a granary and stable, as well as for other purposes. Renovated in 1725-1731 and reconsecrated, it is a mixture of Romanesque and early Gothic styles, and among its most precious parts is a crypt with ceiling timbers more than seven hundred years old.

Not only the architectural treasures of the town but also the centuries-long coexistence of its Jewish and Christian cultures were the reason for UNESCO's selection of Třebíč in 2003 as a World Heritage Site.

Pilgrimage church of St. John of Nepomuk on Zelená hora

Zelená hora is a gentle hill just outside the city of Žďár on the Sázava River (*Žďár nad Sázavou)* in western Moravia, not far from the Bohemian-Moravian border. At the top of the hill is a small church consecrated to St. John of Nepomuk, at one time the deputy of the archbishop of Prague. According to legend, in 1393 John of Nepomuk was tortured to death and his body thrown into the Vltava River from the Charles Bridge for refusing to divulge the confessional secrets of the wife of King Wenceslas IV (Václav IV).

Designed by a well-known Czech architect of Italian origin, Jan Blažej Santini, and built in the years 1719-1722, the church is highly original in its merging of neo-Gothic and baroque styles, sometimes referred to as Baroque Gothic. The ground plan of the church is a five-pointed star, and its central section is quite impressive because of its loftiness. The church is surrounded by a cloister in the shape of a ten-pointed star that served as a monastery until 1784, and afterwards as a shelter for pilgrims during inclement weather. A fire in 1783 devastated the church and most of the surrounding buildings, but by 1830 all had been fully restored.

In 1994 the church was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Tugendhat Villa in Brno

Villa Tugendhat is a free-standing three-story building in Brno, the largest city in Moravia and second largest in the Czech Republic. Construction of the villa was completed in 1930, and its owner, Fritz Tugendhat, enjoyed living in it with his family until 1938, when he moved to Switzerland.

The villa was designed by the well-known German architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, who was influenced by the American architect Frank Lloyd Wright. The Tugendhat villa is considered to be one of the early masterpieces of modern architecture in its innovative use of space and building materials. To give examples, one wall of the villa was made of onyx, a translucent mineral, another consisted of a sliding sheet of plate glass, and the use of rare tropical woods provided the interior with special warmth. The iron framework of the house made it possible to dispense with many supporting walls, and for the time of its construction, the villa was equipped with very modern heating and air-conditioning systems.

When the original owner of the villa did not return after World War II, the building was put to various uses. In 2001, it was included among the

UNESCO World Heritages Sites, and a thorough reconstruction was undertaken at great expense between 2010 and 2012, after which the villa was reopened to the public.

Lednice-Valtice cultural landscape

Lednice and Valtice are two small towns in southern Moravia only a few miles west of Břeclav and north of the republic's border with Austria. Valtice was first mentioned as a castle in 1192, and by the fourteenth century the settlement around the castle had become a town. From that time until the end of World War II both Lednice and Valtice belonged to the estate of the Liechtensteins, an Austrian noble family. Over time the Valtice medieval chateau was reconstructed in the Renaissance, then Mannerist, and finally baroque styles. Lednice was first mentioned in 1222, and the Liechtensteins' villa there was built during the second half of the sixteenth century; it was progressively enlarged and reconstructed in baroque, classical, and neo-Gothic styles.

The land around these two towns, some hundred square miles, was originally marshy, but between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries it was slowly changed, emerging as a designed countryside ecologically and aesthetically balanced, with fishponds, pavilions, colonnades, hunting lodges, and a wide variety of native and exotic trees - a landscape reminiscent of English parks. The area continues to be both a natural and an ornithological reservation.

The large Lednice-Valtice area was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage area in 1996.

Gardens and Castle at Kroměříž

Kroměříž is an old city in central Moravia, first mentioned as early as 1107. The city is located at what was an early ford across the Morava River, less than 20 miles south of the city of Olomouc. The castle of Kroměříž was the principal residence of the local bishop, and after 1777, of the archbishop of Olomouc, and the city by then had become an important center of culture and industry.

An old fortress from the middle of the thirteenth century began to be reconstructed at the end of the fifteenth century with the gardens around it founded by the bishop of Olomouc, but the entire area greatly suffered during the Thirty Years' War and an outbreak of plague in 1645. The fortunes of Kroměříž began to improve when a member of the Liechtenstein family became the bishop of Olomouc in 1664. He brought in Italian architects who completed the garden in 1675, and then began construction of the magnificent castle and some residential buildings in the neighborhood. The castle suffered from a fire in 1752, and its present form goes back to that restoration which continued well into the nineteenth century, when arcades, bridges and a model farmstead were constructed.

Today the castle and the formal gardens are a well-preserved example of an exquisite residence and a surrounding baroque-style landscape of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The beautiful gardens in particular and the baroque castle at Kroměříž were included among the UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 1998.

Conclusion

The Czech Republic was very fortunate to have been spared the physical destruction suffered by so many European countries during World War II. This is why historical sites in the republic are true testimonies to the architectural and artistic beauty that characterize the high points of the country's material culture. The postal service of the Czech Republic honored all eight of the UNESCO World Historic Sites described and illustrated in this essay, as well as those remaining, by issuing stamps commemorating the twelve sites.

NOTES

More information about all twelve of these world heritage sites may be found on the Internet under the titles used in this essay. I also drew on pamphlets available at these sites and made use of personal resources concerning the Czech Republic, my native country.

ORAL HISTORY

"There was no time to tell anyone-in those days"

Jitka Pistoriusová

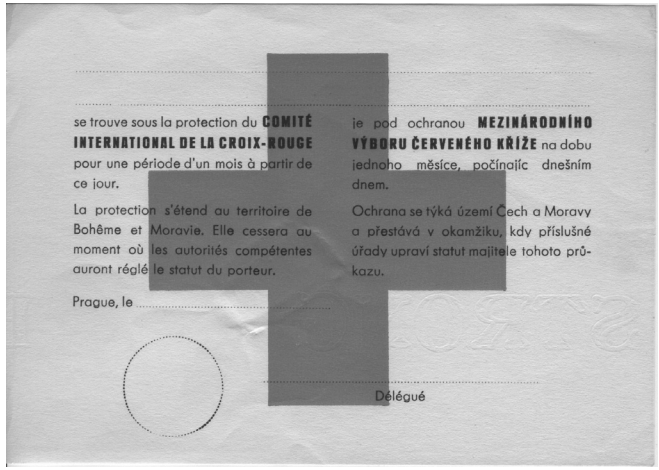
November 21st, 2012 marks the 25th anniversary of the passing of Professor Karel Raška, M.D., one of the most important figures of Czech medicine in the 20th century. Raška is considered to be the founder of modern Czechoslovak epidemiology. In addition to achieving important results in experimental science, he also made fundamental contributions to the control of communicable diseases worldwide. Before World War II, Raška controlled multiple infectious outbreaks in the Czechoslovak Army. After Munich, he was given primary responsibility for public health measures for over 160 thousand refugees from the occupied frontier regions. At the end of World War II, Raška was placed in charge of the Czech self-help action in Terezín following an outbreak involving thousands of cases of epidemic typhus. Together with Professor František Patočka, Raška was responsible for public health measures associated with the organized transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia. He was a driving force in the control of communicable diseases in Czechoslovakia and started the National Transfusion Service. As Director of the Division of Communicable Diseases of the World Health Organization, Raška developed both the method and the program of epidemiological surveillance that eventually was adopted as a basic pillar of public health by the 1968 World Health Assembly. He was the author of the "enhanced" program for the eradication of smallpox and succeeded in persuading the government of the United States to finance it. He was bestowed many honors worldwide, the most important being the Jenner Medal which has been awarded since 1895, but not more often than once in 5 years for preeminence in control of epidemic disease by the Royal Society of Medicine (United Kingdom). Sadly, he spent his last years in Communist Czechoslovakia completely blacklisted by the Communist authorities.

Here we report an interview conducted in 1985 about Raška's work in Terezín by Jitka Pistoriusová.

> *"In 1980 I graduated from FAMU, the famous Czech film school in the discipline of film documentaries. It was a bad time: I was not in the Communist Party, StB or KGB. My first film "What is happening on the Sun" won the first prize of the academy in 1982. In 1985 I was asked to prepare interviews for "Čtení pro ženy" with 7 female members of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Professor Helena Rašková first wanted to test my competence and recommended a trial with her*

blacklisted husband who sat at home in forced retirement. That is how I met the most intelligent and charismatic man in my life, Professor Karel Raška, M.D., D.Sc. The following interview was published in "Čtení pro ženy" in 1985 by evading Communist censorship and this caused me many problems. It is a pity we never recorded his remarks to me as to how the normalization regime treated this exceptional man. Today we would all have a good laugh at it."

Jitka Pistoriusová, September 30, 2012



se trouve sous la protection du **COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE** pour une période d'un mois à partir de ce jour.

La protection s'étend au territoire de Bohême et Moravie. Elle cessera au moment où les autorités compétentes auront réglé le statut du porteur.

Prague, le .....

Délégué

je pod ochranou **MEZINÁRODNÍHO VÝBORU ČERVENÉHO KŘÍŽE** na dobu jednoho měsíce, počínaíc dnešním dnem.

Ochrana se týká území Čech a Moravy a přestává v okamžiku, kdy příslušné úřady upraví statut majitele tohoto průkazu.

PISTORIUSOVÁ: *What was the situation in the Protectorate at the end of the war and how did you, professor, learn of the outbreak of epidemic typhus at the Small Fortress in Terezín?*

RAŠKA: *During the war I worked in the Fourth Department of Epidemiology and Microbiology at the State Institute of Health. In December 1944, I was given the task by the domestic resistance to prepare a program of control for infectious diseases that would unquestionably appear at the end of the war. I consulted on these matters with Professor Charvát, General Pytlík,*

Dr. Budín and Dr. Fragner who was responsible for preparing material help, medicines, clothing, etc.

At the end of April 1945, I was informed by Dr. Veselý of the Land Office (Zemský úřad) about the increasing number of suspicious diseases which were appearing at the Small Fortress in Terezín. He also told me that, beginning on April 20th, the representative of the International Red Cross, Mr. Paul Dunant, had taken charge of the Terezín ghetto. The International Red Cross did not care, however, about the Small Fortress, which was a concentration camp for predominantly Czech prisoners.

On May 1st, I received at the laboratory of the State Institute of Health, 96 samples of blood from Hradec Králové. These came from sick prisoners who had been sent there from the Small Fortress for forced labor. They had been assigned the task of digging trenches against the advancing Red Army. My laboratory analysis revealed that it was epidemic typhus. I

immediately informed Dr. Veselý and I asked him to contact the hospital in Roudnice and also asked a district physician, Dr. Slach, to accompany me to see Terezín's Small Fortress, where we arrived in the morning of May 2nd.

PISTORIUSOVÁ: *How did you get permission to get there so fast and the travel permits?*

RAŠKA: *We had none. When Dr. Slach and I arrived at the gate of the Small Fortress, there were 2 SS-men armed with machine guns and they refused to let us in, but we were lucky. The ruler and commander of the camp SS-Sturmbannführer, Jöckel, was in Prague. Because I was demanding entry very loudly and determinedly, we were at last received by Jöckel's deputy. I repeatedly explained the danger to everyone of epidemic typhus including the German guards at the camp. He did not believe me. He trusted the report of the Health Institute of the German Medical Faculty in Prague, which concluded that it was only typhoid fever, against which the soldiers were vaccinated. At the end, he called the chief prisoners' physician. He was Associate Professor Dr. Jiří Syllaba, whom I knew well. Dr. Syllaba, who had never seen a case of epidemic typhus himself (after World War I it did not exist in Prague) could rely only on the laboratory results from the German University. These turned out to be erroneous. Syllaba confirmed that, in the Small Fortress, there were over 1,000 cases of new serious illnesses. I insisted that I needed to see the ill prisoners. Dr. Slach and I were taken through the gate…."Arbeit macht frei". The Germans wanted to show us only the first aid station. Only after a long insistence did they take us to neighboring rooms in the fortifications of the Small Fortress.*

The dead and dying lay on wooden cots in three tiers, all with lice. It was a typical picture of a running outbreak of epidemic typhus. Epidemic typhus is transmitted by lice. Typhus and rickettsial diseases have a very characteristic presentation to those with experience.

PISTORIUSOVÁ: *You were just over 30. Were you scared?*

RAŠKA: *I had no time for fear. I could not even have imagined the horror I witnessed then. While we were examining the patients in the fortifications of the fortress, we heard machine gun salvos. Mass executions*

of Czech political prisoners were beginning. We got out of the "First Court" and saw a terrifying picture. They were transferring dead prisoners to the crematorium on carts. There were 52 just executed Czech political prisoners. In the Small Fortress there were already more than 500 graves dug for prisoners scheduled to be executed during these last days of war.

Before leaving, I asked Dr. Syllaba to obtain for me 20 blood samples from ill or freshly-deceased prisoners. I promised that on May 3rd at 7:00 a.m. I would be back and, by the analysis, demonstrate that we were dealing with epidemic typhus. But, the following day, we were intercepted by the SS Commandant, Jöckel. Waving his Luger pistol, he asked who had given us permission to enter the Small Fortress. I answered that the typhus epidemic would endanger even him and his family. After a brief reluctance, Jöckel took me to the "First Court" again where I, under the armed guard of two SS men, analyzed the 20 blood samples Dr. Syllaba had secured from prisoners in the "Fourth Court." Nineteen were clearly positive for Weil-Felix reaction. When I asked, however, to see the prisoners at the "Fourth Court", Jöckel immediately threw me out of the Small Fortress. He yelled that it was a matter for the International Red Cross, which was already working in the Terezín ghetto.

PISTORIUSOVÁ: *Did you contact the International Red Cross?*

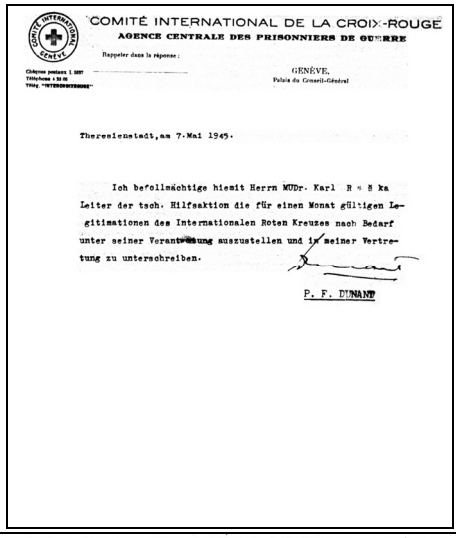
RAŠKA: *I had no idea where in the ghetto the International Red Cross was located. I drove from the Small Fortress in Terezín, across the hills and across Terezín square. We were stopped by Protectorate gendarmes, but, when I told them I was looking for the International Red Cross, they took me to the hotel where Mr. Paul Dunant was staying. I described to him the commencement of executions at the Small Fortress, hundreds of ill with typhus, and the growing risk that the disease would spread all over the country.*

Mr. Dunant repeatedly emphasized that he was responsible only for the ghetto and could not help me in any way at the Small Fortress. He offered me cognac, cigarettes, and a car made available to him by K.H. Frank. It was a big white Mercedes.

Influenced by the horrors I had just lived through and by the fact that, after years of life under the Nazi occupation, I could talk to a man who represented an international organization with a humanitarian role, I forgot all the rules of illegal underground resistance work. I introduced myself as a member of the Czech resistance movement in charge of assistance for Terezín. I stated that we had physicians, nurses, some medicines, and laundry. But we needed permits to enter the Small Fortress and I was asking for his help.

Mr. Dunant telephoned K.H. Frank in Prague and consulted with him. Dunant asked me join him for lunch later. Frank was sending his representative to Terezín and I would be able to negotiate with him. I left for the hospital in Roudnice where I informed everyone about the new situation. When I returned for lunch, I saw the "commandant" of the Small Fortress, Jöckel, "commandant" of the Terezín ghetto, Rahme, and, next to him in an SS colonel's uniform, the man Dunant had earlier introduced to me (in civilian clothes) as his secretary. What a surprise! In the morning, I had told them about my illegal work in healthcare, about the preparedness of our self-help action for Terezín and now…even the German district physician from Litoměřice was sitting there in uniform.

The representative of K.H. Frank, Mr. Rudel, Director of Orbis, arrived forty-five minutes later. Rudel immediately took me aside. I started in German. From several languages I more or less knew, my German was always the weakest. After several sentences, Mr. Rudel interrupted me: Doctor, speak Czech! That was another surprise…I told him that I needed permission for physicians, nurses, disinfectors and medical supplies in two buses to enter the Small Fortress. Then I left, they conferred and called Frank in Prague again. At 5 PM, they told me that Frank had agreed to our requests, but that the Czech self-help action would have to work under the aegis of the International Red Cross. I agreed, but I further requested that executions in the Small Fortress be stopped. After a dramatic argument with Sturmbannführer Jöckel, who again began waving his pistol, I got what I needed. There would be no more executions in the Small Fortress! I received further instructions from Mr. Dunant as to the collaboration with the International Red Cross.



COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE
AGENCE CENTRALE DES PRISONNIERS DE GUERRE

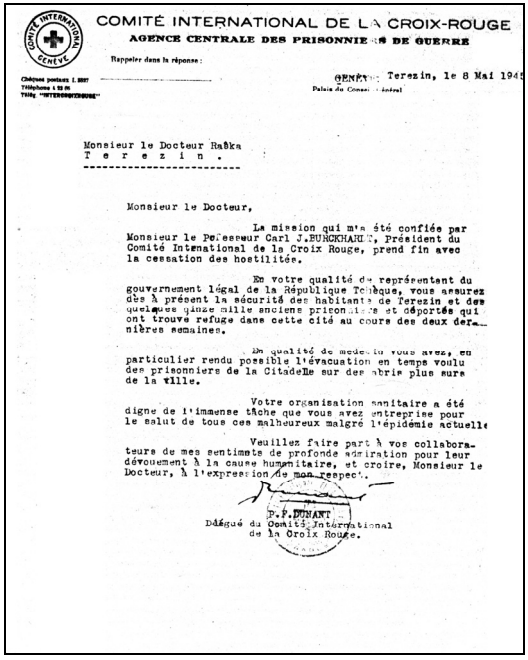
Rappeler dans la réponse :

GENÈVE,
Palais du Conseil-Général

Theresienstadt, am 7. Mai 1945.

Ich bevollmächtige hiemit Herrn MUDr. Karl R a 8 ka Leiter der tsch. Hilfsaktion die für einen Monat gültigen Legitimationen des Internationalen Roten Kreuzes nach Bedarf unter seiner Verantwortung auszustellen und in meiner Vertretung zu unterschreiben.

P. F. DUNANT



COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE
AGENCE CENTRALE DES PRISONNIERS DE GUERRE

Rappeler dans la réponse :

GENÈVE, Terezin, le 8 Mai 1945
Palais du Conseil-Général

Monsieur le Docteur Raška
T e r e z i n .

Monsieur le Docteur,

La mission qui m'a été confiée par Monsieur le Professeur Carl J.BURCKHARDT, Président du Comité International de la Croix Rouge, prend fin avec la cessation des hostilités.

En votre qualité de représentant du gouvernement légal de la République Tchèque, vous assurez dès à présent la sécurité des habitants de Terezin et des quelques quinze mille anciens prisonniers et déportés qui ont trouvé refuge dans cette cité au cours des deux dernières semaines.

En qualité de médecin vous avez, en particulier rendu possible l'évacuation en temps voulu des prisonniers de la Citadelle sur des abris plus sûrs de la ville.

Votre organisation sanitaire a été digne de l'immense tâche que vous avez entreprise pour le salut de tous ces malheureux malgré l'épidémie actuelle.

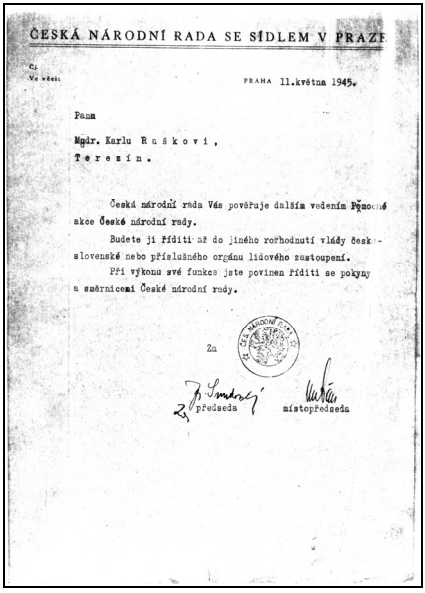
Veuillez faire part à vos collaborateurs de mes sentiments de profonde admiration pour leur dévouement à la cause humanitaire, et croire, Monsieur le Docteur, à l'expression de mon respect.

P.F.DUNANT
Délégué du Comité International de la Croix Rouge.

PISTORIUSOVÁ: Where did you find collaborators for assistance in Terezín?

<u>RAŠKA:</u> Immediately after this meeting, I left for Prague and, in the evening, met with Dr. Budín and Professor Charvát. My wife was also present. We were planning the next step. The chief nurse from Bulovka hospital had already received a commitment from 50 freshly graduated nurses, who all volunteered. For security reasons, they were not told what the disease was or even where they were going.

Mr. Solar, Mrs. Jílková, Eva Aldová and the medical student Brabec from the State Institute of Health also volunteered. They prepared the transport of our mobile microbiology laboratory. I invited physicians and future professors, Josef Mašek, Jindřich Karpíšek, Dr. Lhotka, Zdeněk Kunc, and a senior medical student, Brůček.



ČESKÁ NÁRODNÍ RADA SE SÍDLEM V PRAZE

Čj.
Ve věci: PRAHA 11.května 1945.

Pan

Mgdr. Karlu R a š k o v i,
T e r e z í n.

Česká národní rada Vás pověřuje dalším vedením Přípravné akce České národní rady.

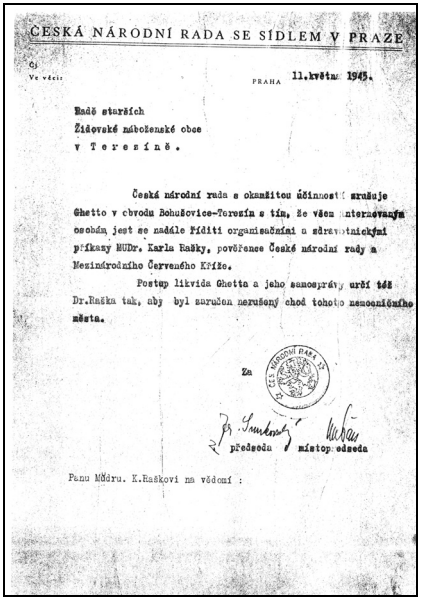
Budete ji říditi až do jiného rozhodnutí vlády československé nebo příslušného orgánu lidového zastoupení.

Při výkonu své funkce jste povinen říditi se pokyny a směrnicemi České národní rady.

Za

předseda

místopředseda



ČESKÁ NÁRODNÍ RADA SE SÍDLEM V PRAZE

Čj.
Ve věci: PRAHA 11.května 1945.

Radě starších
Židovské náboženské obce
v T e r e z í n ě .

Česká národní rada s okamžitou účinností ruší Ghetto v obvodu Bohušovice-Terezín s tím, že věcn[ě] interesovaným osobám jest se nadále říditi organisačními a zdravotnickými příkazy MUDr. Karla Raška, pověřence České národní rady a Mezinárodního Červeného Kříže.

Postup likvidace Ghetta a jeho samosprávy určí též Dr.Raška tak, aby byl zaručen nerušený chod tohoto nemocničního města.

Za

předseda místop. odseda

Panu MUdru. K.Raškovi na vědomí :

Three "disinfectors" volunteered with classical equipment for delousing - shaving and bathing. None of the healthcare workers could be protected because we did not have an effective vaccine or DDT. We left Prague in the early hours of May 4th, 1945.

PISTORIUSOVÁ: How did you plan to liquidate the epidemic under these conditions?

RAŠKA: First we attempted to join the Americans, who were not very far from us. They informed us that Terezín, located in the Soviet zone, was outside of their jurisdiction. However, they gave us some DDT. The epidemic was spreading like an avalanche because of unbelievable louse infestation among the inmates. That is why I, immediately upon arrival at the Small Fortress, took action with the disinfectors and a part of the health providers. At once, we started the delousing process using classical methods because our entire DDT supply was only about one pound. I wanted to transfer about 500 women from the "Second Court" to the ghetto in the town of Terezín. These women did not have lice and that is why there was no typhus as yet. The commander, Jöckel, started creating difficulties yet again, thus complicating the transfer. At last, late that afternoon, we succeeded in completing the transfer. I wanted to transfer healthy prisoners from the "Fourth Court" where the epidemic was most severe, to the so-called "Sudeten Barracks" within the ghetto.

A large Gestapo archive with information from around the world had been located in the "Sudeten Barracks": a veritable "Who is Who" from industry, politics, science, arts, etc. The records were in more than 1,000 steel cabinets. Beginning in March, the Gestapo began burning the archive in the Court and the barracks were thus empty. I wanted to use the empty steel cabinets as provisional cots and gain space for additional healthy and deloused inmates from the Small Fortress. In the evening on May 4th, I requested assistance from the leader of the Judenrat, Rabbi Murmelstein. It was necessary to clean the barracks and to make them ready for deloused prisoners from the Small Fortress.

I rapidly began to lose popularity with the ghetto inmates because 400 healthy people had to work with us the entire night. Moreover, I was moving inmates from the Small Fortress to an already overcrowded ghetto. It also later turned out that the Judenrat was already extremely unpopular.

PISTORIUSOVÁ: *Why was the Judenrat in the ghetto not popular?*

RAŠKA: *The Judenrat was installed in the ghetto by the Gestapo itself. It organized all work and all organizational administration. It had its own police with violet uniforms. The Terezín ghetto even had its own printed money. While it looked like the whole function was directed by Jews themselves, the well-organized Judenrat was actually diabolically directed and used by the Gestapo. The Judenrat selected who would board transport trains and, therefore, be gassed. When the ghetto inmates learned where the transports were going, a tragic psychological situation developed among 30,000 inmates. Indeed, who survived was really being decided by prisoners themselves. None of us can ever imagine such psychological pressure.*

PISTORIUSOVÁ: *On May 5th 1945 the uprising in Prague started. How was this new situation reflected in Terezín?*

RAŠKA: *The Prague uprising further complicated matters in Terezín. The material help prepared earlier stopped arriving. On the May 6th in the afternoon the Gestapo fled from both the Small Fortress and the ghetto.*

Rabbi Murmelstein was immediately thrown out and the leadership in the ghetto was assumed by a six member Council of Elders, headed by the chief rabbi of Berlin, a well-known philosopher. Also among the elders were other prominent personalities. Czechoslovakia was represented on the Council of Elders by former Minister of Justice, social democrat Dr. Meisner. These important personalities were unable to maintain order and nobody paid attention to the Protectorate gendarmes.

PISTORIUSOVÁ: Professor, could you describe what happened in Terezín after the Gestapo fled?

RAŠKA: Burials of the dead immediately stopped and casualties in the Small Fortress grew. Bakeries stopped working and food preparation ceased. The situation deteriorated further when on May 6th, the SS Scharfführer reported that he had brought to Terezín a transport from Bergen Belsen that was en route for almost a month without food or water supplies. He also reported that in the transport there were over 200 dead. I immediately drove to the station at Bohušovice where the transport had stopped. I saw half-crazed prisoners trying to run away from the stopped train and SS guards shooting at them. I went to individual railway cars and explained in several languages that they were now under the protection of the International Red Cross. I begged them to stay because warm food and water awaited them in Terezín. There were over 200 dead bodies in the transport. On some bodies I discovered signs of cannibalism. Desperate people, who had been without food and drink for over a month, were trying to save their lives in this manner.

In the ghetto I announced to the Council of Elders that I would place the transport from Bergen Belsen into the so called "Southern Barracks." I am asking for help with accommodations, food, and caring for the sick.

The overcrowding of the Terezín ghetto had become untenable. Yet, we had to continue delousing and the transfer of healthy prisoners from the isolated sites in the Small Fortress to the ghetto. We slowly started releasing the Czech prisoners, who were healthy and free of lice, to their homes. They received certificates that they had been in contact with epidemic typhus. Although they posed only a small risk of infecting others, several of these early released inmates later died of typhus at home.

The chaos and disorganization in securing nutrition hampered the functioning of both camps. It was also complicated by new air raids and bombings because the Red Army was approaching from Berlin. Although the psychological situation of 30,000 inmates of more than 20 nationalities was threatening, we could not let them leave with the exception of a few from Bohemia and Moravia. The return of louse-infested prisoners abroad would have spread the typhus epidemic all over Europe. I realized that under such conditions we alone could not assure containment of the epidemic.

Exactly at 8:00 a.m. on May 8th, 1945, Mr. Paul Dunant read to me the empowering document of the International Red Cross:…" World War II has just ended. Allow me, Dr, Raška to transfer to you the authority for both camps, the Small Fortress and Terezín ghetto as the new representative of the International Red Cross. I can offer you future help only as a private person."

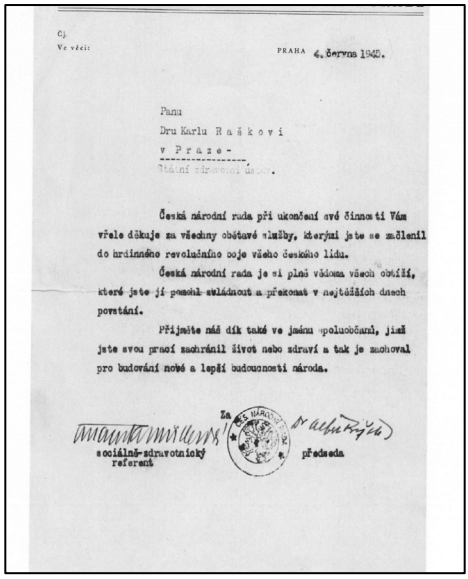
PISTORIUSOVÁ: *Where did you look for help?*

RAŠKA: *Around 8 PM on May 8th, Soviet tanks appeared in Terezín. This was the spearhead of Koniev's army. They were being welcomed in Terezín, but the danger of infection was great. The first higher officer we met did not make any soldiers available to us. He advised me to present my requests in Prague. The following morning, on May 9th, I drove through celebrating Prague. I first informed the leadership at the "Physician's House" (Lékařský dům) that I probably would get sick because I found and killed on myself several lice on May 3rd. I recommended that in the event this was to happen, my place should be taken by Dr. Ivan Málek. Dr. Málek refused, however, and excused himself for "important political responsibilities." My next suggestion was Professor František Patočka. He immediately accepted this challenge. I also tried to get some help from the Czechoslovak army. I approached General Kutlvašr, but with no results. In the meantime, the Czechoslovak government arrived in Prague from Košice. I even gained access to the Castle, met General Rybalko and Minister Zdeněk Nejedlý, but there was no opportunity to present our needs.*

In finding help for Terezín during these early days after the liberation my wife Helena, also a physician proved much more successful than I. She was then in the last phase of pregnancy. She was able to contact the Prime Minister, Fierlinger and particularly his Russian assistant Tatiana Komarovska. Thanks to this lady, Helena was able to persuade the Commander of Prague, General Rybalko, to make 5 army hospitals available for Terezín. We returned with them to Terezín on May 13th. Professor Patočka accompanied us. He left his family and, for several months, worked in Terezín. We complemented one another in our work.

PISTORIUSOVÁ: *How were you accepted in Terezín?*

RAŠKA: *The situation in Terezín deteriorated further. Groups of ghetto inmates, usually foreigners, including completely undisciplined individuals, were visiting neighboring villages in the border areas and returning with surprising booty-pots of animal fat, sewing machines, and other peculiarities. But, thanks to the unique assistance of the Soviet army hospitals, it was ultimately possible to control the epidemic. These hospitals were led by Major Dr. Kuzmin. Among the leading physicians were some outstanding experts: Associate Professor Kaluzhny, Associate Professor Rubinstein, and others. Immediately after May 9th, many people at the "Doctor's House" (Lékařský dům), the seat of the Medical Section of the Czech National Council, volunteered to help in Terezín.*



Čj.
Ve věci: PRAHA 4. června 1945.

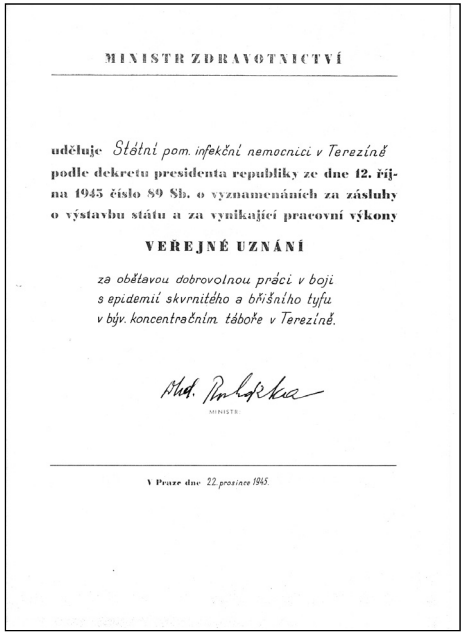
Panu
Dru Karlu H a š k o v i
v P r a z e -
Státní infekční lazaret.

Česká národní rada při ukončení své činnosti Vám vřele děkuje za všechny obětavé služby, kterými jste se zmírnil do hrdinného revolučního boje všeho českého lidu.

Česká národní rada je si plně vědoma všech obtíží, které jste jí pomohl překonat a překonat v nejtěžších dnech povstání.

Přijměte náš dík také ve jménu spoluobčanů, jimž jste svou prací zachránil život nebo zdraví a tak je zmnožoval pro budování nové a lepší budoucnosti národa.

Za Českou národní radu:
sociálně-zdravotnický referent — předseda



MINISTR ZDRAVOTNICTVÍ

uděluje *Státní pom. infekční nemocnici v Terezíně* podle dekretu presidenta republiky ze dne 12. října 1945 číslo 89 Sb. o vyznamenáních za zásluhy o výstavbu státu a za vynikající pracovní výkony

VEŘEJNÉ UZNÁNÍ

za obětavou dobrovolnou práci v boji s epidemií skvrnitého a břišního tyfu v býv. koncentračním. táboře v Terezíně.

MINISTR

V Praze dne *22. prosince 1945.*

Ever more workers began to arrive in Terezín. I did not know all of them. Among the first volunteers were Dr. Holubec and Dr. Luksch . At the end of the summer, the whole action was taken over by the Ministry of Social Care. In September 1945, the epidemic was liquidated and foreign prisoners were repatriated to their homelands. Those who so selflessly helped demonstrated that our nation had people it could rely on in hard times. Regretfully, a few of them became infected and some paid with their lives. I particularly remember the Registered Nurse Božena Fajcová and the medical student. Brůček. Today, with available antibiotics we cannot even imagine how terrible the disease typhus once was.

I am glad that I can on this occasion, after forty years, remember their suffering and heroism. I want to acknowledge those who are still with us and remember those who have already departed. I admire them very much and wish to thank all of them for their heroic efforts.

There was no time to tell anyone-in those days…

BOOK REVIEWS

Jitka Hanáková and Vilém Prečan, Gordon Skilling: Život a dílo/ Life and Work: Katalog k výstavě/An exhibition catalogue. Prague: Československé dokumentačni středisko ,o.p.s. and Národní museum, 2012. ISBN 978-80-904228-6-5 (ČSDS, o. p. s.) and ISBN 978-80-7036-347-8 (Národní museum), 103 pp,

The good that men do "is oft interred with their bones," William Shakespeare remarked. *Gordon Skilling: Život a dílo/ Life and Work* endeavors to make sure that this Canadian professor's work does not suffer a similar fate. An international conference, "Skilling's return to Prague: The Work of Gordon Skilling in the Light of Contemporary Research," was held on May 27-29, 2012 in Prague. It commemorated the 100 anniversary of the Canadian historian, political scientist and Slavicist's birth and dealt with his scholarly and other contributions. An exhibition of in Museum Kampa followed the conference. The book under review is the catalogue of that exhibition. It is "divided into twelve thematic sections, which in sum present, from various angles, the individual stages of Skilling's life and the most important results of his scholarly works" (103). In addition, the catalogue includes photographs and written materials, which could not be included on the exhibition panels.

Gordon Skilling, who had not a drop of Czechoslovak blood, was born in Toronto to working class parents, who had moved to Canada from England. A man of many interests and talents, Gordon Skilling graduated from the Toronto Conservatory of Music, received a number of medals in various sports and participated in many student organizations. After graduating from the University of Toronto in political economy, he was awarded a prestigious Rhodes scholarship in 1934, which allowed him to study at England's Oxford University. An extension of his scholarship permitted Skilling to attend the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University of London. He chose the relations between Czechs and Germans in Austria-Hungary from 1879 to 1893 as his dissertation topic. R. W. Seton-Watson served as his supervisor. His first stay in Czechoslovakia was in 1937. He also married his American sweetheart, Sara (Sally) Conard there. The Skillings returned to Czechoslovakia in May 1938 and stayed through the Munich crisis, the German invasion and the beginning of the Protectorate. They, especially Sally, tried to help the Czech and German refugees from the Sudetenland and later people who were in danger from the Nazis. In 1940, the Skillings sailed across the Atlantic in one of the two last passenger ships to undertake that journey.

After one year at a Canadian university, H. Gordon Skilling taught for eighteen years at American institutions of higher learning. At the height of the McCarthy era, Skilling's leftist leanings and his very brief membership in the Communist party caught up with him. His permanent residency permit was revoked but later reinstated. Unexpectedly in 1959, he was offered professorship

at the University of Toronto, his undergraduate *alma mater*. There he helped to establish the Centre for Russian and East European and served as its first director for eleven years. Skilling published two well received books in the 1960s: *Communism: National and International* and *The Governments of Communist East Europe.* The Prague Spring renewed his interest in Czechoslovakia, which he had visited in 1948, 1950, 1958, 1961, 1962, and 1967 and twice in 1968. In 1976, he brought out his definitive study, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*. As the post-invasion normalization ensued and continued, Skilling's attention turned to Charter '77. His interest in it was academic, as well as that of an activist. Not only did he publish *Charter '77 and Human Rights in Czechoslovakia,* but he also worked tirelessly to call the world's attention to the abuses of human rights in the country. On a practical level, he also helped organize the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre of Independent Literature in West Germany and the Jan Hus Foundation in the United States and Canada. He also was the Chairman of the Board of Zdena and Josef Škvorecký's Sixty-Eight Publishers from 1981 to 1990.

After the 1989 revolution, Skilling's achievements and services to Czechoslovakia were publically honored: he was awarded the Order of White Lion from President Havel, the Josef Hlávka Medal, the František Palacký Medal, an honorary doctorate from Charles University and other recognitions. Ever the academic, Skilling turned his interest to T.G. Masaryk and his family. Two books were the result: *T. G. Masaryk Against the Current, 1882-1914* and *Mother and Daughter: Charlotte and Alice Masaryk.* One of his last works was an autobiography aptly entitled, *The Education of a Canadian: My Life as a Scholar and Activist.* Gordon Skilling died on March 2, 2001.

The inclusion of copious photographs of Skilling and his family and friends, excerpts of his writing, as well as those about him, copies of his correspondence, official documents, the covers of his books and many awards make *Gordon Skilling: Život a dílo/ Life and Work: Katalog k výstavě/An exhibition catalogue*s more than a mere biography. The range of the written documents, illustrations and objects is extraordinary, and they cover a remarkable time span, 1912 to 2001. They include, *inter alia*, the Skillings' marriage certificate, part of the file that the StB kept on the Canadian professor, a feuilleton about Skilling written by Milan Šimečka and photos with well and lesser known dissidents. The very diversity of the archives which contributed to this exhibition and catalogue attest to the scope of this Skilling's life. These contributors include the Czechoslovak Documentation Center, the National Museum, the Czech secret police, University of Toronto, David and Peter Skilling, Jaroslav Kořan and Cathy Francis. Above all, these primary sources make it possible for the readers to see Gordon Skilling as a scholar who was also a moral, engaged, living and passionate human being. This reviewer and future readers are indebted to the editors, Jitka Hanáková and Vilém Prečan.

Mary Hrabík Šámal
Troy, MI

Petr Vorel, Páni z Pernštejna (Vzestup a pád rodu zubří hlavy v dějinách Čech a Moravy), Rybka Publishers, Prague 2012 (2nd ed.)

The book covers the history of the aristocratic family of the lords of Pernštejn and of their demesne in eastern Bohemia and in Moravia from the early thirteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Vorel follows up on the pioneering monograph of Jaroslav Pánek on the last Rožmberks and that of Václav Ledvinka on the family of the lords of Hradec or, as the case may be, on the series of Václav Bůžek's writings about the gentry' clientele, tied to the milieu of Rožmberk or Jindřichův Hradec. The aristocratic milieu of eastern Bohemia has not been studied fully up until now, mainly because the extensive archive of the Pernštejns had been destroyed almost in its entirety in the nineteenth century. A systematic research, therefore, required a very tedious heuristic search in order to find the accidentally preserved -- especially epistolary – sources, scattered among the archives of the Czech lands.

The story of the lords of Pernštejn is of significance analogous to that of the lords of Rožmberk or of Hradec, inasmuch as the Pernštejns played one of the key political roles on the Bohemian and Moravian scenes until the end of the sixteenth century, at least until the demise of Vratislav of Pernštejn. They left an extraordinary legacy as cultivated and well-informed patrons and investors in the history of Renaissance architecture, religious history and, of course – as the creators and seigneurs of one of the largest demesnes in Bohemia and Moravia – also in economic history. It was not an easy task to comprehend and synthesize a broad spectrum of themes in view of the noted scattering and even scarcity of sources. Petr Vorel, however, devoted to the Pernštejn theme more than fifteen years of unusual erudition and diligence before the publication of the first edition in 1999. If in the 1980s he concentrated on preparatory work and source publication for the history of the Pernštejns' residence in Pardubice, contributing in 1990 two chapters "on his period" (i.e., the period with which he was most familiar) for a book on the History of Pardubice, he fully focused on the history of the Pernštejns themselves during the Renaissance from the early 1990s on. Vorel approached his theme with an exemplary thoroughness and, after a revision of the source basis, he treated this theme in a series of partial studies and conceptual sketches, often supplemented by edited documents. Compared to his earlier works, Vorel altered his scholarly perspective in the 1990s. Earlier he had approached the history of Pardubice, above all, on the basis of economy and administration by producing an edition of the market registers of Pardubice from 1515-1585, an edition of feudal registers of land and duties, and more. In the book under review – while respecting the key issues of administration and the profitability of the individual manors of the Pernštejne demesne – he rather targeted the broadly conceived political activity of the Pernštejns (often connected with religious denominational activity); their way of life (the aristocratic lifestyle), their education and schooling, world outlook, ceremonial,

and also personal relations with contemporary members of the Habsburg dynasty.

In the book under review, the author opens the Pernštejn theme with a reminder of the story connected with the family's coat of arms, and afterwards guides the reader systematically through the history of the family since 1208.[1] The exposition is articulated here into several layers. At first, it offers a relatively concise view, based mainly on existing literature, down to the end of the fifteenth century.[2] As early as the rule of Vilém of Pernštejn (1490-1521), the author, however, had at his disposal his own studies, which confer on the popularly written text a refreshing vividness.[3] The same is true for the period of Vojtěch of Pernštejn, and especially that of the notable Jan of Pernštejn, brilliantly zig-zagging in politics and religion. This long-lived leader of the Czech progressive Utraquists (who in principle remained loyal to the Catholic cultural traditions), "openly sympathized with the Lutheran Reformation."[4] The stories of these two men, as Vorel tells them, still belong in their essence to the category of the classical history of the feudal family, depicting its involvement in the property relations and in the power politics at the provincial (*zemské*) level.

In the case of Jan's sons, Jaroslav, Vojtěch, and Vratislav, the extant sources and a comparison with the modern research on the aristocratic theme (by Pánek, Ledvinka, Růžička, and the earlier J. V. Novák) already permit a transition to a more complex bibliographic style, understood in the sense of the tradition of the *Annales* school and its influence on the current West European historiography as a synthetic view of a personality, or a group of personalities, defined by their "estate status" (here the term their "estate status" is more appropriate than using the more modern term, and saying: defined "socio-professionally"). Accordingly, this personality, or group of personalities, is observed in its contemporary social milieu, as engaged in the widest possible palette of diverse activities. In this respect, Vorel substantially prepared the starting points for his books by editing Pernštejns' correspondence from 1550-1551.[5] In an introductory study for this edition, the author, for the first time, also offered a synthesis of his existing probes into the history of the Pernštejn family in the 1540s and 1550s. He depicted here this turning point – also for the Pernštejns – of the first years of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol's vice-regency in Bohemia, as a period of not only a profound change in the ambiance of the Bohemian and Moravian nobility, but also as a period of its opening itself up to the world. It was, of course, a change paid for most dearly. Vorel's view very interestingly corresponds here with Pánek's book from 1987 about the Bohemian nobility's journey to Italy in 1551-1552.

The chapter, devoted to Jan's sons Jaroslav, Vratislav, and Vojtěch of Pernštejn, although titled "Renaissance Gentlemen" [*Renesanční kavalíři*], deals thoroughly, above all, with their gloomy financial situation, and also with the imaginative, at times drastic, but essentially vain attempts of their economic managers to cope with the precarious financial situation in the face of the

ineptitude of the young gentlemen (after the experienced Oldřich Humpolec of Prostiboř, Petr Hamza of Zábědovice became the chief administrator of the Pernštejns' estates).[6] Of course, economic problems again intertwine with the family politics in this chapter, especially the marriage policy (see the excellent chapter about the familial, political, financial, and also cultural and every-day aspects of the wedding of Katherine of Pernštejn in 1550), which by its political implications already transcended not only the regional, but even the provincial [*zemské*] contexts. "It is then a question, to what extent and with what intention, the monarch's court directly initiated such marriages." With this query, Vorel concludes his remarkable excursus into the targeted and carefully developed "personnel policy" of King Ferdinand I.[7]

The tenth chapter of the book centers its attention on Jan's middle son, Vratislav of Pernštejn, who was since his youth a companion, friend, and confidant of Prince Maximilian, later King and Emperor Maximilian II. The author pays attention above all to the early years of this Bohemian noble, who apparently was able to travel more than any of his cohorts. Much less attention is paid to his later political activities, which the author discusses relying on the existing literature (Kalista, Chudoba, Pánek, Fritzová, and Růžička).[8] The last two, relatively concise chapters cover the "Pernštejn women" (both Marias Manrique de Lara, and their daughters) after the death of Vratislav of Pernštejn in 1582, as well as the last generations of the Pernštejns in the first half of the seventeenth century. The book concludes with the family trees of the Pernštejns, chapters on the development of the research on the history of the Pernštejn family, an annotated survey of literature and sources, as well as indexes of persons and places.

Vorel's work is an exquisitely readable book, and at the same time it represents a great scholarly accomplishment. I have intentionally called attention to the large amount of his original source material, and at times also methodologically innovative studies, which are summed up in this richly and tastefully illustrated volume. Although the volume lacks a scholarly apparatus of references, it would be mistaken to regard it as merely a work of popularization. Roughly for the years 1490-1560, Vorel offers a fundamentally original synthesis; the preceding and the following periods are presented on the basis of secondary literature (and in his survey of archival sources and literature he calls attention specifically to those sources, which could enable further research). Possibly, from the methodological viewpoint, it might have been simpler, if the author limited himself to those seventy years, which he explored himself in his research and editorial work. He could then flood the reader with hundreds of references to sources and to extensive literature, with which he is thoroughly familiar, as his study attests. Arguably, such a solution might even have been easier for Vorel, because in the book under review, he was forced to drastically reduce the results of his research for the periods and thematic areas of his interest. As a downside, however, the volume would have lacked a necessary developmental context without an overall survey of the Pernštejn history.

Moreover, its use would have remained restricted to the circle of specialist readers.

Vorel's volume has its focus on the history of political and familial affairs, and of property and economic relations, while regrettably urban and social developments of the administrative centers of the Pernštejn manors are treated just lightly. There are many digressions or entire – often valuable, but rather disparate – excursuses into the history of everyday life, family, mentalities, travel, and life styles in the broad sense of this term (all this centered particularly on the mid-sixteenth century). In contrast, the author devotes himself only skimpily and unsystematically to religious and intellectual history. This is not an entirely happy solution for a book dealing with a period dominated by the Reformation and the Counter Reformation. Religious and intellectual life, however, is a thematic area, which the author has not yet systematically researched,[9] and concerning which there is a scarcity of sources and modern literature about the Pernštejn milieu that could be excerpted. What, however, I miss more – at least for Vorel's most proper period from 1490 to 1560 – is an attempt for comparison with the situation of other, hitherto studied, aristocratic families.

The crucial generally-historical theme – which is excellently presented in Vorel's book on the Pernštejns and in the treatment of which I see the greatest contribution of the book to general history – is the gradual transformation of the key families of the feudal system into a court, or court-related, aristocracy. This aristocracy, for various reasons, has accepted the summons or employment offers from King Ferdinand I or from Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, or from their successors by the end of the 1540s. It hoped that collaboration with the Habsburg Court would brighten its future, and particularly help to resolve its rapidly increasing financial problems. The latter, however, tended to actually worsen in part due to this collaboration.

The first edition of Vorel's book received the 2000 E. E. Kisch Prize as the best historical publication of 1999. The second edition appeared thirteen years later, in 2012, in connection with the long-term series of cultural and scholarly activities intended to cover the historical legacy of the old noble families of the Czech lands. This series began in 2011 with the "Year of the Rožmberks,"[10] the current year (2012) has been proclaimed the "Year of the Pernštejns." The author left the original text without substantial changes in the second edition, although he did notably expand the pictorial supplements of the book and added new chapters, in which he assessed the results of new research on the history of the Pernštejn family during 1999-2012. During this time, the author himself devoted his own research to other topics (above all, to economic history and monetary circulation in early modern history). Nevertheless, he utilized the results of his earlier work on the Pernštejns in new and more broadly conceived publications.[11] Among these, it is appropriate to mention a new synthesis of the history of the Czech lands in 1526-1618,[12] the history of Czech

monetary systems,[13] as well as the author's publications, concerning economic history in a broader territorial framework.[14]

Jiří Pešek

Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David

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1 See Petr Vorel, Heraldický spor Viléma z Pernštejna z roku 1486, in: Petr Vorel (ed.) Heraldica viva, (Sborník příspěvků z konference českých, moravských a slezských heraldiků, konané ve dnech 7.-8.června 1991 v Pardubicích) (Pardubice 1992), 69-74; idem, Staré pověsti a rodinné příběhy pernštejnské (Sebereflexe aristokratického rodu v polovině 16.století), in: Nový Mars Moravicus aneb Sborník příspěvků, jež věnovali Prof. Dr. Josefu Válkovi jeho žáci a přátelé k sedmdesátinám (Brno 1999),137-148; idem, Rodové heraldické pověsti jako prostředek mezigeneračního přenosu informace ve šlechtickém prostředí českých zemí v 16. století, in: Václav Bůžek and Pavel Král [eds.], Paměť urozenosti (Prague 2007), 61-67.

2 The author, however, could draw even in this part on his study Vývoj pozemkové držby pánů z Pernštejna v 15.-17.století, in: Petr Vorel (ed.), Pernštejnové v českých dějinách (Sborník příspěvků z konference konané 8.-9.9.1993 v Pardubicích) (Pardubice 1995), 9-76. This collection of conference papers is also in other articles an outstanding basis for research on this significant feudal family.

3 Petr Vorel, Cimburkové a Pernštejnové (Majetkové a rodinné vztahy na přelomu 15. a 16.století), in: Morava na prahu nové doby (Sborník příspěvků z konference, konané k 500.výročí úmrtí Ctibora Tovačovského z Cimburka) (Přerov 1995), 75-93; idem, Život na dvoře Viléma z Pernštejna, in: V.Bůžek and P.Král (eds.), Aristokratické rezidence a dvory v raném novověku, Opera historica 7 (České Budějovice 1999), 331-360; idem, Dítě na aristokratickém dvoře na počátku raného novověku podle představ Viléma z Pernštejna ("Naučení rodičům" a jeho obsahová interpretace), in: Tomáš Jiránek and Jiří Kubeš (eds.), Dítě a dětství napříč staletími (2. pardubické bienále 4.-5. April 2002), Scientific Papers of the University of Pardubice, series C, Faculty of Humanities, Supplementum 5 (2002), (Pardubice 2003), 13-48; idem, Vilém z Pernštejna (První bankéř markrabství), in: Libor Jan, Zdeněk Drahoš and others [eds.], Osobnosti moravských dějin (1) (Brno 2006), 177 – 192; idem, Nationality and confession in the political life under the Jagiellonian dynasty (Contribution by Vilém of Pernštejn to the formation of a new societal model), in: Eva Doležalová and Jaroslav Pánek [eds.], Confession

and Nation in the Era of Reformations (Central Europe in comparative Perspective) (Prague 2011), 113-122.

4 Concerning the politics of Jan of Pernštejn, "an aging man, who was increasingly tormented by debts and who placed his hopes for the future prestige of his family on the service of his sons at the royal court " (p. 171f), see Petr Vorel, Pernštejnská diplomacie v době stavovského povstání roku 1547 (edice listů Jaroslava z Pernštejna z února až června 1547), Východočeský sborník historický 3 (1993), 231-272 and also the expertly crafted and the meritorious, truly original, idem "Přátelské snešení stavův českých" z března 1547 a jeho signatáři, " in: P.Vorel (ed.), Stavovský odboj roku 1547 - První krize habsburské monarchie (Sborník příspěvků z vědecké konference konané v Pardubicích 29.-30.9.1997), (Pardubice and Prague 1999), 81-124; idem, Hrabství kladské a finanční politika krále Ferdinanda I. ve druhé třetině 16. století, Východočeský sborník historický 12 (2005), 3-14; idem, Problemy rodzinne i finansowe Piastów Ciesiňskich w połowie XVI wieku, in: Bogusław Czechowicz (ed.), Historia u Piastów, Piastowie w Historii (Z okazji trzechsetlecia śmierci ostatniej z rodu, księżnej Karoliny) (Brzeg 2008), 155-164.

5 Petr Vorel (ed.), Česká a moravská aristokracie v polovině 16.století (Edice register listů bratří z Pernštejna z let 1550-1551) (Pardubice 1997).

6 See Petr Vorel, Mezi Augsburgem a Komárnem (Cestování Jaroslava z Pernštejna v Podunají v polovině 16.století), in: L.Bobková and M.Neudertová, Cesty a cestování v životě společnosti (Sborník příspěvků z konference konané 6.-8.září 1994 v Ústí nad Labem), Acta Universitatis Purkyniae, Philosophica et historica, Studia historica II (1995), 191-197; idem, Zánik aristokratického dvora pánů z Pernštejna v Pardubicích v roce 1550, in: Poddanská města v systému patrimoniální správy (Sborník příspěvků z konference v Ústí nad Orlicí 12.-13.září 1995) (Ústí nad Orlicí 1996), 70-77; idem. Petr Hamza ze Zábědovic a regentská správa pernštejnských dominií v Čechách v letech 1550-1552, Scientific papers of the University of Pardubice, Series C, Institute of Languages and Humanities 2 (1996), 115-142; idem, Úvěr, peníze a finanční transakce české a moravské aristokracie při cestách do zahraničí v polovině 16.století, Český časopis historický 96 (1998), 754-778.

7 Petr Vorel, Pernštejnská svatba v Prostějově roku 1550, Časopis Matice moravské 114 (1995), no.1, 139-162; idem, Aristokratické svatby v Čechách a na Moravě v 16.století jako prostředek

společenské komunikace a stavovské diplomacie, in: Václav Bůžek and Pavel Král (eds.), Slavnosti a zábavy na dvorech a v rezidenčních městech raného novověku, Opera historica 8 (České Budějovice 2000), 191-206.

8 Vorel himself has contributed to this theme by his studies on the everyday practice of Vratislav's travels; Petr Vorel, Hofmistrovská instrukce Vratislava z Pernštejna z roku 1555, Východočeský sborník historický 6 (1997),165-182; idem, Vídeňský deník rytíře Dvoreckého z roku 1559, Folia Historica Bohemia 19 (1998), 7-36.

9 Only for a broader context, see Petr Vorel, Die außenbeziehungen der böhmischen Stände um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhundert und das Problem der Konfessionalisierung, in: J.Bahlcke and A.Strohmeyer (eds.), Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa. Wirkung des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur (Stuttgart 1999),169-178.

10 Martin Gaži (ed.), Rožmberkové - Rod českých velmožů a jeho cesta dějinami (Prague 2011).

11 Petr Vorel, Frühkapitalismus und Steuerwesen in Böhmen (1526-1648), in: Anzeiger der philosophisch - historischen Klasse, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 137 (2002), 167-182; idem, Landesfinanzen und Währung in Böhmen (Finanz- und Münzpolitik im Spannungsfeld von Ständen und Königtum während der Regierung Ferdinands I. und Maximilians II.), in: Finanzen und Herrschaft (Zu den materiellen Grundlagen fürstlicher Politik in den habsburgischen Ländern und im Heiligen Römischer Reich im 16. Jahrhundert) [Eds. Friedrich Edelmayer, Maximilian Lanzinner, and Peter Rauscher], Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Band 38 (Munich and Vienna 2003), 186 - 214; idem, Aristokratische Residenzstädte im regionalen Kontext (Die böhmischen Länder während der Frühen Neuzeit), in: Holger Th. Gräf and Karin Keller, eds., Städtelandschaft – Réseau Urbain – Urban Network (Städte im regionalen Kontext in Spätmittelalter und Frühen Neuzeit), Städteforschung – Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für vergleichende Städtegeschichte in Münster, Reihe A: Darstellungen, Band 62 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna 2004), 155 – 169; idem, Die Länder der böhmischen Krone und das Heilige Römische Reich in der Frühen Neuzeit, in: Jiří Pešek and Petr Vorel, eds., Neue tschechische Interpretationen der Fragen des tschechisch-deutschen Zusammenlebens (47. Deutscher Historikertag / Dresden 2008 - Die Vorträge der tschechischen Gastsection) (Magdeburg 2011), 21-32; idem, Trade and

Civilization in the History and the Evolution of Civilizations (Prologomena), The Czech Historical Review / Český časopis historický 109 (2011), 193-217.

12 Petr Vorel, Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české, vol 8: 1526-1618 (Prague 2005).

13 Petr Vorel, Od pražského groše ke koruně české 1300-2000 (Průvodce dějinami peněz v českých zemích), 2nd ed.. (Prague 2004).

14 Petr Vorel, Od českého tolaru ke světovému dolaru (zrození tolaru a jeho cesta v evropském a světovém peněžním oběhu 16. - 20. století) (Prague 2003); idem, Monetary Circulation in Central Europe at the Beginning of the Early Modern Age – Attempts to Establish a Shared Currency as an Aspect of the Political Culture of the 16th Century (1524-1573) (Pardubice 2006); idem, Stříbro v evropském peněžním oběhu 16. - 17. století (1472-1717) (Prague 2009).

Joan McGuire Mohr. The Czech and Slovak Legion in Siberia, 1917-1922. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012. ISBN: 978-0-7864-6571-2, 254 pp.

This reviewer looked forward to reading this volume, but, unfortunately, this fact quickly turned into a nightmare. Sadly, this book can be summed up in two words: A MESS! From the very beginning, Mohr's work contains numerous factual errors making one wince. Rarely, a page passes without one or more mistakes. They begin with the politically correct title: Czech and Slovak Legion. Like a zealot, Mohr wants to tell the story of the Czecho-Slovak Legion in Russia, so facts seem to be damned.

She insults and deceives her readership early in her book by stating, "I began to research who these soldiers were only to find little to nothing written about them. For most historians, these troops apparently … had never existed…. Lectures to scholars who have never heard of this incident continue" (3, 5), whereas in the Epilogue, she stated, "Americans never heard about a Czech or Slovak army that survived in the Russian Far East by fighting and living on trains" (224). Any student of World War One, Russia, the Czechs and Slovaks, among other topics, would be acquainted with the Legion. In addition, she admits several times that people approached her with information about the subject after her talks!

It also seems that the author, who holds a doctorate in history, has little understanding of East Central European, Russian, and world history, and geography. We learn all sorts of very unusual facts that are just blatant errors. For example, she tells us that in 1914 there were 10 million Czechs, and 5 million Slovaks existed in 1827; however, these numbers are for the population today, not in 1914 and 1827. The Czechs were not, as Mohr claims, on the verge of revolt in 1914. She also states that both peoples were the first to turn against Rome due to the influence of Martin Luther. In fact, the Czechs and some Slovaks became followers of the church reformer Jan Hus, who was active about a century before Martin Luther. The author mistakenly contends that the Czechs' and Slovaks' determination to separate from the Hapsburg Empire manifested itself openly before the outbreak of World War I. Mohr relates incorrectly that Thomas G. Masaryk held the only Young Czech mandate ever in the Reichstag, and then established the New Realist Party since no political organization championed the Czechs. She seems not to have heard of the Old Czech and Young Czech Parties. According to Mohr, when the 69-year-old Masaryk became Czechoslovakia's first president in 1918, the streets of the capitals, Prague and Bratislava, were filled with celebrating Czechs and Slovaks, and rioting Hungarians in Bratislava. The statement has several errors: Masaryk was 68 at that time, the country did not have dual capitals, and Bratislava contained very few Slovaks. Her statement that after returning home, some of legionnaires took up common jobs like mining and factory work in the industrialized Eastern Slovakia is problematic since this area was an

overwhelmingly agrarian and the most economically undeveloped part of Slovakia.

The errors continue. Mohr informs us that Karel Havlíček, a journalist, was a philologist. Radola Gajda, born to a Czech father and a Montenegrin mother in 1892, was not, as Mohr would have it, a Slovak born in 1882. She also misrepresents Gajda's military career. The author ascribes Turkish roots to Admiral Alexandr Kolchak. In fact, the admiral had one Moldavian Christian ancestor, who had converted to Islam and risen to the rank of pasha in the Ottoman service. We read that Jan Syrový, a Czechoslovak general and prime minister during the Munich crisis, was originally a Warsaw bank clerk and died in prison in 1953. In fact, Jan Syrový had been a building engineer, who was amnestied in 1960, and passed away ten years later. Alexander Kerensky's war minister was not Grand Duke M. Verkhovski, but rather Alexander Guchkov who was then replaced by Kerensky himself. Mohr mangles the relationships between the royal families of Russia, Germany and Great Britain. Inter alia, she seems to believe that Tsar Nicholas II's father, Alexander III, was his elder brother. In Mohr'sbook, there is also confusion about the relations in Austria-Hungary's the ruling family. The Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, according to Mohr, were murdered before lunch and were photographed slumped in their carriage seats. Historians beg to differ: the couple was assassinated after lunch while riding in an automobile, and no photos of the event exist.

Reading *The Czech and Slovak Legions in Siberia*, we learn other "facts," such as that the Great Depression occurred in the 1920s, and the Siberian permafrost, i.e., the permanently frozen layer below the earth's surface, tortured "fingers, ears, nose, and feet." (150) Contrary to what Mohr claims, all captives of the Družina, translated as "brigade," were not eager to fight in its ranks. The 1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, where terms regarding Ukraine are not mentioned, did not opened up the oil fields of Rumania, Galicia, and the Caucasuses to the Central Powers because Galicia was part of Austria-Hungary, by 1917 the Romanian oil fields were occupied by the Central Powers who never made to the Caucasus region. The German army did not surround the Legion and forced it to retreat east where legionnaire officers reorganized the entire Trans-Siberian railroad. General Milan Rastislav Štefánik did not recruited immigrants in America and Canada to fight for the homeland, many of whom had only heard about this homeland from their parents. It is not possible, as Mohr writes, that the First World War ended when the Triple Alliance collapsed on the Western Front because the Triple Alliance consisting of Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy lasted from 1882 to 1914. Japan withdrew from Siberia not only because of Masaryk's warning that the region was a hopeless mess, but rather that the occupation proved too expensive. Her assertions that the 1920s saw anarchy and communist influenced unrest in the struggling countries of East Central Europe as well as that contact between the United

States and Czechoslovakia ceasedwith the rise of the Nazis and then Communists are also off the mark.

As for geography, for instance, Mohr is also often in error. She writes that the Danube flows through the Czech Lands; the Czechs are in the north and the Slovaks in the south; Mukden is a city in Japan; and Russia, with its age-old phobia of the Japanese, received the northern section of Sakhalin Island from Japan. The only map included in this volume shows the Trans-Siberian Railway with the date 1919, with borders of the current Russian Federation. I could go on as the examples are endless.

Numerous people and places are introduced without first names or brief descriptions, never finding their way into the index. Misspellings abound, for example: "Mensheviks," "Semenov" "Karl Havlíček," "Milan Ratislav Štefánik," and "Marina Pualina." Many times the endnotes make no sense: chapter five alone contains five footnote number 1s, while in numerous places there are no notes where they are definitely needed. Inconsistences flourish, sometimes on the same page, for instance: Czecho-Slovak National Council, Czech National Council, Czech National Congress, Czecho-Slovak National Committee, OCSNR, CSNC, Obočka, Obačky when it should be as first noted: the Czecho-Slovak National Council; Battle of Bakhmach, Bachmach; Bratislava, Pressburg; Red Guard, Red Army; Count Mirbach, von Mirbach; while October and November both are used for the Bolshevik revolution, but not February and March for the fall of the czar. The photos contained are interesting, but also faulty, as we see armored cars labeled as tanks, box cars described as locomotives, and dental service in a *teplushka* when it is obviously a log building!

At times her choice of words is confusing. Mohr consistently uses the term Slavic to mean Czechs and Slovaks: for example: "the Cleveland Agreement defined the goals of the Slavic minorities in Austria-Hungary". She also likes to put lists in alphabetical order causing misconceptions: Austrian, German, and Hungary troops, while the Allies consisted of American, British, Canadian, Czech, French … and Slovak forces making it seem that Austria, Hungary, the Czechs, and the Slovaks all had separate armies. Throughout the text and in direct quotes she adds the erroneous "[and Slovak]" to standardize it with her title when referring to the Legion. For instance, when she notes Georges Clemenceau wrote about "the Czech [and Slovak] Corps …. (67)" when no one ever referred to it by that designation.

Although Mohr has conducted much research for the book, including archival, scholarly it is not. She has missed numerous standard primary materials, such as those issued by the British and French governments, as well as the 62 published volumes of Woodrow Wilson's papers. Absent also are basic English language secondary sources on the topic: for example, Robert Maddox's *The Unknown War with Russia* (1977); Betty Unterberger, *America's Intervention in the Russian Civil War* (1969) and *The United States, Revolutionary Russia, and the Rise of Czechoslovakia* (1989); and Victor Fic,

Bolsheviks and the Czechoslovak Legion (1978) and *Origin of a Conflict between the Bolsheviks and the Czechoslovak Legion* (1958). Apparently, the author appears to know little to no Czech or Slovak since only a handful of items in those languages are listed, but rarely noted. The interwar period saw a myriad of publications on the subject in Czechoslovakia alone, while after 1989, the subject again was no longer taboo. She blindly uses and cites contemporary newspaper accounts, which often contained wrong information. For example, Mohr notes that an assassin shot and missed Lenin, but when the endnote for this information is checked, one finds the subtitle of the New York Times article: "Lenin Twice Wounded by Assassin." Mohr continues by statingthat this assassin later committed suicide, but in fact he was executed by the Cheka. In another example, Mohr writes of the reporters from the New York Times and New York Herald, but the source noted is the London Times.

The biased storyline adds very little new to our knowledge of the topic. It is a standard portrayal of the Legion with a handful of human interest stories tossed in. The narrative can be easily described as follows: the efficient, honorable, honest, upstanding, democratic, philanthropic, and professional Legion could do little wrong. All they wanted was to get to the Western Front to fight the hated Central Powers and, after the war ended, to go home to the newly independent Czecho-Slovakia. Instead, the Allies, Bolsheviks, and Whites were abusive, insulting, devious, scheming, negligent, conniving, and full of hypocrisy in their dealings with these poor soldiers. The narrative also revolves around two main characters: General Gajda and Admiral Kolchak, who appointed Gajda as commander of his forces in Siberia. Rather than listen to Gajda's sage advice regarding the struggle in Siberia, sycophant staff members duped the admiral, increasingly addicted to drugs, into firing the general thereby causing the Bolshevik opposition in Siberia to collapse.

Lastly, the publisher McFarland needs to be chastised. As a self-proclaimed leading independent publisher of academic and non-fiction books, it is questionable whether it sent out Mohr's manuscript for peer review before publication.

Some checking of facts, greater scrutiny of at least the secondary sources listed, and solid proof reading would have done wonders to help this poor book, but it would have accomplished little to change the byline. When writing about the whereabouts of the Russian imperial family after their deaths in July 1918, Mohr writes, "Soon many inaccurate accounts circulated…." (116) – the same can be said for most of her volume. It is a huge and bitter disappointment.

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Advice to contributors

Kosmas is devoted primarily to scholarly research in all relevant academic disciplines within the humanities, arts, and sciences; memoirs or creative writing may be published in some cases. Ordinarily, manuscripts should be no longer than 25-30 pages. Book reviews should be 500-700 words in length.

Manuscripts should be prepared in Microsoft Word with careful attention to diacritical markings. If available, please use the following font: Times New Roman, 12 point typeface. All portions of the manuscript must be typed and all pages numbered in the page header including the initial page. Book titles and non -English words should appear in *italics*. Endnotes should be used rather than the "Works cited" format or footnotes. Transliteration of Cyrillic should follow the Library of Congress method. For all additional matters of style, the current edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* should be consulted

Manuscripts should be submitted in English as English is the language of publication. All submissions should be made via e-mail to the address raskakosmas@yahoo.com.