ABSTRACT

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Repression, Literature, and the Growth and Metamorphosis of Czech National Identity in the 20th Century
(Under the Direction of DR. JOHN MORROW, JR.)

Czechoslovakia in the 20th Century followed a tumultuous path that led it to freedom from the three-hundred year yoke of the Habsburg Empire, an existence as a small democratic nation surrounded by dictatorship, Nazi occupation twenty short years later, and finally the total and complete de-individualization under Soviet Communism. Pushed to independence by the frustration with a protracted existence as the "other" in the German dominated Habsburg Empire, Czechs continued to struggle with developing an identity independent of the crutch of the "other." Some have argued that the muted method of resistance that the Czechs employed through the majority of the Nazi and Communist control of Czechoslovakia weakened the Czech claim to a unified identity as a people. The ironic comedies of Jaroslav Hašek and Bohumil Hrabal, however, exemplify how crucial intellectual and literary figures became for solidifying the Czech national identity. This paper examines the manner in which Czech culture and national identity developed in the 20th Century with special attention to *The Good Soldier Švejk, Closely Watched Trains,* and *Too Loud a Solitude* from the repressive periods of World War I, World War II, and Communist control.

INDEX WORDS: Czechoslovakia, Czech, Nationalism, World War I, Habsburg Empire World War II, Munich Conference, Normalization, Prague Spring, *The Good Soldier Švejk, Closely Watched Trains, Too Loud a Solitude*, Bohumil Hrabal, Josef Koudelka, Invasion of Czechoslovakia

# REPRESSION, LITERATURE, AND THE GROWTH AND METAMORPHOSIS OF CZECH NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE 20th CENTURY

by

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# CHAPTER 1
# INTRODUCTION

The well-known Czech artist David Cerny, most famous for his statue of two gentlemen urinating in front of the Franz Kafka Museum in Prague, complained in a recent *New York Times* interview that, "The Czech attitude is not to be proud of being Czech…Here in this country we are taught to be silent and invisible…because of decades of watching out."[1] This is not a problem unique to the Czech story. European history's Western orientation often forgets the encroaching Pan-Germanism followed immediately by subsequent Pan-Slavism that overwhelmed the Eastern European countries in the 20th century. Czechoslovakia in the 20th century followed a tumultuous path that led them to freedom from the long time yoke of the Habsburg Empire, an existence as a small democratic nation surrounded by dictatorship, Nazi occupation twenty short years later, and finally the total and complete de-individualization under Soviet Communism. A feeling of helpless victimization predominated among the small and often forgotten nations east of Germany and west of Russia, later termed the "Iron Curtain" countries during the Cold War.

Tomáš Masaryk, who would become the first president of Czechoslovakia, articulated the challenges facing the Czech population in *The Problems of a Small Nation* in 1905, before the "small nation" of Czechoslovakia existed. He claimed the population placed too much emphasis on its small size (and subsequently its subjugation) rather than on "spiritual strength and the humanism of their national traditions."[2] The experiences of foreign occupation that would follow, however, forced the Czech people to cling to their national traditions, especially the rich

cultural legacies represented in their strong, although not necessarily outspoken, and productive intellectual population. The first exhibitions of outspoken assertion of national identity in the pre-World War I period demonstrate the importance of language as a major differentiating factor between Germans and Czechs.

The emphasis on language in early Czechoslovak formation of identity explains the Czech definition of "otherness" under the primarily ethnically German Habsburg Empire. Subsequently, Czech identity struggled to find a definition extending beyond "otherness." The importance of language brought the rich literary tradition of the Czech intelligentsia again to the forefront, as they were the voices which not only delivered an image of Czech identity independent of "otherness" in their works, but also formed the foundation of a deep collection of cultural capital for a newly growing nation. An examination of the development of the Czech national identity throughout the 20th century, with an emphasis on the occupation during the First World War, the Second World War, and Soviet domination. Although much of Czech collective national history is based on victimization and "watching out," the literary works of Jaroslav Hašek and Bohumil Hrabal illustrate a strong intellectual background indicate a rich cultural heritage of perseverance, upholding the hopes of Masaryk, the "founding father" of the modern Czech people.

*Symbols in Czech Collective Memory and the Definition of the "Other" Language Speaker at the Close of the 19th Century*

The kingdom of Bohemia had a longstanding history prior to the late 19th century, and to claim that the Czechs had no semblance of identity before the immediate years prior to World

War I would be preposterous. For the purpose of this study, a full and in depth consideration of the kingdom of Bohemia is not necessary, but is important to understand certain important figures and events that will later be instrumental to the cultural and historical capital of the Czech identity in the 19th and 20th century.

The martyr Jan Hus is the original iconic Czech victim. Jan Hus was a philosophy professor in the mid 14th century at the Charles University, the original Czech language university. Appointed a preacher at the Bethlehem Chapel in 1402, his adamant public stance against corruption in the Church and specifically his protest of the denial of the symbolic chalice of Christ's Blood to the laity, while the laity was allowed to consume the bread representing the Body of Christ, labeled him specifically as an oppositional figure in the face of the Church. His outspoken speech and the response it drew from locals brought Hus in conflict with both the State and Church. He was eventually called to retract his criticisms before a council of the Church. He refused, citing his motto *Pravda vítězí,* or "Truth prevails." He was burned at the stake as a heretic in 1416, only two years after the first Ultraquist mass, in which laymen were allowed to both drink the Blood of Christ and consume the Body of Christ. [3]

Notably, the Hussite revolution that followed demanded not only the "Four Articles of Prague" (freedom to preach the word of God, both forms of communion, expropriation of Church property), but also that priests say mass in Czech and that women and children be taught to read the Bible. Czech resistance and reform movements as early as the 15th century already illustrated the importance of language.[4] In the 20th century Hus became a key figure in Czech national iconography as a representation of the resistance to social injustice. Opposing political forces after World War II, when Communist forces begin to assert themselves for contention

over political control of the recently liberated Czechoslovak state, would also use his memory to help create competing national rhetoric.

Undoubtedly study of 20th century Czech nationalist movement and rhetoric illustrates that the single event with the most lasting memory in the Czech history of subservience is the infamously remembered "Battle of White Mountain." By 1618, an increasingly defiant group of Bohemian elite in opposition to heavily centralizing and pro-Catholic policies enforced by the Habsburg dynasty known as the "Estates" were fully on the path toward rebellion. In the following year, they established a Confederation of the Estates of Bohemia, deposed Ferdinand, and placed Calvinist Frederick in his stead. Unfortunately, as an uprising of the privileged, the Estates had no significant allies and failed to elicit the support of the lower classes. Ferdinand's imperial troops, supported by the Bavarian army and the elector of Saxony, forced the Estates' armies back towards Prague to the site of White Mountain where they crushed the "tired, poorly organized, and ill paid soldiers of the Estates." [5]

The defeat forced Frederick to flee from Prague, and by 1621 twenty-seven leaders of the rebellion were executed in Prague's Old Town Square. By the summer of 1622 the last loyal garrisons to the Estates had surrendered, and Ferdinand confiscated all of the property of the Bohemian elite. Those who remained alive were forced to flee. Adding insult to injury, the authorities gave the Jesuits Prague's university and banished all Protestant clergy within two years. In 1627 the Renewed Land Ordinance labeled all lands of the Bohemian crown hereditary possessions of the Habsburg dynasty, stripping the Estates of their legislative, judicial, and executive authority. By the end of the 17th century the formerly more than 1,000 knightly families in the Bohemian Estates had dwindled to 238, and only the three towns of Prague were represented in the symbolic Bohemian diet, changing the balance between the crown and the

Estates forever.[6] The extent to which the Empire quashed the bold rebellion of the Bohemian Estates created a timid population, hesitant to resist occupational powers, and a national memory that would last into the 20th century. History also illustrates that the Czechs both link this specific battle to the following 300 years of servitude to the Habsburg Empire, and many historians claim that the Czech people found their successful rebuttal only during the First World War.

The expulsion of the Bohemian landowning class after the Battle of White Mountain signified to the Czech people the beginning of their "enslavement," characterized by hundreds of years of preference of ethnic Germans over Czechs in the Bohemian lands and the successful repression of any movements against the Monarchy. The almost 300 years between the end of the Thirty Year's War and the turn of the century occupy less than 70 pages in Hugh Agnew's extensive study of *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*. As the 19th century came to a close and the 20th century was on the rise, the Czech-German contestation over lands and legacy came to crux.

The Charles University had long been a cornerstone of Czech national identity as the only Czech language university. Together with the Sokol athletic organization and the National Theater these three organizations formed the basis of national cultural identity in the Czech Republic at the turn of the century. The aims of the Sokol organization founded in 1862 included the "revival of the homeland through the education of body and spirit, through physical energy and art and science."[7] Together with the construction of the *Národní Divadlo*, or National Theater, built in 1872 in Prague, the Czech population was able to claim a strong intellectual and artistic national identity.[8] Finally, the fundraising to rebuild the *Národní Divadlo* which had burnt down in 1881, was supplied by donations rather than taxes or collections, solidifying the basis of the cultural identity of the Czech people.[9]

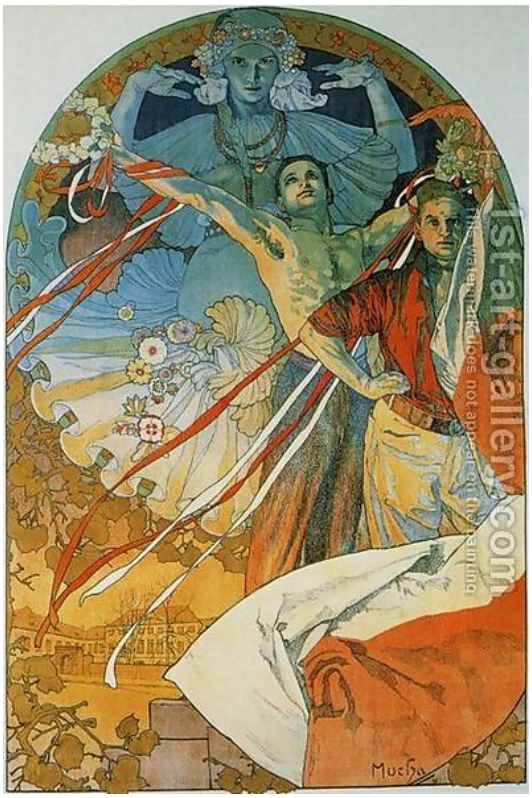


**Figure 1.1.** 1912 Sokol Festival. …….. Poster by famous Czech artist Alphonse. Mucha.

(From 1st Art Gallery online)

**Figure 1.2.** The Laying of the Foundations of the *Národní Divadlo.* Drawing by an unknown artist from May of 1868.

(From *Československé dějiny v obrazech*)

Not long after the Czechs had acquired this second symbol of national unity and strength, the conservative "Iron Ring" government decided that "concessions to Slavs, especially Czechs, threatened the privileged position of German culture and language," and celebrations of the former Emperor Joseph II began. Joseph II had been a symbol of the Czech-German contestation of legacy due to his centralizing policies and reforms. Although Joseph II enacted popular equalizing reforms, such as the abolition of serfdom, religious tolerance, relaxed censorship,

educational uniformity and linguistic standardization that appealed to the Czechs, he chose to do so in a manner that emphasized the German language. Thus the legacy of Joseph II became one of Germanization to the Czechs.[10]

The statues of Joseph II unveiled in centennial celebrations of the Emperor in the 1880's not only contributed to the creation of a German collective identity but a Czech one as well. In a straightforward manner the statues "symbolized the life of the German community and reflected the memory of what had been" and implied a future of what would be, seeming to assert that the "nationally disputed soil" was in fact German. Northern Bohemia, with a high population of Germans, experienced the worst conflicts at the statue sites, including street fighting and instances of verbal insults between proud Czechs and Germans.[11] For example, in Budějovice on the night before the celebration, local Czechs vandalized the bust, "painting it, plastering it, and putting a patch over one eye," making it appear in the likeness of the Czech national hero, a one-eyed Hussite General by the name of Jan Žižka.[12]

The emphasis on language continued to determine the nature of the Czech and German conflict, while ominous tensions that foreshadowing the outbreak of the First World War brewed outside the Bohemian lands. The Badeni Language ordinances of 1897 named for the Polish Count Badeni provided for both Czech and German knowledge and language proficiency among civil servants.[13] Germans, headed by the German Opposition Club, responded fervently to Czech language rights with statements of anti-Czech and German nationalist nature. This was evident in the revival of the cartoon figure *Deutscher Michel*, the honest German, being taken advantage of by the Slav. As tensions increased, Czechs began a boycott of German and Jewish products and moved their money into Czech banks, while the Germans boycotted the famous Czech Pilsen beer company.[14] Anti-Badeni protests became so violently anti-Czech in the northwest that

Badeni resigned soon afterwards to triumphant cheers of "Die Wacht am Rhein" by Germans. The Czechs responded in kind with rioting, targeting German and Jewish property, singing their national song "Kde domov můj," which significantly and ironically means "Where is my homeland."[15] The Jews were considered ethnic and linguistic "others", and often fell victim to the anti-German fervor of the Czech nationalist movement.[16]

The language debate continued with demands for a Czech language university in Brno, the largest predominantly German city in Moravia. František Pavlík, a young Sokol member, died from bayonet wounds caused by soldiers called in to protect German property in protests there. His death created a ripple effect of protestations and memorials in the following days.[17] Although these examples prove that tensions between Germans and Czechs were becoming more dramatic, heated and increasingly nationalistic, the greater Czech public did not desire independence from the Habsburg crown. In the pre-World War I period, the Czech political parties advocated greater rights under the Habsburg crown. In fact, there was truly only one party, the State's Rights Progressive Party under Antonín Kalina, publicly in favor of an independent state. The desire at this point among Czech citizens was overwhelmingly to improve their condition within the Empire, not to destroy or separate from the empire.[18] Nonetheless, it is with this strongly non-German identity that the Czech consciousness developed the crutch of the "other" nationality. The linguistic basis to the formation of the Czech national movement was evident even before the outbreak of the First World War.

# CHAPTER 2
# WORLD WAR I: FROM RIGHTS TO INDEPENDENCE, AND THE EXAMPLE OF THE GOOD SOLDIER ŠVEJK

If political leaders felt that they would "do everything necessary to contribute to the maintenance and development of a political and economic unit in the center of Europe, Austria-Hungary" immediately prior to the outbreak of war, the wartime experience of the Czechs clearly pushed the Czechs toward independence at the close of the war.[1] Although the example of *The Good Soldier* Š*vejk* illustrates perfectly both the development and the approach of the Czech everyman toward the Empire in the crucial period that would lead them to their freedom, the work gives little credit to the major political and intellectual players who were instrumental in creating the nationalist rhetoric and appeal to international powers for Czech freedom. While the everyman worked to undermine the Empire from within, the founding fathers T.G. Masaryk, Edvard Beneš and Milan Stefanik were crucial in pleading the Czechoslovak case to the international audience. Masaryk, who would become the first president of the independent Czechoslovakia, was the most senior and influential of the group. A former professor of Philosophy, he encouraged the intellectual tradition of the Czech national identity. Masaryk, Beneš (Masaryk's second in command and successor), and Stefanik escaped from Prague to Paris in the outbreak of war. Masaryk and Beneš pursued diplomatic persuasion on the international scene and Stefanik went to volunteer in the French air force against the Habsburgs. At the outbreak of war, the three were convinced by the words of then prime minister of Austria, Ernst von Koerber, that there would be no hope of reform within the Empire if Austria-Hungary were to win the war. The only option for a Czech political voice would be independence.[2]

This left the resistance organization known as the 'Maffia' in place to be responsible for intellectuals within to communicate with Masaryk and the other exiles. Its leaders were Karel Kramar, Alois Rašin, Pavel Samal, and Josef Scheiner (the head of Sokol at the time). In the early attempts at military control of the "politically suspect" Bohemian lands, Karel Kramar, well known for his pan-Slavic beliefs and hopes of cooperation with the tsarist Russia, and Alois Rasin were both arrested and sentenced to death in 1915.[3] The American Czech Emmanuel Voska was also instrumental in the transportation of information to the British Secret Service. By late 1915, the Czech Foreign Committee was formed by the émigré leaders in Paris, immediately declaring independence for the Czech lands with a manifesto which addressed Russia as the great Slav nation, England as the home of the constitutional government, France as the home of revolution, and Italy as the birthplace of national intellectuals, appealing diplomatically to the major European powers. In 1916, the Czech Foreign Committee became the National Council of Czech Lands, with Masaryk as President, Stefanik and Jaroslav Durich as Vice- Presidents, and Beneš as General Secretary.[4] Given the location of the émigrés and the appeals made in the manifesto, it is not surprising that France was the first country to recognize Czecholslovakia's independence in late July of 1918. [5]

*"Švejkism" and the Actions of the Czech Everyman*

Diplomacy by the foreign émigré leaders helped win appeal in the international circle, while propaganda and military action on the ground level helped the Czech people to grasp the national movement in their own hands. This is where the legend of Švejk comes into play. "Great times call for great men," Jaroslav Hašek wrote in the preface of his legendary work *The Good*

*Soldier Švejk*. "You can meet [him] in the streets of Prague…not even aware of his significance…If you asked him his name he would answer you simply and unassumingly; 'I am Švejk…'" highlighting the importance of the small effort of the everyman to the escape from the Austrian Empire.[6] Set in World War I, the character of Švejk speaks so loudly that the term 'Švejkism' resonates, characterizing the "passive resistance of the Czechs."[7] *The Good Soldier Švejk* precedes Joseph Heller's *Catch 22* by 38 years in the representation of double-talk, constantly protesting his patriotism and devotion, while his actions clearly undermine the Austrian effort, even if in his own small way. This novel is important to the development of the Czech national character and understanding the history of the movement because it came to epitomize the development of the Czech national movement and began the literary trend of "comedies of defiance" that appear through each occupying period (WWI, WWII and Soviet) of the 20th century.[8]

The novel begins with the news "And so they've killed our Ferdinand," to which Švejk's response is "Which Ferdinand, Mrs. Müller?" illustrating the Czech lack of awareness or concern of the larger events affecting the Empire. Similarly, the bar owner, Palivec thinks that the Sarajevo referred to by the plainclothes officer Bretschneider refers to a bar, rather than the capital of Bosnia. Not only that, but it is not long before the rheumatic and already "certified by an army medical board as an imbecile" Švejk is called to war.[9] When his charwoman, Mrs. Müller, protests that he cannot even move, he insists that he will go to the war in a bathchair, because "except for my legs I'm completely sound cannon fodder, and when things are going badly for Austria every cripple must be at his post." Despite the doctor's prescription of bromide Švejk continues to prepare to appear before the draft board. Waving his crutches and shouting "To Belgrade!" he causes a scene when Mrs. Müller wheels him to the draft board in the

bathchair, and is reported in several newspapers for displaying "the most sacred feelings and sympathies…sacrificing his life for his emperor." The Czech crowd that follows him beats up an enthusiastic German student who cheered in response "Down with the Serbs!"[10]

As Švejk's example aptly illustrates, the outbreak of the First World War, while obvious to historians in hindsight and perhaps even clear to residents of the major powers involved at the time, caught the Czech population completely off guard. Count Franz Anton Thun-Hohenstein's report of Czech troops leaving for Prague described older soldiers, like Švejk, "accompanied by relatives and by children…obviously drunk… Yesterday their behavior was still worse…they carried three large white, red and blue flags, and a red flag with the inscription: We are marching against the Russians and we don't know why."[11] The actual words to the chant "*Ceverny šátečku, kolem se toč, pudeme na Rusa, nevíme proč*" (Red handkerchief, wave through the sky, we fight the Russians, though we don't know why)," indicate the Czech loyalty to the colors of the Bohemian red and white flag, in contrast to the yellow and black of the House of Habsburg.[12] Both the soldiers' attitudes and the even civilian's shouts not to "shoot your Slav brothers" indicated that the Czechs were not wholeheartedly invested in a battle and contributed to the Austrian command's uneasiness about Czech support in the war.[13]

**Figure 2.1.** Josef Švejk in the Bathchair. Josef Lada's illustration of Švejk reporting to the draft board is compellingly accurate to the Bohemian Governor Count Thun-Hohenstein's description.

This initial description of the Czechs does not depict exemplary service, and yet the authorities observed that the mood of the population had "soured" even more in the months after the outbreak of the war. Increasingly evidence indicated that the Czechs sympathized with the "enemy" Russian army and had little sympathy for the Habsburg cause, which the Emperor attributed to what he termed "unhealthy political conditions at home." The unreliability and suspicion of the Czech soldier gave the AOK, or Austrian High Command, excuse to argue for complete militarization of the Czech lands, although the autocratic appointed Prime Minister Count Karl von Stürgkh felt the existing "emergency laws" were sufficient to quell unrest.[14] Stürgkh's "emergency laws" included the following: Thun-Hohenstein, considered too pro-Czech was forced to resign, while in 1915 the Sokol was disbanded and the anniversary celebration to honor the martyr Jan Hus was repressed. The names of the leaders of the Bohemian Estates executed after the Battle of White Mountain were removed from Prague's Old Town Hall, textbooks were rewritten, and books, pictures on postcards, matchboxes, and even playing cards were censored.[15] The level of press censorship was also severe. The KPQ

(Kreigspressquartier- War Press Office) very obviously left large blank spaces where the censor had taken effect, leading Prague newspaper vendors to cry "What is white is the truth- what is black is lies!"[16]

*Propaganda and the Image of the Unreliable Czech Soldier*

*The Good Soldier Švejk* also depicts the tightening of control over civilian life and the perception of the unreliable Czech. The plainclothes German police officer Bretschneider, who hangs out in The Chalice bar hoping to catch civilians uttering treasonous statements, is the perfect caricature of a nosy and suspicious tool of the state. When both Švejk and the bar owner Palivec are arrested for treason (the latter for saying that he removed a portrait of his Imperial Majesty because "the flies shitted on it"), they encounter five other civilians arrested "because they did away with His Imperial Highness at Sarajevo." The sixth prisoner, arrested for attempted robbery and murder, avoids the other prisoners in order to not implicate himself as one of them, implying that the baseless charges of treason are more reprehensible than true criminal actions. Švejk, as a loyal citizen of the Empire, agrees to everything in Bretscheider's deposition, including the possibility that he might have murdered the Archduke.[17]

The chief army doctor Bautze, a German widely famous for the remark "The whole Czech people are nothing but a pack of malingerers," also aptly exemplifies the German perception and mistrust of the Czech population. Having turned away 10,999 malingerers of the 11,000 civilians reported to him, Bautze also labels Švejk a malingerer despite vowing that he "will serve His Imperial Majesty to my last drop of blood." "Army doctors took unusual pains to drive the devil of sabotage out of malingerers" and suspected malingerers, which included

"consumptives, rheumatics, people with hernia, kidney disease, typhus, diabetes, pneumonia, and other illnesses." Although Švejk continually insists upon his allegiance to the Empire, he becomes a victim of the combination of the comical ineffectiveness of the military bureaucracy and the suspicion of Czech soldiers and is sent from the asylum to the prison to the garrison gaol before being allowed to serve as a batman. [18]

The reputation of the Czech soldier for unreliability was reinforced by a few uncommon but resonant cases of wholesale surrenders of Czech battalions to Italian or Russian troops. In April of 1915 almost every man in the Czech infantry regiment 28 surrendered rather than fight the Russian army, whom the soldiers considered their Slavic brethren. The Czech soldiers of the infantry regiment 36 followed the 28th's example.[19] In contrast to the 28th regiment, the 36th Czech regiment was massacred after their mutiny, while the 88th regiment was destroyed in crossfire between the Germans and Hungarians. The men of the 102nd contributed to the defeat of the Austro-Hungarians through fraternization with the Serbs. The members of the 35th were immediately welcomed into the Russian trenches upon their arrival at the Galician front, and were shot by the Germans and Austrians if they did not join the Russians. The surviving deserters of these and other regiments joined other volunteer prisoners of war and became the basis of the Czechoslovak legion in the autumn of 1914.[20]

During the Battle of Zborov in 1917, the Russian based Czechoslovak legion fought in the first directly confrontational battle with Habsburg forces since the Battle of White Mountain. The Habsburg force they encountered was dominated by the 35th and the 75th regiments, who were 61 and 82 percent Czech accordingly. Most of the 62 officers and 4,000 enlisted men taken prisoner by the Czechoslovak legion were also Czech. Nonetheless, the battle was seen as an overwhelming success, because it brought the Czechs and the Slovaks a favorable reputation

among the Western Allies and strengthened the claim to independence that developed as the war continued. Many Czechs felt that the Battle of Zborov signified a "retaking" of the Battle of White Mountain of 1620. It became immortalized in the newly independent post-war state as a national holiday.[21]


**Figure 2.2.** The Battle of Zborov. A Czech soldier refusing to fight his Slavic brothers at Zborov. (From the *Muzeum Rakovník* online archives).

The Russians realized early in the war that the Austrian Army's multinational character could be exploited, and they did so by promising a Pan-Slavic freedom. The pre-war period shows that the Czechs had neither cultural heritage nor linguistic commonalities with the Germans, while the Russians claimed both. Thus the Czechs proved especially susceptible to the 100,000 manifestos proclaiming liberty for the peoples of Austria that were scattered by Russian planes while troops marched into Galicia. Soon afterwards the Czech Intelligence Unit (*Družina)* was formed and became the basis of the Czech legion in Russia. Russians often used these Czech troops to encourage "Austrian Czechs" to desert. Despite the early presence of propaganda,

especially on the side of the Russians, it was not until 1917 with the fall of the Tsarist regime that Germany and Austria-Hungary launched their first propaganda counter campaign.[22]

"Humbly report, sir, I belong and I don't belong to the 91st regiment and I haven't the faintest idea how I really stand," Švejk states, unable to grasp his place in the war, reflecting a the Czech loss of place on the European continent.[23] Jostled back and forth throughout the story from batman of the Lieutenant to the Chaplain to the next officer, Švejk has no place on the Austrian front. He famously takes an elongated anabasis to rejoin his regiment, only to discover that he is going the wrong way. The Austrian army forces Švejk into the arms of the Russians when the ill-equipped Austrian army gives him a clownishly large and poorly fitting uniform. Švejk comes upon a Russian prisoner bathing (who runs away in fear) and tries on the Russian uniform to see "how it would suit him." Unfortunately for Švejk, a Hungarian gendarme comes upon him, mistakes him for a Russian, and takes him as a prisoner of war. The Russian transport is a medley Eastern prisoners who "looked at Švejk in full understanding" even though they don't speak Czech, implying that the wayward Czech is more comfortable in the company of the Slavic prisoners than in the Austrian army machine. Major Wolf finally discovers that he is a 'Czech dog' in a Russian uniform. In this scene the author highlights the failure of the Austrian Ministry of the Interior to recognize the "military organization of Czech deserters," again illustrating the declining competency of the Army and the Empire. [24]

It was not only the Russians who benefited from the lack of Czech allegiance to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Italians realized that they too could exploit Austro-Hungary's nationalist tensions, and focused explicitly on the Czech and Yugoslav populations because their émigré movements possessed the best organization. Italian statesmen were thus the first to suggest that the Austro-Hungarian Empire needed to be outright destroyed.[25] Well-known and

respected Czech leaders, such as Milan Stefanik, wrote nationalistic memoranda appealing to "you who are honorable of spirit and have Slav blood in your veins" to "give yourselves up to the Italian army at the first opportunity," and challenged Czechs by asking "Do all of you who are Slavs wish to sacrifice your lives to a contemptible band of criminals who have set as their goal the extermination of our whole nation?"[26] Nationalist appeals and the propaganda campaign allowed for the development of a Czechoslav national rhetoric, connecting the intellectual movement of the émigré leaders to the ground movement of the everyman. The Italians claimed to have the goal of unification and presented themselves as freedom fighters, thus appealing to the Czechs own desires for statehood. The savvy Italian exploitation of the multi-national nature of the Habsburg led to the Rome Conference of April 1918 "of representatives of all of the oppressed nations," an important step in the international attempt to change the landscape of the European continent.[27]

*Economic Pressures Illustrate a Declining Empire*

As the war continued, the Czechs became considerably more useful to enemies of the Empire both in the legion and in the supply of information on the propaganda front. Despite ideologies that influenced Czech action during World War I, the most common reason listed for surrender to the Italian Army among the diverse populations of the Empire during the war was hunger.[28] H. Louis Rees argues in *The Czechs during World War I: The Path to Independence* that economic conditions and the "steady deterioration of the state's ability to provide the basic necessities of life" pushed Czech citizens and soldiers toward a "rebirth of political life." The political condition improved for the Czechs after the assassination of Stürgkh assured the

dismantling of the wartime dictatorship and promised the reestablishment of a parliamentary government in 1916, but the worsening economic situation dictated increased demonstrations, riots, and strikes in the Czech lands. As late as 1916 the Czech Union (formed of the Agrarian Party, the Young Czech Party, and the Social Democratic Party) rejected Woodrow Wilson's claim of "liberation of the Czechs from foreign mastery" in the Fourteen Points, because they saw the future of the development of the Czech people "only under the scepter of the Habsburgs." Notably, the key political figures responsible for the push for the independence (Masaryk's Realist Party and the Maffia) were not a part of this coalition. [29]

Economic conditions appeared disastrous by the winter and spring of 1917. Problems of food supply worsened and popular unrest became more common. Initially strikes were apolitical and consisted largely of women and children. Potato shortages caused a series of strikes that closed four mines in one district alone and severely damaged the Empire's coal production. Summer demonstrations included more violence and the robbing of food stores. In Prague demonstrations grew increasingly political with national justifications.[30] Political tensions heightened as the war continued, and food shortages caused even more unrest in the Czech lands. Threatened by the growing emphasis on the natural rights of nations and general radicalization of the Czech parties, the Empire called military force to quell the outbursts. The rationing of flour quickly led to large, widespread demonstrations. Rioters looted food stores, and troops sent to quell the riots opened fire on the demonstrators after being met with a barrage of stones.[31]

Hašek's portrayal of the incompetence of the Austrian Army and the bureaucratic Austrian machine is one of the most memorable aspects of the story of Švejk. Some of the characters that exemplify Hašek's depiction of the Austrian Army include the Chaplain Otto Katz, a drunk and gambling clergyman who loses Švejk as a Batman in a game of cards, and the

Colonel van Zillergut, an Austrian officer characterized by long explanations of ordinary objects (for example he is hit by a cart while explaining what pavement is). The victim of the most biting satire is the pro-Monarchist Czech 2nd Lieutenant Dub, who is constantly portrayed in embarrassing situations (such as drunk in a brothel, falling off a horse, etc.). Only the Czech characters, Švejk's companions and his Lieutenant Lukas, are portrayed sympathetically, although as a member of the machine of the Austrian army Lieutenant Lukas is not free of ridicule either.[32]

Of course Švejk never complains about conditions in the Army, but other characters make the discomforts of the condition of the Austrian soldier well-known. The ravenous former miller Baloun is forced to eat sausage skins and raw dough when nothing else is available. The ill-equipped army provides Švejk with a uniform clearly fitted for someone larger than him, with "trousers [that] three more Švejks could have got into." The Russian uniform he finds fits him better than his own "old military uniform."[33] Švejk serves as "a personality in the face of mindless authority," paralleling the character of the resistance of the Czech population.[34]

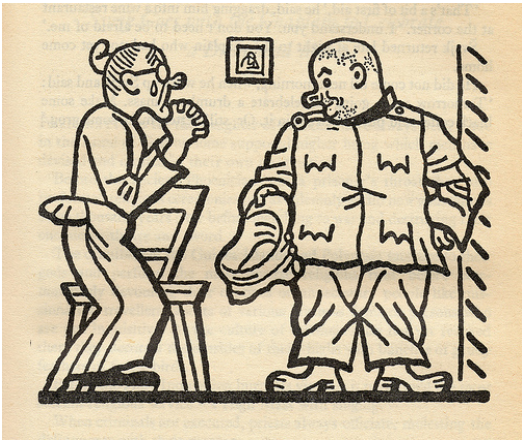

**Figure 2.3.** Josef Švejk in his Uniform. The uniform supplied by the Austro-Hungarian army was obviously fitted for someone else. (Josef Lada's illustration in the novel)

As the condition in the Czech lands worsened, the radicalization of the political stance and deterioration of Czech moderates increased proportionately. At this point, for example, a *New York Times* report indicated that censorship had worsened, calling Austrian government control "terrorism." The Empire's fear of the threat of growing nationalist fervor is evidenced in the prohibition of national music, "wholesale arrests upon the slightest provocation…political executions have numbered between 2,000 and 8,000…Meanwhile thousands of intellectuals were placed in insanitary internment camps and subjected to every kind of privation."[35] After the revolution in Russia in early 1917, the Austrian military intelligence also decided that all homecomers would undergo an exam assessing the effect of Russian captivity that was intended to assure that they had not been swayed by Bolshevism.[36]

*The Formation of the First Czechoslovak Republic*

By January of 1917 Allied war aims included the liberation of the Czechoslovak peoples as part of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points. The "Epiphany Convention" in January of 1918 called for a sovereign state for the Czechs and the Slovaks with an actual area bounded the "Bohemian lands and Slovakia." American recognition of the Czechoslovak National Council followed Paris, and the international powers officially proclaimed the provisional Czechoslovak government. Masaryk, with his history of commitment to democracy, was named president, with Beneš as his foreign minister and Stefanik as his minister of national defense. The Czechoslovak declaration of independence affirmed democratic beliefs and principles of separation of church and state, equal right to vote, and "freedom of conscience, religion, science, literature and art, speech, press, assembly and petition encouraged by Woodrow Wilson and the major Western

powers of the world."[37] Perceiving the First World War as a world revolution between democracy and theocracy, Masaryk saw the formation of Czechoslovakia as part of a democratic world revolution.[38] It was with these aims and goals that the leadership of the new Czechoslovak state approached the interwar period.

# CHAPTER 3
# THE INTERWAR PERIOD: THE THEORY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK "ISLAND OF DEMOCRACY" AND ANTI-GERMAN ACTIONS

## *The Creation of a National Identity and the Removal of a German Past*

October 29, 1918 is the official date of Czechoslovak independence. The *New York Times* reported on October 31 that "the Czech National committee now controls Prague fully." In only a day, "the Austrian imperial symbols were removed from various buildings and imperial proclamations were torn down. The city officials have taken an oath of fidelity to the Czech State."[1] Despite the fact that head of state T.G. Masaryk encouraged and believed wholeheartedly in democracy (he was likely the reason that the Czechoslovak state remained a democracy in the interwar period while so many other nations fell to dictatorships), the attempt to remove the Habsburg past and the consequent isolation of the German population was a major method of the assertion of national identity in this period. The Czechoslovak leaders were faced with the challenge of establishing internal and external legitimacy through historical capital. In practice, this resulted in excising German cultural monuments in the landscape in the process, opening a new chapter in the history of the "other" in Bohemia.[2]

Aviezer Tucker argues in his analysis of Jan Patočka's philosophy of Czech history that "Czech nationalism had to begin with linguistic and cultural individuation from the dominant German civilization…the Czechs must individuate their national identity by opposing German cultural and political imperialism."[3] Now that the majority of the Bohemian lands were Czech and not German, the state asserted its linguistic and cultural dominance through the removal of

German inscriptions in stores, offices and restaurants in a "national reassertion of public space." German streets were renamed, including Czech and Slovak translations of all place names by April of 1920. Statues and figures representative of the years of Austrian superiority were also destroyed in the assertion of public space. The Marian Column in Prague, which was erected by Ferdinand III to celebrate a Habsburg Roman Catholic victory at White Mountain, was toppled only a month after the new state's inception to the tune of *Kde Domov Můj*, the new national anthem. Subsequently, the statues of the emperor Francis Josef that had symbolized German possession of land before the war were removed. This caused an outcry from local German officials, who requested the protection of historic monuments identified as German or Habsburg. The Czech authorities promptly rejected their requests. Once again the statues of Josef II, as a symbol of former Germandom, indicated national possession of space. Regional German communities fought to preserve the statues, while recently empowered Czech authorities retook the public space by removing the statues.[4]

Part of this claim to public space included the addition of the Jan Hus statue. As a Czech national symbol of martyrdom, its construction was prohibited by the Empire in the years leading to the war. The newly birthed country also required new national symbols which included a flag, an anthem, national emblems, coinage, and stamps contributed to a new cultural identity and capital for the Czechoslovak people. The "founding fathers" T.G. Masaryk, Edvard Beneš and Milan Stefanik were especially important to the creation of national memory. They began by instituting national holidays and "inculcating the values of the nation state into Czech and Slovak citizens." The first holiday created was Independence Day, October 28, 1918, and was emphatically celebrated by the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Germans, and the Magyars (with less and less enthusiasm).[5]

"Army Day" on July 2 honored the Battle of Zborov, reiterating the importance of the Czech and Slovak soldier (especially the legionnaires) as "national fighters for liberation." For the first time in three hundred years the Czechs had taken up arms against the Habsburg Empire and succeeded. Many Czechs considered this victory revenge for the loss at White Mountain. The event was celebrated with athletic events, gymnastic competitions, and military parades. On the 5th anniversary of the battle the events even included the reburial of a fallen legionnaire in a tomb for the Unknown Soldier.

The formation of Veteran's federations also reinforced memories of the war. German associations appeared based on regional locality. The Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of National Defense forbade German veterans, wishing to celebrate their contribution to the German and Austro-Hungarian war effort to "wear uniforms and decorations of the former Austrian state." In 1925, the Ministry of National Defense decided that members of veteran organizations with German national background were a threat to Czechoslovak national security. Meanwhile, the role of the Czech and Slovak soldier was increasingly portrayed as a destructive and subversive one, and the "legend of resistance" was born. While the recollection of the Czechoslovak contributions to undermining the Empire during World War I may have solidified a new national identity, it did little to keep solidarity with their minority populations.[6] In fact, like the removal of the statues, the Czechoslovak national pride in their veterans isolated the German population. The roles had now reversed from the World War I and Habsburg era, the German "other" had become the minority.

"Germanness" continued to be the "other" element in the public, civic, and cultural arena of Czechoslovak life even after the war, and many patriotic Czechs attempted to eliminate what they perceived as the German threat during the interwar period. The anti-German fervor was

especially evident in the widespread opposition to German language film and theater productions. As early as 1920, Peter Demetz describes a "Czech mob" that entered his father's theater (he had been showing German plays) and "vented its rage…led by eager actors of the Prague National Theater…bodily removed my father from his office, and occupied the building in the name of the Czechoslovak nation."[7] Opposition came to a climax in the early 1930's when the Czech Fascists staged four nights of national protests against German language films. Although the films had no derogatory anti-Czech content, several did romanticize the Habsburg monarchy. The demonstrations included the destruction of German and Jewish property, the singing of national songs, and "violent nationalist language." The Fascists claimed that "German expansionism" was making "Prague a branch of Berlin." The Czech government even banned the films during the All-Sokol festival in 1932 due to "heightened national tensions."[8]

During the 1930's growing sensitivity to nationalist concerns recalled similar Habsburg nationalist clashes. By including the Jewish population in this group of "others," it is evident that the Czechoslovak's considered anyone not linguistically Slavic as part of the "other" and a threat. In his father's anecdote, Peter Demetz points out that President Masaryk never set foot in the Theater of the Estates after the takeover, despite the fact that it was claimed in honor of nationalist motives, considering the occupation "unconstitutional and not in the best interest of the republic." [9]Although the Czechoslovak state retained its democratic status in the interwar years, these events make it clear that there was disconnect between the hopes and vision of the leadership of Czechoslovakia and the action of its citizens on the ground level.

*The German Response to Becoming a Minority*

In contrast with the Czech celebration, October 28th became the day in which Germans in the Bohemian Lands "mourned their loss of position in the Habsburg monarchy." This atmosphere gave rise to the formation of small regional German national groups, the largest and most famous of which was the Sudeten German Homeland front. Konrad Heinlein founded the party in 1933 to take up the reins of German minority struggle when the country's two largest German nationalist parties (the German National Party and the German Nationalist Socialist Worker's Party) dissolved in the face of an impending ban. The Sudeten Germans, without territorial identity or autonomy, feared that "Czechification" (represented by national defense association, the Legionnaires and the Sokol) threatened their existence. By 1935, Heinlein's group changed its name to the Sudeten German Party (or the SdP) to participate in parliamentary elections, at the same time popularizing the overarching term "Sudeten" in place of regional and local identities. Other German nationalist groups such as the Gymnastics Association and the Kulturverband quickly allied themselves with the SdP. Germans vocalized their nationality through gymnastic demonstrations, the celebration of old national holidays, parades and other nationalist self-affirmations. The Czechs responded with repressive policies to curb German demonstrations and their own nationalist celebrations. In the city of Brno, the school authorities forbade "provocative German folk-dress." [10]

In the environment of increasingly tense nationalism, Peter Demetz's father became the victim of German cultural protest. He was pleased to be asked to head a German theater in Brno, only to realize that the German nationalists were just as violent in this border city as the Czech nationalists were in Prague. On the ten-year anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic he

announced a celebratory performance at the theater, and a group of nationalist German students appeared to protest and demand that the performance be cancelled. When he refused, the protestors organized a demonstration that interrupted the performance. The Czech police had to reconvene. He was primary witness in a trial that sentenced the German students for "rioting against the state, its origins, against its independence, constitutional unity and its democratic-republican form." After serving their short sentence, they returned in 1931 as "fully fledged Nazis." His contract was not renewed in 1933 when Hitler came to power.[11]

The May Day holiday in 1938 brought these issues to a head. The SdP hosted their own huge celebration, making May Day a German nationalist event. At the same time, the Czechs also claimed the holiday as a national celebration. Others called for unity. Some 40,000 German Democrats and Czechs met in the market in Brno to hear the mayor and a Legionnaire representative defend the Czechoslovak state, with similar smaller gatherings in cities around the Bohemian countryside. The SdP (now under Nazi leadership) held the Schiller Festival in 1938 in an attempt to assert and remind Czechs of a "longstanding history of [German] cultural superiority." As the efforts of Sudeten Germans to assert their national autonomy escalated, the rhetoric became increasingly violent and racist, accusing Czechs of being colonists in a manner reminiscent of Czech complaints during the Habsburg era. The Germans felt "liberated of the Czech yoke" by the Munich Conference, which would dissolve the Czechoslovak republic in 1938.[12]


**Figure 3.1**. Hitler Devours Czechoslovakia. A political cartoon showing Britain and France feeding Czechoslovakia to Hitler, who is depicted as an angry wolf. (From Europa-Universalis online).

*The Legacy of Munich*

The Munich Conference dictated the modern history of the Czech nation. President T.G. Masaryk died one year earlier, leaving successor Edvard Beneš in his place. When the French and British representatives Éduard Daladier and Neville Chamberlain met in the absence of a Czech representative with Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini in Munich on September 30, 1938, they allowed the annexation of the Sudetenland. Czechoslovakia was dealt a devastating blow. The country felt complete abandonment by their Western allies, because they had been abandoned despite being the only remaining democracy of the countries created out of the Treaty of Versailles. The absence of Czech representatives at the conference meant the Czechs were

powerless to affect their own fate. Václav Lorenc, an editorialist, argued that Munich was the attempt to make an anti-Russian wall out of Germany, leaving Czechoslovakia with the only option but to conclude that they should be aligned with Slavic Russia rather than the West. Many Czech intellectuals saw Munich as a clear moral failing and a crisis of Western European culture, a "weakness towards Fascism and betrayal of the ideals of democracy." [13]

The puppet president Emil Hácha, left in charge after Beneš's exile, was summoned to Berlin on midnight of March 14, 1939. Hitler subsequently informed him that at 6 am that morning the German army would march into Czechoslovakia and take possession peacefully, allowing a degree of autonomy and national freedom, as long as there was no major resistance. Resistance would incur "massive destruction." Feeling as if he had no choice, Hácha submitted, and the Czechoslovak people found themselves under German domination once more.[14]

# CHAPTER 4
# WORLD WAR II: SUBSURFACE RESISTANCE AND EXPLOSIVE ACTION PARALLELING BOHUMIL HRABAL'S *CLOSELY WATCHED TRAINS*

"A profound silence fell over the whole city. People turned away, and from that moment they walked more slowly, like somnabulists, as if they no longer knew where they were going," Vera, a character in W.G. Sebald's *Austerlitz*, says, describing the reaction of the Czech people to Nazi takeover.[1] Maria Dowling calls this phenomenon the Czech "struggle for national survival in the face of apathy." After the "betrayal of Munich," the Slovak Diet's declaration of independence at Hitler's approval and suggestion left the Czech people truly alone in the task of keeping their heritage alive. As of May of 1939, the Bohemian lands were once again under the claim of a German legacy.[2]

Beneš and other leading politicians of the First Republic fled and were forced to appeal to the international powers for legitimacy in the hope that their country would be restored at the close of the war. Edvard Beneš managed to remain active as the leader of Czechoslovak action abroad. Beneš kept close contact with the British government, who appointed Robert Lockhart as an official liaison to Beneš group and invited Jan Masaryk, son of the former president, to make Czech broadcasts on the BBC. Masaryk and Beneš aimed throughout the war to lay historical claim to the Bohemian lands, argue for the legal continuation of the First Republic, emphasize the Czechoslovak contribution to the war effort, and to portray Czechoslovakia as a bridge between the East and West. In the aftermath of Munich, they attempted to keep the foreign Western powers from reaching the conclusion that the first Czechoslovak Republic was an "ill-conceived failure." The Czech propaganda aimed to find both Munich and Beneš resignation

illegal, as the former was committed without the presence of a Czechoslovak representative, and the latter under pressure of Nazi invasion. In regards to the Czech contribution to the war effort, however, the émigré leaders could only provide intelligence information. They were forced to rely on the population at home to keep national consciousness alive.[3]

*The Return of the Dominant "Other" and a "Policy of Pinpricks"*

Intellectuals in the post-war era chided the Czech population for little overt action, feeling that they largely kept the national character alive on their own. Marxist philosophers such as Arnošt Kolman described the period of Nazi Occupation as "six years of slavery" that "kept the nation from giving itself over to open struggle," referencing the general lack of overt or outspoken resistance. Although the Communist rhetoric implied that the "passive waiting" of the Czech population allowed them to "preserve their national strength," non-communist philosophers complained that the Czech national character had suffered from a "Protectorate mentality" from years of "lack of freedom of thought and action." Ferdinand Peroutka went so far as to say that "it is very disturbing that German tyranny cultivated chicken-heartedness in the souls of many of our people, instead of pugnacity and opposition to dictatorship."[4] The idea of "passive resistance" was not something new to Czech history, "feigning obedience and playing dumb" was a tactic made famous by the soldier Švejk in the First World War.[5]

For the World War II period, Bohumil Hrabal's comically unexpected hero Miloš Hrma represents the spirit of Czech nationalism in the absence of the soldier Švejk. Robert Porter argues "to see the work [*Closely Watched Trains*] primarily as the story of a young patriot's stand against the Nazis would be to render the author a disservice."[6] It is true to see the whole

novel as a stand against Nazi occupation would be a simplistic reading, if only for the fact that Miloš Hrma, the main character, is simply *not* a young patriot. Nonetheless, his progression towards one explosive patriotic act at the end of the novel is filled with the absurdity of mundane reality in an occupied country and aptly mirrors much of the Czech resistance movement of the time.

The novel opens, informing the reader that it is already late in the war, 1945. This mention of the year is the only contextual reference to the time period. Miloš explains that the presence of dive-bombers had made it almost impossible for the trains to run on time. As a trainee to a train dispatcher, this "disrupting [of] communications" seems to be the most profound way in which Miloš is affected by the war and the Nazi presence. Miloš is disinterested in the minor acts of defiance that other Czechs commit, such as the plundering of parts from the fuselage of a fallen German plane. His family background, represented and regarded by the villagers as malingerers, prepares him for an unpatriotic and indifferent approach to the Nazi occupation. His hypnotist grandfather, who attempted to mentally convince the German tanks to turn back to Germany and was subsequently run over by a tank during the invasion, is the exception.[7]

He notices acts of nationalistic resistance, describing trains riddled with bullets of automatic rifles by partisans, but he refrains from partisan action. He is mainly concerned with his girlfriend Masha, so much so that he attempts suicide over his inability to sexually "be a man" with her. "Being a man" for Masha obsesses him in this half of the book. His concerns and his life are dictated not by political or nationalistic feeling, but by normal teenage angst. He idolizes Dispatcher Hubička, a womanizer who seduces women in the workplace, and challenges the establishment by using the symbols of authority and state, "tearing the station-master's

couch" or "bowling Virginia over, and then turned up her skirt and printed all our station stamps, one after another, all over our telegraphist's backside," to fulfill his sexual adventures [8] Miloš clearly admires Dispatcher Hubička for what the young narrator assumes to be his adeptness at "being a man." Appropriately Hubička means "little kiss" in Czech and Sváta, Virginia's surname, means "holy" or "sacred." Her original name, Zdena, is changed to Virginia in the English version in an attempt to recreate that effect.[9] This is Hrabal's version of the comic irony that characterizes Czech resistance literature.

Although the novel takes place in only a few days in 1945, many of the trends of the novel mirror the movement of the Czech people throughout the occupation. In the initial years the occupation the Nazi party named Konstantin von Neurath, a diplomat, the first *Reichsprotektor* of Czechoslovakia. Josef Goebbels described him as a "soft peddler," and without the "strong hand needed to maintain order there." With Neurath in power, Prague residents asserted their national identity by keeping the blue, red, and white Czechoslovak flag on their houses and leaving flowers on memorials of national heroes, such as the romantic poet Karel Mácha and the unknown soldier. Thirty to forty thousand Czechs gathered in Prague for a demonstration at the statue of Jan Hus, a figure both serving as proof of the historical claim to national identity and as a national hero. [10]

On October 28, 1939, in one of three major culminating acts of collective resistance during World War II, residents of Prague took to the streets in a symbolic stand. In the early hours of the morning, action began with a gathering largely composed of students, who wore ribbons of Czech colors or riding caps (which President Masaryk had often worn) on Wenceslas Square. Later, demonstrators began singing and chanting the slogans "We want freedom! Long live Beneš!" indicating their faith in the First Czechoslovak republic. The demonstration

expanded as the day went on and emboldened demonstrators demanded the release of prisoners at one Gestapo building and attacked the Hotel Palace across from another Gestapo station. The Czech police looked the other way. Under pressure of the government Czech police joined German police in shooting into the crowd and arresting four hundred people. One workingman was instantly killed by a bullet in his heart and Jan Opletal, a medical student, was one of fifteen demonstrators who were wounded and brought to a hospital at the end of the day. [11]

On November 11, Opletal died in the hospital. Four days later, on November 15, more than three thousand students attended Opletal's funeral and followed his coffin to the hearse. Encouraged by the chanting the national hymn, over 500 students marched to Charles Square to demonstrate for "Czechoslovakia" and "Freedom."[12] Karl Hermann Frank, the SS Senior Group Leader and General of Police in Prague, was ready for an excuse to enforce the Nazi brand of discipline on the Czech population. He punished the intellectual community by executing nine student leaders, sending 1,200 to concentration camps, and closing all Czech institutions of higher education for the next three years.[13] Unable to continue higher education, this action forced many students, such as the author Bohumil Hrabal himself (and his character Miloš Hrma), to take industrial working class jobs.[14]

**Figure 4.1.** The Funeral of Jan Opletal. The procession commemorating the death of Jan Opletal in 1939. (From Radio Prague online archives, feature "Commemorating Jan Opletal, whose murder triggered off traditional November 17 student marches").

Symbolic minor acts, or a "policy of pinpricks," gave Czechs a continuing outlet for expressing their national identity.[15] Czechs dressed in national colors for Mass, festivals, and funerals and sported Russian styles in clothing. Perhaps the most successful mechanism by which Czechs mocked their Nazi leaders was created by Nazi propaganda itself. Goebbels attempted to prevent the "V" symbol brought to fame by Winston Churchill from appearing subversively in public spaces and underground literature by adopting the "V" symbol. Claiming the symbol referred to the German goddess Viktoria, Goebbels brought "V's" to public spaces all over the Protectorate. Czechs capitalized on the poorly planned commandeering of the Allied symbol by creating whole sentences playing on the letter "V," such as "Věřit ve vítězství velkého udce je velká volovina," or "To believe in the victory of the great Führer is absolute rubbish." Graffiti artists often also scrawled the letters "en" to the Nazi "V" to create the Czech word *ven* (get out). [16]

Within the historical context, the stamping incident (and for that matter the seducing of the woman on the Station Master's couch) acts as a wry, comical example of Dispatcher Hubička's application of the "policy of pinpricks." Councillor Zednicek, the prosecutor who has come to the station intending to punish Dispatcher Hubička for what he assumes is the exploitation of the telegraphist Virginia Svatá with the station stamps, is a collaborator in the novel. "By excising the Czech accents from his names" Zednicek was able to appeal for a position of authority, and has ardently adopted blind faith in Germany, insisting that the German

army would draw their nooses tightly over the enemy in 1945. Unable to charge Hubička with a criminal act (Virginia insists that the stamping was completely voluntary), he sputters that the incident is an insulting "debasement of German, the state language!" because the stamps were printed in German.[17] Dispatcher Hubička is not meant to be read as merely a carefree womanizer, because he is also a picaresque Czech nationalist in a similar tradition Švejk.

During World War II, the issues of language and "otherness" continued to be a major area of national contestation. In Brno, Czechs boycotted the public transit system for instituting German language service in the streetcars. With the "soft" Neurath at the head of the protectorate in Czechoslovakia, "Czech patriots continued to play out old battles within a new context." The gymnastic organization *Sokol* flourished in its role as a carrier of nationalist identity and strength, encouraging Czechs to take initiative by purchasing only Czech products and to boycott those with "Made in Germany" printed on the labels. The population asserted their identity as Czechs by affronting the German "other." Shop owners refusing to sell to Germans or providing especially slow service to Germans are some examples of anti-German discrimination in this period.[18] Peter Demetz remembers Czech girls dressed in *Svéráz* ("Our Own Way," or folkloric Slavic style) in "symbolic opposition to the German dirndls." He goes further, to explain that "a Czech girl would not be caught dead dating a German."[19] To be a faithful Czech, the line that marked the "other" had to be drawn distinctly.

To say that Miloš himself is totally unaffected and unaware of the presence of the "other" under the Nazi regime would be false. By all appearances, he seems indifferent, but when two S.S. men arrive at the train station platform with pistols to oversee the arrival of a close-surveillance transport, he remarks

> "certainly I was to blame, so it was only justice that these S.S. men had forced me aboard the engine, and were all the time waiting and wanting to be allowed to place the muzzles of their pistols to the nape of my neck, give the signal, press the trigger and dispatch the bullets into me, and then open the little door…"[20]

revealing that if only in the most subliminal sense, he feels irony and frustration at the Nazi presence in the Czech lands. His last remark refers to the corpses of dead livestock that the S.S. officers "simply open the doors and throw [them] out." The narrator looks with heartache at the "great, cows' eyes, full of curiosity and grief…from a hole protruded a cow's foot, bruised, unmoving, turning blue…I couldn't bear it!" Only the sight of mistreated animals, "pigs with frozen feet…gaping with thirst, like birds dying of drought" on their way from the front to the slaughter houses, causes him to finally cry out against injustice, "Those Germans are swine!"[21] While it might seem that Miloš cares more about injustices committed on livestock rather than people, the comment by Councillor Zednicek "Czechs! You know what they are? Grinning beasts!" suggests Miloš is transferring the Nazi perception of non-Germans as animals to the mistreatment he sees among his countrymen.[22]

In 1937 Hitler announced that in search of *Lebensraum*, or "living space," he intended to absorb both Austria and the Bohemian lands into the Reich, vaguely alluding to the extermination or total expulsion of the Czech population. Alfred Rosenberg was among the Nazi consultants who insisted that for demographic purposes the Czechs and the Poles would need to be pushed eastward to make room for German peasant productivity. Frank and other German officials claimed it logistically impossible to find space for seven million people to settle and insisted that the Reich would suffer from the lack of "human capital" the expulsion would have created. The Nazis settled on a "Germanization" policy in the Bohemian Protectorate, in which

all “racially suitable foreigners” would be assimilated, while the “un-Germanizable” would be “weeded out.” Due to the history of intermixture with German blood, the Nazis reasoned that the Czech blood “was some of the best in the Slavic area.”[23] “Mongoloid types,” the Czech intelligentsia, and of course the Jews were considered in the category of “un-Germanizable.”[24]

Unfortunately for the many Jews and political refugees from Germany who had come to Czechoslovakia in search of asylum, this also meant that the Protectorate was to become part of the German “Final Solution.” The town of Terezín, which is the home of the Small Fortress was established as a prison under the Habsburg dynasty, became a concentration camp during the Protectorate years and the rule of *Reichsprotektor* Reinhard Heydrich. The camp at Terezín was used to create propaganda films that attempted to trick international powers into believing that the Jewish residents were treated humanely by depicting soccer games and theater. A Red Cross inspection even approved the camp at Terezín based upon the propaganda of the Nazis. Although Terezin was not an extermination camp, many of the residents there were only held there until they could be moved to Auschwitz-Birkenau. As a work camp, approximately 33,000 died there due to malnutrition or disease, or other cruelties. The Czech population would not escape the affliction of the “other” during World War II. The predominating Nazi ideological perception considered Slavic and Jewish people as racially inferior and subhuman. Miloš experiences empathy for the tortured animals, realizing that under the Nazi ideology he too is subject to the injustice of the Nazis.[25]

**Figure 4.2.** Memorial at Terezin. Author's photograph showing the memorial and graveyard dedicated to those murdered during World War II at Terezín.

*The Reign of Reinhard Heydrich Requires Assistance from Abroad*

After Neurath refused to institute the "draconian measures" that Frank and the Gestapo thought necessary to suppress opposition in the Protectorate, Frank protested to Himmler and Hitler. Neurath was soon replaced by a new *Reichsprotektor*, and the brutal Reinhard Heydrich was given control over the fate of the Czech people.[26] Heydrich had been an especially cruel and brutal member of the SS ranks and was instrumental in the development of the 'Final Solution' at the Wannsee Conference as a firm believer in the Judeo-Bolshevik racist ideology of Nazism. He dreamed of transforming the Czech lands into an SS totalitarian state. [27] The Czech people were not enthusiastic for his arrival, and he was received by "no Czech policeman, no Czech at all."[28] He began with sixteen weeks of martial law, which included 486 death sentences and 2,242 individuals deported to concentration camps. A mastermind at terror, Heydrich carefully orchestrated his executions for maximum shock effect, shooting six on the first day, then twenty, then fifty-eight, with slight decline following that.[29] His reign of terror had been established.

The assassination of Reinhard Heydrich was planned from the outside by the émigré networks. It is still unclear whether or not Benes officially approved and orchestrated the plan, although it is fairly certain that he had a role in encouraging some kind of action. The final plan that emerged, code named "Anthropoid," involved the dropping of the parachutists Jozef Gabčik and Jan Kubiš east of Prague. The two assassins moved to Prague and remained there for five months before the planned assassination. The plan was a disaster. First, Heydrich did not to appear at the expected time, and when he finally did appear Gabčik's gun failed to fire. Fortunately for the two, Heydrich stopped the car and aimed to shoot Gabčik, thinking there was only one assassin, giving Kubiš the time to throw a bomb. Kubiš misjudged his throw and hit the back wheel, instead of Heydrich himself. Heydrich jumped out of the car to chase after Gabčik, but doubled over in pain when he caught him. Heydrich was taken to the hospital where he was operated on. It seemed as if the assassination was a complete failure, when suddenly eight days later Heydrich died in the hospital officially of "wound infection."[30]

Even before Heydrich's death, Hitler had begun on a rampage of reprisals. Unable to find the assassins, he gave the order for 10,000 people to kidnapped and the 100 most influential were shot.[31] The assassination had rid the Protectorate of one butcher, but the Nazi party was full of replacements. Buildings were randomly searched, and everyone over the age of fifteen was required to register with the police within three days of the attempt. Those who failed to do so were shot. Since Kubiš had been wounded by the bomb he threw, all 7000 doctors in the Protectorate had to sign written statements saying they had not treated him. Citizens were shot for expressing approval of the attack. After the funeral three transports of 1000 Jews were sent to extermination camps, two of which came from Terezin. Only one of the 3000 survived.[32]

Hitler was unable to find the assassins, hidden by a network of safe houses. Sergeant Karel Čurda, however, of "Out Distance" (the group that landed with and aided the assassination group Anthropoid), willingly approached the Gestapo headquarters and claimed to know the location of the two patriots. The Gestapo beat him, and eventually, even though he did not actually know the location of the parachutists, he gave the name "Moravec," the name of a family who was central to the JINDRA safe house group. When the Gestapo came to search the flat, Ms. Moravec excused herself to the bathroom and swallowed a cyanide capsule. Ata Moravec, her son, was then tortured at Gestapo headquarters, then forced to drink alcohol, and finally shown his mother's decapitated head floating in a fish tank. At this point he broke down and that his mother had mentioned the Karel Boromejsky church. 700 Waffen SS from the Prague garrison were used in the attack on the church. In a massive shoot-out, the assassins were eventually captured with other parachutists, some having committed suicide. Reprisal for the attack on Heydrich was officially completed.[33]

*Culminating Action: Milo and the People React to the Protectorate*

*Closely Watched Trains* has its own culmination of explosive action. Shortly after Zednicek's inquisition Hubička reveals to Miloš that he plans to blow up a Nazi goods train full of ammunition that is passing through the station the next night. Miloš actually laughs, clearly not grasping the gravity of the patriotic attempt at sabotage that the two of them are about to undertake.[34] As the time nears the arrival of the goods train, Dispatcher Hubička becomes more tense and anxious, while a recent confession of love by Masha has Miloš staring into the night sky thinking again about manhood, imagining that "across the whole of the sky I laid Masha

down, just as Hubicka had laid Virginia on the telegraph table…but I still didn't know what to do next." Then he sees Mr. Hubicka step onto the platform and look up into the sky, and he suddenly realizes that "it wasn't Virginia who was spread out there now…no, what was silently approaching there was a goods train with twenty-eight wagons, which would suddenly vanish to give place to a gigantic cloud," making the connection from Hubicka's workplace philandering to minor acts of resistance. Despite the fact that Miloš realizes his sexual hero has other nationalistic aims, he still does not embrace the spirit of resistance.

Moments later, a German woman code-named Viktorie Freie (her first name meaning "victory" in Czech and last name meaning "free" in German) comes to the station to bring Hubička the explosive charge for the Nazi goods train. Suddenly, Miloš confesses his sexual problems to her and finally "becomes a man" to Viktoria Freie, and just like Hubička, he imagines that together they "tore the oilcloth couch." At this point the ironic intentions of the author is almost overwhelming. They remark upon an air raid that climaxes in the same moment as the protagonist, and they muse that it must be the fire bombing of Dresden. Just as quickly as she arrived, she leaves. [35] Although it may seem unrelated to any kind of anti-Nazi pro-Czech stand that Miloš might make, Virginia "conquers the hero's sexual ineptitude and instrumental in destroying the train." Sexual (mis)adventure and action are inextricably linked in the story.[36]

Miloš emerges from his experience with Viktorie Freie "never having been so calm," while Dispatcher Hubička is a mess of nerves. Dispatcher Hubička paces, but Miloš is "concentrated all on this one consideration, that I should drop that thing from the signal precisely into the one wagon which would ensure that the whole train should be blown into the air; there was nothing else I wished for, nor could I see anything else in the sky, except that ever-mounting cloud." The hero has undergone a profound change, realizing "I ought to have been thinking on

these lines long ago." He thinks of his Grandfather willing tanks and soldiers back to Germany, and realizes that "he has the opportunity of achieving something great." He pitilessly looks upon a group of refugees from the Dresden bombing. Absurdly, the loss of his virginity has somehow given him the desire to commit a major nationalist act. When the train comes, he fearlessly tosses the receiver into the fourteenth car, right in the middle of the twenty-eight car goods train. As he watches the train pass by, the rifle-barrel of a German soldier's gun catches his eye. Drawing a pistol that Hubička gave him, he and the German soldier shoot each other, both falling off of their respective platforms into the snow. The German soldier calls "Mutti, Mutti," which Miloš at first believes refers to the soldier's mother, and then the mother of his children. Although the reader might think that Miloš is beginning to take pity on this soldier, Miloš shoots the soldier again in his heart, and then in his eye to stop the soldier's feet from clawing in the snow. The novel closes with Miloš seeing the train explode in the "mushroom cloud in the sky" that he had been hoping for. His harsh final deathbed words to the dead soldier are "You should have sat at home on your arse…"[37]

To the international scene, the "Prague Uprising" seemed just as sudden as Miloš transformation to a nationalistic hero. While Miloš needed the reassurance by Viktoria Freie that he "would not wilt" when confronted with the challenge, the Czech people needed the comfort of the presence of the Soviet Army, which was in Brno by April 26th. In the winter of 1945 the fragile Česká národní rada (Czech National Council- ČNR) emerged as the guiding political group for the uprising. Although the May 5-9, 1945 uprising had "been expected and prepared for by many military and political groups as well as Prague citizens," the movement was not unified. The ČNR was originally more leftist than the leaders in exile, and were surprised to hear that Beneš government was insisting that the democratic system be restored. Nonetheless, the

uprising started on May 4th with the efforts of post-office and railway employees, who removed German language signs and refused to accept German coins. Czechoslovak flags went up all over town. At the radio station, where announcers had begun speaking solely in Czech, an SS group arrived and the Czech protectorate police command arrived, and fighting erupted. A message announcing that the Czech people were fighting and dying in resistance to the Nazi regime was broadcast to the public.

**Figure 4.3.** Protestors at Radio Prague. A crowd gathering around the Czech radio building, where fighting began. (From the Radio Prague online archives, feature "Heroes or Cowards? The Czechs During WWII")

Despite the presence of over 8,000 German soldiers and 4,000 members of the SS, the Czechs held their ground. On May 6, radio broadcasts begged U.S. and British aircraft to bomb the road on which SS reinforcements had begun to move toward the city. Although their plea was made in vain, the Russian troops under General A.A. Vlasov, who had called themselves the Russian Liberation army, stopped collaborating with the German army (they had been since 1943) and switched sides. Although they were mistrusted, Vlasov's soldiers fought bravely with the Czechs in the streets. Only four days later, on May 8, the ČNR was able to achieve the unconditional surrender of all the German forces through negotiations. [38]

The spontaneous nature of an uprising not dictated by "party operatives" speaks to Miloš's own manner of embracing his cause, by the personal assertion that the time was ripe for movement. While the Czechs may have initially wondered why the Americans had not come to their aid, this was soon forgotten in the "overwhelming" reception that Prague citizens gave to the Soviet soldiers, foreshadowing the growth of a Pan-Slavic identity bolstered by the apparent absence of interest by the Western powers. [39]The citizens of Czechoslovakia, however, would soon learn that they were merely trading one repressive regime for another.

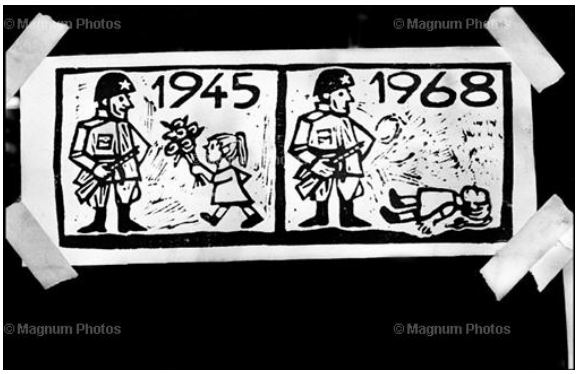


**Figure 4.4.** Soviet Liberation: From Flowers to Invasion. A cartoon illustrating both the reception that the Czech people gave the Soviet soldiers, greeted with flowers, hugs, and flags in 1945, and how the environment under Soviet occupation would change in the next twenty years. (Photo from Josef Kouldeka's *Invasion 68*)

# CHAPTER 5
# UNDER THE SOVIET UNION: THE TRADE FROM ONE TOTALITARIAN POWER TO ANOTHER CREATES *TOO LOUD A SOLITUDE*

The recently liberated Czech population began the postwar years by expelling the German minorities that were left in the Bohemian land. The "confiscation of ex-enemy property became by itself an act of nationalization," as 11,500 square miles of property were seized and transferred to the state.[1] Tragically, what Jews remained alive in Czechoslovakia were expelled "as Germans," even though the Holocaust should have indicated that the Jewish people were clearly not considered a part of the German population either. They were allowed to remain if they took a Czechoslovak identity that included the abandonment of their religion.[2] When one Sudeten German family, a friend of author Peter Demetz, received their expulsion order, the father killed his wife, paralyzed by muscular dystrophy, and burned his house down with himself in it.[3] As this example indicates, the atmosphere in the immediate post-war environment was charged, and the crisis was sometimes even a matter of life and death. The war years had only exacerbated an already long-standing history of Czech hatred of Germans. The Soviet Union, unlike the Western powers, stood in full support of the Czechoslovak anti-German expulsion policies.[4]

Not only that, but the betrayal at Munich and the lack of Western aid or appearance during the Prague Uprising contrasted sharply with the Soviet image as the friendly liberators. Wartime events caused Czech patriots to view Western societies with disdain and no longer awarded them the reverence of the pre-war years. Beneš was eager to establish a "third way" between the methods of the divergent Western and Soviet powers.[5] Although intellectuals

envisaged the reconstruction of Czechoslovakia as a socialist state, the Communist movement in Czechoslovakia was gaining strength. The Communist party was not outlawed in Czechoslovakia as it had been in the states that had turned to rightist dictatorial leadership in the interwar period. Despite being increasingly persecuted by the Nazis during the war years, Communists often led partisan and resistance movements against the right-wing invaders, and therefore wielded a strong role in the underground community.[6]

"A new national character was being fashioned," and no one group was more successful at transforming their rhetoric to fit with the Czech past and present than the Communist party. The Czech Communists adeptly set about "reinventing their party, refashioning it as a patriotic party," claiming that "patriotism and internationalism are merely two sides of the same coin." They stressed recent history, including their overt presence in wartime underground resistance, capitalizing on anti-German sentiment in the process. Finally, the Communists went so far as to reinterpret the Czech national symbols, claiming the martyr Jan Hus as their own and labeling his struggle as a "confrontation of German imperialism." They also implied that the Hussite struggle had been repeated in the "struggle of the Czech Communists with Nazism." [7] Notably, the diction stresses the Czech Communists' struggle with Nazism, and not the Czech people. They also incorporated the Battle of Zborov as a part of the long-standing history of "unjust anti-Soviet intervention by the 'imperialist' allies," and placed special attention on the brotherhood established there with the Russians.[8]

Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, and President Beneš attempted to bridge the gap between the West and the East, but continued to support the Soviet Union in international meetings. Soviet positions became increasingly hostile to British and American interests, and finally Stalin insisted that Czechoslovak participation in the Marshall Plan would be considered a hostile act to

the Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance. Increasingly unable to balance this external position, they also were unable to cope with the growing strength of the Communist party. With a Communist in the position of Minister of the Interior, Communist unions were able to block opponents from printing news, controlled the radio, and the police, who banned non-communist demonstrations. On February 20th, 1948, twelve ministers of non-communist parties resigned in exchange for the return of non-Communist police commanders to Prague. Five days later, Beneš, seriously ill and fearing the civil war that might invoke Stalin's intervention, resigned in the face of a Communist majority.[9]

*Communist Victory in Czechoslovakia*

Klement Gottwald, the head of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ-Komunistická Strana Československa), proclaimed "the defeat of reaction and the victory of the working people" to the backdrop of Jan Masaryk's suicide and Beneš's death in September. The connections to the First Republic seemed to be lost to history. The Czechoslovakia that had hoped to be a bridge between the two superpowers was lost to the Soviet Bloc under the rule of Gottwald and ultimately Stalin. Within the month there were pro-Communist marches and rallies daily, amassing crowds as large as 250,000.[10] By largely appealing to the large peasant and growing working class community (the former by supporting land reforms and not mentioning collectivization), the outcome of Munich and the war years, and the adept way in which Communists maneuvered their rhetoric to appeal to Czech nationalist appeal, the Communists won the initial support of the people.[11]

The Czechoslovak Communist leaders, Gottwald, Vladimír Clementis, Antonín Zápotocký and Rudólf Slánský were "slavish followers of Stalin."[12] This meant that Czechoslovakians were forced under Stalinism, and would soon be victims of suspicious mistrust and a devastatingly complete level of repression. The bourgeoisie and the churches came under the scrutiny of the Communist leaders, and by October 1949 Action B ('class warfare') was instituted. Within six weeks about 10,000 people had been arbitrarily arrested and sent to labor camps. Leaders of other political groups, such as woman's rights activist and leader of the National Socialist Party Milada Horakova, were executed in show trials. The leaders of the KSČ were not safe either. The KSČ also followed Stalin's example by conducting purges and show trials of leading party members throughout the 40's and 50's. Clementis and Slánsky were hanged in 1952 after being accused of planning a "Trotskyite-Titoite-Zionist Conspiracy."[13] Even though Gottwald had promised the farmers that there would be no collectivization, he followed the Soviet example and collectivized in 1949. In 1949 the KSČ also adopted the first Five-Year Plan.[14] Betraying any claims of patriotism, they banned the longstanding symbolic organization of Czech identity, the Sokol.[15] The KSČ faithfully followed in the footsteps of Stalinism.

**Figure 5.1.** Stalin and Gottwald: Together in Life and Death. Painting in the archives of Radio Prague depicting Gottwald and Stalin together. Gottwald closely followed Stalin's example in life and in death, dying only 9 days after the latter.

*"Too Loud a Solitude:" The Life of Silence in Stalinist Czechoslovakia*

Although Stalinism assumed that everywhere intellectuals were a threat, in Czech society the intellectual had always maintained a high degree of importance in the public sphere. A country of professorial founding fathers (Masaryk had been a professor, and Benes a professor and a lawyer), Czech author Antonín Liehm pointed out that with the absence of a national aristocracy after White Mountain, the modern political consciousness emerged as an attempt to revive national language and culture. Writers, linguists, and scholars took over this function, and "assumed the role of the aristocracy" as "the spiritual elite of a subjugated nation."[16] The intellectual replaced the enemy bourgeoisie in the terms of the Communist rhetoric in Czechoslovakia. Ideas and intellectualism "that did not conform" were considered a threat to the Communist Party and were silenced. This often occurred through the destruction of books, including 27 million destroyed in the years between 1948 and 1958. [17] As the presidency passed

first to Zapotocky and then Antonín Novotný, the Czech people began life in what has been called by some "the gray" or "dull" years, and called by Hrabal years of "too loud a solitude."

Bohumil Hrabal's 1976 *Too Loud a Solitude* is a window into the repressed world of the Czech citizen and intellectual through the eyes of the narrator Hanta. Published first through self (*samizdat)* publication, the book itself was not published officially until after the Velvet Revolution that overthrew the Communist government in 1989. *Too Loud a Solitude* opens with Hanta, the first person narrator of the story, telling the reader exactly who he is, and how long he's been that way: "For thirty-five years now I've been in wastepaper, and it's my love story. For thirty-five years I've been compacting wastepaper and books." He is a paradox in and of himself, speaking of the beauty of ideas and the fruitlessness of burning and crushing books, and yet part of the mechanism by which the "inquisitor" succeeds in his task. He compares his brain to his hydraulic press, "a mass of hydraulically compacted thoughts," but realizes that he is "nothing but a refined butcher." He is resigned to his existence as a destroyer of rare and valuable books, helpless and "unable to stop their flow," and survives by drinking beer, "so much beer over the past thirty-five years that it could fill an Olympic pool." Still, Hanta manages to create his own creative masterworks amidst the destruction of the intellect. He not only saves rare books, but also "frames each of my bales with reproductions" from the fifteen hundred pounds of "Old Masters" reproductions delivered the month before. "Both artist and audience," he creates his own masterpiece out of the bales by "burying a precious relic" in each one.[18]

Hanta seems quietly resigned to his fate during his narrative. He is not hopeless, mentally saving and collecting the works he receives in the privileged position as a paper crusher, finding joy in his creations, and rescuing certain valuable works. In the fashion of an underground network, passes information off to former philosophy and biology professors, ever grateful for

his gifts.[19] Yet, there is no open fight, there is no overt action, and there is no culminating moment in Hanta's story that compares with *Closely Watched Trains*. Why is that? Understanding the Czech experience during the Communist years is essential to contextualizing Hanta's resignation.

The "continuing dysfunction of the Czechoslovak economy" was a considerable factor in the crisis that developed into the late 60's.[20] As a part of the Soviet Bloc in the politically charged era of the Cold War, an emphasis on heavy industry dictated the Czechoslovak economy, leaving sectors of the economy such as consumer goods and services without resources or manpower. Already on their Third Five-Year Plan and well on their way to full centralization, the Czech population suffered from "chronic economic difficulties" due to the failure of past economic reforms. Although the economic crisis played a large part, the Prague Spring did not arise from economic motivations alone. A new generation of youth, raised during postwar Communism, began to experience contradictions in party slogans and actions, while Kruschev's emphasis on "de-Stalinization" policies left the obvious feeling of insecurity in the past adulation of Stalin.[21] The condition of Czechoslovakia was bleak, and film director Pavel Jurácek, who went to the West for the first time in 1964, remarked that he

> "understood that the country was slowly but surely dying, that its history was moving continuously backwards. In West Germany, I was astonished the things they took for granted astonished me…the trains ran on time, the cleanliness, the coin-operated dispensers that worked, the motorways without potholes, the houses whose plaster was not falling off, the sinks with working taps, the newspapers…"[22]

Monuments to Stalin were even removed in the 60's. Finally, continuing purges weakened the KSČ, and internal struggle in the party led to the election of Alexander Dubček as a successor to Novotný in January of 1968.[23]

Alexander Dubček's election signified the beginning of Czechoslovakia's "Prague Spring." In March of 1968, when Dubček revoked the control of broadcast media from the Main Administration of Press Supervision and returned control of content to editors-in-chief. By April, he had enacted the "Action Program," calling for the acceptance of debate, freedom of speech, freedom of movement abroad, and legal guarantees of the personal rights and property of citizens. To add to these radical new suggestions, it called for the "full rehabilitation of victims of 'legal transgressions in previous years.'" Economically it liberalized foreign trade and reduced the role of state planning. In the end of June, Ludvík Vaculík published a manifesto, "Two Thousand Words that Belong to Workers, Farmers, Officials, Scientists, Artists, and Everybody," that was signed by seventy prominent writers, intellectuals, athletes, scientists, and ordinary citizens, criticized the Communist Party for the condition of Czechoslovakia, and finally called for action by the people. Even Dubček was shocked by the manifesto, officially condemning it. However, it was likely too late, as the manifesto triggered the Warsaw Pact meeting of July 1968 and the subsequent Soviet invasion that August.[24]

*Normalization and the Return to Solitude*

The Warsaw Pact allies met in July without Czechoslovakia, and the result was "Operation Danube," the invasion of Czechoslovakia by military units of East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and the USSR on the night of August 20. The Warsaw Pact invasion of

Czechoslovakia was the largest military operation in Europe since World War II, amassing half a million soldiers, over 6,000 tanks, 800 airplanes and some 2,000 artillery pieces.[25] The Municipal Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party of Prague called to the people of Prague to "remain unswervingly firm in their support of the Dubček leadership," reminding the people of a past dominated by foreign occupation.[26] Meanwhile, the Soviet Press agency, TASS claimed that the "Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have turned to the Soviet Union and other allied states with a request for the provision of immediate assistance…because of the emergent threat to the Socialist system and statehood."[27] It can only be assumed that this "emergent threat" was the liberating reforms of Dubček. Again and again, radio transmissions and government statements called on the people of Prague "not to commit any act of provocation."[28]

Fortunately, the photos of photographer Josef Koudelka miraculously survived the remaining years of Communist rule to be released in 2008 as an essay of the invasion of "Operation Danube." The photos depict distraught, confused, and angry Czechs, proudly waving the Czechoslovak flag in support of the Dubcek leadership and their "independent state."[29] People crowded into the streets and flocked to the Russian tanks in protest. Innocent civilians were shot or run over by the tanks in the crowded streets.[30] Initially using graffiti and words to confront their Soviet invaders, Czechs made use of cyrillic by scrawling "Go home!" "Why?" and other slogans in Russian on walls throughout the city. Later confrontation became more direct. Citizens gathered once again to protect the Czechoslovak Radio building, and built a human wall in an attempt to block the tanks from passing at Wenceslas Square. The St. Wenceslas Monument was covered with defiant posters in Wenceslas Square.[31] Soviet soldiers brutally left fires, debris, and injured and dead civilians scattered in the street.[32]

**Fig. 5.2.** Woman Reacts to the Invasion.

**Fig. 5.3.** Crowds in Wenceslas Square. People surround the tanks in Wenceslas Square.

**Fig. 5.4.** Graffiti. Reads “Go home” in cyrillic and addresses the Russian troops.

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**Fig. 5.5.** “Why?” Poster of the Czechoslovak flag asking “why?”

**Fig. 5.6.** At Radio Prague Again. Defenders at radio building in Prague.

(Figures 5.2 through 5.6 by Josef Koudelka, *Invasion 68*)

Perhaps what is most telling about these photos is the frequent appearance of swastikas in the graffiti art of the Czech protestors. While some painted the swastikas directly onto Warsaw Pact tanks, others drew the swastika within the five-pointed star of Communism, writing either

CCCP (the Russian initials for the USSR) or PLR, MLR, NDR, BLR, and SSSR (Polish People's Republic, Hungarian People's Republic, German Democratic Republic, Bulgarian People's Republic, and the USSR, respectively) above and within the star.[33] Over twenty years after the expulsion of the minority German population, these photographs indicate that the Czech population still considered the repressive element and the threatening "other" in their midst to be a German presence, due to 300 years under the Habsburg Empire and decades of cultural struggle with German control.


**Fig 5.7.** The Warsaw Pact Swastika

**Fig 5.8.** A New Symbol for the Soviet Tanks.

The Communist symbol star with the swastika prominently in the center and the five invading Warsaw Pact nations labeled in the points and the frequent graffiti of the swastika on tanks and other surfaces indicates that the Czechs had not yet forgotten the German enemy. (From Josef Koudelka's *Invasion 68*)

The invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw pact tanks and the subsequent forced removal of Dubček and his cabinet from power signified the onset of "normalization." Normalization stood for the return of the status quo from before the Prague Spring, but to the people of Prague it meant the Soviet Union's removal of any reforms and freedoms that the Prague Spring had stood for. Thousands fled to the west, reminding Czechs bitterly of the

expulsion of the Bohemian aristocracy after the Battle of White Mountain. Once again, the Czechs had not surpassed the collective memory of victimization, and normalization seemed to only affirm the sentiment. The personal sense of martyrdom felt by the Czech people was emphasized by the self-immolation of the student Jan Palach. His stated goals were freedom of press and the ban of Soviet propaganda, but the act was ultimately in protest of Soviet occupation. A funeral procession of hundreds of thousands followed three days later. Only a little more than a month later, on the twenty-first anniversary of the Communist takeover, a second student, Jan Zajíc, set himself on fire on the same spot of Palach. On the whole, however, outright opposition did not exist, explaining the quietly resigned life of Hanta. The only methods of resistance that survived normalization were underground intellectual discussions, often taking place in boiler-houses, locker rooms, or private residences. As such, the intelligentsia was targeted the most out of the population. Fifty-nine percent of the adult population was screened after 1969, one-third of all teachers lost their jobs, forty research institutions were disbanded or merged, and banned writers were assigned jobs as boilermen, coal heavers, and cleaners.[34]

The publication of *Too Loud a Solitude* indicates how important the *samizdat* circuit was to underground expression for intellectuals not just in Czechoslovakia, but all over the Soviet bloc countries. *Samizdat* involved a "distribution net" of journals in connection with activities, concerts, theatre, video, illegal church ceremonies, the works of underground literature and literature in exile. Jiri Holy argues that although the period before 1970 of underground literature is often called *samizdat*, "it is better to reserve this term for the period after 1970," arguing that Stalinism was so repressive that *samizdat* would not have even been possible.[35] There were opposition groups that formed in the late 70's, namely Charter 77, but they were few. Charter 77 succeeded in persisting by taking a moral rather than political stance. It was crucial for the

underground literary movement because it operated exclusively based on spoken and written word, as opposed to with demonstration, petitions, or marches. One member described it as "a small island of civic activity in the sea of the overwhelming majority of people who had adapted to the situation."[36] The opposition during this period consisted in mostly "scattered individuals," who personally met in secret and "accepted surveillance."[37] The theme of the resignation to the conditions of life under normalization is evident in Hanta's narration.

At the point of the publication of this novel, the people of Prague had already experienced their revolution, the Prague Spring, and had it brutally and viciously quashed in the subsequent 1968 invasion. "Normalization" policies then returned the Czech people to the stifling conditions of Stalinism. This explains the bleak resignation of Hanta's story. Hanta's short story contains only a few people and events. The only characters that Hanta really connects with are two gypsy girls, whom he calls "my gypsy girls." He loves them because they are a representation of past freedom, "the love of my youth …like a ballet dancer in one of the positions, the beautiful, long forgotten past."[38] Chapters frequently begin with "for thirty-five years," a reminder of the incredible duration of repressed intellectual thought and activity.

Hanta learns of a new press in Bubny that has the capacity of over twenty of his press, and makes bales of seven or eight hundred pounds. He is terrified of the machine that depersonalizes and strips the art from his work, especially of the uniformed operators with gloves. "It was the gloves that got my goat: I always worked with my bare hands, I loved the feel of the paper in my fingers," he remarks, seeing the complete transformation of his job, which he had managed to complete with care, to a totally faceless mechanism of destruction.[39] Two days later, two "Socialist Labor youngsters" arrive at his workplace to replace him. Hanta's boss tells him that he has been assigned to a new job will be making bales of clean paper.[40] This proves to

be too much for Hanta. In the end of Hrabal's darkly comic story, of Hanta realizes that the new gigantic press will replace his own and thereby replace his world. Hanta climbs down into his press, clutching a book, with his finger on the line "Every beloved object is the center of a garden of paradise," he ends his life by crushing himself in the hydraulic press.[41] Hrabal's 1977 outlook on the affect of Communism on the Czech people is bleak.

Fortunately for the Czech people, in reality the history of the Czech nation did not end in a manner parallel to Hanta's poetic leap into the hydraulic press. In October of 1988, 10,000 students led a demonstration on the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet invasion. Later that month, a more organized movement commemorated the seventieth anniversary of the foundation of the First Republic, but was prevented from reaching the last destination in their march by the authorities.[42] In 1989, however, the Czech cataclysmic moment finally occurred in an officially approved demonstration commemorating Jan Opletal and the Nazi closing of the Czech university systems in 1939.[43] The demonstrations prove that the Czechs still mourned their history of subjugation to German power, even over 40 years after the fall of the Nazi regime. The demonstrators gained strength after they proceeded from the Nárdoní Divadlo down the Nárdoní trída, or National Avenue, amassing as many as 55,000 when they were met by riot police. The police beat the 5,000 demonstrators at the front of the procession. The only exit was through more police units, who continued to beat them. Furious students planned for a general strike on November 27. Demonstrations continued between the 17th and the 27th sporadically, and finally the political atmosphere became so charged that president Gustáv Husák was forced to resign. Alexander Dubček was reinstated as chairman of the Federal Assembly on December 28, 1989, and the Communist years had officially passed through Czechoslovak history.[44]

# CHAPTER 6
# CONCLUSION: THE GREATEST CZECH OF ALL TIME

The Czechoslovakia that emerged out of the Velvet Revolution did not last long. In 1993, only four short years after the Velvet Revolution, the country experienced the "Velvet Divorce." The Velvet Divorce included the splitting of the duality, resulting in the Czech Republic and Slovakia as two separate self-governing countries. Czech nationality and statehood were now finally synonymous.[1] After a century of struggling for an independent identity, the question is, what does the history say about the character of the Czech identity today?

The Czech national movement was founded not out of the desire for independence but basis of hundreds of years of frustration with treatment as second-class citizens under the Habsburg Empire. Their long-standing claim to the Bohemian lands and cities was ignored by Habsburg strength and dominance, and Czech space was covered with reminders of German control: statues, signage, and the official German language. They were constantly reminded that they were the "other" population: non-Germans. It was the outbreak of war that forced Czechs to realize that they did not want to fight for the persistence of German dominance. The quote "When a true genius appears in the world, you may know him by this sign, that the dunces are all in a confederacy against him," by Jonathan Swift cannot help but remind one of "Švejkism" in the First World War.[2] The Czech people waited for the war to render Empire weakened, ineffective and obsolete to "play dumb" by not contributing to the war effort, doing everything form committing wholesale surrender to the enemy or even outright sabotage. Suddenly, the Czechs had the opportunity for an independent country.

With the end of the war in 1918 and the declaration of an independent Czechoslovakia, the Czechs were given the chance to finally form their own identity free of the Habsburg yoke. Unfortunately, the Czechs rose to the challenge by operating with the same mentality that had dictated their Habsburg identity, excising any elements of German culture in a reassertion of their control over the public Bohemian space. Independent Czechoslovakia, despite the honorable intentions of democracy by T.G. Masaryk, managed only to create an identity that continued the contrast between the Czech and the German. With a past memory dictated by "otherness," the Czechs were dealt the devastating blow of Munich.

World War II and the Nazi Protectorate of Czechoslovakia meant the return of German dominance over the Czech people, this time under the cruel reign of the SS. Small minor acts of resistance were present, but on the whole, large resistance movements were suppressed. The reassertion of German language in Czechoslovak space was devastatingly complete. Language became a crucial barrier again, and survival in the face of a German legacy of subservience reemerged. As Miloš does, the Czech people waited for the opportune moment to rise against the Nazi Protectorate in late 1945 and claim the rescue of Prague for themselves. Mirroring the resentment of the Czech people that simmered into action in 1945, Dispatcher Hubička's minor and relatively inconsequential philandering "pinpricks of resistance" accumulate until he takes the initiative to commit a major act of sabotage. At this point Miloš seizes the opportunity to take over the reins and make a dramatic patriotic stand.

Czech freedoms did not last long, despite the removal of the Nazi influence. Perhaps Miloš death after the train bombing symbolically foreshadows of the crushing blow the Czech national identity experienced under Stalinism. Gottwald, as a loyal idolizer of Stalin, followed Stalinization to a "T." The intelligentsia, the Sokol, and other past symbols of cultural expression

of identity were quashed. After twenty years, the Czech people finally asserted that the Communism they had been dealt was not the Socialism that they had been hoping for with the 1968 Prague Spring. The largest military invasion since World War II quickly crushed the stand of Czech action that the Spring represented. While the invasion solidified Czech unity and identification with Czech symbols, frequency of swastikas troublingly indicated that the Czech people still defined themselves in contrast to their historical struggle against the German "other." "Normalization" returned Czechs to the pre-revolution "status-quo," or the policies of Stalinism that had enforced twenty years of silence in Czechoslovakia. Were the Czech people resigned to a subdued fate of solitude and the inability to act? Resistance movements were largely underground, and as the character Hanta illustrates, older generations no longer had the motivation to pursue methods of overt resistance beyond poetic paper compacting. It took another twenty years, or a whole new generation of youth, to seize the opportunity of the "reverse domino effect" taking place in Eastern Europe and instigate the Velvet Revolution.

All this said, what does it mean to be a Czech? Is Czech identity truly just defined by living in the lands historically known as Bohemia and not being German? In 2005 a Czech television station hosted a "Greatest Czech" contest, inspired by a series on the BBC that had elected heroes such as Winston Churchill in Britain, Nelson Mandela in South Africa, and Konrad Adenaur in Germany. Who then, did the Czechs vote to be the greatest Czech of all time? None other than Jára Cimrman, the "hidden genius behind key European discoveries, inventions, and musical and literary masterpieces, forgotten merely because he never made it to the patent office on time." He is the person who missed being the first man to reach the North Pole by only 23 feet, to suggest to Chekhov that "Two Sisters" was not enough for a full play, and showed Eiffel how to stabilize his tower.[3]

How is it possible that this amazing Czech could have affected history and the rest of the world has never even heard his name? Precisely because he is the fictional brainchild of Jiří Šebánek and Zdeněk Svěrák. While it may seem a laughable joke that Czechs voted in mass for the character Jara Cimrman to represent them as the "Greatest Czech," his popular appeal says a great deal about the nature of Czech identity today. It is actually quite fitting that the Czechs would choose a fictional icon well known for consistently falling short of something great. Cimrman, the jack-of-all-intellectual-trades who "never received his due" is a wry comical representation of the Czech impression of the incapability to control their historical destiny. The choice of a comic fictional character also speaks to perhaps one of the only consistent elements in the Czech tumultuous history, writers who persistently continue to encapsulate Czech characters and their motivations with the dark light-heartedness of irony. Maybe the Czechs were opportunists, maybe it took almost 100 years to realize that there was more to being Czech than not being German, but their writers had attested to the "spiritual strength and the humanism" of the Czech people that Masaryk had hoped for all along. Who cares if the television network decided to throw out the candidacy of Jara Cimrman for the "Greatest Czech?" The Czechs know where they stand: with the Cimrmans, Milošes, Hantas, and Svejks of history. [4]

APPENDIX
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

[1] Dan Bilefsky, "With Sharp Satire, Enfant Terrible Challenges Czech Identity," *New York Times*, September 5, 2009, A8.
[2] Bradley F. Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 109.

*Symbols in Czech Collective Memory and the Definition of the "Other" Language Speaker at the Close of the 19th Century*

[3] Richard Burton, *Prague: A Cultural History* (Northampton: Interlink Publishing Group, 2009), 11-14.
[4] Jan Royt, "Christianity in the Czech Lands," in *A Thousand Years of Czech Culture*: *Riches from the National Museum in Prague*, ed. Cornelia B. Wright (Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc, 1996), 33.
[5] Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 65-72.
[6] H. Louis Rees, *The Czechs During World War I: The Path to Independence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 1165-72.
[7] Maria Dowling. *Brief Histories: Czechoslovakia* (London: Oxford University Press Inc, 2002), xvii.
[8] Nancy Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 25.
[9] Maria Dowling. *Brief Histories: Czechoslovakia* (London: Oxford University Press Inc, 2002), xvii.
[10] Nancy Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 17.
[11] *Ibid* 27-30, 40,
[12] *Ibid* 43.
[13] *Ibid* 47,48.
[14] *Ibid* 50-58.
[15] *Ibid* 68-72.
[16] Richard Burton, *Prague: A Cultural History* (Northampton: Interlink Publishing Group, 2009),
[17] Nancy Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 75, 94-95.
[18] H. Louis Rees, *The Czechs During World War I: The Path to Independence* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1992), 9.

CHAPTER 2
WORLD WAR I: FROM RIGHTS TO INDEPENDENCE, AND THE EXAMPLE OF THE GOOD SOLDIER ŠVEJK

[1] H. Louis Rees, *The Czechs During World War I: The Path to Independence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 11.
[2] Maria Dowling. *Brief Histories: Czechoslovakia* (London: Oxford University Press Inc, 2002), 1-5.
[3] H. Louis Rees, *The Czechs During World War I: The Path to Independence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 15.
[4] Maria Dowling. *Brief Histories: Czechoslovakia* (London: Oxford University Press Inc, 2002), 5-15.
[5] "France Proclaims Czechoslavs Free." *New York Times*, July 2, 1918, p 2.

*"Švjekism" and the Actions of the Czech Everyman*

[6] Jaroslav Hašek, *The Good Soldier Švejk: and His Fortunes in the World War* (London: Penguin Books, 1973), 1, 6.
[7] Cecil Parrot, introduction to *The Good Soldier Švejk: and His Fortunes in the World War* (London: Penguin Books, 1973), xv-xxi.
[8] Robert Porter, *An Introduction to Twentieth-Century Czech Fiction: Comedies of Defiance* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 4-10.
[9] Jaroslav Hašek, *The Good Soldier Švejk: and His Fortunes in the World War* (London: Penguin Books, 1973), 1.
[10] *Ibid* 55-9.
[11] H. Louis Rees, *The Czechs During World War I: The Path to Independence* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1992), 11.
[12] Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 164.
[13] H. Louis Rees, *The Czechs During World War I: The Path to Independence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 12-3.
[14] Mark Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 21.
[15] Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 165.
[16] Mark Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 25-6.

*Propaganda and the Image of the Unreliable Czech Soldier*

[17] Jaroslav Hašek, *The Good Soldier Švejk: and His Fortunes in the World War* (London: Penguin Books, 1973), 6, 14-16.
[18] *Ibid* 61-2.

[19] Mark Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 33.
[20] Maria Dowling. *Brief Histories: Czechoslovakia* (London: Oxford University Press Inc, 2002), 9-10.
[21] Nancy Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 182-4.
[22] Mark Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 40-5.
[23] Jaroslav Hašek, *The Good Soldier Švejk: and His Fortunes in the World War* (London: Penguin Books, 1973), 89.
[24] *Ibid* 666-81.
[25] Mark Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 112-20.
[26] *Ibid* 129.
[27] *Ibid* 191.

*Economic Pressures Illustrate a Declining Empire*

[28] *Ibid* 301.
[29] H. Louis Rees, *The Czechs During World War I: The Path to Independence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 22-7.
[30] *Ibid* 33-8.
[31] *Ibid* 58-63.
[32] Jaroslav Hašek, *The Good Soldier Švejk: and His Fortunes in the World War* (London: Penguin Books, 1973).
[33] *Ibid* 479, 99.
[34] Robert Porter, *An Introduction to Twentieth-Century Czech Fiction: Comedies of Defiance* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 19.
[35] 'Terrorism in Bohemia." *New York Times,* December 16, 1917, p XX3.
[36] Mark Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 269.

*The Formation of the First Czechoslovak Republic*

[37] Maria Dowling. *Brief Histories: Czechoslovakia* (London: Oxford University Press Inc, 2002), 5-15.
[38]Aviezer Tucker, "Patocka's Philosophy of Czech History," *History and Theory* 35 (1996): 201.

## CHAPTER 3
## THE INTERWAR PERIOD: THE THEORY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK "ISLAND OF DEMOCRACY" AND ANTI-GERMAN ACTION

*The Creation of a National Identity and the Removal of a German Past*

[1] "Czechs Take Over Rule of Prague." *New York Times,* October 31, 1918, p 1-2.
[2] Nancy Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007)
[3]Aviezer Tucker, "Patocka's Philosophy of Czech History," *History and Theory* 35 (1996): 202.
[4] Nancy Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 134-62.
[5] *Ibid* 170-80.
[6] Martin Zückert, "Memory of War and National State Integration: Czech and German Veterans in Czechoslovakia after 1918," *Central Europe* 4 (2006): 111-121.
[7] Peter Demetz, *Prague in Danger: The Years of German Occupation, 1939-45* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008), 87.
[8] Nancy Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 199-227.

*The German Response to Becoming a Minority*

[9] Peter Demetz, *Prague in Danger: The Years of German Occupation, 1939-45* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008), 87.
[10] Nancy Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 232-43,
[11] Peter Demetz, *Prague in Danger: The Years of German Occupation, 1939-45* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008), 87-8.
[12] Nancy Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 231-33, 249.
[13] Bradley F. Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 105-9.

## CHAPTER 4
## WORLD WAR II: SUBSURFACE RESISTANCE AND EXPLOSIVE ACTION PARALLELING BOHUMIL HRABAL'S *CLOSELY WATCHED TRAINS*

[14]Chad Bryant, *Prague in Black*: *Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 28-9.
[1] W.G. Sebald, *Austerlitz* (New York: The Modern Library, 2001). 171.
[2] Maria Dowling, *Brief Histories: Czechoslovakia* (London: Oxford University Press Inc, 2002), 59.

[3] *Ibid* 67-8.

*A Population Without Leadership: Passive Resistance and a "Policy of Pinpricks"*

[4] Maria Dowling, *Brief Histories: Czechoslovakia* (London: Oxford University Press Inc, 2002), 113-5.
[5] Chad Bryant, *Prague in Black*: *Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 121.
[6] Robert Porter, *An Introduction to Twentieth-Century Czech Fiction: Comedies of Defiance* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 65.
[7] Bohumil Hrabal, *Closely Watched Trains* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 1-6.
[8] *Ibid* 11-22, 30-34.
[9] Robert Porter, *An Introduction to Twentieth-Century Czech Fiction: Comedies of Defiance* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 71.
[10] Chad Bryant, *Prague in Black*: *Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 39-40.
[11] Peter Demetz, *Prague in Danger: The Years of German Occupation, 1939-45* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008), 78-80.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] Bradley F. Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 45-6.
[14] Robert Porter, *An Introduction to Twentieth-Century Czech Fiction: Comedies of Defiance* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 53.
[15] Maria Dowling. *Brief Histories: Czechoslovakia* (London: Oxford University Press Inc, 2002), 61.
[16] Chad Bryant, *Prague in Black*: *Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 131-2.
[17] Bohumil Hrabal, *Closely Watched Trains* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 46-51.
[18] *Ibid* 47.
[19] Peter Demetz, *Prague in Danger: The Years of German Occupation, 1939-45* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008), 43.
[20] Bohumil Hrabal, *Closely Watched Trains* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 27.
[21] *Ibid* 41.
[22] *Ibid* 51.
[23] Chad Bryant, *Prague in Black*: *Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 106-117.
[24] *Ibid* 126.
[25] Richard Burton, *Prague: A Cultural History* (Northampton: Interlink Publishing Group, 2009), 73-5, 78-9.

*The Reign of Reinhard Heydrich Requires Assistance from Abroad*

[26] Chad Bryant, *Prague in Black*: *Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 136.
[27] Callum MacDonald, *The Killing of Reinhard Heydrich: The SS "Butcher of Prague"* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1989), 41- 5.
[28] *Ibid* 112.
[29] Peter Demetz, *Prague in Danger: The Years of German Occupation, 1939-45* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008), 137-8.
[30] Callum MacDonald, *The Killing of Reinhard Heydrich: The SS "Butcher of Prague"* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1989), 158-90.
[31] Bradley F. Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 46.
[32] Callum MacDonald, *The Killing of Reinhard Heydrich: The SS "Butcher of Prague"* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1989), 178, 184.
[33] *Ibid* 189-96.

*Culminating Action: Milos and the People React to the Protectorate*

[34] Bohumil Hrabal, *Closely Watched Trains* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 53-4.
[35] *Ibid* 62-71.
[36] Robert Porter, *An Introduction to Twentieth-Century Czech Fiction: Comedies of Defiance* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 72.
[37] Bohumil Hrabal, *Closely Watched Trains* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 72-85.
[38] Peter Demetz, *Prague in Danger: The Years of German Occupation, 1939-45* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008), 223-8.
[39] *Ibid* 229-230.

## CHAPTER 5
## UNDER THE SOVIET UNION: THE TRADE FROM ONE TOTALITARIAN POWER TO ANOTHER CREATES *TOO LOUD A SOLITUDE*

[1] Bradley F. Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 20, 21.
[2] Nancy Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 262.
[3] Peter Demetz, *Prague in Danger: The Years of German Occupation, 1939-45* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008), 192.
[4] Bradley F. Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 55.

[5] Chad Bryant, *Prague in Black*: *Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 259-60.
[6] *Ibid* 47, 34-5.
[7] *Ibid* 93-100.
[8] Nancy Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 274.
[9] Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 227-232.

*Communist Victory in Czechoslovakia*

[10] Bradley F. Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 275-7.
[11] *Ibid* 287.
[12] Maria Dowling. *Brief Histories: Czechoslovakia* (London: Oxford University Press Inc, 2002), 84.
[13] *Ibid* 89-95.
[14] Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 241.
[15] *Ibid* 243.

*"Too Loud a Solitude:" The Life of Silence in Stalinist Modeled Czechoslovakia*

[16] Bradley F. Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 39-41.
[17] Jiri Holy, *Writers Under Siege: Czech Literature since 1945* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2008), 19-20.
[18] Bohumil Hrabal, *Too Loud a Solitude* (New York: Harcourt, Inc, 1976), 1-7.
[19] *Ibid* 43-44, 86.
[20] Jirí Hoppe, Jirí Suk and Jaroslav Cuhra, introduction to *Invasion 68: Prague,* by Josef Koudelka (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2008), 13.
[21] Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 243-9.
[22] Jirí Hoppe, Jirí Suk and Jaroslav Cuhra, introduction to *Invasion 68: Prague,* by Josef Koudelka (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2008), 12.
[23] Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 252.
[24] *Ibid* 252-7.

*Normalization and the Return to Solitude*

[25] Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 261-2.

[26] Address to the people of Prague by the Municipal Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party of Prague, in *Invasion 68: Prague,* by Josef Koudelka (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2008), 35.
[27] Statement by TASS, in *Invasion 68: Prague,* by Josef Koudelka (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2008), 19.
[28] Broadcast by Czechoslovak Radio 21 August 1968, in *Invasion 68: Prague,* by Josef Koudelka (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2008), 20.
[29] Radio Broadcast 22 August 1968, in *Invasion 68: Prague,* by Josef Koudelka (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2008), 66.
[30] Eye-witness statements, in *Invasion 68: Prague,* by Josef Koudelka (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2008), 69.
[31] Radio Broadcasts 21 August 1968, in *Invasion 68: Prague,* by Josef Koudelka (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2008), 94-5.
[32] Josef Koudelka, *Invasion 68: Prague* (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2008).
[33] *Ibid*.
[34] Richard Burton, *Prague: A Cultural History* (Northampton: Interlink Publishing Group, 2009), 166-7, 186-92.
[35] Jiri Holy, *Writers Under Siege: Czech Literature since 1945* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2008), 27-8.
[36] Richard Burton, *Prague: A Cultural History* (Northampton: Interlink Publishing Group, 2009), 194-5.
[37] *Ibid* 193.
[38] Bohumil Hrabal, *Too Loud a Solitude* (New York: Harcourt, Inc, 1976), 54.
[39] *Ibid* 62-5.
[40] *Ibid* 78-9.
[41] *Ibid* 96-7.
[42] Richard Burton, *Prague: A Cultural History* (Northampton: Interlink Publishing Group, 2009), 208.
[43] Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 284.
[44] *Ibid* 286-92.

## CHAPTER 6
## CONCLUSION: THE GREATEST CZECH OF ALL TIME

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[2] Jonathan Swift, "Thoughts on Various Subjects, Moral and Diverting" in *The Works of Jonathan Swift: Miscellaneous Essays* (Cambridge: Archibald Constable and co., 1824), 225.
[3] Ladka M. Bauerova, "Czech's Hero? The people's choice is a joke," *New York Times*, March 26, 2005.
[4] *Ibid*.

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