Contents

	List of Contributors	vii
1.	Remembering 1948 and 1968: Reflections on Two Pivotal Years in Czech and Slovak History Laura Cashman	1
2.	Dimensions of the Czechoslovak Crisis of 1967–1970 Vilém Prečan	15
3.	1938 and 1968, 1939 and 1969, and the Philosophy of Czech History from Karel H. Mácha to Jan Patočka Stefan Auer	33
4.	New Research on February 1948 in Czechoslovakia Martin Myant	53
5.	The Scheming Apparatchik of the Prague Spring Mary Heimann	73
6.	French Responses to the Prague Spring: Connections, (Mis)perception and Appropriation Maud Bracke	91
7.	The Prague Spring of Science: Czechoslovak Natural Scientists Reconsidering the Iron Curtain Riikka Nisonen-Trnka	105
8.	The Limits of Thought?: The Regulatory Framework of Social Sciences and Humanities in Czechoslovakia (1968–1989) Libora Oates-Indruchová	123
9.	Prelude to a Divorce? The Prague Spring as Dress Rehearsal for Czechoslovakia's 'Velvet Divorce' Scott Brown	139
10.	The Normalisation Regime and its Impact on Slovak Domestic Policy after 1970 Juraj Marušiak	161
11.	Criticism and Destiny: Kundera and Havel on the Legacy of 1968 Charles Sabatos	183
	Index	203

Index

Page numbers in Bold represent figures.

academia 12; guidelines for 131; ideological regulations 124; and Normalisation 124; Party control 129 academics: fired 136; foreign exchanges 111; ideological purity 108; Party vetting 128; study trips 113; subjugating 127, see also intellectuals activists 193 agency 94 agitation seminars 134 anti-totalitarian movements 173 apology 56 April Programme 95 archives 54 army 63 arrests 65-6 artists 94-5 assassination 67 autogestion 92, 99

Barák, R. 78 bare-chested man 13 Barnabitky report 81 beer 37 Beneš decrees 56 Beneš, E. 45 Bil'ak, V. 162 bilingual schools 173 biology 108 Board of Commissioners 143 The Book of Laughter and Forgetting (Kundera) 189-90 boundaries 191 brain drain 113-14 Bratislava 18, 163, 164, 172; dissidents 167 Brezhnev, L. 80-1; and Dubček 89; and

Novotný 86

British Royal Society 112 capitalism: opposition to 92-7; strengthening socialism 76; supporters of 60 The Captive Mind (Miłosz) 191 Catholic Church 166, 176 censorship 19; abolition of 4, 7, 21, 40, 88, 186; challenging 80; relaxation of 87, 93; self-censorship 198 Central and Eastern Europe 102 Central Europe 188-93; culture of 183, 190; as prophetic region 192; tragedy of 191, 192 Charbonneau, L. 198 Charter77 29, 165, 189 chauvinism 39 chemists 106 Chemosvit 176 Circle of Independent Writers 2 Civic Forum 31 civil dissent 166 civil rights 97 civil society 96, 177-8; renewal of 21; Slovak 167, 169, 179 Clementis, V. 190 Closely Observed Trains 37-8 Club of Committed Non-Party Members 22, 97 coat of arms 151-3 Cold War: rhetoric 111; and science 106, 108 Collection of Czechoslovak Chemical Communications 109 communism: beneficiaries of 169, 171; and brutality 68; crisis of 17, 18-20; and Czech culture 41;

de-legitimisation 177;

democratisation of 20-1; and Dubček 73, 74; fall of 150-4, 200; historical condemnation 54; popular support for 41; reform 98; as scientific world ideology 107; and Socialism with a Human Face 100 Communist Party (Czechoslovakia) 2, 3, 8; attitude to science 113; attitude to Warsaw Pact invasion 23-4; coalition 62-3; communication strategy 133; dissatisfaction with 75-6; leadership 20, 23, 62, 77, 87; membership vetting 10, 127-8; rule of 15; self-criticism 84, 187; Slovak faction 162; split within 86; statues 78; transformation 176 Communist Party (French) 100, 101; and Prague Spring 101; and Socialism with a Human Face 101 Communist Party (Slovak) 75, 143, 169; membership 169; transformed 174, 176 Communist Party (Soviet Union): critique of 94; leadership 80-1 communist shield 152 communists: aims 62-4; challenging 186; mausoleum 75; opponents 61; public support 68; reform 175, 183; Slovak 165; strategy 62-4, 69; sympathy for 60; transition 175; victory (1948) 70 community 47 confederation 142 Confédération française démocratique du travail 99 conferences 110, 112 conservative forces 61-2 consolidation 126 Constitutional Law (1970) 172 cooperation 113; intra-bloc 111; with West 105, 109, 120 Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (MENA) 111 counterfactuals 46 cowardice 35, 45-50 creative liberty 92 crisis 10, 15-16, 141; chain of 17-18; communist 18-20; dimensions of 16-18; duality of 22; systemic 18-20

critical thinking 187-8

Cult of Personality: abolition of 78

culture: Central European 183, 190;

criticism 188

common 47; doubts about 185; genius 188; great 186; intellectual 94; political 94; protecting 40, 41; weak 200; West European 191 The Curtain (Kundera) 199 Czech destiny 183, 187, 188, 196 Czecho-Slovak Republic 153 Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences 105, 107; Action Programme 117, 119; independence of 111; Institute of Organic Chemistry and Biochemistry 109; Normalisation 119-20; Party membership 133; repression of 123 Czechoslovak shorthand 139 Czechoslovak week 23-4, 28 Czechoslovakia: break-up of 141, 142-3, 157-9; official names 153-4 Czechoslovakist emblem 152 Czechs: cowardly 45-50; empathy for Slovaks 156; excesses 58; federalisation 146; foolish 41-5; greatness 50; national spirit 39; peaceful 36-41; prudent 36-41; weakness 49, 59

Daix, P. 101 de-bolshevisation 179 de-communisation 179 de-Stalinisation 6-7, 10 Declaration of the Ordinary Communists 167 Deimek, J. 44-5 democracy 28-31, 93; debates about 148-9; and freedom 29; interpretations of 141-2, 146, 154-5; Slovakia 178; state emblem 153 Democracy for All manifesto 30-1 democratic socialism 97, 99 democratisation 28-31; and federalisation 142, 145, 150; and Prague Spring 143-50; Slovak demand 168 democratism 146 demonstrations 16, 98; memorial 28 dignity 50 discontinuity 15-16 dissident movement 10, 167 dissidents 43-4, 54, 56, 132-3, 193; trials of 167 Djerassi, C. 109 Dubček, A. 4, 79, 100; consolidating

power 87-9; and Gorbachev 30; and Khrushchev 77; leadership skills 82-3; and Novotný 81, 85; plea for order 43; political career 77; political innocence 74; reputation 73, 75; Slovak debate 81; Slovak perceptions 179; status 7 Dubček (Shawcross) 73 economic policy 60 economic reforms 4, 76, 77, 80; blueprints 95; and scientific cooperation 112 economy 19; collapse 80; competitive 117; New System of Economic Management 80; pro-capitalist vision 60; problems within 76 eight 1, 34 eights: magic 33 elections 62, 63, 66; free 96 elites 157, 158; continuity of 175; Czech 159; and Normalisation 43; Slovak 152-3, 162, 171-2, 173 emblems 152-3 emigration 113 employment 170 English 109 equal with equal 139, 144 equality: civil 97; national 145, 147, 148, 149, 157; and trust 156 Evening University of Marxism-Leninism 135

experts 110 factory councils 95, 99, 102 failure 36 fascism: opposing 92-7 fate 191 February 15 February Coup 3 February events 55, 64-8 Federal Assembly 147 federal question 171-3 federalisation 7, 8-9, 171; Czech opinion 146; and democratisation 142, 145, 150; disputes over 159; and liberalisation 141; and Prague Spring 143-50; public opinion 145-6 federalisation debate 140 federation 144, 146-7, 148, 149-50; authentic 142, 151, 155; dissolving

158-9; loose 155; perceptions of 151; symmetrical 145 Fédération de la gauche démocratique et socialiste 98 five-year plans 3, 76 forgetting 3; struggle against 190 freedom 28, 184; as alternatives 46; commitment to 49; and democracy 29; erosion of 6; religious 166, see also freedom of expression 95 freedom of speech 21 future: choices about 46; mysterious 16

Gallo, E. 13-14 generation cork 170 German minority 2, 53; cooperative research about 57; expulsion of 41, 55-9; killings 58; politicised interpretations 56-7; support for Hitler 57; treatment of 55, 57 Germans 56; collective guilt 59 golden era 2 Gomułka, W. 179 The Good Soldier Svejk (Hašek) 35 goods shortages 76 Gorbachev, M. 29-30 Gosiorovsk, M. 144 Gottwald, K. 62-3, 69; body of 77-8 Great Depression 2 greatness 48, 50 guilt 159, 194

Hácha, E. 43 Hašek, J. 35 Havel, V. 12-13, 39-40, 49, 183, 185, 186-7; on Central European identity 192-3; critical thinking 188; letter to President Husák 189; Prague Spring interpretation 196-7; presidency 197 heroism 41 historians: dissident 54, 56 history 16; beginning of 46; blank spaces

68; complex 41; critical 47; dehumanization of 196-7; forgetting 191; light 193-7; living 33-4; meaning of 46; new perspective 53; open questions 53-5; politicisation of 54, 56-7; public interest in 35; stuff-ups

44; unpopular topics 55; victims of 191, 193

Hope Dies Last (Dubček) 74
hopelessness 28, 46
hostile elements 22
Hrivnák, P. 175-6
Hrzal, L. 134
human rights 28-9, 97, 166, 198
humanist tradition 97

Humanité 100-1
Hungarian minority 173-4
Husák, G. 27, 168
hyphen war 139, 150, 153-4

ID cards 127 identity: Czechoslovak 140, 186; multicultural 192; Slovak 140, 154; transnational 192 ideological loyalty 124 ideological regulation 124, 132 industrialisation 178 information exchange 111 Informbureau 62-3 instability 19 Institute for Economics 95 Institute of Macromlecular Chemistry 115-16 institutions: Czech national 143; independent 22, 97; national 8; parallel 144; Slovak national 143 intellectual liberty 92 intellectuals: career 165; critical 19-20; freedom of 119; French 101; liberal 167; loyal 165; Marxist methods 94-5; mobilising power 123; national issue 173; non-conformist 164; and Normalisation 126-8; political activism 126; pro-reform 165, 167; resignations of 136; revival movement 101; Slovak 164-5, 167, see also academics interest groups 22

Jews 191

The Joke (Kundera) 198

Jungmann, M. 195-6

Khrushchev, N. 3; secret speech 4, 76 Khrushchevisation 77

invention 115

Klaus, V. 158 knowledge transfer 114 Kolder Commission 79 Kósik, K. 94 Koželuhová, H. 60 Křen, J. 54 Kriegel, F. 84 kritika 188 Kundera, M. 12-13, 35, 36-41, 183-6, 184, 189-91, 199; self-censorship 198

language 108-9 leaders: betrayal by 43; Communist Party 77; expulsion of Germans 58; gutless 48; and Nazis 42-3; pacifist 41; progressive 27; rivals 87 leadership failure 68-9 leadership style 82-3 Les lettres françaises 101 Letná hill monument 75, 77 liberalisation 19, 105-6; critics of 115; and federalisation 141; and natural sciences 106-7; and Normalisation 10; Slovak opponents 145 liberals 60 Liberec 9 liberty 92, see also freedom licence agreements 116, 117 Listv 187 Literární listy 101, 186

Mácha, K. H. 42
majority rule 148, 149, 157
majorizácia 142, 147, 148, 149, 157
martial law 28
Marxist interpretation 91
Masaryk, J. 66-8
Masaryk, T. G. 48
massacre 57-8, 59
maturity 37-8
Mečiar, V. 155, 158, 173
media monitoring 125
memoirs 68
mamary 55, 190; contacted 102;

Lutte ouvrière 98

Literární noviny 186, 194

Luftwaffe 45

lustration 179

memory 55, 190; contested 102; national 36 mentalities 59-60

Miłosz, C. 191-2 ministers: assassination attempt 64 minorities 2; protecting 148 mistake: moral 56; national 44 Mlynář, Z. 96 mobility 114 monuments 75 morality 46; national 55-6 Moscow Protocol 5-6, 27 Movement for Civil Liberty 30 Munich Agreement 2; alternatives 45 Munich betrayal 2 murder 67 Murin, S. 175 mythology: national 35, 43, 47 myths 12 narrative voice 194 nation: and citizens 149, 157; and democracy 142; democratic rights of 146, 147, 157; as ethical community 47; role of 149; Slovak 148; small 39-40, 48, 114, 183, 184, 187, 190, 191, 197; state-forming 148; weak 197 National Academy of Sciences (USA) 112 National Assembly 8 National Committees 96 national destiny 183, 187, 188, 196 national existence 184-8, 199-200 National Front coalition 2-3, 53, 54, 96; ministerial resignations 64-6 national liberty 92 Ostalgie 179 national republics 172 National Research Council (Canada) 112 National Revival 199 national sovereignty 92 national spirit 39 nationalisation 3, 53; public opinion 63 nationalism 154; anti-Western 178; authoritarian 177; inclusive 47; post-communist 177; Slovak 176-7 nationalist deviation 86 Nazis 48; collaboration with 42; and Czech leaders 42-3; occupation 38 101 to smell the Land new left 99 nines: demystifying 33 Nobel Prize 107 non-communists 183 Normalisation 6, 189; and academia 124;

advanced 131-6; first year 128-30; goal of 132-3; and intellectuals 126-8; introduction of 162-7; legitimacy 178; and liberalisation 10; meaning 162; and order 43; Party dissatisfaction with 133; and political elites 43; and pro-reform politicians 163; purges 164-5; resistance to 163-4; and Slovak nationalism 176; Slovakia 12, 170; slowing down of 124; socio-demographic context 168-71; soft 165-6, 167; supporters of 40, 165 normalising executive 127 Le nouvel observateur 99 Novotný, A. 4, 76; and Brezhnev 86; discrediting 87-8; and Dubček 81, 85

Obroda club 165 obstructionism 157 occupation 5, 17; accommodation with 43; criticisms of 9; Dubček response 24-5; Nazi 38, 45; and Party leadership 24; popular resistance to 25, 45; tank 13 Oedipus 194 one-party state 69 opposition 19; arrests 65-6; history of 102; response to 10-11 optimism 107-10 order 50; plea for 43; restoration of 28

osmašedesátník 165

pacifism 36-41 Palach, J. 10 parity 147 parliament 147 Parti communiste française 98 Parti socialiste unifié 99 participation 96, 168 partnership of conflict 56 party systems 96 Patočka, J. 35, 45-50 patriotism 39, 42, 187; passive 188 peace: disturbers of 28 People's Militia 66 Personality Cult 76 philosophers 10 photographs 13-14

Pithart, P. 156 planned market socialism 95 Plastic People of the Universe 10 pluralisation 22 pluralism 21, 30 Poland 179 police 63-4, 85; secret 3; security 66-7 polis 46 political offences 28 political participation 168 political parties 2-3, 53; anti-communist 68-9; coalition 63; communist see Communist Party; French 98, 99, 100; and mass expulsion policy 59; mass party 69; opposition party 186; programme-based 174; Slovakia 174; weak 177-8 politicians: career advancement 77; communist 174-5; innocent 74; leaders see leaders; non-communist 61; Normalisation era 171; pro-reform 163; rival 87 politics 46; choice in 186; pragmatic 174-6 power 177-8; asymmetrical 143; centralisation of 128; consolidating 87-9; monopoly of 62, 69, 96; struggle against 190 power cuts 84-5 power of the powerless 186, 189 pragmatism 35 Prague Autumn 38-9 Prague Spring 143-50; beginning 20-2, 74-5; blame for failure 74; boundaries 16; as challenge 187; Cold War context 99-100; comparison with Velvet Divorce 141; consequences 7-8; contested memory 102; Czech sacrifices 151; and democratic socialism 99; end of 6; and French Communist Party 100, 101; Havel 196-7; ideological roots 92; labelling 12, 16-17; leaders 27; legacy 200; liberal-bourgeois democratic tradition 99, 100; Literární noviny 194; Marxist origins 93; misunderstandings of 92; nature of 92-7; public support 187; remembering 12; rightist dimension 101; Slovak agenda 155;

in The Unbearable Lightness of
Being 195
praxis 94
press: Slovak 80
propaganda 106, 108
Public Against Violence (VPN) 173, 175
public opinion 68; communist monopoly
96; Czech/Slovak differences 168;
divided 157; federalisation 145-6;
mobilising 87-8; reforms 96; Slovak
state 140-1; surveys 76
public order offences 28
purges 164-5, 189
putsch: February 55, 65-6

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute 125 recentralisation 172 reform 3-4; communist-led 29; Czech/ Slovak perceptions 168; economic see economic reform; Khrushchev-style 78; leaders of 23; political 96; public opinion 96; rejection of 98; shattered 187; Slovak obstruction 156, 157 reform ideas 93 reform movement 93, 94, 183; critical opinions 183; scientists 115 reform project 20, 87 rehabilitation 79, 87 Renner, H. 74 representation 96, 170; proportional 147 repression 59, 66; universities 123 research: applied 110-11; controlling 124, 134, 135; financing 115; freedom of 118; party-defined 129, 132; socialist framework 108; standards of 114 research institutes 129, 130, 134 research visits 129 resistance: amnesty 58, 59; peaceful 38-9 resistance movement 25; graffiti 25; pacification of 26-8 resonance theory 108 The Restoration of Order (Šimečka) 34 revival movement 101 revolution 98; democratic 18; scientific-technical 110-14, 120

rhetoric 82; Cold War 111

rights: civic 97; human 28-9, 97, 166,

198; individual 147, 148, 157; national 146, 147, 157; protecting 149 Rock 'n' Roll 200 Russian civilization 190 Šabata, J. 29 samizdat journals 166 scandals 88 scepticism 196 Schauer, H. G. 185, 199-200 Schuster, R. 175 science: apolitical 115; authority of 112; conferences 110, 112; efficiency of 117; and ideology 107-8; influence of 127; international integration process 114; natural 115; profitable 116; social 115, 126, 131; Sovietisation of 108 sciences: social 115, 126, 127, 131, 133-6 scientific books 109 scientific relations regulation 117, 118 scientific-technical revolution 110-14, 120	democracy 178; independence movement 173; intellectuals 164-5, 167; Normalisation era 171-8; political climate 174-6; political development 171-8; political parties 174; quality of life 171; social structure 178; writers 164-5, 167 Slovaks: anti-communism 179; Czech empathy for 156; grievances of 7-8, 81; guilt 159; hyphen 154; identity 140; nationalism 176-7; political participation 168; pro-reform 145; representation 170 Smrkovský, F. 84 social contract 26 social justice 92 social organizations 21-2 social ownership 95 social sciences 115, 126; critical analysis 131; influence of 127; management of 131; restrictions on 135-6; task of 132, 133-4 socialism 93; achievements of 76; building of 19; deformation of 20; democratic 97, 99; model for 102;
scientism 118 scientists: influence 119, 120; Slovak	planned market socialism 95; real 162; renewal of 21; revival of 31;
164-5 Secret Church 166	strengthening 76; taboo term 30-1;
Section française de l'internationale	writers attacking 83; and the young 76 Socialism with a Human Face 4, 7, 98,
ouvrière 98	183; and communism 100; and French
security forces 63-4	Communist Party 101
self-criticism 44, 84, 187	socialist constitution (1960) 143
self-management 22, 92, 95	socialist democracy 93
self-organisation 169, 177-8	socialist programmes 59-60
self-representation 36	Socialist Society for Academic Research,
Šenja, J. 87	Culture and Politics 134-5
Shawcross, W. 73	Society for Human Rights 22
shield 152	socio-economic liberty 92
significant periphery 134	sociology 123
signposts 8	soft contact lens 106, 115
Šimečka, M. 34	soldiers 5, 7, 164; Prague 6; and
sixty-eighter 165	protestors 23
Slovak bourgeois nationalists 78, 79,	solidarity 25; slogan of 27-8
80, 173	Sorm, F. 106, 109, 118
Slovak Matienal Council 142	Soviet Union: attitudes towards 3;
Slovak National Council 143	criticism of 191; and Gottwald 69-70; military intervention see Warsaw Pact
Slovak question 19 Slovak Socialist Republic 171	invasion; relationship with 61

Slovakia: civil society 167, 169, 179; Soviet worldview 62

Sovietisation 18-19, 108 specialisation 114 Stalin monument 75, 77 Stalinism 76; opposition to 92-7 state: common 140, 157; emblem of 152-3; multinational 1-2, 7; naming 153; one-party 69 statues 75, 78 stereotypes 74, 178 Stoppard, T. 200 Strahov 84 strife 49 strikes 16 Strinka, J. 145 Student magazine 21 student march 84-5 students 3, 84-5; French 98; political activism 126 study trips 113 Sudeten German Party 2 Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft 56 suicide 66, 67 Sviták, I. 21, 94 symbols 140 symmetry 144, 145; state emblems 152-3

tank: occupation 13 Tatarka, D. 164 technology transfer 115, 120 Teplice 17 terminology 93 Tesař, J. 41-5 thinking 59-60 Tigrid, P. 73, 83 totalitarianism 19; restoration of 27-8 transition 141 transmission belts 22 trials 167; show 3-4, 78, 79 trust 157 truth 190; living in 49, 189 turning points 1 Two Thousand Words Manifesto 4, 97, 101, 118-19; intellectual support 126

The Unbearable Lightness of Being (Kundera) 184, 193-7, 199 Union of Youth 84 unity 25; national 42 universities 123; Party influence 135; Party membership 133; purges in 108

Vaculík, L. 97, 186
Velvet Divorce 12; blame for 158-9;
comparison with Prague Spring 141
Velvet Revolution 49, 197
veto power 147
Victorious February 3
vigilance 76
violence 38, 49; amnesty 59

Warsaw Pact 4-5 Warsaw Pact invasion 5, 10, 17-18, 36, 187; anniversary 28; Gorbachev response 29; in Kundera's novels 193; popular resistance 2, 38; scientists 119; Slovak reaction 163; weakness against 49 weakness 48, 49, 50; moral 59 weather 45 Wenceslas Square 5, 26 Werwolf 58 the West 40, 58; activists 193; contact with 105; cooperation with 105, 109, 120; perceptions of Czech nation 197; scientific cooperation with 105 West Germany 113, 117 Western Europe: attitudes towards 61; culture of 192; warning 191 what if accounts 44-5, 47 Why Dubček Fell (Tigrid) 73 Wichterle, O. 106, 115-17, 118, 119 window-cleaners 195 workers 95, 97, 99; protests 98 working teams 96 World War I 1-2

writers 10; best-known 183; Marxist methods 94-5; opposing censorship 83-4; rebellion 83-4; Slovak 164-5, 167 Writers' Union 83; debates 94; Fourth

youth: disenchanted 84-5; Slovak 170, see also students

Congress 83, 185; journal 186

Životstrany 133 Zorin, V. 65