UGA Libraries Undergraduate Research Award

The seeds of my thesis "Repression, Literature, and the Growth and Metamorphosis of Czech National Identity in the 20th Century" were sown in March of 2007, when I spent ten days in Prague with my parents. While I was there, I bought Jaroslav Hasek's *The Good Soldier Svejk*, Bohumil Hrabal's *I Served the King of England*, and Jan Neruda's *Prague Tales*. The trip and novels opened my eyes to the experience of the Czech people in the 20th Century, subjected to foreign occupation after foreign occupation throughout the World Wars and the rise of the USSR, while attempting to form national identity.

I became a double major in Comparative Literature and History precisely because of the way the aforementioned literature encapsulated and enlivened history in my eyes. My curiosity grew, and I enrolled in Dr. Jerzak's course in Eastern and Central European Literature, where I encountered Hrabal's *Closely Watched Trains*. The darkly comedic characters of Hrabal's novels indicated a trend in Czech literature beginning with Hasek's *The Good Soldier Svejk*, a comedy about the Czechs under the Austro-Hungarian Empire. These were stories of "accidental heroes" of Czech nationalism who embraced their nationality not by intrinsic values or feeling, but by some external pressure, as if by accident. Yet, I knew little to nothing about the actual history of the former Czechoslovakia and its 20th Century experiences to support this.

I approached Dr. John Morrow Jr. in the History department about researching the development of a national identity in Czechoslovakia during the 20th Century. He agreed to sponsor my historical research and encouraged me to incorporate the works of literature I had encountered as relevant.

My first foray into research was with a list of books that Dr. Morrow had suggested. I was armed with this list when I began the summer language immersion program at Indiana University. I collected the call numbers of the titles I was looking for but found that every work lining the shelves was written in an incomprehensible language. I don't speak Czech. I decided the best method would be to explore any titles English I could find. I found two of my most valuable books this way, H. Louis Rees's *The Czechs During World War I: The Path to Independence* and Josef Koudelka's photographic collection of the Soviet invasion of Prague in 1968.

My readings confirmed my hypothesis that the Czech move for independence happened almost accidentally. A combination of external events, including economic pressures discussed in Rees, created a defiant national group, eager for rights and the promise of self-rule. Photographs of swastikas painted on Russian tanks in Koudelka's work indicated that over 50 years later, Czech identity was defined in a German power context, though the enemy of Czech independence in 1968 was the Soviet Union.

Encouraged by these substantiating sources, I began to explore more specific venues. Even though I was 582 miles from Athens, the Galileo password allowed me to access the University of Georgia Library system. Unable to read Czech primary sources, I chose to search the ProQuest historical files of the *New York Times* for contemporary international perspective on events in Czechoslovakia. Features including a multiple article expose on the ethnic diversity splitting the Austrian Empire highlighted international awareness of the Czechoslovak unhappiness added to my understanding of the conditions in which the newly forming and formed country emerged.

The use of online journals was instrumental in expanding my knowledge of theoretical concepts of the progression of Czech history. I primarily used JSTOR and EbscoHost. The journals *History and Theory* and *Central Europe* were especially useful, revealing reviews on topics such as varied philosophies of Czech history. After meeting with librarian Diane Trap, I learned many other methods of utilizing historical journals. By searching in the subject category "History," she showed me that Galileo highlights relevant journals such as *Historical Abstracts* and the *American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies*. With the microfiche available in the library of the *Digital National Security Archive*, Ms. Trap also explained to me a valuable database of primary source of international radio broadcasts that had been translated into English.

When I returned to Georgia my transition to the University of Georgia Library was seamless. I found almost all of the books Dr. Morrow had recommended, and began reading a series of essays (*Czechoslovakia in a Nationalist and Fascist Europe 1918-1948*). The essays were too specific for broader focus of my research, and provided little significant information on the national move for independence. This experience, although not directly contributory to my paper itself, helped me determine the types of sources useful for my research.

Soon into my preliminary readings, I began searching through the books I was reading for sources these authors had used to expand my variety of sources beyond the recommended list to better substantiate and confirm my understanding of the Czech national movement. Some of the books were not available in the Georgia libraries. Ms. Trap informed me that Georgia has a inter-library loan system, where within days, I could easily request and receive books from a network of universities with GIL Express or Interlibrary Loan. While some of the books were

entirely academic in nature, others, like Peter Demtez's *Prague in Danger*, included a narrative component of personal experience.

Through these research methods, I was able to place literature into the scheme of Czech history. Writers and literary figures of 20th Century Czechoslovakia became beacons of cultural and national identity. Two recent articles in the *New York Times* a framed the dichotomy of modern attitudes towards the Czech identity, frustration with the muted lack of overt resistance and absence of a strong Czech identity, and pride over perseverance a tradition of "comedies of defiance" in literature. Through the practice of independent library research I was able to trace the experience of a small nation forced to struggle for existence and the importance of literature to the Czech people, also incorporate the marriage of two codependent fields, Literature and History.

Bibliography

- Abrams, Bradley F. *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004.
- Abrams, Bradley F. "Morality, Wisdom and Revision: The Czech Opposition of the 1970s and the Expulsion of the Sudeten Germans." *East European Politics and Societies* 9 (1995): 234-255, in American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies, http://www.sagepub.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/journal.aspx?pid=9186 (accessed February 28, 2010).
- Ackerman, Carl W. "Czechs can Hold Until February." *New York Times,* December 7, 1918, p 2, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Agnew, Hugh. *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004.
- Agnew, Hugh LeCaine. "The Emergence of Modern Czech National Consciousness: A Conceptual Approach." *Ethnic Groups* 10 (1993): 175-186, in American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies, http://www.tandf.co.uk.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/journals/titles/1070289x.html (accessed February 28, 2010).
- Agnew, Hugh LeCaine. "New States, Old Identities? The Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Historical Understandings of Statehood." *Nationalities Papers* 28 (2000): 619-650, in World History Collection, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=wdh&AN=5440681&site=ehost-live (accessed March 1, 2010).
- Asiedu, Dita and Katrin Bock. "Commemorating Jan Opletal, Whose Murder Triggered Off Traditional November 17 Student Marches." Radio Prague. www.radio.cz/en/article/60406 (accessed November 11, 2009).
- Asiedu, Dita, David Vaughan and Jan Velinger. "Heroes or Cowards? The Czechs During WWII." Radio Prague. www.radio.cz/en/article/66218 (accessed November 11, 2009).
- Bauerova, Ladka M. "Czech's Hero? The people's choice is a joke." *New York Times*, March 26, 2005.
- Bludau, Heidi. "The Good Dissident Svejk: An Exploration of Czech Morality and Cultural Survival." *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* 22 (2009): 59-71, in American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies, http://www3-english.tamu.edu/index.php?id=948 (accessed February 28, 2010).
- "Bohemians Here Denounce Austria." *New York Times*, August 31, 1915, p 2, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).

- Burton, Richard. Prague: A Cultural History. Northampton: Interlink Publishing Group, 2009.
- Bryant, Chad. "Either German or Czech: Fixing Nationality in Bohemia and Moravia, 1939-1946." *Slavic Review* 61 (2002): 683-706, in American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies, http://www.econ.uiuc.edu.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/~slavrev/ (accessed February 28, 2010).
- Bryant, Chad. "The Language of Resistance? Czech Jokes and Joke-telling under Nazi Occupation, 1943-45." *Journal of Contemporary History* 41 (2006): 133-151, in American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies, http://jch.sagepub.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu (accessed February 28, 2010).
- Bryant, Chad. *Prague in Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Bugge, Peter. "Czech Democracy 1918-1938 Paragon or Parody?" *Bohemia* 47 (2006-7): 3-28, in Historical Abstracts, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=hia&AN=H800033504.01&site=ehost-live (accessed February 28, 2010).
- Cornwall, Mark. *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Cornwall, Mark, and R.J.W. Evans. *Czechoslovakia in a Nationalist and Fascist Europe 1918-1948*. London: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- "Czech Cabinet is Formed." *New York Times,* Dec 8, 1929, p 30, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- "Czech Dies Reading of Austria." *New York Times*, Mar 13, 1938, p 32, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- "Czechs Celebrate Tenth Anniversary." *New York Times*, October 29, 1928, p 4, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- "Czechs Take Over Rule of Prague." *New York Times,* October 31, 1918, p 1-2, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- "Czechs to Resume Vienna Trade Parley." New York Times, April 8, 1931, p. 9.
- "Demands by the Czechs." *New York Times*, November 9, 1903, p 7, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Demetz, Peter. *Prague in Danger: The Years of German Occupation, 1939-45*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008.

- Director of Central Intelligence. "Anti-Communist Resistance Potential in the Sino-Soviet Bloc." *Soviet Estimate* (1955), in the Digital National Security Archive, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:dnsa&rft_dat=xri:dnsa:article:CSE00174 (accessed March 1, 2010).
- Director of Central Intelligence. "Anti-Communist Resistance Potential in the Sino-Soviet Bloc." *Soviet Estimate* (1958), in the Digital National Security Archive, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:dnsa&rft_dat=xri:dnsa:article:CSE00212 (accessed March 1, 2010).
- Dowling, Maria. Brief Histories: Czechoslovakia. London: Oxford University Press Inc, 2002.
- "France Proclaims Czechoslavs Free." *New York Times*, July 2, 1918, p 2, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Gedye, G. E. R. "Disorder Marks Sudeten Entry; German Troops Wildly Greeted." *New York Times*, October 2, 1938, p 1, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Gedye, G. E. R. "Prague Sees War." New York Times, September 17, 1938, p 1.
- Gzowski, Alison. Facing Freedom: The Children of Eastern Europe. Toronto: Penguin Books, 1992.
- Hasek, Jaroslav. *The Good Soldier Svejk: and His Fortunes in the World War*. London: Penguin Books, 1973.
- "Hess Says Czechs Are Peace Menace." *New York Times*, June 13, 1938, p 2, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Holy, Jiri. Writers Under Siege: Czech Literature since 1945. Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2008.
- Holy, Ladislav. *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation: National Identity and the Post-Communist Social Transformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hrabal, Bohumil. Closely Watched Trains. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965.
- Hrabal, Bohumil. I Served the King of England. London: Vintage Books, 1989.
- Hrabal, Bohumil. *Too Loud a Solitude*. New York: Harcourt, Inc, 1976.
- Koudelka, Josef. Invasion 68: Prague. New York: Aperture Foundation, 2008.
- Kundera, Milan. The Book of Laughter and Forgetting. New York: HarperPerennial, 1978.

- MacDonald, Callum. *The Killing of Reinhard Heydrich: The SS "Butcher of Prague."* Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1989.
- Nolte, Claire E. *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- "Opposition Leaders Received by Hodza." *New York Times*, July 14, 1938, p 12, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Parrott, Cecil. *The Bad Bohemian: The Life of Jaroslav Hasek, Creator of the Good Soldier Svejk.* London: The Bodlev Head, 1978.
- Parrot, Cecil. Introduction to *The Good Soldier Svejk: and His Fortunes in the Great War*, by Jaroslav Hasek, vii-xxii. London: Penguin Books, 1973.
- Porter, Robert. *An Introduction to Twentieth-Century Czech Fiction: Comedies of Defiance*. Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2001.
- Rees, H. Louis. *The Czechs During World War I: The Path to Independence*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- "Reich Press Halts Attacks on Czechs." *New York Times*, May 28, 1938, p 5, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Renwick, George. "Slavs in Austria Move to Mobilize." *New York Times*, August 29, 1918, p 1, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Renwick, George. "Time Now to Help Austrian Rising." *New York Times*, June 27, 1918, p 1-2, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Sebald, W.G. Austerlitz. New York: The Modern Library, 2001.
- "Starvation Faced by 15,000 Children." *New York Times*, April 4, 1932, p 10, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Svasek, Maruska. "The Politics of Artistic Identity: The Czech Art World in the 1950's and 1960's." *Contemporary European History* 6 (1997): 383-403, in Historical Abstracts, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=hia&AN=H001566774.01&site=ehost-live (accessed February 28, 2010).
- "Terrorism in Bohemia." *New York Times*, December 16, 1917, p XX3, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Tolischus, Otto D. "Czechs Disparage Nazi Minority Idea." *New York Times*, November 15, 1937, p 4, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).

- Tolischus, Otto D. "Democracy Curbed in Czechoslovakia." *New York Times*, November 9, 1937, p 18, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Tolischus, Otto D. "Reich Intensifies Czechs' Problems." *New York Times*, November 12, 1937, p 17, in ProQuest Historical Newspapers (accessed August 25, 2009).
- Tucker, Aviezer. "Patocka's Philosophy of Czech History," *History and Theory* 35 (1996): 196-216, in JSTOR archive, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2505361 (accessed July 9, 2009).
- Vaughan, David. "Stalin and Gottwald: Together in Life and Death." Radio Prague. http://www.radio.cz/en/article/109816 (accessed November 11, 2009).
- Volokova, Bronislava, and Clarice Cloutier, trans. and eds. *Up the Devil's Back: A Bilingual Anthology of 20th Century Czech Poetry*. Bloomington: Slavica Publishers, 2008.
- Vosahlikova, Pavla. "Czech Culture in the Struggle Against Fascism in World War II." *East Central Europe* 17 (1990): 131-153, in American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies, http://artful.com.au/schlacks/publications.html (accessed February 28, 2010).
- "We Are the Opponents of Violence...We Want to Live as Dignified and Free People." *Cold War International History Project Bulletin* 12-13 (2001): 210-216, in Historical Abstracts, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=hia&AN=H001663010.01&site=ehost-live (accessed February 28, 2010).
- Weiss, Hilde. "A Cross-National Comparison of Nationalism in Austria, the Czech and Slovac Republics, Hungary, and Poland," *Political Psychology* 24 (2003): 377-401, in JSTOR archive, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792355 (accessed July 23, 2009).
- Wingfield, Nancy M. *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Zückert, Martin. "Memory of War and National State Integration: Czech and German Veterans in Czechoslovakia after 1918," *Central Europe* 4 (2006): 111-121.

ABSTRACT

ILANA MCQUINN

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 total and complete de-individualization under Soviet Communism. The Czechs were pushed to independence by frustration with a protracted existence as the "other," or the marginalized minority nation not in power, in the German dominated Habsburg Empire. A large component of the formation of Czech identity depended on linguistic differences and the contrast with the German, and as such struggled to develop 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