The strange Czech-German complex. Why a thousand-year coexistence ended by a dramatic divorce.

5HD280 From Kafka to Havel Lecture 4



EVROPSKÁ UNIE Evropské strukturální a investiční fondy Operační program Výzkum, vývoj a vzdělávání



Short summary of the past

- Germans were always present in Czech lands since 9th century, at least among the nobility
- In 12th and 13th century big wave of German colonization of the Czech borderlands
- Germans had higher social status
 - Especially in royal cities

Reforms of the Joseph II.

- Centralization of the state
- Germany as a state language
- But
 - Relieving of feudal ties
 - Abolition of serfdom
 - Religious freedom
 - Searching for the new ties \rightarrow nation



Esseiffs Aralomifs Datent dd. 16. Biftopabu 1781, one jame i molai fpárty mys troiran Dobbanga t tém pércenile véro publitonaini neb myblaffeni onthe neliconegliho enderniho Datenna pod datum 13. Erpna 1775, odpregnjun rodotným posianniktu, fe tifdugich.





National revival

- Not only Czech but German were concerned
- Different conditions in Germany and Austria
- Napoleonic wars
 - Bigger impact in Germany
 - Freedom and equality
 - Idea of united Germany
 - Change in power between Prussia and Austria

National revival

- Czech national revival as a mirror of the German one
- Herder
 - Focus on language
 - Inspiration as for Germans as for Czechs
- Germans
 - Idea of unification of all Germans
- Czechs
 - Emancipation from a second-rate position

Letter to Frankfurt

- Key moment in Czech-German relations
- František Palacký
 - 11.4.1848 against the opinion that Czech lands are part of the Great Germany
- Reaction of the Czech and Moravian Germans
 - Fear of the Czech domination

Letter to Frankfurt

- Contradiction
 - Acknowledgement of Czech claims \rightarrow the end of German unification in a sense of Great Germany
 - Enforcement of German ideas \rightarrow Germanization of
 - Czech territory





1848-1914

- Gradual Czech domnaince in the Czech land
- Conflicts became more and more intense
- Czech orientation towards Austria
- Czech statehood within Austria
- Up to 1915

Dualization in 1867

- Czech disappointment
- Efforts of subdualism with Cislaithania
- Breadcrump policy
- Effort to penetrate into high position in state administration in Vienna and Prague
- Josef Kaizl

- Better and calmer times
- 1905–1908
- Democratic expectations
- Universal suffrage (but only for men)



- Conflict Times
- 1890s
 - Punctuations
 - Attempt to divide Czech lands according ethnic principle
 - Refused by Young Czechs
- Language measures of premier Badeni (1897)
- 1908–1914



Se Aus dem öltenreichilden Abgeordnetenhaule. 200



Economic nationalism

- Since late 1880s
- Connected with economic development and strengthening of Czech business
- Battlefield: banks
 - Živnostenská banka
 - Kreditanstalt der Deutschen





Several proposals:

- 1848 Ludwig Löhner: establishing of autonomous german regions within Czech lands
- 1888 Julius Grégr: lowering of number of Germans in Czech lands by cession of border parts to Germany
- 1890s and 1900s
 - transfer of the Czechs (for example to Bosnia)
 - Transfer of the Germans

- Establishing of national defense associations
- Middle class formations
- About 20 on each side
 - Národní jednota severočeská (National unity of the North Bohemia) 1885
 - Bund der Deutschen in Böhmen (Union of Germans in Bohemia) 1884





World War I

- Radicalization of Germans and Czechs
- Attempts to Germanize Cisleithaina
- Military and police regime during the war aimed mostly on Slavic nations (mainly on Czechs)
- Czech reaction → claim of independent state (since 1915)

World War I

- Masaryk, Beneš and Štefánik in exile
- Support of expat associations
- Support of independence among domestic politicians since 1917
- 18.10.1918 Wilson's support for the independence of Austria-Hungary nations
- 21.10.1918 Austrian German left Austria-Hungary
- 28.10. Czecho-slovak independece

Multinational state

	Czech lands		Czechoslovakia	
	1921	1930	1921	1930
Czechoslovak.	67,71	69,02	64,79	66,24
Germans	30,6	29,58	23,63	22,53
Hungarians	0,07	0,11	5,8	4,89
Jews	0,36	0,35	1,4	1,39
Polish	1,03	0,87	0,81	0,68
Russians	0,33	0,21	3,51	3,85

<u>1918</u>

- Establishing 4 German provinces with centres in Opava, Liberec, Znojmo and Prachatice
 - Goal: to became part of newly established Austria
- Military action against them

<u>1919–1920</u>

- National and social protests resulting in a dozens of deads
- German representation refused to participate in establishing new state
- Monetary and land reforms
 - caused losses to Germans and Hungarians

- Protection of minorities
- Constitution gauaranteed basic rights
- International law
 - Protection was a part of Versailles treaties
 - Possiblity to adress petitions to the League of Nations
 - Germans use it very frequently

Reform of administration

- Attempt to create autonomous counties during the 1920s
 - Support from T. G. Masaryk
 - Resistance of the Czech nationalists
 - Valid in Slovakia only

Language laws

- State language: Czech and Slovak
- 1927 restrictions
- Germans never reached the German language to have equal position as Czech and Slovak
- Reason:
 - Resistance of the Czech nationalists

Germans in the Government

- 1926: Coalition of the right and centre-right parties
- German participation on government lasted up to 1938 but
 - Since the outbreak of the Great Depression the political map changed

Great depression

- Impact mostly on border regions with German settlement
- Rise of nationalism
- 1933 Henlein <u>Sudetendeutsche Heimatsfront</u>
- In 1935 renamed to <u>Sudetendeutsche partei</u>
 - Close to Hitler's National socialists
 - In 1935 election the strongest party in Czechoslovakia

A Way to Munich 1938

- Hittler's goal to expand to central Europe
- Henlein's party closely cooperated with Hitler ightarrow
- Escalation of national conflict in Czechoslovakia since mid 1930s
- Czechoslovak political representation was not prepared for that

A way to Munich 1938

- Up to the summer 1938 efforts to solve the problem within the existing state borders
- Henlein's party escalated the requirements
- Since the August 1938
 - Solution in a form of territory cession became dominant

Conference in Munich

- 29. 9.1938 four European powers decided that the Czechoslovak territory inhabited mostly by Germans had to be ceded (given in) to Germany
- The big Czech trauma that influenced all subsequent steps of Czechoslovak political representation

Conference in Munich



Bundesarchiv, Bild 1







VE ČTVRTEK 22. září 1938

Drtivé rozhodnutí pod hrozbou úplného zničení.

Vlastní spojenci nám diktovali jako poraženým!

Ultimatum, pro jaké v dějinách národů není příkladu. - Všichni spojenci nám odmítli pomoc - Chamberlain s Hitlerem budou dnes rozhodovat o osudu naší vlasti. - Neklesneme, nezahyneme a nezapomeneme! Dějiny nekončí dneškem!

V tözöletjek dájlanök jen jeden. Ilstepaderj akit Vika republiky jels arveretinisym ak kar i kar sepakity jels arveretinisym ak jels arvereti deurszen signal statiska i kar i kar

a ponížení.

Překotný spád události

z úterka na středu.

Telefonický rozhovou

Chamberlain-Hitler.

Náhlé noční ultimatum Anglie a Francie. Ve dvě hodiny v moti dostavili se planel britaký a franceuzský k reádentu republiky. Oznámili mu, že

du na základě arbi kterou Němarke ujednalo a jejiž uznalo, Nota byla

Ujednání britského ministerské

Přípší nabo elmítnutí jelich plán. Apř Chamberána se moli polis útoj liter plav střílej natvětěv uli kolar, tel material kalaigos avel-kale vitáv atilení. Je tito vitá se bas riti majevit stříle vita se stříle stříle vita se da vita stříle speciel se stříle stříle se stříle stříle stříle vita se stříle stříle stříle se stříle stříle stříle stříle stříle se stříle Jednadvacátý září. Den národního

1. Ani Francie, ani An-glie nemohly by prý o-chraňovat nás proti útoku Německa, jestliže Česko-slovensko nebude ochotno smutku, úděsu odstoupit ona územi, kteoznačena v berch-nských návrzich. rá byla ozn

Ve dtyři hodiny rázo selel se sor politických ministrů za před klotví presidenta republiky. Sch otrvala téměř do 6. hodiny ramel. V Francie se necíti v ta-tovém případě vázána pojeneckými úmluvami. spojeneskými úmluvami. 3. Anglie by projevila nezšjem na dalším sudu byly jeji návrhy přijaty.

Litvinov vysvětluje:

Proč i Rusko odmítlo svou pomoc?

Editors vienes va monitorial ni-niel V Zarati vystelitoruj i Balas nesotie Chastovrania prostava i prostav

nim závazkům, kdyby eno pro nevyhovění ulti-nativním požadávkům, které

rozhodnutí.

Hodina osudného Na půl sedmou byla svolána mlikém paláci. Schůze potrvala de půl deváté. V 9 hodin sešla se ní try

Strach z budoucnosti.

lvacitky za pře



obava: Stačí Hitleroví

jenom Československo, nebo požádá víc?

Po zlém činu začinsti Londýn a Paříž svalovat vinu jeden na dru hého. Nežprve začali v Paříž obvišovat britskou vláču, zo osna to svým uliklom vicelno způsobila. V Londýni deť dopzidaji taktej Przákki vláža se pozhodla usloupit teprve tehýt, kôvý francozniký minier za randil Benent na jedi dožaz dopzidali, ža zamiša sliků, tá by Transit

dini a Hitler vztabuji ruce menuzské území, Málo Francozzů jásh, že se po-dařilo zabránit válce. Vice se pta-jí, jakou cenu za to zapiali Fran-cie. Italské listy už oblašni a Kordian. V Tunkin se odelstvá hostriedená Haladá aleo. Separa-tostické homi v Abaaka ofivuja a je vydnich podportvisko. "New York Hernid" uprosrinuje, že šád-ná hranice v Zrropě ul nesužite být porzálvýma za bespečenu. Na bešgické hranici a v danškém Sile-svika pamije norvostla.

Stáló ustupování musí skončit

promlava řeč byla Ameriky,

ioni ministr Eden fed typic position is abject vyvkimanes dateskych kompet, prijskom é a ne-bespeci doceán jiných rozniteľu. Ta ne-bespeci vyvatka a toho, že spril ze prokout tim, že hrutak aža vyhrtak i taková stataco, budo broy nenesie-telna. Už teď je neobytejná nebespeč-ná. Nenvýma se. Každá nová kyrise nás vedo bilž hváles.

Protectorate

- Since March 15th 1939 the rest of Czech teritorry was occupied by Germans
- Independent Slovak state was established
- Effort to germanize economy and society
- Persecution of the Jews and Czech cultural and intelectual elite

Protectorate



Protectorate

Resistance:

- The conditions worsened with arrival of R. Heydrich in September 1941
- May 1942 assassination of Heydrich by soldiers sent by Czechoslovak exile Government from London
- Nazi's revenge: Lidice and Ležáky and strengthening of prosecution towards the Czechs

Germans and Czechs in exile

- Beneš slowly decided to exclude Czech anti-nazist Germans from the decision of future form of Czechoslovakia
- The idea of the transfer gradually became dominant
 - But more at home than in exile





Liberation and the Transfer

- Permission form great powers during the war
- Real agreement: Potsdam conference in August 1945
- Two phases
 - Wild and violent expulsion
 - Since may 1945 to august 1945
 - Organized transfer
 - Since August 1945 to October 1946



Liberation and the Transfer









Beneš' Decrees

- Total number of 143 was released in 1940–1945
- Those concerning transferred Germans
 - Dec. No. 33/1945 Coll. From Aug 2nd on state citizenship
 - Dec. No. 5/1945 Coll. From May 19th on nullity of some property transfers during the war
 - Dec. No. 12/1945 Coll. On confiscation and distribution of land
 - Dec. Nos. 100–103/1945 Coll. from Oct. 24th Nationalization decrees
 - Dec. No. 108/1945 on confiscation of other property

Communist Era

- Two Germanys
- German Democratic republic
 - Peaceful and friendly Germany
- Federal Republic of Germany
 - Revisionists and imperialists

Communist Era

- Politics of détente
- West Germany's Ostpolitik \rightarrow
- 1973 Agreement between Czechoslovakia and West Germany
 - Growing but still small cooperation in economy and culture

- Big resentment towards Germans as a result of previous development
- Big disputes over new agreement with Germany in mid 1990s
- Czech–German declaration
- Creating of the Fund of reconciliation
 - Supporting of common projects



Exchanges educational stays of young people

- Germany as an opportunity to make profits
 - In early 1990 mostly in Borderlands
- New econnomic cooperation
- Influx of German capital
 - Example Volswagen bought Skoda





- After joining EU Czech-German relations improved further
- But some resentments still exists within Czech population
 - Topic of the expulsion of Germans after World war II still resonates in public but views is more differentiated and alternative voices have stronger position



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