

CONFIDENTIAL
18/GS/S

The Society

Czechoslovakia

May 1974

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY PUBLICATIONS

The basic unit of the NIS is the *General Survey*, which is now published in a bound-by-chapter format so that topics of greater perishability can be updated on an individual basis. These chapters—Country Profile, The Society, Government and Politics, The Economy, Military Geography, Transportation and Telecommunications, Armed Forces, Science, and Intelligence and Security, provide the primary NIS coverage. Some chapters, particularly Science and Intelligence and Security, that are not pertinent to all countries, are produced selectively. For small countries requiring only minimal NIS treatment, the *General Survey* coverage may be bound into one volume.

Supplementing the *General Survey* is the *NIS Basic Intelligence Factbook*, a ready reference publication that semiannually updates key statistical data found in the Survey. An unclassified edition of the factbook omits some details on the economy, the defense forces, and the intelligence and security organizations.

Although detailed sections on many topics were part of the NIS Program, production of these sections has been phased out. Those previously produced will continue to be available as long as the major portion of the study is considered valid.

A quarterly listing of all active NIS units is published in the *Inventory of Available NIS Publications*, which is also bound into the concurrent classified Factbook. The Inventory lists all NIS units by area name and number and includes classification and date of issue; it thus facilitates the ordering of NIS units as well as their filing, cataloging, and utilization.

Initial dissemination, additional copies of NIS units, or separate chapters of the *General Surveys* can be obtained directly or through liaison channels from the Central Intelligence Agency.

The *General Survey* is prepared for the NIS by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency under the general direction of the NIS Committee. It is coordinated, edited, published, and disseminated by the Central Intelligence Agency.

WARNING

This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States, within the meaning of title 18, section: 793 and 794 of the US code, as amended. Its transmission or revelation of its contents to or receipt by an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

CLASSIFIED BY 019641. EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF E. O. 11652 EXEMPTION CATEGORIES 3B (1), (2), (3). DECLASSIFIED ONLY ON APPROVAL OF THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE.

WARNING

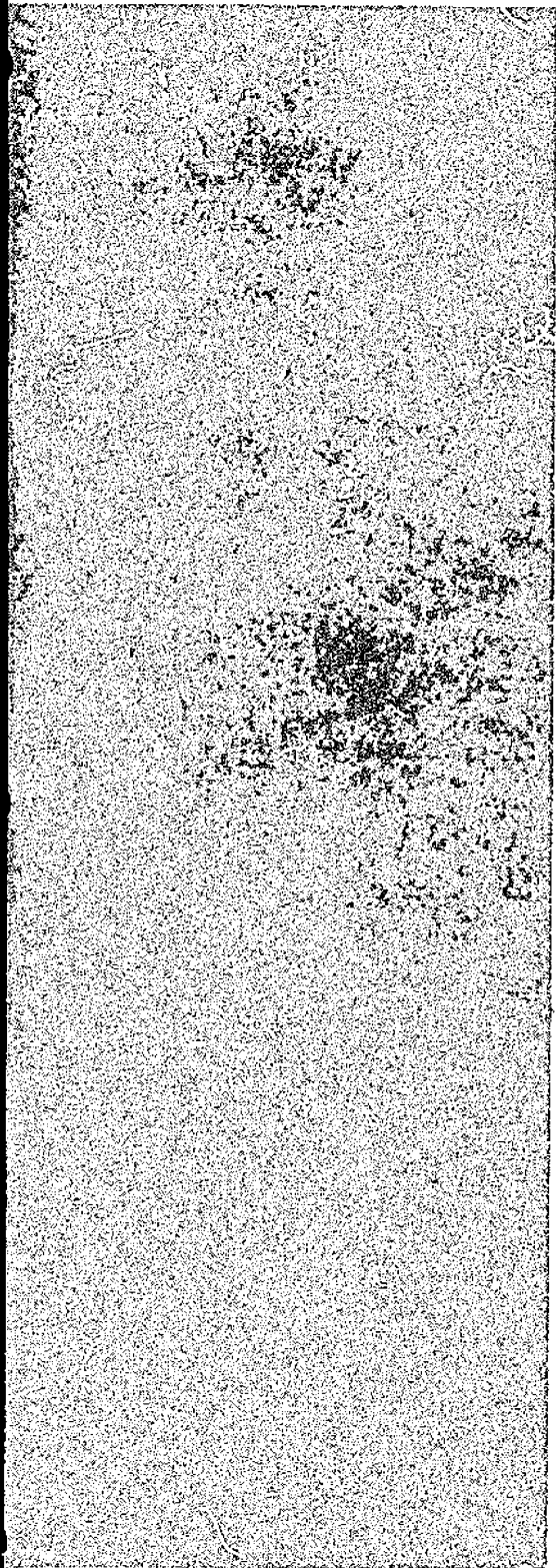
The NIS is National Intelligence and may not be released or shown to representatives of any foreign government or international body except by specific authorization of the Director of Central Intelligence in accordance with the provisions of National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 1.

For NIS containing unclassified material, however, the portions so marked may be made available for official purposes to foreign nationals and nongovernment personnel provided no attribution is made to National Intelligence or the National Intelligence Survey.

Subsections and graphics are individually classified according to content. Classification/control designations are:

(U/OU) . . . Unclassified/For Official Use Only
(C) Confidential
(S) Secret

This chapter was prepared for the NIS by the Bureau of Economic Analysis, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Department of Commerce, under the general supervision of the Central Intelligence Agency. Research was substantially completed by December 1973.



Czechoslovakia

CONTENTS

*This chapter supersedes the sociological coverage
in the General Survey dated December 1971*

A. Introduction	1
B. Structure and characteristics of the society	1
1. Ethnic makeup	1
2. Social structure	3
3. The family	4
4. Values and attitudes	4
C. Population	5
1. Distribution and density	7
2. Age-sex structure	9
D. Living and working conditions	9
1. Health and sanitation	13
a. Medical problems	13
b. Medical care	13
c. Environmental sanitation	15
2. Diet and nutrition	16
3. Housing	16

CONFIDENTIAL

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
4. Work opportunities and conditions	17	a. Music and dance	31
a. The manpower problem and worker satisfaction	17	b. Theater and motion pictures	32
b. Labor legislation and organizations ..	18	3. Art and architecture	32
5. Social security and public welfare	20	a. Painting, sculpture, and architecture ..	32
E. Religion	21	b. Folk and applied art	34
F. Education	24	H. Public information	34
1. Educational policy	25	1. Printed matter	36
2. System and organization	26	a. Press and periodicals	36
3. Levels of attainment	28	b. Books and libraries	36
G. Artistic and cultural expression	29	2. Radio and television	38
1. Literature	30	I. Selected bibliography	39
2. Performing arts	31	Glossary	39

FIGURES

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Fig. 1 Ethnic minorities (<i>map</i>)	2	Fig. 8 Average monthly wages (<i>table</i>)	9
Fig. 2 Vital rates (<i>table</i>)	6	Fig. 9 Household expenditures (<i>table</i>)	11
Fig. 3 Population, area, and population density (<i>table</i>)	7	Fig. 10 Retail price index (<i>table</i>)	11
Fig. 4 Population by size of community (<i>table</i>)	8	Fig. 11 Trends in sales of consumer goods (<i>chart</i>)	12
Fig. 5 Growth of cities (<i>table</i>)	8	Fig. 12 Public health facilities (<i>table</i>)	14
Fig. 6 Age composition of the population (<i>chart</i>)	9	Fig. 13 Enrollment by type of school (<i>table</i>) ..	28
Fig. 7 Age-sex composition of the population (<i>chart</i>)	9	Fig. 14 St. Vitus Cathedral (<i>photo</i>)	33
		Fig. 15 Typical porcelain figurine (<i>photo</i>) ..	34
		Fig. 16 Modern glassware (<i>photos</i>)	35
		Fig. 17 Principal daily newspapers (<i>table</i>) ..	37

The Society

A. Introduction (C)

Although Czechs and Slovaks are of common Slavic ethnic and linguistic background, they differ in their cultural and institutional heritages. The Czechs, who inhabit the traditional areas of Bohemia and Moravia, have a rich cultural tradition and have long remained in the mainstream of central European development linked to Western Europe. As one of the chief industrial centers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Czech Lands were much more economically developed than the eastern part of the country inhabited by the Slovaks who comprise slightly less than a third of the total population. Under the control of the Magyar part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Slovaks, in contrast to the Czechs, have traditionally been an agriculturally oriented society. Industrialization in their area has been more recent and far less extensive than in the western regions.

Despite a rapid transformation of Czechoslovakia's social structure and a remolding of its political, economic, and cultural institutions on the Soviet pattern, Czechoslovak society remains culturally part of the West. The highly centralized and authoritarian regime imposed on the Czechoslovaks in 1948 is alien to the traditional political and cultural aspirations of the nation. By a combination of resignation and passive resistance, developed through centuries of foreign political domination, the Czechoslovaks have learned to accommodate themselves to the demands of a superior power: but to maintain their intellectual and national integrity. This enduring national trait has been personified in Jaroslav Hasek's "Good Soldier Schweik," a fictional hero who, as a conscript in the Austro-Hungarian Army, frustrates the will of his superiors by feigning obedience, indolence, and stupidity.

As they move into the mid-1970's, the Czechoslovaks appear to be striking an uneasy *modus vivendi* with the regime of Gustav Husak, following a stormy period of reform and rebellion that began in the 1960's and, after a "thaw" in the spring of 1968, ended in August of the same year with the dashing of hopes for political, economic, and social reform by a Soviet-led

Warsaw Pact invasion of the country. A year later, the liberal and popular leader of the reform movement, Alexander Dubcek, was replaced by Gustav Husak, a leader acceptable to the Soviets. In late 1973, the Husak regime, after purging liberal and pro-Dubcek elements, was easing political and social controls imposed after the downfall of Dubcek. Limited improvements in living levels also were working to stabilize the society, although shortfalls in economic life still gave Czechoslovaks much to grumble about. The new mode of moderation was nevertheless very evident and a normalization of life seemed to suggest that the population was prepared to accept the current Soviet-dominated regime and get on with the task of improving their quality of life as best they could under the circumstances.

B. Structure and characteristics of the society (U/OU)

1. Ethnic makeup

Czechs and Slovaks, two closely related western Slavic peoples, make up about 95% of the population of Czechoslovakia. The Czechs, constituting about 65%, are the largest ethnic group; the Slovaks, with about 30%, are the next largest. The Czechs inhabit the so-called Czech Lands (Bohemia and western Moravia), their home since the time of the massive migration of Slavic tribes into eastern and central Europe in the sixth century. The Slovaks inhabit Slovakia, their home since the sixth century, as well as parts of eastern Moravia.

Czechoslovakia's ethnic minority problems were for the most part eliminated after World War II, following population exchanges with Germany and Hungary and the cession of Ruthenia, with its Ukrainian population, to the U.S.S.R. Czechoslovakia's minorities today make up only about 5% of the population in contrast to almost 40% during the 1930's. At the beginning of 1973, Hungarians (numbering some 582,000) constituted the largest minority followed by Germans (80,000), Poles (68,000), and Ukrainians and Russians (59,000). The

Hungarians are concentrated largely in southern Slovakia, the Germans in western Bohemia, the Poles in northern Moravia, and the Ukrainians (Ruthenians) in eastern Slovakia (Figure 1). In addition, some 30,000 Gypsies, who are not counted statistically as an ethnic minority, are mainly located in southern Slovakia and parts of Bohemia. A small Jewish population is scattered throughout the country, and lives mostly in the larger towns.

Czech-Slovak rivalry has historical roots and is the only ethnic divisive factor of any significance in the society today. The Slovaks were dominated by the Hungarians for a thousand years before Czechoslovak independence in 1918, while the formerly independent Czech kingdom was subjugated to the Austrians from 1620 to 1918, but linguistic and cultural differences between Czechs and Slovaks remained generally minimal. Following World War I, however, a trend toward ethnic differentiation set in, which in turn contributed to political differences. Much of the ethnic differentiation arose out of socioeconomic differences. The Czechs, who outnumbered the Slovaks two to one, were mostly urban dwellers and as such regarded themselves as culturally superior to the Slovaks, who traditionally made up a peasant society dominated by a Hungarian elite. The Slovaks naturally resented Czech airs of superiority and came to think of themselves more and more as a separate

people. The existence of a separate Slovak state from 1939 to 1945, sponsored by the Nazis, strengthened this feeling of distinctiveness.

During the early years of the Communist regime, both the Slovaks and the minorities feared absorption by the majority Czech population. In order to allay this fear, the regime embarked on a program of economic, social, and political equalization. The 1960 constitution granted minorities "all opportunities and means for education in their mother tongue and for their cultural development." In addition, it gave them the right to publish their own newspapers and periodicals.

The policy of equalization, however, was not wholly successful and the regime switched to a campaign of repression against what it termed "nationalism and chauvinism." Another switch followed in 1968, when the Dubcek regime reaffirmed the legal status of minorities and the right of all ethnic groups to "develop their own cultural identities." Of particular importance was the granting to the Slovaks greater control over domestic affairs and equal status with the Czechs under a new federalization. Although the current Husak regime has restricted somewhat the effects of true federalization and has not carried out the full intentions of the Dubcek government toward minorities in general, it has not returned to the repressive measures of the pre-Dubcek days.

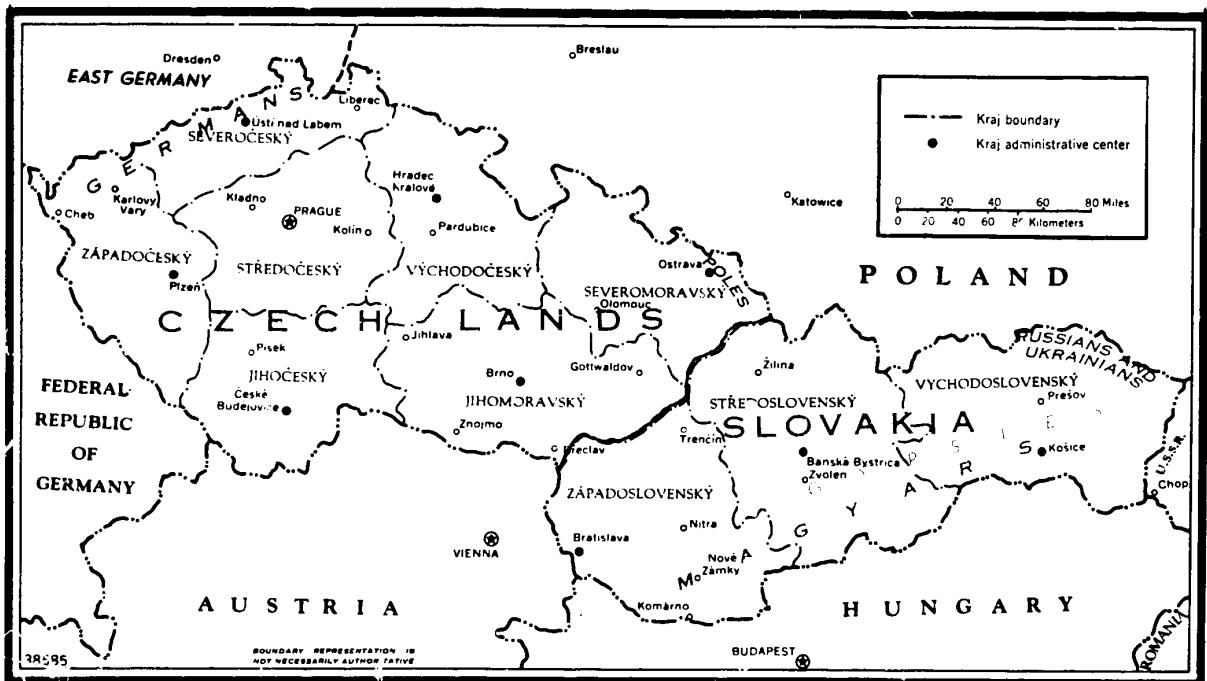


FIGURE 1. Major concentrations of ethnic minorities (U/OU)

While Magyars, Germans, Poles, and Ukrainians enjoy a legal status as minorities (the Germans were granted this right only in 1968), the Gypsies do not. In keeping with tradition, they are considered to be citizens of a different national origin eventually to be absorbed into the general population. Estimated at 300,000, the Gypsy population of Czechoslovakia may be one of the largest in any single nation. Although more settled than in the past (they are being relocated in western Bohemia in increasing numbers as industrial workers), many continue traditional lifestyles, working, for example, at odd jobs only when they need money.

Czechoslovakia is a bilingual state, with Czech the official language of the Czech Lands, and Slovak the official language of Slovakia. Both languages are members of the western division of the Slavonic language group, which in turn belongs to the eastern division of the Indo-European family. Despite some differences in vocabulary and grammar, both are intelligible in all parts of the country, except in a few areas where extreme dialects are spoken. Slovak has a softer tonality than Czech, and in this respect is closer to Ukrainian and Polish.

In addition to Czech and Slovak, other languages spoken by any significant portion of the population are German in the Czech Lands and Hungarian in Slovakia. Among both Czechs and Slovaks, German remains the principal Western language spoken. Knowledge of Russian is increasing, and many professional people educated during the interwar period know English or French. Members of the younger generation express a great interest in learning English or French, even though Russian is more politically desirable.

2. Social structure

In the independent Czechoslovakia that emerged after World War I there was no longstanding professional military class, and the remaining members of the landowning nobility lost most of their estates through land reform. Differences in wealth and social status were not as strongly marked as in Hungary, Poland, or some of the Western European countries. Such social conflict as existed was primarily between nationality groups, which themselves were socially homogeneous. Furthermore, religious conflict was minimal.

The social structure during the interwar period consisted mainly of a strong, urbanized middle class—businessmen, intellectuals, and bureaucrats—and two other distinct groups—industrial workers and peasants—who constituted the lower class. Vestiges of

a small upper class remained as *rentiers* or industrialists. Most Czechs and Germans were industrial workers, whereas most Slovaks, Magyars, and Ukrainians were peasants. The class structure was open with considerable upward mobility because of the availability of educational opportunities at all social levels.

The political and economic measures introduced by the Communists beginning in 1948 radically changed the prewar social structure. In the wake of post-1945 nationalization of major industrial and commercial enterprises, followed by post-1948 suppression of non-Communist political parties and judicial actions against "bourgeois" opposition elements, the former upper class virtually disappeared. In its place a new upper class emerged, made up of high Communist Party and government officials, leaders of mass organizations, managers of nationalized enterprises, scientists, and prominent writers and artists willing to work within the political and ideological restrictions imposed by the regime.

Despite the Communist regime's egalitarian philosophy, members of the new upper class enjoy an elite status which brings with it preferential treatment, high income, and social prestige. In keeping with the regime's political credo of the "rule of the proletariat," many members of this elite are of working class origin, but their lifestyles belie this. Actually, there is little to distinguish their way of life from that of members of the former upper class, except in their ideological orientation. They enjoy the same privileges the pre-Communist elite did: the best housing, schools, clubs, and resorts; the opportunity to purchase goods unavailable to the rest of the population; and increased opportunities to travel abroad.

Below the elite upper class is a new middle class drawn from the middle and lower echelons of the party and bureaucracy. Its members manage the government and economy for the ruling elite. One chief requirement for membership in the new middle class is ideological loyalty. A peasant or worker background is ideal but there are many exceptions in this last regard. The lifestyle of this class generally resembles that of any other European managerial class.

As in the prewar period, the lower class consists of farmers and both blue- and white-collar non-agricultural workers. A new category is the collectivized farmer, whose daily life and work comes under close scrutiny and control by the state. The lower class is by far the largest and includes many former members of the prewar middle and upper classes whose property was nationalized and whose privileges were abolished.

An overwhelming majority of its members passively resist the regime, lacking as they do legitimate political power or organization. Some, however, can become quite active in their resistance, as was the case during 1968 when workers united with students and intellectuals in support of the popular reform program and in opposition to the Soviet Union's interference in the nation's internal affairs.

Upward social mobility is based chiefly on education and political loyalty. In its early years, the Communist government denied members of the former middle and upper classes access to education, so that a large number of individuals of the lower class rose in the society to form the new middle and upper classes. Membership in the new middle and upper classes is not as secure as it was in the prewar period; social and economic position today depends to an unusually high degree on political fortunes that rise and fall with every shift or change in the Communist Party line.

3. The family

The prevailing family type is identical to that in most industrial societies: the single-family monogamous unit composed of father, mother, and unmarried children. Ties between this basic unit and close relatives tend to be weaker in the more urban and industrial Czech Lands, and stronger in largely rural Slovakia where close family relations resemble those in other East European countries. However, uniformity in family life throughout the country is being promoted by rapid industrialization, which has increased population, mobility and shortened distances between town and village.

The family unit has usually occupied a single dwelling, but the postwar housing shortage has obliged many newlyweds to move in with parents. In Slovakia, partly because of tradition and partly because of the housing shortage, the three-generation household is more evident than in the Czech Lands. As a result of both this and a higher birth rate, the average Slovak household has four persons, as compared with three in the average Czech household.

In the typical Czech household before the advent of the present regime, the husband earned the family income and the wife took care of home and children. The mother often exercised decisive influence in household affairs, but the father remained, at least formally, the head of the family. Marriages were frequently the result not of a love affair but of an arrangement entered into by the couple and parents, with important consideration given to the groom's education, occupation, and income, and to the bride's

trousseau and dowry. During the First Republic (1918-38), religious and civil marriage ceremonies had equal validity and divorce was legally recognized.

The traditional family pattern of life has undergone considerable change under the impact of communism. Marxist theories concerning the "emancipation of women," the sharp increase in the employment of women, and the state's assumption of greater responsibility in the upbringing of children all have combined to loosen family ties and weaken the authority of parents, especially that of the father. These changes, along with an acute housing shortage, have contributed to a rising divorce rate and a falling birth rate. The government has abolished any legal distinction between married and unmarried mothers.

Individuals become legally eligible for marriage at age 18; those between 16 and 18 must file an application that includes parental consent, and those below 16 are granted permission to marry only under exceptional circumstances. To be legal, a marriage must be contracted before an appropriate local governmental agency. A church ceremony may follow, but it carries no legal validity. Husbands and wives may retain their own family names or use the family names of either. Children bear the family name stipulated at the time of birth. Marriage to a foreigner without consent of the Ministry of Interior is prohibited.

Since 1963, family legislation has emphasized the welfare and upbringing of children. Largely with child care in mind, the government has decreed that "divorce should be an exception under socialism" and that all citizens must strive for the "maintenance of marital ties." Theoretically a divorce may not be granted if it would "severely affect" one of the partners or conflict with the interests of the children. Custody of the children in event of divorce is determined by the court, although the children are almost invariably entrusted to the mother.

4. Values and attitudes

The Czechs and Slovaks are a tenacious people. They are steadfast in purpose and will strive to achieve goals whatever difficulties stand in the way. Tenacity of purpose, however, does not mean achievement of goals through force or violence. They believe in the force of reason and prefer achieving goals through compromise rather than violence. They gained their independence in 1918 less through violence than through reasoned appeals to international opinion, and under the First Republic (1918-38) they created a democracy unique to Europe chiefly through compromise and negotiation. In the Czech character,

and to a slightly less degree in the Slovak, tenacity of purpose combines with the pragmatism and prudence of the shrewd negotiator.

Both Slovaks and Czechs have a strong egalitarian outlook. Class differences have never been very pronounced in the country, nor have there been great extremes in poverty and wealth. At the same time, however, there is class consciousness which is stronger among Slovaks than Czechs.

Czechoslovak values and attitudes are typically middle class. The Czechs in particular place a high premium on economic independence and personal security. Since to amass material possessions requires hard work, diligence, and ability, these characteristics are much admired and encouraged among the young. And since security is so important in the scale of values, personal characteristics that preserve security are also greatly valued, such as stoicism, adaptation to difficulties, and compliance.

The Communists have persistently tried to obliterate the nation's democratic heritage, to disrupt traditional ties with the West, and to isolate the people from anti-Communist influences. The government has systematically vilified those principles of humanistic liberalism which were the hallmark of the founder of the Czechoslovak state, Tomas G. Masaryk. To supplant individual thought with collective action, the regime has involved most of the population on a more or less compulsory basis in a busy organizational life in state-sponsored mass organizations. Czechs and Slovaks, however, still maintain traditional attitudes and values despite governmental and party pressures and indoctrination attempts.

Deeply rooted anti-German and, to a lesser extent, anti-Hungarian sentiments persist among some segments of the population. Among members of the younger generation, however, West Germany appears as a model of material well-being and efficiency and thus anti-German prejudices surface more with respect to East Germans than West Germans. Recent efforts by the government to normalize relations with West Germany have considerably muted anti-German sentiments.

Prior to the Communist takeover Czechoslovaks usually sought support for their aspirations from the Western democracies, particularly France, Great Britain, and the United States. Pan-Slavism and the tendency to look to the Russians for support and leadership was a minor element in Czechoslovak history, and only after the post-Munich disillusionment with the West did the Czechoslovaks turn increasingly to the U.S.S.R. for support. However, the sympathetic attitude of many Czechoslovaks toward

their brother Slavs of the Soviet Union has gradually changed to hostility as a result of the brutish behavior of Soviet troops who liberated Czechoslovakia in 1945, the Soviet-directed communization of Czechoslovakia after 1948, and, more dramatically and extensively, because of the 1968 Soviet-led invasion.

C. Population (U/OU)

Czechoslovakia's population, estimated at 14,563,000 at midyear 1973, has been slowly increasing since the vast population shifts between 1938 and 1950. Among the six Warsaw Pact nations of Eastern Europe, Czechoslovakia ranks fourth in total population; however, only East Germany has a greater population density. Like Eastern Europe in general, Czechoslovakia has a lower density than most nations of Western Europe.

The rate of population growth has been fairly slow throughout the 20th century. Natural increase in present-day Czechoslovakia was high in the early 20th century, but emigration, particularly to the United States, Austria, and Hungary, was heavy. In the interwar period, emigration was sharply reduced but the birth rate sharply declined also. Czechoslovakia had relatively few military losses during World War II but other population changes, including the decimation of the Jewish population under the German occupation and the expulsion of almost 3 million Germans between 1945 and 1950, reduced the 1950 population to 12,338,000, or about the same level as in 1900. Following the large postwar shifts of population, migration to and from Czechoslovakia has been small. In the early 1950's immigrants outnumbered emigrants slightly, but since then this movement has been reversed. Some German emigrants have been permitted to move to West Germany to join relatives. Following the Warsaw Pact invasion of August 1968, according to official figures, about 20,000 persons emigrated between August 1968 and the end of 1970; other sources, however, estimate that as many as 80,000 Czechoslovaks fled the country because of the threat of political repression. (Even this figure is considered low by some in view of the possibility of relatively free travel to the West which ended only some months after the 1968 invasion.) The efforts of the Husak regime to coax them back through amnesties met with little success, and in early 1970 the government began confiscating their homes and property. A new amnesty was granted to all political exiles in early 1973 as part of a move to gain greater public support for the government.

Czechoslovakia's birth rate was not appreciably affected by World War II and was higher immediately

following the war. Since the early postwar years, however, the birth rate has been in a general decline, primarily because of extensive birth control practices, and now, along with other Central European countries, is among the lowest in the world. From a postwar high of 24.2 per 1,000 persons in 1947, the birth rate dropped to a record low of 14.9 in 1968. Since then the rate has shifted upward to reach 17.3 per 1,000 persons in 1972. Between 1950 and 1968 the number of births declined by 26%, considerably higher than the average Eastern Europe decline of 16%.

The two major divisions of Czechoslovakia have long had strikingly different demographic characteristics. Those of the Czech Lands, comprising the western three-fifths of the country, are typical of Western Europe whereas those of Slovakia are more typical of Eastern Europe. The birth rate has been consistently lower in the Czech Lands than in Slovakia (Figure 2). The gap in the death rate, however, was closed as living conditions and medical facilities in Slovakia improved during the interwar period. Since the early 1950's, the death rate in Slovakia has been lower than that in the Czech Lands primarily because the population is younger. Hence, natural increase in Slovakia was twice as high as that in the Czech Lands in the interwar period and has been as much as three times higher than that in the Czech Lands in recent years. Infant mortality, however, continues to remain higher in Slovakia, which had an infant death rate of 25.4 per 1,000 live births compared with 19.3 for the Czech Lands in 1972.

Czechoslovakia's slow population growth has led to chronic labor shortages which pose a major economic problem to the country. The regime embarked on a number of schemes during the 1960's to stimulate population growth, offering financial inducements such as family allowances, maternity benefits (increased again in 1970 and 1971), rent reductions for

families with several children, and reduced tax rates for larger families. Running counter to this, however, are many factors conducive to family limitation, such as inadequate housing, preoccupation with obtaining consumer goods, the difficulty of supporting more than two children, the increasing employment of women, and the availability of abortions.

In the mid-1950's the countries of Eastern Europe followed the Soviet lead in relaxing their abortion laws. This is generally recognized to have been a decisive step, since it provided government sanction to efforts to limit the size of families. Abortion in Czechoslovakia had been legal exclusively for medical reasons, but in 1957 virtually all limitations were removed. A sharp rise in the number of abortions followed until 1961, when the government, concerned over the declining birth rate, imposed new restrictions. Although these were effective for a few years, in 1964 the abortion rate again began increasing. The number of abortions jumped from 94,000 in 1964 to 125,000 in 1970, but during 1971 the number fell to 122,000 and during 1972 to 118,000. The number of abortions in 1972 represented one abortion for every 2.1 births.

Data on life expectancy at birth reveal striking results in the control of disease over the past 40 years:

	MALES	FEMALES
	(in years)	
1929-32	51.9	55.2
1937	54.9	58.7
1949-51	60.9	65.5
1955	66.2	71.1
1960	67.8	73.2
1965	67.3	73.2
1970	66.2	72.9
1972	67.0	73.8

Life expectancy values for males have not improved significantly since 1955 and those for females remained much the same since 1960. Nonetheless, the 1972 values for both sexes are among the highest in the world. Furthermore, the values are about the same in Slovakia as they are in the Czech Lands. The differences between the values for the two sexes—6.8 years in 1972—is clear evidence of a more favorable mortality pattern for females.

Should mortality decline at a moderate pace and fertility remain at the 1971 level, the population is projected to continue to increase slowly—from 14.6 million in midyear 1973 to 15.1 million in 1980, to 15.4 million in 1985, and to 15.6 million in 1990. These projections imply that the average annual rate of population increase will decline from 6.2 per 1,000 in 1972 to 4.5 in 1980, to 3.4 in 1985, and to 3.1 million in 1990.

FIGURE 2. Vital rates for the Czech Lands and Slovakia (Per 1,000 population) (U/OU)

YEAR	CZECH LANDS		SLOVAKIA	
	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths
1920-24	24.1	15.6	35.4	19.5
1930-34	17.5	13.2	26.7	15.4
1950-54	19.6	11.0	28.0	10.5
1960	13.3	9.7	22.1	7.9
1965	15.1	10.7	19.3	8.2
1970	15.1	12.6	17.8	9.3
1971	15.7	12.4	18.2	9.4
1972	16.5	12.0	19.1	9.0

I. Distribution and density

The distribution of Czechoslovakia's population is fairly even throughout the 10 administrative regions (*kraje*), with the heaviest concentration in central and northern Bohemia around Prague, the two *kraje* which occupy the former territory of Moravia, and western Slovakia around Bratislava. The least populous areas are southern and western Bohemia and predominantly mountainous central and eastern Slovakia.

As reported at midyear 1971, 42.3% of the total population lived in Bohemia, which comprises 41.3% of the national territory. Another 26.0% of the population lived in Moravia, which constitutes 20.4% of the land, and the remaining 31.7% lived in Slovakia, which makes up 38.3% of the total area (Figure 3).

With a population density of 292 persons per square mile at midyear 1971, Czechoslovakia ranked second in Eastern Europe to similarly industrialized East Germany. Like Eastern Europe in general, however, Czechoslovakia has a lower density than most nations of Western Europe. The highest densities outside the major cities occur along the East German border, in central Moravia, and in the Danube basin (see population inset to Summary Map in Country Profile chapter). No large area of Czechoslovakia can be called sparsely populated by U.S. standards, as only one *kraj* had fewer than 200 persons per square mile in 1971.

Throughout the years the population concentrations were centered in the more industrialized Czech Lands, but long-term trends indicate that a redistribution of

population is taking place throughout the country, as noted in the following percentage distribution:

	1930	1961	1971	1973
Bohemia	51.3	43.9	42.3	68.1
Moravia	25.0	25.7	26.0	
Slovakia	23.7	30.4	31.7	

As indicated by Bohemia's declining share of the total national population, out-migration and a declining birth rate are major population trends in Czechoslovakia's industrial region. More significant, however, is the movement of rural people into urban areas, especially to the rapidly growing cities and towns of Slovakia and Moravia. Total internal migration numbered 392,711 persons in 1971, of which 42.9% occurred within the same *okres* (district). In 24.6% of the moves, the migration was from one *okres* to another in the same *kraj*, while 27% were from one *kraj* to another. Only 5.5% of the moves were between the Czech Lands and Slovakia.

Czechoslovakia is essentially a country of small cities and towns (Figure 4). With more than 62% of the 1970 population living in cities and towns of over 2,000 inhabitants, Czechoslovakia is the second most urbanized country in Eastern Europe, surpassed only by East Germany. The emphasis put on industrialization has resulted in a 37% increase in the urban population since 1946. The rate of urban growth, however, is well below that of most other Eastern European countries because, like East Germany, Czechoslovakia had a much higher proportion of urban population to begin with. As was true in most of Eastern Europe, the greatest increase in urban

FIGURE 3. Population, area, and population density, 1971 (U/OU)

GEOGRAPHIC AREA AND KRAJ	POPULATION	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION	AREA (IN SQUARE MILES)	PERCENT OF TOTAL AREA	PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
Czech Lands:					
Stredocesky (central Bohemia)	2,272,746	15.8	4,439	9.0	512
Jihocesky (southern Bohemia)	654,674	4.5	4,381	8.9	149
Zapadocesky (western Bohemia)	852,313	5.9	4,198	8.5	203
Severocesky (northern Bohemia)	1,105,721	7.7	3,015	6.1	367
Vychodocesky (eastern Bohemia)	1,204,013	8.4	4,340	8.8	277
Jihomoravsky (southern Moravia)	1,942,445	13.4	5,803	11.7	335
Severomoravsky (northern Moravia)	1,809,893	12.6	4,273	8.7	424
Total	9,841,805	68.3	30,449	61.7	323
Slovakia:					
Zapadoslovensky (western Slovakia)	1,892,802	13.1	5,737	11.6	330
Stredoslovensky (central Slovakia)	1,408,494	9.8	6,940	14.1	203
Vychodoslovensky (eastern Slovakia)	1,263,671	8.8	6,247	12.6	202
Total	4,564,967	31.7	18,924	38.3	241
Total Czechoslovakia	14,406,772	100.0	49,373	100.0	292

FIGURE 4. Population by size of community, 1970 (U/OU)

SIZE CLASS	NUMBER	AGGREGATE POPULATION	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION
100,000 and over	6	2,269,349	15.8
50,000-99,999	14	932,432	6.7
20,000-49,999	43	1,257,530	8.5
10,000-19,999	84	1,151,249	8.0
5,000-9,999	170	1,193,972	8.3
2,000-4,999	718	2,147,498	15.0
1,000-1,999	1,441	1,987,401	13.8
500-999	2,750	1,943,154	13.5
Under 500	5,382	1,474,972	10.3
Total	10,608	*14,357,557	100.0

*Excluding the 4,000 persons who did not record a permanent residence at the time of the 1 December 1970 census.

population in Czechoslovakia occurred in middle-sized cities with populations of 20,000 to 100,000. The population of towns below 2,000 inhabitants has remained largely static.

Czechoslovakia has six cities with populations over 100,000, which at the beginning of 1973 accounted for 16% of the total population. Prague in 1973 had a population of nearly 1,086,000, or more than three times the size of Brno, the next largest city. Population increases between 1961 and 1973 were especially rapid in Kosice¹ which almost doubled in population and in Bratislava which grew by more than 30% (Figure 5).

Much of the increase in urban population has been the result of the migration of agricultural workers to the cities. This migration, already characteristic of the pre-World War II period, accelerated following 1950, when the disparity between rural and urban incomes became more pronounced and as more people, especially the young, were attracted by city life. Between 1950 and 1961 some 590,000 persons,

¹For diacritics on place names see the list of names on the apron of the Summary Map and the map itself in the Country Profile chapter.

FIGURE 5. Growth of cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants (U/OU)

CITY	POPULATION		PERCENT CHANGE
	1961	1 January 1973	
Prague	1,005,379	1,085,872	8.0
Brno	314,235	350,309	11.5
Bratislava	241,796	317,993	31.5
Ostrava	234,222	287,589	22.8
Kosice	79,352	157,918	99.0
Pilsen	137,209	151,243	10.2

representing 27% of the agricultural labor force in 1950, left agricultural employment. By 1972 an additional 242,000 had left agricultural employment, with the result that the total agricultural labor force decreased from 2,188,000 in 1950 to 1,356,000 in 1972. It may be presumed that most of these persons, along with their dependents, took up residence in urban areas when they transferred to nonagricultural occupations, which during the 22-year period increased from 3.6 million to 6.0 million.

Since World War II successive governments have tried to encourage young rural people to stay on the farm and young urban people to take up agricultural pursuits. The largest return movement occurred in 1946-47, when the postwar coalition government induced 1.5 million Czechs and Slovaks to settle in the border areas which had been depopulated by the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans. Subsequent attempts by the government have been considerably less successful. In July 1970 the government announced a new long-term borderland resettlement program, offering lucrative bonuses and economic subsidies to induce people of all professions to move to these underpopulated agricultural areas.

2. Age-sex structure

Since 1900, the age structure of Czechoslovakia's population has undergone considerable change: the proportion of the population age 60 and older has been rising while the proportion of those under age 15 has been declining (Figure 6). The age structure is now typical of countries which have experienced the demographic transition from comparatively high to low levels of both fertility and mortality and have low rates of growth. At present, Czechoslovakia's population is characterized by a large proportion of adults and a relatively small proportion of children. The median age, which has risen from 30.4 years in 1950 to 32.1 at the beginning of 1971, is 4 years higher than the median age in the United States. Regional differences show that the population of the Czech Lands had a median age of 33.8 years while that of Slovakia had a median age of only 28.6 years.

The profile of the population in 1972 (Figure 7) clearly shows the sharp reductions in the birth rate during World War I and during the severe depression years of the 1930's, and the declining birth rate of the 1960's. The lag in the demographic development of Slovakia as compared with that of the Czech Lands is also reflected in the age structure of each region. The broader base of the population pyramid for Slovakia reflects the higher fertility and younger population in that region.

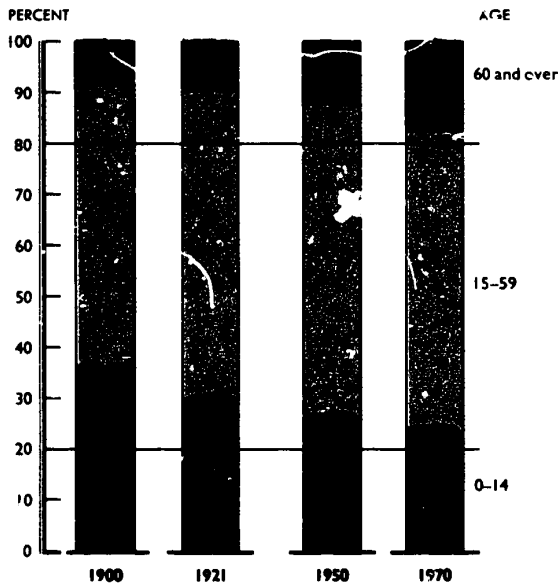


FIGURE 6. Age composition of the population (U/OU)

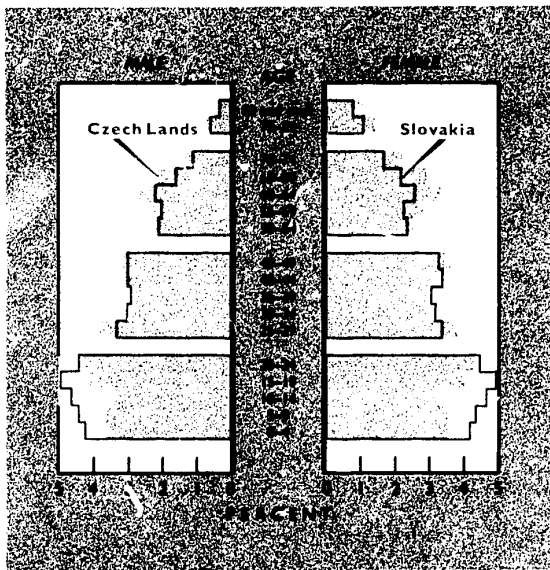


FIGURE 7. Age-sex composition of the population of the Czech Lands and Slovakia, 1972 (U/OU)

In 1972, 22.9% of the population consisted of persons under age 15, and 17.4% were age 60 or older. Reflecting the higher mortality rates among males, the female population had a markedly higher proportion of older members than did the male population. During the period 1950-72, the population in the working (or able-bodied) ages—16 to 59 for males and 16 to 54 for females—increased less rapidly than did that in the other two broad age groups, and therefore the working-age population declined as a share of the total. The proportion of persons under working age also declined, while the share of the population in the older ages increased sharply.

Women have outnumbered men in Czechoslovakia throughout the 20th century. In 1972 the population comprised 7,030,786 males and 7,404,827 females, a ratio of 94.9 males per 100 females. Males outnumbered females in all age groups under 30. Beginning at age 30, however, women exceeded men in all age groups, and they did so strikingly at the older ages. The deficiency of males is greater in the more urbanized Czech Lands. In 1972 the latter area had a ratio of 93.9 males per 100 females whereas Slovakia had a ratio of 97.3. The lower sex ratio in urban areas also reflects the greater opportunities for employment of females in the cities.

D. Living and working conditions (U/OU)

Living levels in Czechoslovakia are higher than those in the other European Communist countries except for East Germany, but are lower than those in the United States and many Western European countries. The industrialized western and central regions of Czechoslovakia were on economic par with neighboring Germany before World War II and suffered little damage during the war, with the result that living levels recovered rapidly to prewar levels during the late 1940's. As in the other Communist countries, however, Czechoslovak consumers were forced to lower their levels of living as the government invested the country's resources during the 1950's primarily in production of capital goods, particularly in heavy industry. In the distribution of income, both the peasants and unskilled urban laborers have been far better off than they were before the war. Conversely, most white-collar employees (including nearly all of the prewar middle class) and skilled urban workers have been considerably worse off. The most highly educated and technically skilled elements of the population have had the most reason to be discontented with their living conditions and with the inconveniences and chronic shortages which have so

frequently been part of everyday life in Eastern Europe.

The mild economic liberalization of Eastern Europe during the early 1960's was manifested in Czechoslovakia by more attention to public welfare and to the production and importation of consumer goods, and much greater improvements in living and working conditions were promised under Dubcek's Action Program with its emphasis on the rights of the individual. Few of Dubcek's proposed reforms were implemented, however, owing largely to the turmoil following the Soviet invasion of 1968. Although the Husak government has tightened central controls over the economy, in addition to suppressing political opposition, it has also undertaken to raise levels of living by substantially increasing the supply of consumer goods. Moreover, expenditures on social security, pensions, housing, and health services have been increased at the expense of funding capital investments and subsidies for state enterprises. As of mid-1973 the government's well publicized interest in popular welfare—Husak has continually reminded the people that they "never had it so good"—appeared to have won qualified and grudging acceptance from the Czechoslovak population.

The monthly cash earnings of both white- and blue-collar workers have increased significantly since the mid-1960's (Figure 8). Owing to the importance attached to industrial expansion and construction, employees in these sectors, as well as transportation workers, have generally earned higher than average incomes. Since the late 1960's, the average earnings of

transportation workers have even surpassed those of scientific personnel, who comprise the highest paid white-collar category recorded by the published statistics. The average cash earnings of workers in agriculture have been consistently lower than those paid in the high-priority industries; however, on collective farms, which occupied 56% of the country's farmlands in 1970, the workers are paid both in cash and in kind out of the farms' earnings. Irrespective of the type of occupation, most Czechoslovak workers receive a variety of noncash benefits, including incentive bonuses, which have been particularly effective in stimulating production. Much of the increase in average per capita income, which amounted to 35% for the period from 1960 to 1971, has been attributable to sources other than basic wages.

The rates of personal consumption have risen since the 1960's, primarily as the result of rising per capita income, industrial expansion, and the increasing availability of consumer goods. In 1971 the family of an average urban blue-collar worker expended 32.2% of its income on food, 27.4% on consumer durables, and 18.1% on rent, utilities, and taxes (Figure 9). Households on collective farms spend a smaller proportion for food but a much higher proportion for consumer durables. The relatively large proportion of personal income allotted for food by urban families is offset to some degree by the artificially low rents established by the government. Originally frozen at their prewar levels, most rents have been raised since 1964 to make this sector of the economy viable and to reduce the cost of upkeep.

FIGURE 8. Average monthly wages, by occupation (in korunas) (U/OU)

OCCUPATION	1955	1960	1965	1968	1970	1971
Blue-collar workers, total.....	1,206	1,384	1,526	1,779	1,957	2,026
Industry.....	1,278	1,442	1,573	1,788	1,967	2,040
Construction.....	1,350	1,521	1,700	1,989	2,195	2,209
Agriculture.....	893	1,113	1,308	1,647	1,806	1,809
Forestry.....	1,064	1,265	1,443	1,671	1,890	1,952
Transportation.....	1,262	1,475	1,642	2,039	2,271	2,353
Communications.....	1,019	1,205	1,311	1,551	1,780	1,802
Public catering.....	na	1,103	1,247	1,537	1,654	1,703
White-collar workers, total.....	1,107	1,283	1,380	1,656	1,872	1,955
Transportation.....	1,205	1,431	1,589	1,949	2,193	2,270
Communications.....	1,019	1,205	1,311	1,551	1,786	1,802
Science and research.....	1,434	1,545	1,763	1,992	2,238	2,331
Municipal services.....	990	1,053	1,091	1,334	1,514	1,603
Housing.....	701	772	918	1,110	1,266	1,317
Health and social welfare.....	984	1,183	1,229	1,511	1,776	1,912
Education and culture.....	1,036	1,293	1,363	1,604	1,832	1,907
Administration and courts.....	1,193	1,388	1,551	1,860	2,055	2,127
Banking and insurance.....	1,180	1,323	1,414	1,769	2,164	2,221

na Data not available.

FIGURE 9. Household expenditures for average urban and rural families (in percent), 1971 (U/OU)

EXPENDITURE	URBAN BLUE- COLLAR WORKER	URBAN WHITE- COLLAR WORKER	COLLECTIVE FARMER
Food and beverages.....	32.2	29.0	26.8
Other consumer goods....	27.4	27.6	35.5
Services.....	11.5	13.6	10.1
Rent, utilities, taxes....	18.1	18.5	8.3
Savings.....	9.6	10.2	16.6
Other expenditures.....	1.2	1.1	2.7
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

As indicated by the retail price index (Figure 10), the Husak government has made a major policy of countering inflationary pressures by prohibiting significant rises in the prices of consumer goods. The supply of both domestic and imported consumer durables has steadily increased. The published statistics on the marketing of consumer goods during 1959-71 (Figure 11) indicate upward trends in sales of automobiles, furniture, refrigerators, and television sets. According to preliminary results of the 1970 census, 73% of all households had a television set, 69% had an electric washing machine, 61% had a refrigerator, 51% had a vacuum cleaner, and 17% had an automobile. In mid-1973 Czechoslovakia was the only European Communist country without waiting lists for the purchase of automobiles, and there was roughly one automobile for every four families.

Although the consumption of textiles, clothing, footwear, and household goods is relatively high in comparison with most other European Communist countries, these items have often failed to satisfy the sophisticated tastes and demands for quality on the part of most Czechoslovak consumers. Under regulations in force since 1966, industrial concerns are liable to pay fines for failure to meet exacting standards of quality control over their products. However, little progress appears to have been made in improving the quality of consumer durables. One of

the principal reasons for a consistently high rate of personal savings, particularly in collective farm households (Figure 9), has been the lack of desirable goods and services. Moreover, none of the available measures of personal consumption reflect the inconveniences and frustrations experienced by people who have had to wait in line to buy many products, the shortages and overcrowding of living quarters, the difficulty of obtaining repair and other services, and the lack of numerous small personal and household items that are easily available in the West.

Under Communist rule, crime and other social problems have developed to increasingly serious proportions. However, in absolute terms crime, particularly violent crime, is lower than in the West. The rising incidence of crime can be attributed largely to the disdain for authority that has unwittingly been inbred into the population by a system seeking to control the individual's thoughts and actions from infancy. The crimes committed include a wide range of misdemeanors and economic offenses, motivated in some cases by public petulance as much as by a desire for personal gain. The number of prosecutions increased by 50% during the 1960's according to Czechoslovak statistics, with approximately 142,000 cases being tried in 1969. Only half of these prosecutions resulted in convictions, a fact which the regime today attributes to the former laxity of the judicial system. Crimes involving property—particularly massive pilfering from state enterprises—have accounted for most of this increase throughout Czechoslovakia. In 1971 some 56,000 persons were tried for theft, and the number of those not apprehended was estimated to be considerably larger.

Throughout Czechoslovakia the increase in crime has been most acute among juveniles and those in the 17-24 age group, who in 1969 accounted for 62.4% of all criminal offenses. The failure of the Communist system to alleviate the social problems affecting youth has caused the party to reassess its attitude toward the young and to reexamine the educational system and numerous other institutions. This reassessment began in 1963, and under the Dubcek government youth

FIGURE 10. Retail price index (U/OU) (1964 = 100)

YEAR	FOOD	TEXTILES	FUELS	RENT	ELECTRICITY	ALL ITEMS
1965.....	100.3	100.6	99.5	129.3	99.4	101.5
1967.....	99.2	107.5	100.6	131.7	98.5	104.0
1968.....	100.1	109.3	100.5	131.7	99.5	105.4
1969.....	101.2	112.5	101.7	131.7	100.2	109.6
1970.....	101.4	114.7	101.6	131.7	99.7	111.5
1971.....	101.0	112.2	101.4	131	98.9	111.2

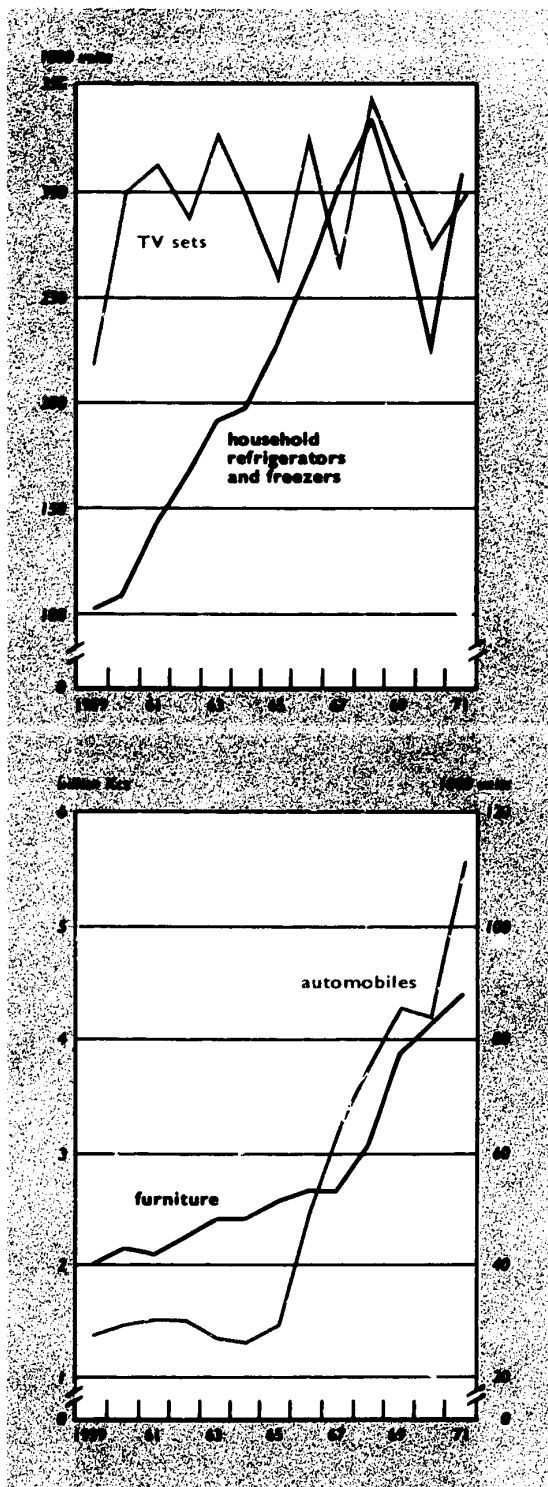


FIGURE 11. Trends in sales of consumer goods (U/OU)

were promised a greater opportunity to choose their own activities and to form organizations outside the jurisdiction of the government and party. The Husak regime, while also acknowledging the need to attract the support of youth, has abrogated most of these reforms and consequently has had little success in securing the cooperation of youth.

The regime has been particularly concerned about the marked increase in crime since 1968 and is taking a tougher approach to the problem. Underlining this concern is a shift in the ideological approach to the problem. Dismissing the traditional dogma that a socialist society is by definition devoid of "imperfections" that could lead to crime, the regime now quotes the more realistic Marxist philosophy that the transitional stage between capitalism and socialism contains many of the "birthmarks" of capitalism from which "antisocialist behavior" stems. While much attention is being given to encouraging more public cooperation in regard to illegal activities, the regime is espousing Lenin's theory that punitive measures based on the certainty of punishment more than its severity are the best deterrent to crime. In particular, officials have been critical of the traditional practice of suspending sentences for first offenders.

The measures to toughen law enforcement procedures have included a thorough realignment of the judicial system. The wholesale removal of "liberal" judges in 1970 resulted in a nearly complete turnover in the top judicial organs, including the Supreme Court. A revised judicial law provides for summary dismissal of judges. New legislation has also been enacted widening the definitions of criminal activities and authorizing the courts to impose harsher sentences. Economic offenses such as black-marketing and smuggling have come under heavy attack. In late 1970 the Czech and Slovak Republics were divested of much of their responsibility for law enforcement and those powers restored to the federal Ministry of the Interior, which had gone into eclipse under Dubcek. According to Czechoslovak statistics, the result has been an increase in the number of convictions in criminal court cases; in both 1970 and 1971, for example, about 95% of all such cases resulted in convictions.

Alcoholism is a serious social problem. The consumption of alcohol has increased at an alarming rate since the early 1960's. According to the Czechoslovak press, the number of persons prosecuted for crimes committed under the influence of alcohol had risen to 39,888 by 1971. In 1970, 22% of the juveniles who committed criminal offenses did so while under the influence of alcohol. Moreover, the

number of traffic offenses caused by drunkenness increased by 41% between 1967 and 1972—leading to a more stringent enforcement of the law against drinking before driving—and two-thirds of the convictions for public disorders in 1970 were attributed to drunkenness. From 1955 to 1970 the incidence of fatal cases of cirrhosis increased by 306% among men and 200% among women. In response to the negative influence of alcoholism on family life and its relationship to juvenile delinquency, the Novotny regime in 1964 made it a criminal offense to supply minors with liquor. The state now makes it a common practice to remove the child rather than the alcoholic from an unbearable family situation. It has also waged an extensive propaganda campaign against alcoholism, stressing both the preventive and curative aspects, and has approved the establishment of several agencies to deal with the problem.

Czechoslovak authorities believe that sexual problems are primarily responsible for the growing number of divorces and suicides, and the increasing incidence of venereal disease. Since 1965 the regime has established institutes and clinics for research psychiatry, psychology, and sexology, and has encouraged improved sex education among the population. To reduce the high number of divorces, which reached 28,000 in 1971, the government has also operated marriage counseling offices. Newspapers have also taken to printing articles on various social problems, such as prostitution, which were taboo in the past. The striptease shows, nudie magazines, and other forms of "softcore" pornography that appeared in the larger cities in the 1960's have been denounced as reflecting vestiges of "bourgeois morality." The illegal use of narcotics has been a relatively minor problem.

1. Health and sanitation

a. Medical problems

Diseases characteristic of an aging population—disorders of the heart, cerebrovascular maladies, malignant neoplasms—constitute the major health threats to the people of Czechoslovakia and are the principal causes of death. In 1970, these maladies accounted for more than half of all deaths. Obesity, which is common because of an excessive amount of carbohydrates in the diet, is associated with many cardiovascular disorders. An effective public health program has resulted in the decreased incidence of most communicable diseases. Immunization campaigns have enabled authorities to sharply reduce or eliminate such diseases as diphtheria, tetanus,

whooping cough, dengue fever, poliomyelitis, smallpox, plague, and typhus fever. Czechoslovakia has also made great strides in reducing infant mortality. Shortly after World War II, one out of every seven infants died before reaching 1 year of age; at present only one in 50 succumb.

In 1971, the leading contagious diseases were measles, scarlet fever, shigellosis, infectious hepatitis, gonorrhea, pulmonary tuberculosis, and salmonellosis. Enteric infections are common; there were over 30,000 cases of shigellosis and salmonellosis in 1971. Enteric disorders are most prevalent in the western part of Czechoslovakia where sewage contamination of water supplies or food contamination are frequently a source of infection. Water pollution has also caused infectious hepatitis; in 1972, an outbreak of this disease in Bratislava was traced to an oil seepage into the city's water supply.

Diseases of the respiratory system are common causes of morbidity and mortality. In 1970 approximately 16,000 died of respiratory infections, including influenza, pneumonia, acute bronchitis, and tuberculosis. Influenza epidemics occur each year or every other year; the incidence is highest among children and young adults, but mortality is highest among the elderly. A severe epidemic of "Hong Kong" flu raged through Bohemia and eastern Slovakia during the winter of 1971-72 causing a large number of hospitalizations and considerable disruption in the economy. The incidence of venereal disease, particularly gonorrhea, has been increasing. Official commentary blames the increase, more marked in the Czech Lands than in Slovakia, on prostitution and declining moral standards.

Improved living conditions and better personal hygiene are responsible for low levels of insect-borne diseases. Encephalitis has been on the decrease, and malaria is limited to a few imported cases. Q-fever is the most common rickettsial infection, affecting both animals and humans. Diseases affecting the animal population include foot-and-mouth disease, Teschen disease, Newcastle disease, fowl plague, swine erysipelas, and parasitic infections.

b. Medical care

The Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic each has its own ministry of health. Each ministry is responsible for regulating the training of medical personnel and setting medical standards, overseeing medical research facilities, governing the production and distribution of pharmaceuticals, and supervising all public health activities at regional, district, and local medical facilities. Coordination of

the two state ministries is provided by the federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

Health care, including hospitalization and medication, is provided to all citizens, with only a nominal fee paid for medical insurance. In general, the quality of medical personnel and health care provided is good and has helped to produce a level of public health which is second to none in Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, there are a number of problems existing in the health services, some of which are associated with the rigid state-controlled system of health administration. Deterioration of the traditional physician-patient relationship has been, according to Czechoslovak public opinion, one of the more regrettable developments. By imposing heavy administrative duties on doctors, encouraging overspecialization of practitioners, and establishing relatively low pay scales, the regime has contributed to an increasingly impersonal physician-patient relationship and to a general lessening of prestige for the medical profession. Dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs was voiced by doctors and the general public in a survey conducted by the Dubcek regime in 1968. Specific criticism was leveled at the government's disposition to treat the sick more as temporary incapacitated units of "productive society" than as human beings who are ill.

As of December 1971 there were 31,426 physicians in Czechoslovakia, or one for every 460 inhabitants. This is the highest ratio in Eastern Europe, where the average is over 1:600, and one of the most favorable ratios in the world. Since the 1930's there has been a substantial increase in the size of the medical profession. As a consequence, the number of physicians increased from 7.9 per 10,000 inhabitants in 1937, to 10.9 in 1960, and to 23.9 in 1971. Other health professionals and paramedical personnel in the country, in the year indicated, were as follows:

Dentists	4,752 (1971)
Pharmacists	5,546 (1971)
Veterinarians	2,200 (1970)
Midwives	5,770 (1971)
Nurses	72,808 (1971)

The distribution of professional medical personnel is regarded as satisfactory, although there have been reports of shortages of doctors and dentists in some of the outlying border regions. Of much greater concern is a chronic shortage of nurses and other paramedical personnel which has resulted in reports of inadequate nursing care.

Contrasting to practice in Western nations, the Czechoslovak medical profession has a large proportion of women; over four-tenths of all

practitioners were women in 1971. Women doctors dominate such specialities as infectious diseases, allergies, pediatrics, ophthalmology, and dermatology, but are a minority in such fields as surgery, orthopedics, urology, and prosthetics.

Czechoslovakia has 10 medical schools and 9 dental schools offering degrees in medicine and dentistry. All of these facilities operate under the authority of the Czech and Slovak ministries of education and receive their financial support from the government. Nursing education is conducted in hospitals throughout the country, while other paramedical training is offered at specialized secondary schools.

Health facilities are inadequate both quantitatively and qualitatively. There are an insufficient number of hospitals to adequately treat the sick, and many of those that exist are old and without modern medical equipment. The existence of poor medical facilities has affected the length of stay in the hospital, which on the average is roughly double that in the West. In an attempt to remedy the situation, new hospitals are being constructed and modern equipment is gradually replacing the old. In 1971, Czechoslovakia had 249 general hospitals with a total of 114,706 beds, or a ratio of roughly 8.0 beds per 1,000 persons. Additional medical facilities included specialized clinics, sanatoriums, and maternity homes (Figure 12).

The bulk of public health services are rendered on an outpatient basis, either through hospital departments established for that purpose or through networks of polyclinics, district health centers, and medical stations. By 1971 there were 416 polyclinics,

FIGURE 12. Public health facilities, 1971 (U/OU)

FACILITY	NUMBER	BEDS	MEDICAL STAFF POSITIONS
General hospitals	249	114,706	7,815
Tuberculosis sanatoriums	40	9,012	256
Psychiatric hospitals	32	16,428	394
Institutes:			
Oncological	3	469	85
Rehabilitation	2	342	12
Endocrinological	1	160	9
Infants	30	2,081	74
Sanatoriums and special institutes for children	48	4,879	42
Night sanatoriums	4	205	2
Sanatoriums in spas	116	28,346	504
Maternity homes	11	188	7
Children's homes (under age 3)	45	2,495	32
Research institutes	36	1,833	710
Total	617	181,145	9,942

2,406 district health centers, and 2,291 medical stations, with a combined total of 19,325 medical and dental staff positions.

Medical care is offered at each of three administrative levels. Local health services provide public health care at the lowest level; each serves a population of 5,000 to 7,000. This service emphasizes preventive medicine through the administration of routine inoculations and the reporting of health statistics. District health services provide treatment for a population of 150,000-200,000, offering a range of facilities which vary with the particular health problems of the area and the population served. The highest level of health care is offered by the 11 regional institutes of health each of which serve approximately 1 million inhabitants. These institutes offer the country's most advanced medical technology, diagnostic procedures, therapy, and opportunities for specialized medical training.

c. Environmental sanitation

Despite plentiful precipitation in the mountain areas, parts of Bohemia in particular are relatively dry (annual precipitation in the Prague area is under 25 inches), and the water supply is occasionally inadequate for the needs of the people. As a rule, untreated water is not potable; most urban areas have filtration and chlorination treatment plants. Construction of piped water networks is a continuing project, and a larger proportion of the population is being served by such systems each year. By 1971, nearly 60% of the total population was receiving water from public mains, and nearly all of the cities and towns of over 10,000 inhabitants have a piped water system. Communities without piped water rely on private or communal wells, or rivers and streams. In 1969 the government reported that seven-tenths of the population, serving a significant portion of the population, failed to meet the required standards for purity. Also, many of the water distribution systems in existence are more than 40 years old, and because of their age and poor condition wastage and spoilage occur. Approximately one-fifth of the water distributed in Czechoslovakia is lost in this manner. Seepage of sewage and industrial wastes into water supplies is also a potential threat to health.

Sewage disposal methods in much of Czechoslovakia are inadequate. Approximately 47% of the population in 1971 was served by waterborne sewage systems, but these systems generally were concentrated in the urban areas. In order to meet increased loads, new sewage treatment plants are under construction and older facilities are being expanded. In 1967, a new

sewage treatment plant was constructed in Prague and expansion of the system has been in progress in recent years. New construction, however, has failed to keep pace with the increase in sewage loads, and as a consequence there has been increased contamination of water supplies. An additional problem in many areas is that sanitary and storm drainage often flow through the same piped systems creating a potential hazard during periods of heavy rain and flooding. Outside urban areas, cesspools, septic tanks, and pit privies are used for the disposal of human wastes. Utilization of an open ditch type of sewage system in some rural locales leads to pollution of surface water supplies.

In the major cities, solid waste materials are regularly collected by municipal trucks and either burned in incinerators or buried. Trash in the rural areas is either buried or burned in the open.

Czechoslovakia faces a serious air and water pollution problem, and concern is reflected in the growing attention given the subject by government spokesmen and the communications media. Air pollution is most serious in West and North Bohemia, which have a heavy concentration of industry, in the coal and steel center of Ostrava, and in Prague. Damage caused by air pollution has been estimated at 3.5 billion korunas per annum. Most serious has been the loss of equipment through corrosion, forestry and crop damage, and losses in human health. According to government sources, the primary contributors of noxious smoke and gases are the power, smelting, and construction materials industries, home furnaces, and automobiles and buses. In an effort to combat industrial pollution, air purifying equipment is being installed in industrial plants to reduce the emissions of sulfur and iron oxides. Czech experts predict, however, that air pollution in the 1980's will be worse than in the 1970's. Water pollution is caused by the discharge of effluents into the country's surface water supplies by industrial plants, and inadequate sewage disposal facilities.

The problem of environmental pollution was discussed at the 14th Party Congress in 1971. A resolution adopted by the Congress specified that future economic development "should be conducted in a way which produces a balance between economic requirements and the living environment." To implement this decision, a council for environmental problems was established in each of the two republics with authority to monitor processes resulting in the changing of the environment and to direct activities which would protect and improve the environment. Working through the United Nations, Czechoslovakia

has taken part in international research projects on pollution and the environment.

Enforcement of food sanitation standards resides with regional and district health officers working closely with inspectors from the Ministry of Agriculture. Regulations provide for the inspection of all dairies, livestock farms, slaughterhouses, and food production and handling establishments. A lack of uniformity exists in the enforcement; inspection is more effective in the Czech Lands than in Slovakia. Pasteurization of milk is carried out in the larger cities and towns, but delays in delivery lead to spoilage. In the rural areas, the consumption of uninspected and untreated milk is a continuing source of tuberculosis infection.

2. Diet and nutrition

Progress has been made in increasing the quantity and upgrading the quality of the food consumed in Czechoslovakia. According to official reports, the per capita intake of calories during the period 1936-68 increased by over one-fifth while protein intake increased by one-fourth. Furthermore, the inequalities in food consumption which existed between the Czechs and Slovaks have been reduced; nutritional indicators in Slovakia have risen to levels approximating those in Czech Lands. Domestic agriculture is unable to provide an adequate quantity of foodstuffs; as a result, imports of foods are necessary to meet the expanding demands of the population. Principal imports include meat, wheat, vegetable oils, and fresh fruit and vegetables. The Czechoslovak market appears to offer the possibility of a balanced diet on a steady basis, although it is costly for the average citizen to maintain a high nutritional level. Official statistics show that approximately 30% of consumption expenditures are for food and drink; however, other sources indicate that expenditures on these items may run as high as 50%.

Cereal products, particularly bread, have been staples in the Czechoslovak diet. As recently as 1970, the average person consumed approximately 330 pounds of cereals annually. This accounted for 40% of the daily per capita caloric intake and 30% of protein intake. Dairy products and potatoes have also been dietary mainstays. Since World War II, the average diet has become more varied; the consumption of meat and eggs has more than doubled, and there have been moderate increases in other foodstuffs. Czechoslovaks consume more meat and eggs—an average annual per capita consumption of 71.3 kilograms of meat and 252 eggs—than any other Eastern European country. Yet, due to the

inadequacies of domestic production and the inefficiencies in distribution, there are still occasional shortages of meat and of certain fruits and vegetables.

The diet of the Czechoslovaks contains an adequate supply of calories and is not seriously lacking in essential nutrients. There is no evidence of diseases associated with dietary deficiencies, although some citizens may not receive sufficient vitamins during the winter months. The daily per capita caloric intake, in 1970, was 3,130, slightly less than that in the United States. There is a high level of carbohydrate intake; nearly one-half of the calories in the typical diet derive from cereals, potatoes, and legumes, a much higher proportion than that found in the United States. Per capita daily intake of protein in 1968 was 91.9 grams, only marginally less than the U.S. average. Animal protein accounted for 30% of total protein.

3. Housing

The chronic shortage of housing has severely affected the quality of life of the average citizen. Poor, overcrowded housing, more than anything else, makes urban life in Czechoslovakia dismal and tedious. Even families with an adequate income by Czechoslovak standards live in two or three rooms, often sharing toilet and kitchen facilities with relatives or neighbors. A 2% sample of the 1 December 1970 census returns indicated that over two-thirds of the total housing units had three or less rooms. The average young married couple has to wait years for a modest apartment. The result has been overcrowding and lack of privacy. The housing deficit in large measure has been responsible for the prevalence of a low birth rate, which will result in an even greater labor shortage in the future. Social tension and friction apparently have increased because of overcrowding, attended by such problems as juvenile delinquency, crime, and alcoholism.

Because of artificially low rents, the average Czechoslovak household spent less on housing in 1971 than its Western counterpart—about 5% of income in contrast to 14-15%. Nonetheless, lower housing costs are more than offset by the smaller amounts of living space and by the general scarcity of furnishings and other amenities.

The Husak regime has greatly stepped up the pace of housing construction since the beginning of the Fifth Five Year Plan (1971-75). These efforts, however, are far from adequate. In the late 1960's, it was estimated that for Czechoslovakia to catch up to the housing standards of the advanced countries of Western Europe, it would have to build 150,000 dwellings of the current average size annually. In

1971, 107,000 housing units were completed, along with 1970 the best construction record ever, but this number still fell almost 40% short of the 150,000.

Before 1964 the largest proportion of housing units were built by the state, but since then cooperative and private construction has become numerically more important. In 1971, construction by the state numbered 17,000 of the 107,000 units, construction by enterprises numbered 22,000, construction by private individuals numbered 29,000, and construction by cooperatives numbered 39,000. Most of the government-provided housing consists of plainly but functionally designed multistoried apartment buildings. Individual homes remain prevalent in rural areas.

The quality of the housing stock is also unsatisfactory as 71% of the units were built before 1946 including 20% before 1900. Aside from the relative decrepitude of these units because of their age, a large proportion of them lack modern conveniences. The new housing units are quite modern, but the majority of them are of relatively low quality prefabricated construction. Of the units built in 1971 by the state, cooperatives, and enterprises, for example, 87.7% were supplied with gas, 99.3% with hot water, 98.6% with central heating, and 93.6% with built-in furniture. The proportion of the housing stock supplied with gas increased from 19.1% in 1961 to 30.3% in 1970, the share having central heating rose from 8.1% to 29.4%, and the share having a bathroom/shower went up from 33.3% to 57.2%.

In 1960, Czechoslovakia completed the electrification of all villages and the number of housing units supplied with electricity reached 98.6% in 1970. At the latter date, over three-quarters of all units had their own water supply; however, the proportion (47.1%) of units linked to the sewage system was still relatively low.

Preliminary results of the 1970 census also showed some other improvements in housing since 1961. The number of available housing units increased by 10.7%, whereas the population increased only by 4.5%. The number of rooms per housing unit increased from 1.77 in 1961 to 2.12 in 1970, and the floor space, excluding kitchen and bathroom, increased from 374 square feet to 425 square feet. Although the number of persons per unit dropped only slightly—from 3.58 to 3.38—the units were larger and provided somewhat more space for each person.

4. Work opportunities and conditions

a. The manpower problem and worker satisfaction

The main factor affecting work and work opportunities in Czechoslovakia is the virtual absence of a labor reserve. Almost half the population is economically active (490 per 1,000 compared to 418 in the United States in 1972). Most of these persons work in the socialized (state-owned and cooperative) sector of the economy; the 2.5% in the nonsocialized sector include mainly farmers and craftsmen. Although the labor force of the Czech Lands has long been composed basically of industrial workers and small businessmen, the occupational structure in Slovakia has changed radically during the past 30 years as the impoverished farmers who formerly dominated the labor force have been surpassed in number by those working outside agriculture. The labor reserves that Slovakia provided in the past is now minimal as that part of the country catches up with the more heavily industrialized Czech Lands. In 1973, more than 90% of those persons capable of working were already employed. Moreover, the present annual increase in employment of approximately 70,000 is expected to decline to less than 20,000 by 1980, and the working-age population is expected to stagnate and eventually decline within a few decades.

Numerous measures have been enacted to attract additional persons into the labor force and to retain those already employed. The measures have been particularly directed at 15-year olds, housewives, and pensioners. For young persons, the regime is combining work-school programs and shortening apprenticeships. In addition, the Socialist Youth Federation has organized a campaign to utilize students at the secondary and college levels during their vacations. Special attention is being given to the problem of the working mother. Part-time positions are being created and the already extensive day care system is being expanded. The Husak regime has looked increasingly to retired persons as a source of manpower. In addition to offering higher wages, the regime is allowing pensioners to work 4 months each year without a reduction in pension. It also is requiring individuals who wish to qualify for the increased benefits available under the 1970 pension law to actively seek work. The regime is expected to rely more heavily in the future on foreign manpower, particularly from Poland and Yugoslavia, both of which have surplus labor. Agreements are being negotiated with Yugoslavia, and many Polish laborers are already working in border areas.

Most importantly, the government is implementing plans for the more efficient utilization of existing manpower resources. Time losses are estimated at 20-25% because of long coffee breaks, the use of worktime for personal chores, and generally apathetic attitudes toward work. Managers have encouraged workers to take fewer coffee breaks, to compete for production goals, and to utilize nonworking time for personal chores. New measures adopted in 1971 included the addition of four unpaid working shifts annually, a 10% cut in administrative staff, and an increase in production quotas.

Many workers resent these attempts to step up production, viewing them as a cut in their real wages, and as unfairly applied to workers as opposed to management. There is little sign of overt political unrest but morale and discipline are low and are expressed in slowdowns and a high rate of absenteeism. In 1971, Husak said that some 500,000 workers stay out of work daily because of real or feigned illness. Strict laws regulating absenteeism were passed to counteract this trend. Although rarely invoked, the new regulations provide punishment of up to 3 months in prison or a heavy fine for those who "systematically and without substantive cause miss work." On the positive side, Husak has emphasized the provision of food and consumer goods as a means of stemming worker discontent. These measures have had some effect, as official sources claim that absenteeism during the first 9 months of 1973 dropped to 189,000 per day.

Workers also resent the favoritism shown party members, who are assured of the best jobs and their children guaranteed space in crowded educational facilities. In some cases, enterprises having excess money in wage funds contribute bonuses to party members without regard to job performance. Following the 1968 invasion, moreover, many qualified technicians were removed from supervisory positions and replaced by "politically reliable" persons in a so-called consolidation process. Screening for political reliability was stepped up in 1972 following growing signs of worker unrest.

Attitudes toward work are also adversely affected by the magnitude of bribery and corruption in most industrial plants. Monetary or material payments are commonly made at all levels of administration to obtain spare parts, machinery, and raw materials.

The labor shortage is compounded by a high rate of turnover, termed the "chronic illness" of the Czech economy. Some one-fourth of all Czech workers change jobs annually either to improve their income and chances for advancement or because of

dissatisfaction with the administration of their enterprise. The highest turnover is among young workers, many of whom are highly trained but cannot be placed in suitable jobs. Almost half of all workers under age 30 remain in their place of employment less than 2 years. The regime's efforts to reduce this rate of turnover include an emphasis on improving relations between supervisors and workers and giving rewards for length of service. In addition, a crackdown is underway on those enterprises which lure workers from other plants with excessive promises. Since June 1971, moreover, the national committees have been empowered to regulate employment in order to see to it that priority industries—mining, agriculture, and construction—receive the necessary personnel. The committees are informed by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs as to the numbers of workers and their qualifications in given regions and the requirements of the economy in the area. They are then expected to maintain a balance between manpower resources and industrial and agricultural requirements. In some cases, the committees have determined that enterprises have been requesting manpower far in excess of their requirements; they then advise the enterprise on a more effective utilization of existing manpower. Under the new uniform system of regulating employment, moreover, enterprises found to have a high turnover rate can be spotted and properly dealt with. Also, the committees are empowered to offer bonuses, free housing, moving expenses, and large interest-free loans in order to recruit personnel for high priority areas.

b. Labor legislation and organizations

As is true in other Communist countries, the regulation of labor is based upon the premise that the workers own the means of production and thus have a commonality of interests with the state and with management. Thus, since 1948 labor legislation has been directed as much to the fulfillment of the economic plan as it is to the improvement and the safeguarding of the worker's lot. The present labor code closely regulates all aspects of employment—labor contracts, work hours, wages, health and safety, labor disputes, and the employment of women and children—but it has been applied almost consistently in favor of the state. Except for a brief period during the Dubcek government, strikes have been illegal and collective bargaining as practiced in the Western countries is nonexistent. Because of increasing dissatisfaction with the present code, the regime in late 1973 was preparing a new labor code which is

expected to be somewhat more protective of workers' rights.

Czechoslovakia ranks high among the Communist countries in hygienic and safe working conditions. The working environment, however, ranges from modern well-equipped factories to obsolescent neglected plants, and the use of such safety devices as hard hats, steel-tipped workshoes, and protective goggles is miniscule compared to practice in the United States. The inspection of facilities, equipment, and working conditions is the responsibility of the Czechoslovak Bureau of Labor Safety. This agency has reported that some 16,000 workers are absent daily due to work accidents, most of which it ascribes to carelessness and low morale. The Bureau has also documented an increasing number of self-inflicted injuries.

Virtually all of Czechoslovakia's approximately 6 million wage and salary workers are union members, belonging to one of the 18 federations and one nationwide military union which comprise the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH). In accordance with the federal structure of the country, the Czech and Slovak divisions have separate executive councils. The highest national administrative unit is the Central Council of Trade Unions (URO) whose members are chosen by delegates from each of the unions. The council provides secretariat services and is charged with implementing the policies determined at the ROH's annual congress.

Unions are organized on an industry basis rather than by craft or trade. Thus, there are separate unions for the chemical industry, health services, food, metallurgy, and so forth. There had been separate unions in the Czech Lands and Slovakia but these were merged during the reform era under Dubcek only to be returned to their original status in 1970.

Indifference and apathy characterize the rank and file of Czech trade unions today. From auspicious beginnings in the first half of the 20th century when they had earned an outstanding reputation as champions of the workers' rights, the unions were reduced to "schools of socialism" after the 1948 coup, their main goal being to insure worker support for the regime. In view of the supposed commonality of interests between the state and the workers, it was felt that the workers needed no one but the state to further their interests. The unions' goal was seen as encouraging the workers to fulfill the state's economic goals, mobilizing support for the regime, and implementing existing regulations concerning working conditions. In general, however, there has been a continuing dichotomy between the state's and trade unionists' view of the trade union role.

The unions played a major role in the Communist takeover of 1948, Communist Party members having acquired most of the important positions within the trade union movement by that time. During the 1950's, the unions became large and unwieldy and were frequently divided and merged as the government reorganized its ministries. Control was highly centralized, however, and all dues were turned over to the URO, which then distributed the money according to its own criteria.

During the 1960's reform movement, the unions sought to gain greater independence from their own central committees and from the URO and to reorient the trade union role. Elaborate plans were made to resolve a wide range of social problems affecting the workers and to implement guidelines for collective bargaining for higher wages and better working conditions. The latter was ideally to be achieved through the formation of "workers' councils" in each enterprise, in order to permit worker participation in management. By August 1968, when invasion by the Warsaw Pact forces put an end to further reform, councils had been formed in about one-fourth of the country's 700 enterprises. However, their role was never fully defined and in some cases their actual composition was still being debated. Some of the councils were inactive from the start, while the activities of others ranged from mere advisory bodies to actual economic planning. The fate of workers' councils was uncertain for several months after the August 1968 invasion. In November, Prime Minister Cernik announced his intention to proceed with the idea, but in a reversal of policy, new councils were prohibited in March 1969 and all were abolished in June 1970.

During the reform period, the unions also sought to return to the notion of the trade union as independent of any political party. They deposed the chairman of the URO and gave greater independence to local unions. The existing 12 unions were decentralized and reconstituted as 32 unions. A high percentage of local dues were retained within the union instead of being sent to the URO. The reform period was evidently too brief to allow the previously inactive unions time to gain a solid foothold under the new regulations. New leadership had barely been formed, so there was little opportunity to gear up for resistance to the Soviet invasion. The Soviets, however, were careful not to occupy the factories and face a direct confrontation with the workers.

In the postinvasion purge which lasted from late 1969 to late 1970, almost half of the local trade union officials were replaced by "politically reliable"

persons. At the same time, leaders were cautioned to regain the support of the rank and file; to this end some were sent to Moscow for training in Soviet trade union methods. In addition, many specially selected shop stewards were given training. In late 1973, the government was stepping up activity at the lowest union echelons where the URO could exert greatest influence, while gradually returning control of the unions to the national level.

5. Social security and public welfare

All social security and public welfare activities are administered by the state. The social security system, referred to as "national insurance," is built on an extensive prewar base and covers over 97% of the population. Prior to 1968, social security benefits were used to offer incentives as well as to provide security to workers who conformed to the patterns imposed by the government. The political bias of the system was reflected in higher benefits offered to "exemplary" workers and the reduction or withholding of benefits from "unreliable elements." Legislation passed in 1958, and reaffirmed in 1966, provided for the lowering or suspension of allowances to one-time entrepreneurs, representatives of the former political and social order, and other persons considered anti-Communist. Such discriminatory practices were largely eliminated during 1968, and by 1969 a nationwide, computer-based system of administering wage and social security programs had been initiated on a uniform basis.

National insurance is of two types: health insurance, administered through the Central Council of Trade Unions, and pension insurance, managed by the National Social Security Office. The Central Council of Trade Unions and the regional trade union councils also administer family allowances, supervise the use of health resorts, and participate in the distribution of pension insurance payments on the local level. Coverage under the system applies automatically to all persons gainfully employed in the "socialized" economy and their dependents.

Receipts and expenditures for all social insurance are included in the Czech and Slovak state budgets and two national committee budgets. For health insurance, the state contributes 85-90% of the cost and the employer the remainder; for pensions, the state assumes full responsibility. Total outlays for social insurance benefits have steadily increased, with expenditures in 1971 reaching roughly one-fifth of the total state and national committee budgets.

Health insurance coverage includes hospitalization, drugs, doctors' services, maternity and funeral

benefits, and in some instances special cash allowances. Sick-pay is granted to a worker temporarily unable to work due to sickness or injury. Depending on the length of employment, benefits range from 50-70% of net wages for the first 3 days and from 60-90% thereafter, for up to 2 years if recovery is expected. A system of charging nominal fees for medicine was introduced in 1964 as part of an effort to increase revenues. In 1966 free health care was extended for the first time to private farmers, thus making the entire population eligible for this service. Health expenditures in 1971 amounted to over 15½ billion korunas, or roughly 7% of total national income.

Pension insurance provides money for the aged and retired, for the disabled, and for widows and orphans. Pension benefits are graded by category of employment and number of years of employment. The system has been revised considerably, with eight modifications to the law having been enacted since 1954. In an effort to persuade older workers to postpone retirement, the period of employment necessary for claiming a full retirement pension has been extended from 20 to 25 years. Those who are not qualified for a pension by 25 years of employment must work until age 65 to receive a full annuity. The retirement age for women, formerly 55, now is based on a sliding scale according to the number of children. The retirement age for childless women is set at 57, and that for women with children is 53-57 depending upon the number of offspring; men may retire at 60 or at 55-58 if engaged in unhealthy or onerous work. Workers permanently disabled are eligible immediately for a pension equivalent to 60% of their earnings, plus a 1% increase for each year of employment between 26-35 years. Persons with partial disabilities receive a reduced pension.

A change in the pension law, in 1970, increased the minimum monthly pension to 550 korunas for single persons and 850 korunas for married couples, nearly triple the average payments in 1948. To be eligible, however, the pensioner must seek additional employment, subject to his physical and mental capabilities and local working conditions. The additional annual expenditure for pensions is expected to exceed 1.1 billion korunas. To help bring pension benefits in Slovakia up to the level of the Czech Lands, the government earmarked 40% of the additional funds for Slovakia. By 1971, the average worker's old age pension in Slovakia, 909 korunas per month, was slightly higher than the average of 885 korunas per month in the Czech Lands. Approximately one-fourth of the 3,400,000 pensioners in 1971 lived in Slovakia.

State allowances to families with children include support for the children, pensions for orphans, and grants for education. Besides these benefits, the state also provides each child with textbooks and school meals and arranges for the care and training of children who are physically or mentally handicapped. Other concessions to families with children include deductions from the wage tax, rent and fare allowances, and clothing grants. However, the broad diffusion of state funds for children had resulted in a system that was not encouraging families to have additional children. Consequently, the government increased these allowances in 1968, particularly to families with many children. In addition, the monthly maternity leave allowance was raised to as high as 120 korunas a day for 26 weeks.

Apart from the national insurance program, public welfare services are very limited. National committees and a few charitable institutions—still managed by religious denominations but under state control—carry on a certain amount of charitable work and operate several homes for those few aged persons who are not covered by social security. The Czechoslovak Red Cross, theoretically independent, is controlled by the government. The Red Cross gives training in first aid and nursing, renders aid to victims of natural disasters, and carries out other tasks assigned by the state.

E. Religion (U/OU)

In contrast to other East European nations, such as Hungary and Poland, where there are large Catholic populations, the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia has maintained intense internal pressure on all religious denominations. Because of its ties with the Vatican, its position as the country's largest religious group, and because of its sudden resurgence under the Dubcek government, the Catholic Church has been repeatedly accused of playing a counterrevolutionary role. Despite the limited accord reached between the Czechoslovak Government and the Vatican in early 1973, the Church is still kept under tight control through the Secretariat for Church Affairs.

Although the Communist regime's intensive antireligious campaign may have increased the proportion of atheists and nonbelievers among the population to as many as 10%, most evidence indicates that Christian churches are continuing to grow. Complaints are regularly voiced in the press about officials who are exemplary Communists on the job but publicly participate in church activities because they wish to "avoid ostracism in a strongly religious village."

Whereas the deep religious involvement of the past among the Czechs has been widely commuted into a strong ideological consciousness, whether of the Marxist, National Democratic, or Masarykite tradition, religious attachment among the Slovaks to the Catholic Church remains strong and, as in Poland, has merged somewhat with nationalist feelings. In recognition of the strength of religious ties in Slovakia, the Institute for Scientific Atheism, based on the Soviet model, was established in 1971 at the Slovak Academy of Sciences to combat religion and propagate atheism primarily through the periodical *Ateizmus*. Although the periodical selects Catholicism as its chief target, sharp attacks are also made on Judaism, the other Christian churches, and on various sects such as Jehovah's Witnesses.

Christianity has been in the forefront of Czechoslovakia's cultural history and political development. First introduced into Bohemia and Moravia and a part of Slovakia by German missionaries in the ninth century in conjunction with German political expansion, Christianity had become firmly implanted by 973 when a bishopric was established in Prague. The Eastern rite and Slavonic liturgy were introduced in the present Czech Lands by the Greek missionaries Cyril and Methodius, who proselytized after 863 upon the invitation of Moravian princes who sought to counteract French and German influences. The Slovaks, cut off from the Czechs by the Magyar invasion of 896-906, received the Roman Catholic faith from the first Christian ruler of Hungary about a century later.

Having become a center of learning in central Europe by the 15th century, the city of Prague provided the setting for the rise to prominence of Jan Hus, one of the more notable religious reformers preceding Luther. The burning of Hus at the stake for heresy in 1415 rallied Czech nobility and commoners against the Church hierarchy, the Holy Roman Emperor, and particularly the German element in Bohemia whose leaders had denounced Hus. Although a Hussite party led by the Czechs was successful for a time in protecting the Hussite Church against Catholic forces bent upon its destruction, the forces supporting the Counter-Reformation decisively defeated Protestant elements at the battle of White Mountain in 1620. As a result, Protestant religious activities were practically eliminated from Bohemia and Moravia for about 150 years. The Age of Enlightenment in the latter 18th century led to the passage in 1781 of an Edict of Toleration, thereby bestowing upon Protestant and Greek Orthodox believers the legal right to worship. A subsequent series of Austrian laws, enacted from 1864 to 1890, further

strengthened religious toleration and freedom of conscience and formed the legal basis of all religious activities in Bohemia and Moravia until 1949.

After the creation of the republic in 1918, the Roman Catholic Church lost many members and much of its strong influence in national affairs in the popular reaction against its close relations with the former Hapsburg rulers. Between 1918 and 1921 the Church lost an estimated 1,400,000 of its members in Bohemia and Moravia, about half of them joining the newly established Czechoslovak National Church or other Protestant churches and the other half remaining without any religious affiliation. Through a *modus vivendi* finally concluded between the government and the Vatican in 1928, whereby ecclesiastical jurisdictions were changed and the Vatican agreed to submit its appointments to certain Church positions to prior approval of the government, the Catholic Church once again became an influential force in national life. Its power was not confined to the religious sphere; it was also exercised through the Catholic political parties, labor unions, sports clubs, and charitable and educational institutions.

Despite the departure after World War II of some 3 million Germans, 90% of whom were Catholic according to the 1930 census (the latest official information on religious affiliation), and of almost 100,000 Hungarians, 63% of whom were Catholic in 1930, most estimates currently place the Roman Catholic population at about 10 million, or about 70% of the total population. The Catholic Church is divided into two archdioceses and 12 dioceses. There is no archdiocese in Slovakia; Slovak bishops are still technically subordinate to the Hungarian archdiocese of Esztergom.

Following the Communist takeover in 1948, the regime launched a massive campaign to bring the churches under complete state control. This campaign was directed mainly against the Catholic Church, which the regime sought to shape into a pliable instrument of domestic and foreign policy. The Communists viewed the church as an obstacle to the development of socialism and regarded the Vatican as virtually a foreign enemy—the headquarters and espionage center of "world clergy" in the service of the capitalist powers.

From 1948 until the fall of Novotny in January 1968, the regime was dedicated to the eventual dissolution of all organized religion and all vestiges of religious feeling. For political expediency, the regime at first was content merely to weaken the church's authority and maintained a relatively conciliatory attitude calculated to elicit compliance and

cooperation. The bishops resisted regime tactics, however, and the Communists responded by launching an all-out offensive against all religious communities but mainly against the predominant Catholic Church. Legislation was enacted giving the state financial control and power of appointment over the clergy. Those clergymen refusing to bow were expelled from church activities, deported, or jailed, including the Archbishop of Prague, Josef Beran, who was to spend 14 years in prison. The regime recruited its own group of "patriotic priests" to fill the vacancies and set up the Catholic Clergy for Peace as a front. Religious orders were liquidated, monasteries were closed, citizens were pressured into leaving the church, and atheism was introduced as a formal subject in the schools. Although forced into submission, the church remained for many people a symbol of resistance to communism.

Throughout the 1950's the regime conducted an antireligious propaganda campaign designed to accelerate their "cultural revolution" and the development of the "Socialist man." As a result of their conversion into state-supervised organizations, the churches became economically dependent on the state and were governed by officials loyal to the regime. In addition, the churches were forced to propagate and support various policies such as collectivization of agriculture and the "peace campaigns." At the same time they were not permitted to propagate or defend religion outside the churches or to contest the antireligious propaganda and activities of the regime.

As the demands for liberalization and change swept across Czechoslovakia in the early 1960's, the regime appeared to be seeking a new accommodation with the Catholic Church. This development stemmed in part from the general easing of tensions between the Vatican and the Communist countries of Eastern Europe, fostered by the late Pope John XXIII, and the confidence of the Prague regime that the church posed no great threat to stability. Moreover, the regime wanted to improve its image internally and abroad. In addition to toning down antireligious propaganda, the regime permitted a Czechoslovak Catholic delegation to attend the Second Vatican Council beginning in 1962 and facilitated the transfer of Archbishop Beran to Rome in 1963 after his 14 years of detention.

The sociopolitical reformation of the mid-1960's and the promise of a new era in relations between church and state aroused optimism among church officials who hoped for an atmosphere under which religion and communism could coexist. In addition to replacing conservative government officials respon-

sible for church affairs with liberals who were in favor of restoring some of the rights lost by the church, the Dubcek leadership reinstated several bishops to their dioceses and lifted restrictions on seminaries and other church activities. In 1968 the Minister of Culture and Information, under whose province church affairs fell, went on record as saying that "religion is the private affair of every citizen," and that religious education might be patterned after the system of Sunday schools in the United States. The number of children enrolled in religious classes rose sharply, in some areas to 80%. There were fewer than 800 students enrolled in 1968 in the country's two seminaries, however.

After the fall of the Dubcek regime, church-state relations reverted to those of the 1950's, but protracted and difficult negotiations between the Vatican and the representatives of the Czechoslovak Government resumed in November 1972 and resulted in a partial compromise agreement in February 1973 on the appointment of four new bishops to fill some of the numerous vacancies in the hierarchy, a problem that had grown especially acute with the death of three bishops in 1972. With the consecration of these four new bishops—three of whom filled vacancies in Slovakia—by a representative of the Vatican, the Catholic Church has reestablished bishops in six of the 12 dioceses in Czechoslovakia. Although at least three of the four new bishops have previously participated in the activities of the regime-sponsored organization for priests—*Pacem in Terris*, the successor to the Catholic Clergy for Peace organization abolished by the Dubcek government in 1968—a Vatican official noted that the Pope took into consideration "valid pastoral achievements." In addition, the Vatican has made allowance for the fact that a large number of Catholic clergy had joined the *Pacem in Terris* movement under pressure from state authorities because to refuse to do so would have resulted in the church in Czechoslovakia being without priests. Therefore if the Czechoslovak Government has desired to improve its international image and, like Poland and Hungary, establish a policy of limited cooperation with the Catholic Church, the Vatican at the same time has afforded another example of its concern over the inadequacy of its presence in Czechoslovakia, which has compelled it to come to terms with Communist regimes in Eastern Europe in the interests of preserving and extending its influence.

Policy changes and official attitudes apparently extend only to Czechoslovakia's external relations with the Vatican. On the domestic front, the activities of the some 3,300 priests are still severely restricted, with many not permitted to perform their pastoral duties

even though hundreds of communities in Czech and Slovak dioceses are without priests. Admission to the two Catholic seminaries was again restricted in 1973, thereby restoring the situation as it existed before 1968. Notwithstanding the February 1973 accord, the Czechoslovak Government antireligious campaign has continued unabated in the mass media. Also, according to recent reports, children of practicing Catholics may no longer be admitted to general secondary schools. Therefore, from the Vatican's standpoint, key issues remain unresolved.

Another event which may affect church-state relations in Czechoslovakia was the formal installation of Stepan Trochta, bishop of Litomerice, as a cardinal on 12 April 1973. On that occasion the Pope told the new cardinal that his elevation might contribute to the solution of church-state problems in Czechoslovakia. The second secretary of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Rome was among those who attended the ceremony.

In addition to the Catholic Church, two other important pre-Reformation churches existed in the territory of the Czechoslovak First Republic—the Greek Catholic or Uniat, and the Orthodox. Both of these churches were ethnically based upon the Ukrainian population of Carpathian Ruthenia and eastern Slovakia. After the cession in 1945 of Carpathian Ruthenia to the Soviet Union, the Orthodox Church became insignificant, with a remnant within Czechoslovakia of only slightly over 25,000 communicants. The Uniat Church, left with a membership of nearly 200,000 and with a hierarchy subordinate to Rome (although its rite is similar to that of the Orthodox Church), was forcibly merged by the government in 1950 into the smaller Orthodox Church under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Moscow in order to sever the Vatican ties of the Greek Catholic Church and promote Czechoslovak-Russian relations. Most of the Greek Catholic parishes are located in eastern Slovakia. The results of a 1966 survey conducted in Slovakia seeking information on religious affinities indicate that the official pressure on the Greek Catholics to accept allegiance to the Orthodox Church was not too successful. Only 25% considered themselves as Orthodox. Another survey in 1968 showed that the overwhelming majority of the Greek Catholics who had become Orthodox in the 1950's would return to Catholicism if they had the option. During the liberalization period in 1968 the Greek Catholics began to reestablish their own parishes but it is not known whether their connection to the Orthodox Church has been permanently severed.

Protestant churches rapidly expanded their membership in the 1920's and 1930's, particularly in

the Czech areas, as part of the nationalist movement away from Roman Catholicism. After the Communist takeover, the Protestant churches were subjected to state control, as was the Catholic Church. Although the Protestant groups were relatively small and lacked the power to resist, they were autonomous and were more strongly identified with Czech nationalism than was the Catholic Church. Thus they were able to more easily accommodate themselves to government demands and therefore were less vulnerable to Communist pressure. In addition, egalitarianism and social reform had been part of the creed of the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren, the largest Czech Protestant church. However, Slovak Protestants found it more difficult to reconcile themselves to Communist rule, and their opposition prompted harsh repressive measures. Protestants currently constitute about 10% of the total population.

Numbering an estimated 400,000 members in 1970, the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, sometimes referred to as the Slovak Evangelical or Slovak Lutheran Church, is the largest Protestant denomination in Slovakia. Resisting Communist attempts to gain control, the leaders of the church were forced to resign in 1951 and were replaced by a more cooperative group of proregime leaders. Formerly containing a minority of Magyars among its members, the church has been almost 100% Slovak since the emigration of German and Magyar populations after World War II. However, the other major Protestant denomination in Slovakia, the Reformed Church, has been from its inception during the Protestant Reformation predominantly Hungarian. In 1970 its membership was estimated at about 100,000.

The Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren, claiming the allegiance of between 250,000 to 300,000 Czech Protestants in 1970, traces its origins to the 15th century Hussite reform movement. After uniting with the Lutheran Church of Bohemia in 1575, it rapidly became the dominant Protestant group in Bohemia and Moravia and has enjoyed through the centuries the prestige of being the religious vehicle of Czech nationalism. After the Counter-Reformation many of its believers emigrated to other parts of Europe, and later others settled in the United States and founded a branch known as the Moravian Church. The Czech Brethren emphasize the Bible as the foundation of Christian faith and require simplicity in worship and rigorous morality in the life of its membership.

Founded in 1920 by a group of Roman Catholic clergy and laymen who broke away from the Catholic Church as part of the nationalist and anti-Catholic

fervor of the times, the Czechoslovak National Church was composed of a membership variously estimated to number between 500,000 and 750,000 in 1970. The religious inspiration for its reformist teachings emanates from Jan Hus, and its theology is on the lines of the Unitarians. It introduced the Czech language into church services in place of Latin, abolished the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, introduced presbyterial ordination of the bishops and lay representation in the governing bodies, and democratized the organization of the parish.

During the pre-World War II period, the Czechoslovak National Church was heavily subsidized by the government. Its close association with Czech nationalism and liberal social philosophies made it a target for persecution during the German occupation of World War II. Under the Communists it has probably been least affected by the various restrictive measures imposed on religious organizations, because both its organization and its theology are loose enough to be adapted to government demands.

Other Protestant denominations in Czechoslovakia number only a few thousand each. These include the Methodists, the Baptists, the Congregationalists, and even a small group of Jehovah's Witnesses who have strongly resisted the government's attempts to thwart their religious practices. In the 1930 census Jews numbered about 240,000. Nazi extermination policies during World War II and large-scale migration between 1945 and 1950 have reduced their number to an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 in 1970.

F. Education (U/OU)

Education has a long tradition of high esteem among the Czechs and Slovaks. Following the formation of the First Republic in 1918, the government placed major emphasis on maintaining the high standards that had been a hallmark of the educational system in Bohemia and Moravia for centuries, especially since the days of Jan Komensky (Comenius), the 17th century theologian and educator, who is widely regarded as one of the fathers of modern education. The schools sought to produce a well-rounded, educated, and cultured citizen rather than a specialist, and the structure and curriculum reflected that aim. After the Communist takeover in 1948 the educational system underwent major changes in structure, curriculum, and philosophy. Of primary importance was the abandonment of the Western philosophical approach, with its emphasis on the dignity of man, in favor of the Marxist principle that the individual has no rights independent of the state.

1. Educational policy

Schools were viewed by the incoming Communist government as having two functions: to train the specialists needed by the economy and to inculcate the young with the ideological orientation of a Socialist society. In order to accomplish these aims the system was restructured to conform to the Soviet model, and options as to the kind of education available were severely restricted. The matching of student and school in secondary and higher education was determined on the basis of economic needs and not by student preference. There was a major expansion of vocational education, especially in the industrial and agricultural fields. Vocational subjects and periods of practical work in factories or on farms were made compulsory in all schools. Textbooks and syllabuses were rewritten to make them conform to the ideology and objectives of the Communist Party. Only candidates with proven sympathies for the regime were considered for admission to secondary and higher education, and preference was given first to children of Communist Party members and then to children of working class and peasant origin regardless of academic qualifications. In order to reduce the time of study, emphasis was placed on occupational training and ideological orientation, and so-called superfluous subjects were eliminated. The net result of these changes was narrow specialization and a lowering of the standards of education.

By 1960 it was evident that the new school system was not producing graduates of the kind and quality needed for the functioning of the society. The radical excision of much of the traditional liberal, or cultural, curriculum during the first Communist decade resulted in a graduate which came to be perceived as being without the intellectual depth and judgmental capabilities to man a modern economic and social system. Consequently, the early 1960's witnessed modifications in some of the fundamental constructs of the system in order to provide for a broader education for all and greater differentiation between pure vocational training and a higher level of general and technical education. Emphasis on exclusively Marxist ideological indoctrination was relaxed and a restricted study of alternative ideologies was tolerated. At the elementary level, criteria were established for grading the economic potential of students and those with the most promise were provided with training specifically designed to facilitate entry into the secondary school curriculum. "Hands-on" work was eliminated from the academic secondary school curriculum beginning in 1964/65 because it was found to be interfering with the college preparatory

objectives of the school. At the same time, however, greater emphasis was put on the study of the theoretical aspects of new production technologies. In 1968 the secondary school curriculum was expanded from 3 to 4 years in order to provide a better foundation for those who would pursue college careers. The 1966 "law on universities" formally acknowledged the role of higher education in the development of society and granted more administrative and financial autonomy to the universities. For the first time since 1948, university scientific councils were permitted to elect high academic officials—rectors, prorectors, deans, and vice deans—from among their own professional staff. The Law of 1966 also prohibited the practice of *numerus clausus* (numerical restriction on enrollment) based on social and political criteria. Although this legislation did not basically alter party control over education, it did restore a measure of confidence to the entire scholastic community and encouraged the universities to push for additional reforms.

The liberalizing trends of the 1960's, which culminated in the Dubcek regime, clearly showed the ineffectiveness of the political indoctrination in the schools. Students and teachers were strongly represented among those who exerted major pressure for political reform during the Dubcek interlude and who were most vocal in expressing unorthodox political and economic views. Major blame for the failure of indoctrination was placed on teachers, who became the target of a major purge when the orthodox forces regained control of events and launched a "normalization" drive during 1969 and 1970. Hundreds of liberal professors and administrators were removed from academic institutions, including a third of the faculty of Charles University, Czechoslovakia's most prestigious institution of higher learning. Up to 80% of all teachers in the country were reassigned to new schools in order to eliminate any undesirable ideological bonds they might have established with the student body.

The Husak regime has placed primary emphasis on political indoctrination for students and teachers alike. Strict state control of education was reimposed on 1 January 1970, when the government empowered Czech and Slovak Ministers of Education to appoint and recall administrators and educators and to create, abolish, or reorganize educational and scientific institutions. Directives in 1970 and 1971 defined the principal role of education as that of training specialists who have accepted Socialist ideological orientation and who display a willingness to use their talents to further the aims of socialism in all fields of

endeavor. Political loyalty again became the prerequisite for hiring teachers and for the admission of students to secondary and higher institutions. School authorities were once more explicitly ordered to give preference in admission to children of loyal party members and to those of proletarian origin. Disciplinary commissions were set up to deal with student nonconformists.

University students were required to attend 2 hours of Marxist-Leninist training a week. School inspectors were again assigned to insure that schoolteachers properly indoctrinated their charges. History and social science textbooks were ordered rewritten to reflect the party line more faithfully. Students' spare time was again taken up with state-sponsored athletic and cultural programs. A program for "all-day education" patterned on the Soviet model was implemented to keep children of working mothers in class after regular school hours. And parents received instructions on how to supplement their children's political training at home.

Despite these changes and efforts, the Husak government appears to have made relatively little headway in its program of "normalization" as far as ideological education is concerned. Comprehensive strategies and plans to achieve this objective had been laid out in a series of directives in January 1970 and again in July 1971 at the 14th Party Congress; but still in the October 1972 plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the regime's mass organizations were asked to come up with concrete "political-educational and ideological programs," and in July 1973, the plenum once more called upon educational authorities to prepare to present to the upcoming 15th Party Congress "clearcut, specific educational goals at every school level . . ." In his concluding speech to the July 1973 plenum of the Central Committee, Husak acknowledged that the problem of winning the allegiance of youth to the socialist cause was no longer as easy as before the 1968 reform and that the task would require the full activation of all political and social institutions—from the party and government to the family.

2. System and organization

The base of Czechoslovakia's formal educational system is the compulsory 9-year elementary school, or first cycle, designed for attendance by the 6- to 15-year age group. The first 5 years are devoted to inculcation of the basic "building block" subjects (language and arithmetic); the remaining 4 years are designed to elaborate these basic subjects but also to introduce the social and natural sciences and to sort out the children

according to their aptitudes for either academic or vocational study. Special schools or classes are provided for retarded children, juvenile delinquents, and artistically talented youth. In addition to traditional subject matter, the elementary school is supposed to provide systematic political indoctrination and practical experience in workshops and fields as a means of inculcating the child with the attitudes toward work characteristic of Marxist-Socialist philosophy. Some elementary school students—reportedly one of every six in 1973—fail to finish elementary school due to poor grades and go directly into the lowest level apprentice school or, in a few cases, directly to work. A Secretary of the Central Committee at its 14th plenum in July 1973 announced that experiments had demonstrated the feasibility of contracting the curriculum of the lower form of the elementary school from 5 to 4 years and hinted that this might be done after necessary preparations were made. Czechoslovakia's progressively tightening manpower supply led observers to suggest that such a measure might be particularly motivated by the desire to hasten the induction of new labor force increments.

In Czechoslovakia as in other Soviet bloc countries the subordination of educational to economic objectives has worked to make job-training activities largely inseparable from formal educational activities as such. In the early 1970's, 55% of those completing their basic 9-year schooling entered apprenticeships; the large majority qualified as journeymen after a course which, for most, lasted 3 years. Training is provided in approximately 230 apprentice schools for students who live at home with their parents, and in some 1,400 apprentice training centers attached to large enterprises which furnish room and board for the student. Completion of an apprenticeship entitles the student to a job as a skilled worker with journeyman status, and qualifies him to matriculate in an off-hours vocational school leading to foreman status or in off-hours classes at the general secondary school level with an opportunity to take the examination for entry to a higher educational institution. In the interest of those with broader aptitudes, the apprentice curriculum is set up to comprise not only technical subjects but also general subjects which would make possible movement back into the academic track. The broadening of vision and elevation of expectations motivating youth in Czechoslovakia, as in most advanced countries, have resulted in many youths setting their sights beyond the goals achieved by their fathers in blue-collar activity, complicating the task of the regime in achieving planned enrollment targets in apprentice schools. Thus, apprentice schools registered

a shortfall of about 1,000 enrollees in 1972 and, further, some 1,300 slots scheduled for boys had to be filled with girls. In response to these and related problems, educational authorities have concluded that the basic terms surrounding apprentice training might have to be altered substantially in order to improve the wage and career benefits of skilled occupations and to provide increasingly larger numbers of young blue-collar workers with the opportunity to acquire a secondary and even higher education. Beyond this, authorities have also claimed that inadequate political indoctrination aggravated the defects in the apprentice training system.

The more intellectually talented 9th grade graduates enter one of approximately 700 basic and secondary vocational schools or go into one of approximately 350 general secondary (academic) schools. The basic vocational school curriculum, which is from 2 to 3 years' duration, is designed to develop lower grade technical or administrative personnel for direct entry into the work force without acquiring the School Leaving Certificate; however, college entrance qualifications can be acquired through off-hours courses in the system of Secondary Schools for Workers. The secondary vocational school curriculum is designed to provide graduates with a higher level of skill than that obtained in the basic vocational school. The schools are generally of 4 years' duration, and graduation leads to a School Leaving Certificate. Training is offered in such fields as mining, geology, machine industry, electrical engineering, food processing, construction, agriculture and forestry, public administration, public health, and pedagogy. Of some 70,000 graduates of secondary vocational school in 1971, the largest group—about 20,000—had specialized in public administration; other fields represented by 5,000 or more graduates were machine industry, public health, agriculture and forestry, and electrical engineering.

General secondary schools, called gymnasiums and equivalent to the gymnasium in the classic European educational system, have traditionally been viewed as the principal channel of educational advancement and a prime factor in social mobility. Prior to 1968 the general secondary school comprised a 3-year course but was lengthened to 4 years in response to criticism of some educators that a broader and more thorough curriculum was needed to prepare the student for university level study. Graduates from both the secondary vocational and secondary general school qualify to take the examination for entry into an institution of higher learning or to apply for middle level civil service positions or high level technical jobs.

Higher education in Czechoslovakia is provided at general universities, technical universities and colleges, teacher training colleges, and advanced schools of economics, of agriculture, and of art. The state also recognizes seven theological faculties but separates them statistically from other higher educational institutions. The number of higher education institutions has fluctuated since 1950, reaching a high of 51 in 1961/62 and a low of 35 in 1966/67; in 1971/72 there were 37. This does not reflect an absolute decrease in institutional facilities but rather a merging of some faculties. There are four general universities—the prestigious Charles University (founded in 1348), Palacky University (1573), J. E. Purkyne University (formerly Masaryk University, 1919), and Komensky (Comenius) University (1919). The most prestigious of the technical colleges is the Czech Institute of Technology founded in 1707. Most schools, except for those specializing in only one field, are divided into faculties that, in turn, are divided into departments. Most degree courses require 5 years to complete; however, some technical courses require an additional ½ year, and a medical degree requires 6 years.

The number of students at institutions of higher learning has almost trebled since the early 1950's reaching a high of 145,000 in 1965/66 and then declining to 128,000 in 1971/72, but the rate of attrition of students during the college course has been a constant source of disappointment to educational authorities. Graduations in the late 1960's and early 1970's fell short of initial enrollments by almost one-third. The attrition rate in the technical disciplines has been as high as 50%.

The traditional European prestige attaching to the liberal professions still pervades Czechoslovakia's social value system manifesting itself in the chronic oversupply of applicants for the liberal faculties and the undersupply for the engineering faculties. A breakdown of applicants for admission to institutions of higher learning for the 1972/73 school year shows that the target for mining engineering fell short by 65%, mechanical engineering by 30%, chemical engineering by 20%, and electrical engineering by 5%, while the target for natural sciences was exceeded by 44%, medicine by 63%, social sciences by 174%, and arts by 572%.

Students, including leading Communist members of the Czechoslovak Youth Union—then the official party-sponsored mass organization designed to organize and control youth activities—played a vanguard role in the reform movement. Targets of student criticism included the practice of prohibiting

the use of certain books, frequent reorganization of university curricula, shortages of teaching and learning aids, rigidity of study regulations and examination procedures, and absence of self-government in student establishments. In addition to demands pertaining to student life, the Czechoslovak students' movement issued a broad document entitled "Ten Points for Freedom" which summarized the liberal political philosophy of the Dubcek regime. With the suppression of the Dubcek regime all student periodicals were banned and reformist student federations and committees were disbanded and replaced under a party-controlled mass organization, the Socialist Youth Union (SSM). In 1970, regime-sponsored Czech and Slovak Centers of University Students and a federated body, the Czechoslovak Center of University Students, were created and attached to the regime's mass youth organization, renamed the Socialist Youth Union of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

3. Levels of attainment

The high standards of education set in Czechoslovakia at the time it became a republic have resulted in the achievement of near universal basic literacy in the Czech Lands and of a dramatic rise in that rate in traditionally backward Slovakia. At the time of the Communist takeover illiteracy was not a significant problem, except among the Gypsies, although significant portions of the adult population had passed the terminal year of compulsory education—the 15th year of age—without completion of the full 9-year course of elementary school education.

Implementation of education reforms was pressed with full vigor beginning in the 1950's and during the subsequent two decades enrollments in the lower elementary grades reflected accommodation of virtually all children in the compulsory school age class and progressive increases in kindergarten, secondary, vocational, and higher education enrollments (Figure 13). By the mid-1960's—as indicated in the tabulation below—a school

enrollment of nearly 100% had been achieved with respect to the elementary school age population and significant gains had been made in the secondary and higher education age cohorts:

	FIRST LEVEL (age 6-14)	SECOND LEVEL (age 15-18)	THIRD LEVEL (age 20-24)
1960/61	93	36	10.9
1965/66	98	39	13.9
1969/70	93	37	11.0

Data are lacking on the point but the possibility is strong that the decline in the ratios at the secondary and higher levels at the end of the 1960's were due at least partially to the stiffened application of political criteria in the selection of students. The effect of these criteria apparently persisted into early 1973, when the Czechoslovak press acknowledged that authorities were alarmed about the decline in the 1972/73 enrollment at the secondary level, particularly in the vocational schools.

Two decades after the Communist takeover only a negligible proportion of the population over 15 years of age lacked some elementary school education, and as suggested in the following tabulation, marked increases at higher levels had been achieved:

	1950		1970	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
No schooling	63,000	0.7	41,000	0.4
Completed secondary school	411,000	4.5	1,474,000	13.4
Of which vocational	238,000	2.6	1,081,000	9.8
Completed university-level studies	87,000	0.9	365,000	3.3

The success of policy measures designed to bring Slovak levels up to those prevailing in the Czech Lands have met with considerable success during the two decades, as suggested by the rise in the Slovak share of the adult population (over 15 years) with a secondary education background from 18% to 28% and with a university background from 20% to 26%.

As in all Communist countries, women's opportunities for education have increased dramatically over that prevailing before World War II and, as

FIGURE 13. Enrollment by type of school (U/OU)

TYPE OF SCHOOL	1950/51	1960/61	1965/66	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72
Nursery and kindergarten	256,306	285,863	330,084	371,013	377,762	377,593	384,980
Compulsory 9-year school	1,685,875	2,152,834	2,721,160	2,052,526	2,002,053	1,966,448	1,939,590
Apprentice school	na	241,252	357,032	na	na	348,670	355,774
Vocational school	94,054	238,201	297,654	278,685	282,674	286,407	279,978
Secondary general school	50,471	73,778	112,298	107,978	107,383	110,038	120,124
Higher school	45,241	94,040	144,990	137,654	133,524	131,099	128,124

na Data not available.

indicated in the following distribution of postelementary school enrollments by sex during the 1971/72 school year, women predominate in the secondary schools (in percent):

	MEN	WOMEN
Apprentice schools	79	30
Vocational schools	44	56
Full-time (76%)	41	59
Part-time (24%)	54	46
Secondary general schools	37	63
Full-time (93%)	35	65
Part-time (7%)	69	31
Higher education	62	38
Full-time (83%)	50	40
Part-time (17%)	64	36

The high proportion of male students in apprentice schools reflects the chronically tight manpower situation which necessitates the early induction of males into the labor force, especially in the industry and construction sectors. Males prevail in the process of selection of full-time higher education, but their relatively high proportion of all part-time students reflects the need to keep them on the job. Male predominance in higher education is based mainly on the high proportions they contribute to the engineering and agricultural schools; women outnumber them in most departments of the universities, notably in pedagogy, medicine, the social sciences, and philosophy.

During the post-World War II period the pupil/teacher ratio in the elementary school system improved significantly from 27.5 pupils per teacher in 1955/56 to 19.9 in 1971/72 and in the latter academic year represented the best in Europe alongside Sweden, Hungary, Norway, and Denmark. At the secondary level the ratio—consistently a favorable one throughout the 16-year period—improved from about 19 to about 16. The combined ratio of professors, docents, and instructors to matriculants in institutions of higher learning improved from 10.1 to 8.9.

G. Artistic and cultural expression (U/OU)

Although Czechoslovakia in the past has had a rich and creative cultural tradition, based on freedom of expression, contemporary artistic life is controlled by the state for its purposes. According to official policy, all cultural activity must serve the cause of building communism and "the revolutionary rebirth of society," and contribute to the development of "socialist man." The concept of "art for art's sake" is an alien one, and frequently books, paintings, musical compositions, or other art forms not conforming to official ideology are banned.

As it relates to cultural expression, official ideology, modeled on that of the Soviet Union, is embodied in the concept of "socialist realism," which limits the writer or artist to expressing the party line, to portraying the party as the guiding force of all positive activity, and to creating works that would be vehicles for socialist ideas and comprehensible to the people. Basically a political tool, art must appeal to the tastes of the working man, and expression must be simple and direct. The results have been stagnation of creative artistic initiative and dull uniformity. Consequently, some artists have chosen inactivity or exile. Nonetheless, a significant number of works, as well as performing artists, are internationally acclaimed. In these instances, token recognition is accorded to official policy while more artistic and "bourgeois" themes are developed.

To implement its cultural policy, the regime has developed an extensive control apparatus. Cultural policy is created by the party and administered by the Ministry of Interior, the Ministries of Culture of the two Republics, and the relevant professional organizations. These various professional groups or unions, working closely with the party, are the main vehicles of control; they enforce standards of artistic expression, act as representative bodies for their memberships, set salary scales, and establish professional qualifications for employment. The unions also operate housing facilities, stores, and vacation resorts for their members. Membership in the unions is a prerequisite for effective artistic and intellectual expression since only members may be employed and their works published, performed, or exhibited. Expulsion from the union, usually caused by deviation from cultural policy, effectively ends an artist's career within his own country.

As a part of its cultural policy, the government emphasizes certain past cultural traditions, and praises and rewards selected contemporary intellectuals and cultural figures who have shown political loyalty and professional achievement. The state also supports theatrical groups, dance troupes, and musical ensembles. To encourage mass participation in cultural life, admission is either free or nominal. In addition, ancient castles, churches, and other historic buildings are preserved as national museums; 437 such institutions existed in 1969.

Since the Communist takeover in 1948, Czechoslovak cultural life has been characterized by alternate periods of relaxation and suppression. The free atmosphere that had nourished the development of cultural and intellectual life in the prewar period vanished after February 1948 with the imposition of

systematic controls and restrictions in accordance with Marxist theory. Artists and writers were subsequently unionized, mainly within the state-controlled Creative Artists Union and the various writers' and journalists' unions, and for the most part they received their salaries from state institutions and publishing houses. Repression and control reached its peak in the period immediately preceding and following the death of Stalin in 1953. Besides imposing "socialist realism" and "administrative measures," such as police interference and censorship, the regime denied writers and artists the Western cultural influences that had nurtured them in the past. In Slovakia, the struggle against "bourgeois nationalism" resulted in the arrest of several prominent intellectuals, including Gustav Husak, the present party leader. During the cultural thaw in the mid-1950's, writers and artists sought a more liberal attitude on the part of the regime, but there was no unrest comparable to the uprisings in Poland and Hungary in 1956. A limited relaxation of restrictions permitted the importation of some contemporary Western literature and films, and some artists began to shun socialist realism and follow the lead of *avant-garde* artists in the West. However, the campaign beginning in June 1958 to complete the development of a socialist state brought a restoration of ideological restrictions that prevailed until the 12th Party Congress in December 1962, when party boss Novotny reluctantly abandoned some of his repressive controls.

The Fourth Congress of the Czechoslovakian Writers' Union in June 1967 marked the beginning of a true liberalization drive by a significant number of intellectuals; many speakers ignored the party's planned program, and attacked the regime's political and cultural policies. Novotny's failure either to crush the opposition of the intellectuals or to initiate reforms that would satisfy at least some of their demands was a key factor in his downfall the following January. Subsequently, during the 8 months of the Prague Spring, almost every aspect of Czechoslovak culture flourished. Censorship was ended and free expression was permitted. Czechoslovak writers and artists were allowed greater contact with their colleagues in other countries, and national culture was again exposed to Western influences. The creative artist in Czechoslovakia explored to a greater degree the techniques, methods, and theories that formerly were officially denied him: ideological neutralism, "ideal-less" light entertainment, formal experimentation, "cosmopolitanism," symbolism, abstractionism, "art for art's sake," and similar "bourgeois ideologies and elements."

A new period of cultural repression began after Dubcek's fall and Husak's acquisition of power. Prominent artists were dismissed from their jobs and unions, and eventually from the party to complete their professional and social ostracism. Some were jailed. In late 1970 the regime drafted legislation designed to complete the state's control over cultural institutions. A new theater law was drawn up providing for government support for theaters producing "politically involved" (pro-Communist) plays and for staging works by authors from the Soviet Union and other Communist nations. A state-controlled music program was implemented, with emphasis on youth education. However, noting a decline in cultural standards in 1972-73, the regime has tried to reintegrate into the unions talented but alienated artists, who must prove themselves through "committed" works. To date, few respected intellectuals have responded. Instead, denied freedom of expression, artists revert to subdued cynicism, using satire, derisive humor, bitter allegory, innuendoes, and disrespectful allusions.

1. Literature

According to official interpretation, contemporary literature is the offspring of the socialist revolution. In fact, however, the roots of Czechoslovak literary tradition are found in religion and nationalism, and are strongly influenced by Western European traditions as well. The first literature, the translation of scripture into old Slavonic by the missionaries Cyril and Methodius appeared in the ninth century. High quality illuminated manuscripts, combining art and literature, became a primary form of cultural expression in the Middle Ages, and religious dramas were also part of the literary heritage until the 14th and 15th centuries when the writings of Jan Hus, Petr Chelcicky, and Thomas of Stetny on moral and religious questions appeared. The translation of the Kralice Bible, published in the 16th century, was the culmination of religious prose and became a model for classical Czech. Religious upheavals in the 17th century brought a literary decline although Jan Komensky (Comenius), in exile, wrote philosophical works in Latin and Czech.

The nationalistic and Western European roots of Czechoslovak literature developed in the 18th and 19th centuries. The most famous literary figure of that time was Frantisek Palacky, who wrote extensively on the nationality question and the concept of a national past. Called the "Father of the Nation," Palacky is best remembered for his *The History of the Czech Nation*, which is regarded as a classic. Other noted

writers of that period were historian Pavel Safarik and Jan Kollar whose allegorical sonnet *The Daughter of Slava* is a major work of Czech literature. Karel Macha is regarded as one of the greatest Czech poets. His best known work *May* influenced many other poets. In the late 19th century a more universal literature, influenced by Western Europe, emerged. Novelists Bozena Nemcova and Jaroslav Vrchlicky were known for writing in the new vein. Other outstanding figures of that period were poets Jan Neruda, Svatopluk Cech, and Pavel Orszagh, who wrote under the pen name Hviezdoslav.

In the 20th century, the creation of an independent Czechoslovak state was a great stimulus to literature, and some of the best works were written during the interwar period. Outstanding poets were Josef Hora, Frantisek Halas, Vitezslav Nezval, and Jaroslav Seifert. Distinguished prose authors included Ivan Olbracht, Vladislav Vancura, and Karel Capek, who was also a playwright. *The Good Soldier Schweik*, a work of international reputation, was written by Jaroslav Hasek during this period. (Franz Kafka, though a native and a resident of Prague, wrote in German and is therefore not usually listed as a Czech writer.)

After a decline during the Nazi and Stalinist eras, literary production increased considerably in the late 1950's and 1960's, and became primarily concerned with people in human situations, indifferent to social ideas and alienated from society. Josef Skvorecky is recognized for several novels, particularly *The Cowards* and *The Emoeke Legend*, while Peter Karvas is noted for *The Scar*, a sharp criticism of Stalinism. Using the same theme, Ladislav Mnaeko wrote *Belated Reportages* and *A Taste of Lower*, which exposed the corruption and hypocrisy of the bureaucracy. During the relative freedom of the 1960's, poets Miroslav Holub and Jiri Kolar commented on the contemporary scene while Ivan Wernisch and Ivan Divis concentrated on the inner world of the individual.

In the 1970's with the reimposition of ideological restrictions, many authors no longer write or have gone into exile. However, the regime favors poet Valentin Beniak, and has presented literary prizes to B. Riha, A. Z. Plud, and Jan Solovic.

2. Performing arts

a. Music and dance

As with literature, Czechoslovak music ostensibly derives from the revolution, but in fact it is an integral part of ancient folk life, religion, and Western

European musical tradition. Folk music and dance have not only influenced the classical forms of music and ballet, but have survived in pure form as a part of daily life. The music and dance of each region of the country are distinctive and reflect their cultural heritage.

The 16th through the 19th century was a particularly creative period in the development of Czechoslovak music. Classical secular music was introduced from Western Europe in the 16th century, and by the 18th century, a Czechoslovak baroque musical tradition, based on folk melodies and characterized by energetic rhythms, had emerged. Czech musicians were playing in orchestras all over Europe; Jan Ladislav Dusek, a piano virtuoso, was particularly well known throughout the continent. The best known composer of the time was Jan Jakub Ryba. In the 19th century, classical music began to have a mass appeal. Opera was sung in Czech and in 1811 the Prague Conservatoire, the oldest in Central Europe, was established. The most important figures in Czechoslovak music, Bedrich Smetana (1824-84) and Antonin Dvorak (1841-1904), were writing operas, symphonies, and chamber music heard throughout the world. Several other composers, such as Zdenek Fibich, Josef Suk, Josef Foerster, and Vitezslav Novak, were writing lesser known works.

Creativity and experimentation in music continued in the first part of the 20th century with the development of modern atonal music by composers Leos Janacek and Bohuslav Martinu. Other modern composers, who are still living, include Eugen Suchon, who wrote the opera *The Whirlwind*, and Alois Haba, who is best known for his quarter tone music. Although atonal music and *avant-garde* experimentation have been discouraged since the Communist revolution, musical expression in contemporary Czechoslovakia is allowed more freedom than the other arts because of its nonideological character. A few young composers continue to write less extreme modern works, which are performed mostly in Eastern Europe. The government condemns most forms of Western popular music as decadent, particularly rock, although jazz is tolerated. The best known Czechoslovak popular singer is Karel Gott who performs in many countries, including the United States.

Classical ballet is a popular form of entertainment, and the Brno ballet company is considered the best in the country. Its repertoire includes internationally known works such as "The Nutcracker's Suite," domestic productions such as Dvorak's "Slavonic Dances," and new Russian presentations such as "The

Creation of the World" by A. Petrov. Ballerina Jarmila Mansinerova and dancer-choreographer Miroslav Kura are among the most highly regarded performers.

Music and dance facilities and performances are readily available to the public. The National, Smetana, and Tyl Theaters are the principal stages for opera and ballet, but 14 others also exist. Concerts are performed by seven symphony orchestras, the best of which is the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. Chamber music is played by 30 professional groups; the Prague String Quartet is the most prominent. There are many vocal groups, choirs, and dance and jazz bands, and numerous schools of music and dance.

b. Theater and motion pictures

The theater in Czechoslovakia has long had a political role and it is currently recognized as a powerful instrument of mass agitation and propaganda. In the Middle Ages, the church made extensive use of dramatic presentations to instill religious and political ideas through songs, folk humor, and social satire. These plays, performed in churches by students or wandering theater companies, were generally comprehensible and accessible to all. Almost as old as church drama is the puppet theater, which is highly developed and popular in modern society. During the preindependence period, the theater was particularly instrumental in arousing national consciousness and rejuvenating national culture. The popular demand for a national theater forced the Austrian authorities to construct the Czech National Theater, which became a symbol of independence. In fact, state independence was declared there in 1918.

After independence, particularly in the interwar period, theatrical production tended to be less political but activity was intense and creative. An array of domestic and foreign plays were presented. Several innovations were made, which were later adopted by theaters in other countries. The main playwrights of this period were Jiri Voskovec, Jan Werich, and Karel Capek.

After the Communist takeover, the theater again became a political vehicle for the purposes of the regime. Drama was to be politically "safe." As a reaction and protest, public preference turned to light plays although certain serious dramas, such as classics by Moliere and Shakespeare and a few Russian productions, remained popular. During the brief period of liberalization in the 1960's, theatrical activity increased, and plays tended to be absurd and satirical, criticizing the shortcomings of the socialist system. Prague became the center of Eastern European *avant-garde* theater, and Czech actors

toured abroad. Many Western plays were presented. Noted dramatists were Josef Topol, Vaclav Havel, Pavel Kohout, Milan Uhde, and Peter Karvas. However, after the reimposition of controls in the late 1960's, theater was again restricted to "safe" productions. Nonetheless, local theaters, enjoying a degree of security through partial anonymity, continue to tweak Soviet and regime sensitivities through humor and the theater of the absurd. Audiences make the most of such opportunities with catcalls and applause and go out of their way to discover unintended innuendoes and disrespectful allusions.

Although the Czechoslovak film industry was established 70 years ago, Czech films gained international recognition only after World War II when *The Siren* was awarded the grand prize at the International Film Festival in Venice in 1947. Imaginative animated puppet films such as *Midsummer Night's Dream* by Jiri Trnka also became popular. In the more relaxed atmosphere of the 1960's, films developed into an important medium of expression. Portraying everyday life as well as the shortcomings of the political system, such films as *The Shop on Main Street* and *Closely Watched Trains* were internationally acclaimed. Among the notable directors of that period were Pavel Juracek, Ivan Passer, Jaromil Jires, and Milos Forman, who is still making films in exile in Western Europe and the United States.

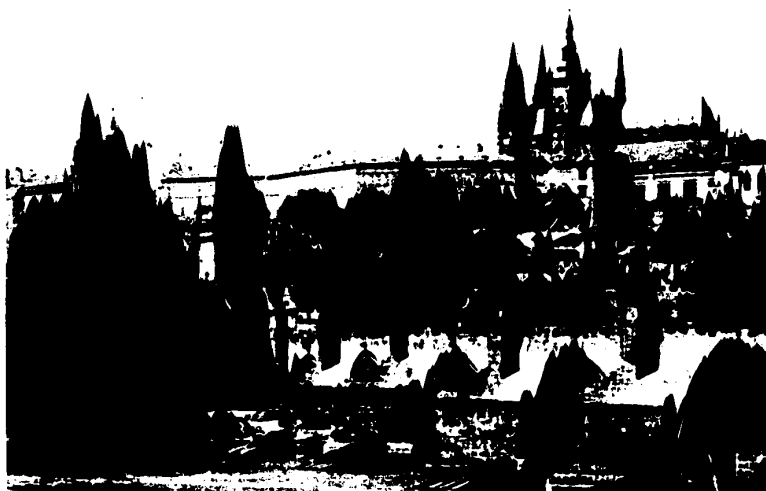
In the 1970's creative film efforts have been sharply reduced. Films made before 1969 and not yet released were subject to review and censorship, while many of those already released were recalled or banned from distribution. Popular interest in films has declined, probably, as elsewhere, due to the impact of television. The number of theaters decreased from 3,711 in 1965 to 3,495 in 1971 while attendance in the same period dropped from 128.4 million to 110.7 million.

3. Art and architecture

a. Painting, sculpture, and architecture

Although lacking an international reputation, Czechoslovak fine arts and architecture have flourished during several creative periods in the country's history. In the earlier period, religion exerted a great influence. The small, round churches of simple, geometric design were typical of Czech Romanesque architecture from the 10th to the 13th centuries. In the late 13th century, Peter Parler, an outstanding architect and sculptor, was commissioned by the King of Bohemia to complete the construction

FIGURE 14. St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague (U/OU)



of St. Vitus Cathedral, a famous landmark in Prague (Figure 14). Saints were the subject of the 128 celebrated panel paintings of Master Theodorik in the Chapel of the Holy Rood. Also inspired by religious beliefs, Master Paul of Levoča, a great sculptor of the late 14th century, is noted for his masterpiece, the large altar at Levoča.

Religion was still an important subject for art during the Bohemian Renaissance of the 16th century and the Baroque period of the 18th century, but secular motifs also became more important. Among the major works were the monumental Church of St. Nicholas in Prague by K. I. Diezenhofer, and the highly regarded altar paintings of K. Skreta and P. Brandl. During the same period, rich decoration and articulated, painted gables, inspired by Italian secular design were popular additions to housing. The sculpture of the period was noted for the worldly, realistic forms of F. M. Brokoff and M. Braun.

Art turned from religious subjects to people, everyday life, landscapes, and historical events during the national revival of the 19th century. Best remembered are the realistic paintings of Josef Manes, Nicholas Ales, and Max Svabinsky, and the sculptures of Josef Vaclav Myslbek. Later in the 20th century before World War II, Czech artists, influenced by new ideas from Western Europe, were concerned with new forms of expression in painting and sculpture. Examples were the impressionism of Antonin Slavicek, the symbolism of J. Preisler, the abstractionism of Frantisek Kupka, and the cubism of Emil Lilla and O. Gutfreund. Also recognized are Alfons Mucha for his

decorative and symbolic *avant-garde* paintings and Oskar Kokoschka for his psychological portraits and allegorical paintings.

After the Communist takeover, experimentation, abstractionism, and expressionism were officially discouraged. Studies of still life and nudes were no longer acceptable. Instead, intelligibility, monumentality, and nationalism were stressed. The art produced was generally unimaginative, sterile, and mannered. Limited experimentation in style and form returned after 1955, and has more or less continued in contemporary Czechoslovakia despite the tightening of restrictions on artistic expression in the late 1960's and 1970's. Although sometimes cynical and macabre and not as dynamic as in earlier periods, Czechoslovakian fine arts and architecture still exhibit originality and individuality. A noted artist is Libor Fara who stresses simple planes with accented contours, scaled in tones of white, gray, and black. Architecture has become modern but somewhat sterile. No true innovations are permitted, even those that are functional. Noted architects are Karel Hoznik and Zdenek Plesnik.

b. Folk and applied art

Originating in pre-Christian times, folk woodcarving is one of the earliest forms of cultural expression in Czechoslovakia. Wooden household gods and decorated wooden posts, marking sacred groves, served religious functions. After the arrival of Christianity, holy figures and tall wooden crosses were richly carved with both pre-Christian symbols of life, such as the sun

and rosettes, and Christian signs, such as vines and chalices. The best woodcarving was done by professional and amateur Slovak artists from the 18th to the 20th century. In contemporary Czechoslovakia, this art form has disappeared and is found mostly in museums because, as the country became more industrialized, woodcarving was rejected as a reminder of poverty and peasant ways.

Ceramics is also one of the oldest folk crafts, dating back to the fourth and fifth centuries when the first pottery was produced. Jugs were often decorated with brightly colored folk scenes. Later in the 19th century porcelain figurines were fashionable; they were often rococo in style and decorated with cobalt, purple, and burnished gold (Figure 15). In modern Czechoslovakia, ceramics remain a dynamic art form; artists are experimenting with new and abstract forms for figures, statuettes, and vessels of various kinds. A significant number of Czechoslovak ceramic works have won international prizes.

Czech artistry in glassmaking has long been internationally acclaimed. Originating in Bohemia, glassmaking became important in the 16th century with the development of cutglass. Examples of the fine glass work of that period were Kaspar Lehmann's goblets, decorated with allegories of the virtues. In the 17th century, cut crystal, characterized by carved lacy, star-like patterns inspired by folk embroidery, was developed.



FIGURE 15. A typical decorative porcelain figurine of the 19th century (U/OU)

One of the most creative artistic and technical periods of Czech glassmaking was the 18th century. New shapes for bottles, goblets, and flagons were conceived and decorated in new ways. Among these innovations were painted glass with allegorical motifs, created by Daniel Preisler; agate and opal colored glass, decorated with gold; double-walled glass which has become a collector's item; and glass engraving. Using heavy English lead glass, Czech artists engraved scenes of towns and spas; particularly fashionable were reproductions of famous paintings.

In the 20th century, impetus has been given to modern glassmaking by its organization into an industry and the establishment of schools. Moreover, the government has encouraged high standards for export purposes. New techniques continue to be discovered. In the 1930's, blown glass was introduced, and fine table glass was created by J. Sutnar and A. Loos. Since the 1940's, serviceability, simplicity, and technical purity have been combined (Figure 16). Noted contemporary artists are J. Soukup and V. Hanus, working in pressed glass, and M. Velishova and Rene Roubicek, skilled with hand-sculpted glass. One of the newest forms is free glass sculpture. S. Libensky and J. Brychtova, his wife, are recognized for their monumental windows, panels, and three-dimensional objects.

H. Public information (C)

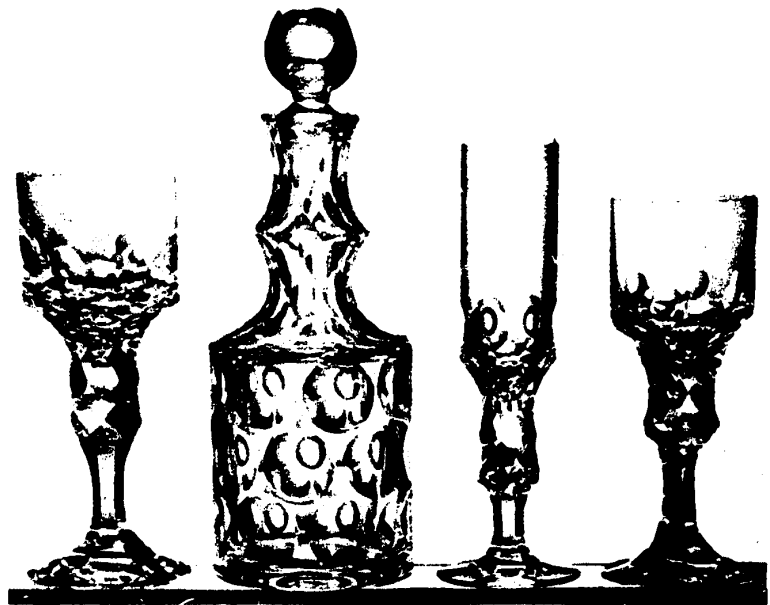
The mass media in Czechoslovakia are extensive and well-developed, and completely under the control of the government and Communist Party. Justified in terms of Marxist-Leninist theories, both the media system and the control apparatus are oriented toward mobilizing the mind and will of the population and strengthening the party in its self-assigned role as leader, teacher, and guide of the people. While a considerable amount of educational and cultural material is also disseminated, these "nonpolitical" activities are not ends in themselves. They facilitate the prime task of ideological indoctrination and the effective realization of the party's economic and political goals.

In modern Czechoslovak history, the degree of control and restriction on the media have fluctuated. Prior to the 1948 Communist takeover, the Republic, functioning as a democracy, operated effectively under the 1920 constitution, which guaranteed freedom of the press. Even after controls on public information were established during the Communist period, the press functioned more freely in Czechoslovakia than in the other Eastern European countries. In fact, encouraged in the 1960's by radical

FIGURE 16. Modern glassware
(U.S.S.R.)



"Spring"—a cut relief vase,
designed by Miroslav Plátek
and engraved by Vaclav Kacer



Cut lead crystal by Ludislav Oliva

economic changes and demands for freedom of expression by various cultural and literary periodicals, Czechoslovak intellectuals began a liberalization drive, and some controls were relaxed during the Novotny government. With the accession to power of the Dubcek regime, the party's management of the media was further diminished and many restraints reduced, including the abolition of prepublication censorship. In the brief disorder during the Russian invasion, freedom of the press became a reality because much of the media functioned in secret without official restraints. However, thereafter full party supervision was reinstated; many publications were banned, editorial boards purged, and journalists dismissed.

In the 1970's the theories and system of controls on the media closely resembled those in existence prior to

1968. Although freedom of speech and press are guaranteed by the 1961 constitution, still basically in effect, the 1966 press law stated that they may only be exercised when they are "consistent with the interests of the working people," the sole judge being the Communist Party. Criticism for its own sake and antiparty statements are not tolerated. Mass communication is not based on the pursuit of profit nor does it provide a vehicle for individual expression. The right to issue information through any legal public medium is accorded only to the party, the government, and public organizations controlled by the party, such as labor unions.

All media are regulated by the government's Press and Information Office. The general guidelines and directives are formulated by top party officials. The party Central Committee and its press staff are

responsible for the final preparation of policy, filling in details with the cooperation of pertinent government departments. The final instructions are then implemented at lower levels of government by the various committees and offices concerned with the media. In addition, regular briefing sessions, held by party and government officials for media personnel, are effective mechanisms which diminish the need for republication censorship.

1. Printed matter

a. Press and periodicals

Because of strict controls, the daily press has experienced a decline in the total number of publications, total circulation, and the quality of content and format. As a result of merger or elimination of the non-Communist press, the number of daily publications decreased from 20 in 1948 to 13 in 1953; in the same period total daily circulation decreased from 2.4 million to 1.7 million. Reflecting the press reforms of the Dubcek government, the number of dailies reached a high of 33 in 1969 although circulation was only 1.2 million. After the press was again reduced to being a government mouthpiece, the number of dailies decreased to 29 in 1971 while circulation fell slightly below 1.2 million. Moreover, newspapers became even more stereotyped in form and content, tending to concentrate on prescribed themes with little variation in depth of coverage or extent of comment.

In 1971, among the dailies with circulations of at least 100,000 (Figure 17), the most authoritative and widely circulated newspapers were *Rude Pravo*, the official organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSC), and *Pravda*, its sister Slovak publication. Founded in 1920, *Rude Pravo* is imitated by other newspapers in presentation and layout. National in outlook and scope, it has a large subscription list as well as substantial newsstand sales. The paper is also commonly displayed on public bulletin boards. Like its Czech counterpart, *Pravda* is authoritative and an outlet for official views. However, its circulation is mostly limited to Slovakia, and regional news receives more attention. General news is often summarized or extracted from *Rude Pravo*.

In 1971, 1,315 periodicals were published, a decline from a high of 1,589 in 1969. The total average circulation for weekly periodicals in 1971 was about 7.9 million; total circulation for all periodicals is unavailable. Virtually every major party and government organ, as well as intellectual institution, publishes its own periodical. Aimed at a selected

readership, the vast majority are newsletters or highly specialized in content, and few have a national circulation.

Among the important weekly periodicals are *Tvorba* (Creation) which deals principally with domestic, political, and cultural affairs, and *Tribuna*, which focuses on party problems and foreign events. More popular weeklies include *Vlasta* (Motherland), an illustrated magazine for women with a weekly circulation in 1971 of 650,000, and *Kvety* (Blossoms), an illustrated party periodical with a weekly circulation of 300,000 in 1971. Occasionally magazines, critical of the government and the party, appear, but they are published by a small number of dissidents and appeal to a limited readership. The authorities often take no action against such publications as long as their influence remains small. An example was *Samizdat*, a political monthly, which circulated among intellectuals in Prague and other cities in 1971.

The sole outlet for all domestic and foreign news for all media is the Czechoslovak News Agency (CTK or CETEKA), which functions as an arm of the Press and Information Office. Distributing more than 40,000 items annually, CTK prepares and disseminates special news summaries, bulletins, and short articles. It is represented in several major foreign capitals. Fifty-seven exchange agreements are also maintained with the news services of both Communist and Western nations, including United Press International. In addition, CTK established the Prague-based International Organization of Journalists, which has trained over 100 editors, technicians, and photographers from various Asian and African countries.

b. Books and libraries

Book publishing has grown only slightly during the 1960's. In 1960, the number of published titles totaled 5,818. The number increased to 6,503 in 1965, decreased to 5,800 in 1969, and increased again to 6,607 in 1971. In that year, the major subject categories included social policy and popular education (1,086 titles), fiction (982 titles), technical sciences (648 titles), and children's literature (597 titles).

The restrictions imposed on the publishing industry since 1968 have been less sweeping than those placed on the other mass media, which played a considerably more important role in mobilizing public opinion during the Dubcek era. Book publishers have come under increasing government criticism, however, for their reluctance to reemphasize "socialist" literature over Western and politically "unconstructive" works.

FIGURE 17. Principal daily newspapers, 1971 (U/OU)

NAME	LANGUAGE	PLACE OF PUBLICATION	ESTIMATED CIRCULATION	PUBLISHER
ČESKOSLOVENSKÝ SPORT	Czech	Prague	200,000	Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association.
LIDOVÁ DEMOKRACIE (People's Democracy)	do	do	122,000	Czechoslovak People's Party.
MLADÁ FRONTA (Youth Front)	do	do	295,000	Czechoslovak Youth Federation.
PRÁCE (Labor)	Slovak	Bratislava	117,000	Slovak Council of Trade Unions.
PRÁCE (Labor)	Czech	Prague	290,000	Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.
PRAVDA (Truth)	Slovak	Bratislava	295,000	Communist Party of Slovakia.
ROVNOST (Equality)	Czech	Brno	130,000	Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.
RUDE PRAVO (Red Justice)	Slovak, Czech	Bratislava, Prague	1,130,000	Do.
SMENA (Relay)	Slovak	Bratislava	160,000	Slovak Youth Federation.
SVOBODNÉ SLOVO (Free Word)	Czech	Prague	134,000	Czechoslovak Socialist Party.
Új Szó (New Word)	Hungarian	Bratislava	295,000	Communist Party of Slovakia.
ZEMĚDELSKÉ NOVINY (Agricultural News)	Czech	Prague	100,000	Ministry of Agriculture and Food.

As a result, publishing houses have begun to concentrate on Soviet and other Communist authors. Western technical books continue to be sold, but they are expensive and limited in quantity. Overseeing the publishing industry, the Czechoslovak Center for Publishing and the Book Trade promotes ideological objectives and coordinates all activities of publishing houses and bookstores in accordance with official guidelines.

Because of the high literacy rate and the general interest in intellectual pursuits, a great demand for library resources exists. Consequently, the system is extensive, consisting of public libraries, university and school libraries, state society facilities, and libraries associated with mass organizations. In addition, some industrial plants and social clubs maintain small libraries or reading rooms. Facilities are heavily concentrated in the Czech Lands which had 74% of the country's 13,391 public libraries and branches in 1971. In the same year, all facilities contained a total of 34,665,000 volumes, and 1,825,000 readers were registered. All library facilities are regulated by the Central Council for Libraries.

The largest library is the State Library of the Czechoslovak Republic. Established in 1956 as a consolidation of six libraries it has approximately 4 million volumes and an extensive microfilm collection. Other significant facilities are the Slovak National Library in Martin with 1.8 million volumes, the National Museum Library in Prague, containing 1.7 million volumes, the University Library at Brno with 1.6 million volumes, the Prague City Library with 1.4 million volumes, the State Technical Library at Brno, and the Slovak Technical Library at Bratislava. The two technical libraries contain 1.1 million volumes each. Five other state scientific libraries offer comprehensive collections in special technical fields.

2. Radio and television

Radio is the most important medium of mass communication and a major vehicle for political, social, and cultural indoctrination. Operated by Czechoslovak Radio (*Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas*), broadcasting began in 1923 with 2 hours daily. By 1970 there were 120 hours of daily broadcasting as well as extensive foreign transmissions. In the 1970's a campaign to reorganize and expand the radio system was begun, and by the end of the next Five Year Plan (1976-80), it is anticipated that stereo broadcasting will reach the entire countryside.

Radio reception is already extensive. In 1971, 3.8 million licensed radio receivers existed; the ratio of 264 radio receivers per 1,000 population was one of the

highest in Eastern Europe. The number of transmitters has doubled since 1960 to reach 100 in 1971. Additional and more powerful transmitters are planned.

The radio system consists of three networks - Programs I, II, III. Utilizing medium and long wave AM transmitters, Program I is composed of *Radio Prague*, which presents general news and educational broadcasts and certain specialized programs in Czech, and *Radio Bratislava*, which broadcasts similar programs in Slovak as well as in Hungarian and Ukrainian. In 1973, Program I added transmissions in Czech and Slovak, capable of reception in the rest of Europe, Africa, South and East Asia, and Australia. Program II, *Radio Star* (Hvezda), was created in 1970 to replace a previous national system. It broadcasts 24 hours daily in Czech and Slovak over long and medium wave AM transmitters. Light music constitutes the bulk of the second network's programming and, while newscasts are frequent, they are less detailed and compose a smaller proportion of broadcast time than those presented on Program I. Because Program II requires less concentration, it is the most popular of the networks. Program III is composed of the Czech-language *Radio Vltava* and the Slovak-language *Radio Devín*. *Radio Vltava* also broadcasts in English, German, Russian, and Spanish. The programming for the third network consists of classical music, modern jazz, operas, art and literary discussions, and foreign language instruction.

Czechoslovakia also has an extensive foreign broadcast program. The Czechoslovakian International Service in Prague, employing shortwave transmitters, broadcasts in seven languages to all parts of the world. The largest target area is Europe. Programs usually consist of news and commentary on Czechoslovak developments and world affairs.

Introduced in 1953, television broadcasting is one of the most popular mediums, and is the responsibility of Czechoslovak Television (*Ceskoslovenske Televize*). Nonetheless, because of the mountainous terrain, TV coverage has not been as complete as radio, and consequently, has not had the influence or propaganda value of that medium. Therefore, the regime is in the process of increasing the number and power of broadcast facilities. The 32 transmitters in existence in 1971 are more than double the total in 1960. By 1973, 4,500 hours of television programming per annum were being transmitted to 3.3 million TV receivers. The ratio of 243 TV sets per 1,000 population ranks Czechoslovakia among the five leading nations in the world, and the government claims that 80% of all families own a television set.

CONFIDENTIAL

Since 1970, the national system has operated two networks—Programs I and II. Program I, broadcasting in Czech, can be received by most of the country while the Slovak-language Program II is considerably weaker. It is planned that by 1975 Program I will be available throughout the country and that Program II will be available to about 40% of the country. Czech network broadcasting emanates from the main studio in Prague, with features supplied by the other major studios located in Brno and Ostrava. The majority of programming for the Slovak network originates in Bratislava, with occasional contributions from the two other main studios located in Kosice and Banska Bystrica. Most programming is devoted to cultural and artistic subjects as well as general information, all heavily laden with propaganda. Domestic and Soviet films are frequently shown.

Color television has developed slowly. Although trial color transmissions were begun in 1970, broadcasting started only in May 1973 and there are only about 500 color receivers in the country thus far. These receivers are expensive Russian imports. Plans call for color reception by 50% of the country, and 80% color programming by 1980.

Czechoslovakia participates in and uses both the Communist European TV network *Intervision* and, through a West German link, Western Europe's *Eurovision*. Czechoslovak television also has direct links with the U.S.S.R. and all Eastern European countries except Albania. In 1970, the government announced plans to construct a ground receiving station for the Soviet *Orbita* satellite TV system.

I. Selected bibliography (U/OU)

Cole, K. C. "Prague, Two Years After," *New York Times Magazine*, 16 August 1970, pp. 7-9, 69-73.

Czechoslovakia, Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. "The Socialist Education of the Young Generation and Its Preparation for Life and Work in a Mature Society."

Report delivered to the plenum of the Central Committee, 3 July 1973. In U.S. Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Eastern Europe*, Number 153, Supplement 26, 8 August 1973.

Dasbach, Anita. "Czechoslovakia's Youth," *Problems of Communism*, XVIII, No. 2, pp. 24-31, March-April 1969.

Farrell, R. Barry (ed.). *Political Leadership in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*. Chicago: Aldine. 1970.

Feiwel, George R. *New Economic Patterns in Czechoslovakia*. New York: Praeger. 1968.

Horecky, P. L. (ed.). *East Central Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1969.

Krejci, Jaroslav. *Social Change and Stratification in Postwar Czechoslovakia*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1972.

Kusin, Vladimir V. *Political Grouping in the Czechoslovak Reform Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1972.

Prucha, Vaclav. "Basic Features of Economic Development in Czechoslovakia in 1945-1970," *Czechoslovak Economic Papers*, 13, pp. 35-57. Prague: Academia. 1972.

Rehceigl, Jr. Miloslav (ed.). *Czechoslovakia, Past and Present*. Vol. 1. The Hague: Mouton. 1968.

Selucky, Radoslav. *Czechoslovakia: The Plan That Failed*. London: Nelson and Sons. 1970.

Srb, Vladimir. "The Population of Czechoslovakia in 1918-1968," *Czechoslovak Population Problems*, pp. 3-15. Prague: Secretariat of State Population Committee. 1968.

Szulc, Tad. *Czechoslovakia Since World War II*. New York: Viking Press. 1971.

Taborsky, Edward. "Czechoslovakia: The Return to 'Normalcy'," *Problems of Communism*, XIX, No. 6, pp. 31-41, November-December 1970.

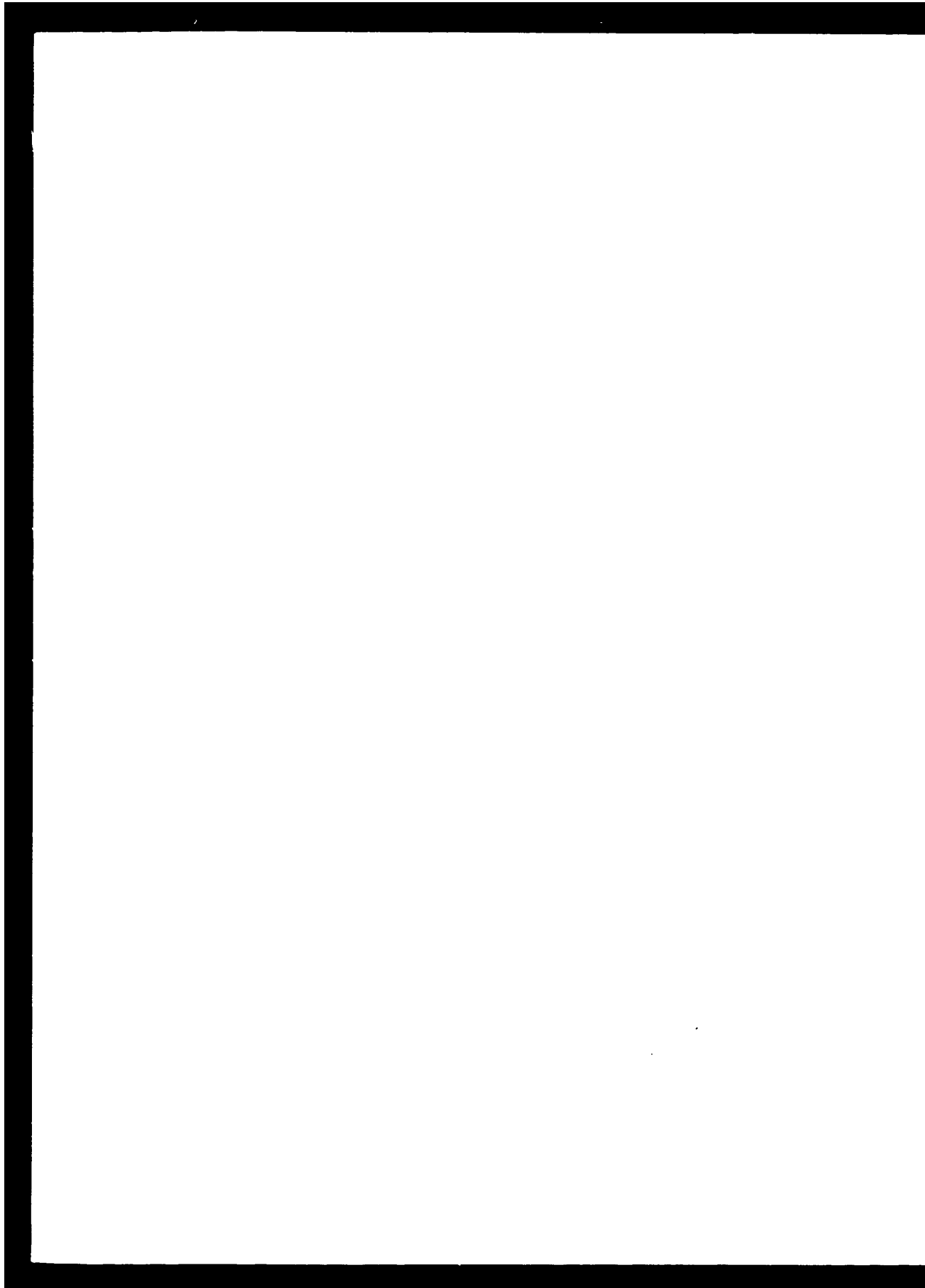
United States, Radio Free Europe. "Rising Education Levels," *Radio Free Europe Research: East Europe*. Czechoslovakia Situation Report Number 3, 17 January 1973.

Glossary (u/ou)

ABBREVIATION	FOREIGN	ENGLISH
CTK.....	<i>Ceskoslovenska Tiskova Kancelar</i>	Czechoslovak News Agency
KSC.....	<i>Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska</i> ...	Czechoslovak Communist Party
ROH.....	<i>Revolucni Odborove Hnuti</i>	Revolutionary Trade Union Movement
SSM.....	<i>Svaz Socialisticke Mladeze</i>	Socialist Youth Union
URO.....	<i>Ustredni Rada Odboru</i>	Central Council of Trade Unions

CONFIDENTIAL

39



CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL