

Josette Baer

# Alexander Dubček Unknown (1921–1992)

## The Life of a Political Icon

With a foreword by Jan Pešek  
and  
oral history interviews  
with Pavol Dubček and Ivan Laluha



Josette Baer

# **Alexander Dubček Unknown**

**(1921–1992)**

## **The Life of a Political Icon**

With a foreword by Jan Pešek  
and  
oral history interviews  
with Pavol Dubček and Ivan Laluhá

*ibidem*-Verlag  
Stuttgart

## **Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek**

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

## **Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Cover picture:      Portrait of the politician and statesman Alexander Dubček, undated,  
SNK Martin, Slovakia. Reprint with kind permission.

∞

Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem, säurefreien Papier  
Printed on acid-free paper

ISBN-13: 978-3-8382-1126-8

© *ibidem*-Verlag  
Stuttgart 2018

Alle Rechte vorbehalten

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Dies gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und elektronische Speicherformen sowie die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form, or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior written permission of the publisher. Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

Printed in the EU

This study is dedicated to my husband Peter who has been supporting my research for years, in academic and psychological terms. One could not wish for a better friend.



# Table of Contents

<b>Foreword by Jan Pešek.....</b>	<b>XI</b>
<b>Abbreviations .....</b>	<b>XIII</b>
<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>XVII</b>
<b>X. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
X. 1 Alexander Dubček – Naïve Apparatchik, Independent Thinker, Courageous Reformer, or Political Dreamer? .....	1
X. 2 Analytical Framework and Conceptual Matrix.....	12
X. 2. 1 Analytical Framework .....	12
X. 2. 2 Conceptual Matrix .....	14
X. 3 Method, Key Issues, Research Interest.....	15
X. 3. 1 Method: Contextual Biography.....	15
X. 3. 2 Key Issues.....	17
X. 3. 2. 1 Czechoslovakism and the Czechoslovak Nation.....	17
X. 3. 2. 2 <i>Rovný s Rovným</i> – The Three Prague Agreements (1945–1946) .....	30
X. 3. 2. 3 The Relationship between the KSČ and the KSS (1948–1967).....	43
X. 3. 3 Research Questions .....	47
<b>I. Childhood, Early Years and Education (1921–1939) .</b>	<b>51</b>
I. 1 Childhood in Soviet Kyrgyzia and Gorky (1925–1938).....	51
I. 2 The Soviet Purges of the 1930s and Return to Czechoslovakia (1938) .....	56
<b>II. Dear Sasha – A Career in the Communist Party (1939–1968).....</b>	<b>63</b>
II. 1 The Slovak National Uprising (1944).....	63
II. 2 Political Training in Moscow (1955–1958).....	68
II. 3 The Slovak <i>predjarie</i> (Pre-Spring) (1963–1967) ....	73

II. 3. 1	Currency Reform and the Consumer Goods Industry (1953–1958).....	75
II. 3. 2	The Scientific-Technical Revolution (early 1960s) .....	78
II. 3. 3	The Rehabilitation Commissions (1955–1968) ...	80
II. 4	First Secretary of the KSS (1963–1968) .....	85
II. 4. 1	A Soviet Cosmonaut (1963) .....	88
II. 4. 2	A Rebellious Party Member (1964) .....	94
II. 4. 3	Ideological Unity and Party Discipline à la Novotný (1964) .....	98
II. 4. 4	'Electing' the President and the Tasks of Loyal Journalists (1964) .....	105
II. 4. 5	Comrade Cvík (1965).....	110
II. 4. 6	A Failed Intrigue: The Dubčeks in the SNP (1965–1967).....	113
II. 4. 7	The Affair of the Bear (1966) .....	124
II. 4. 8	Anonymous Letters (1963, 1966) .....	132
II. 5	The Eight Months of the Czechoslovak Spring (1968).....	141
<b>III.</b>	<b>Oblivion? Dubček's Dissent and Return to Politics (1969–1992).....</b>	<b>159</b>
III. 1	Soviet Salami Tactics .....	160
III. 2	The Politics of Normalization .....	171
III. 2. 1	The Purges at Charles University (1969).....	173
III. 2. 2	Travel Restrictions .....	179
III. 3	Everyday Life in Czechoslovakia .....	181
III. 3. 1	Fear .....	181
III. 3. 2	The Weekend, Socialization and Humour.....	184
III. 3. 3	The Underground .....	188
III. 4	Dissent and Return to Politics (1970–1989).....	191
III. 4. 1	Dubček's Protest Letters .....	191
III. 4. 2	The StB's Psychological Terror.....	199
III. 4. 3	November 1989 and the Transition to Democracy .....	204

<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>211</b>
<b>Oral History Interview with Pavol Dubček, MD .....</b>	<b>219</b>
<b>Oral History Interview with Professor Ivan Laluhá.....</b>	<b>222</b>
<b>Oral History Interview with Mr Miloslav Liška .....</b>	<b>227</b>
<b>Appendix .....</b>	<b>231</b>
Dubček in Data .....	231
Chronology.....	233
Bibliography.....	253
Index.....	273



## **Foreword by Jan Pešek**

This year in August, the Slovaks and Czechs remember what happened fifty years ago: the Czechoslovak Spring of 1968 and its brutal end by Warsaw Pact troops. The Czechoslovak Spring has been well researched, or so the knowledgeable Western reader might think. This latest biography of Alexander Dubček by the Swiss political scientist and historian Josette Baer, a renowned specialist on Czechoslovak and Slovak history and political thought, presents a new approach to the political history of Slovakia and Czechoslovakia. As the first non-Slovak historian, Baer investigates two crucially important chapters of Slovak history that so far have been under-researched: the years of the Pre-Spring from 1963 to 1968 and the years of the so-called Normalization (1969–1989).

The liberalization of the Czechoslovak Communist regime began in 1963 with Dubček's election as First Secretary of the Slovak Communist Party KSS; the Czechoslovak Spring originated in Bratislava and, with Dubček's election to First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party KSČ in January 1968, the way for the reformers was free. Baer focuses on Dubček's career in the KSS in the 1960s and his dissent in the 1970s. After the Communist Party had relieved him from all functions in Party and state, Dubček, the former most powerful politician of Czechoslovakia, found employment at the State Forestry in Bratislava. The State Security Service StB monitored him and his family every day, exerting psychological terror to the maximum. The Normalization regime under General Secretary KSČ and President in personal union Gustáv Husák wanted to delete Dubček and his reform course from Czechoslovak collective memory – an endeavour that was not only unsuccessful but

would backfire in November 1989: the Communist Party was brought down in 10 days by the people, who had not forgotten Dubček and his attempt at Socialism with a Human Face.

Baer's biography closes important gaps in international and interdisciplinary scholarship about the Czechoslovak Spring. Her book is a must-read for everybody interested in the history of Central Europe in the 20th Century and the history of European Communism alike.

Jan Pešek, Bratislava, August 2018