

## 捷克斯洛伐克的國家與民族發展\*

施正鋒

政治學者、自由撰稿人

### 摘要

我們先回顧捷克斯洛伐克的早期歷史，也就是波希米亞、摩拉維亞、西里西亞、斯洛伐克、及魯塞尼亞的結合，特別是波希米亞王國在中世紀的奠基。接著考察奧地利哈布斯堡的統治，再來檢視捷克斯洛伐克民族主義在 19 世紀中葉的興起，尤其是在奧匈帝國的二元君主國安排下如何爭取獨立。最後觀察在奧匈帝國解體後，捷克斯洛伐克第一、第二、及第三共和國的遞嬗。

**關鍵詞：**捷克斯洛伐克、波希米亞、摩拉維亞、西里西亞、斯洛伐克、魯塞尼亞、奧匈帝國

---

\*發表於台灣國際研究學會主辦「捷克斯洛伐克——發展現況與展望學術研討會」，台北，台北科技大學集思北科大會議中心奧米伽廳，2025/10/18。

## 壹、早期歷史

捷克斯洛伐克 (Czechoslovakia, 1918-39, 1945-1992, 簡稱捷克) 是在一次世界大戰 (World War I, 1914-18) 後由奧匈帝國 (Austria-Hungary, 1867-1918) 裂解而開創的新國家, 由捷克人 (Czechs) 的捷克地域<sup>1</sup> (Czech Lands) 與斯洛伐克人 (Slovaks) 的斯洛伐克 (Slovakia) 組成, 前者包含波希米亞 (Bohemia)、摩拉維亞 (Moravia)、及西里西亞<sup>2</sup> (Silesia), 再加上取自匈牙利的魯塞尼亞<sup>3</sup> (Ruthenia); 在冷戰結束後, 捷克斯洛伐克解體為捷克共和國 (Czech Republic, 1993-)、及斯洛伐克共和國 (Slovak Republic, 1993-)。

凱爾特人 (Celts) 在西元前 5 世紀由法國、阿爾卑斯山 (Alps)、及德國中部前來中歐, 其中, 波伊 (Boii)、及戈蒂尼 (Cotini) 部落分別抵達波希米亞、及斯洛伐克, 帶來城鎮文化、從事貿易及工藝, 進而擴張到西里西亞, 後來被色雷斯人 (Thracians) 削弱; 西元前 1 世紀到 5 世紀間, 日耳曼人 (Germanic Peoples) 的馬科曼尼 (Marcomanni)、夸迪 (Quadi)、及倫巴底 (Lombards) 部落由西邊趁虛分別滲入波希米亞、及斯洛伐克, 他們與羅馬帝國進行科曼尼戰爭 (Marcomannic Wars, 166-80), 終究在民族大遷徙時期 (Migration Period, 300-800), 為了逃離令人聞聲喪膽的匈人 (Huns) 而

<sup>1</sup> 又稱波西米亞地域 (Bohemian Lands)、簡稱波西米亞, 大致是過去的波希米亞王冠領地 (Lands of the Bohemian Crown, 1348-1918), 包含波希米亞王國 (Kingdom of Bohemia, 1198-1620)、摩拉維亞侯國 (Margraviate of Moravia, 1182-1918)、西里西亞公國 (Duchies of Silesia, 1335-1742)、及盧薩蒂亞 (Lusatia), 後者又劃為上盧薩蒂亞侯國 (Margraviate of Upper Lusatia)、及下盧薩蒂亞侯國 (Margraviate of Lower Lusatia) (Wikipedia, 2025: Lands of the Bohemian Crown)。

<sup>2</sup> 比較精確的說法是捷克西里西亞 (Czech Silesia)。

<sup>3</sup> 位於喀爾巴阡山脈 (Carpathian Mountains) 的西南麓, 又稱為喀爾巴阡魯塞尼亞 (Carpathian Ruthenia)、下喀爾巴阡魯西尼亞地 (Subcarpathian Ruthenia)、外喀爾巴阡 (Transcarpathia)、喀爾巴阡魯斯 (Carpatho-Rus)、喀爾巴阡烏克蘭 (Carpatho-Ukraine), 在 11 世紀被匈牙利統治, 到了 16-17 世紀成為鄂圖曼帝國 (Ottoman Empire, 1299-1922) 的邊區; 在一次大戰期間, 移民美國的魯塞尼亞人提出各種訴求, 包括獨立、納入蘇聯或波烏克蘭結為聯邦、匈牙利下的半自治、或與捷克結合 (Kohut, 1989: 29-31; Heimann, 2011: 8; Wikipedia, 2025: Ruthenia; Transcarpathia; Rusyns and Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia (1918-1938))。

西竄；斯拉夫人<sup>4</sup> (Slavs, Slavic Peoples) 跟隨匈人、及阿瓦爾人<sup>5</sup> (Avars) 由東北部接踵而至，由於為了擺脫兩者的支配，在西元 450 年陸續往南遷徙，於 6 世紀前抵達喀爾巴阡山脈、蘇台德山脈 (Sudeten Mountains)、及多瑙河 (Danube) 之間的林地、展開墾殖；後來，有一部分人繼續往南，另有一些往北、往東發展，終於在 6 世紀分殊為西斯拉夫人 (Western Slavs)、南斯拉夫人 (Southern Slavs)、及東斯拉夫人 (Eastern Slavs)，其中，西斯拉夫人又分為分布平原的波蘭人 (Poles)、丘陵地的捷克人、及山地的斯洛伐克人 (Thomson, 1953: 7-9; Heymann, 1966: 23-24; Walters, 1988: 18-20; Polišenský, 1971: 12-14; Wikipedia, 2025: History of the Czech lands; Boii)。

進入 7 世紀，捷克斯洛伐克的先民幾乎已經盤據整個捷克地域、及斯洛伐克，卻飽受阿瓦爾人欺凌，既要獻納、又要出兵；在 7-8 世紀，德國南部的日耳曼人沿著多瑙河南北兩岸墾殖，法蘭克人 (Franks) 商人薩莫 (Samo, 623-58) 整合摩拉維亞的西斯拉夫人，終於擺脫阿瓦爾人的桎梏，建立薩莫帝國 (Samo's Empire, 631-58)，這是西斯拉夫人首度建立的國家，然而，部落聯防在他死後分崩離析；卡洛林王朝 (Carolingian Dynasty, 751-843) 在 751 年入主法蘭克王國 (Francia, 481-843)，國王查理 (Charles I, King of the Franks, 768-814) 於 792-96 年驅走阿瓦爾人、收服斯拉夫人，於 800 年被加冕為「羅馬人的皇帝」(Emperor of the Romans, 800-14)、號稱查理曼 (Charlemagne)，發軔日耳曼人鬆散結合的神聖羅馬帝國<sup>6</sup> (Holy Roman

<sup>4</sup> 斯拉夫人原居中亞，後來移居窩瓦河 (Volga) 與聶斯特河 (Dniester) 之間游牧，面對斯基泰人 (Scythians) 的壓力，西遷聶斯特河、維斯圖拉河 (Vistula)、及喀爾巴阡山脈之間，這是所有斯拉夫人的共同原鄉 (Polišenský, 1991: 14; Thomson, 1953: 7)。

<sup>5</sup> 匈人在 6 世紀初結合斯拉夫人進攻巴爾幹半島，阿瓦爾人被東羅馬帝國 (Byzantine Empire, 330-1453) 找來抗衡，建有阿瓦爾汗國 (Avar Khaganate, 567-822)，到了 7 世紀初雄踞中歐，所控制的土地由波羅的海延伸到巴爾幹半島，終究退守到潘諾尼亞盆地 (Pannonian Basin)，又稱為潘諾尼亞平原阿瓦爾人 (Pannonian Avars) (Wikipedia, 2025: Pannonian Avars)。

<sup>6</sup> 在 7-8 世紀，德國南部的日耳曼移民沿著多瑙河南北擴張，於 9-10 世紀陸續發展出大大小小的部落公國、侯國；查理曼在 803 年帶領巴伐利亞人、及施瓦本人，驅逐阿瓦爾人、收服斯拉夫人，在恩斯河 (Enns) 以東設置軍事邊區屯墾 (Eastern March)，包括比隆邊區 (March of Billings)、北邊區 (North March)、勞西茨邊區 (March of Lusatia)、及邁森邊區 (March of Meissen)；捷克地域若非西部、及北部有山區擋著，捷克人的命運很

Empire, 800-1806); 查理曼不久攻入捷克地域、索取獻納, 此後, 摩拉維亞與波希米亞的西斯拉夫人, 他們的未來取決於如何與帝國周旋 (Krofta, 1935: 2; Thomson, 1953: 10-16; Wikipedia, 2025: Samo; Samo's Empire; )。



來源：Wikimedia (2024: File:Slavic tribes in the 7th to 9th century.jpg)。

圖 1：斯拉夫部落的分布 (7-9 世紀)

摩拉維亞的斯拉夫部落領袖莫伊米爾一世 (Mojmir I of Moravia, 833-46) 接受洗禮, 結合摩拉維亞親王國 (Principality of Moravia) 與尼特拉公國 (Principality of Nitra) 創大摩拉維亞公國 (Great Moravia, 833-907), 因協助查理曼擊敗阿瓦爾人而受封; 他決計掙脫法蘭克人的束縛, 卻因為繼承之爭無力對抗, 一心一意往東擴張的東法蘭克國王日耳曼人路易 (Louis

---

可能像易北河 (Elbe) 以西的近親文德人 (Wends)、及索布人 (Sorbs) 一樣, 難逃被壓迫而幾乎滅亡 (Thomson, 1953: 13-15)。



來源：Travis (2022)。

圖 2：斯瓦托普魯克一世時的大摩拉維亞公國版圖

the German, 843-76) 終究加以罷黜，另立原本當人質的侄子羅斯季斯拉夫 (Rastislav of Moravia, 846-70) 為大摩拉維亞公爵；羅斯季斯拉夫立意掙脫政治附庸地位，除了睥睨日耳曼人的大軍威嚇，還要抗拒他們的文化影響，遂要求拜占庭帝國皇帝米海爾三世 (Michael III, 842-67) 派遣教士傳播福音，基里爾 (Saint Cyril)、及梅福季 (Saint Methodius) 兄弟在 863 年前來，特地為斯拉夫人創格拉哥里字母<sup>7</sup> (Glagolitic script)，當地人得以使用母語接受基督信仰，東正教開始傳入；羅斯季斯拉夫後來被侄子斯瓦托普魯克一世 (Svatopluk I of Moravia, 870-94) 出賣，法蘭克人把他弄瞎後囚禁巴伐利亞而死；竊位的斯瓦托普魯克一世擴張版圖，結合斯洛伐克西部、部分奧地利、波希米亞、及盧薩蒂亞，不過，他一昧討好法蘭克人，日耳曼教士絡繹於途，天主教逐漸取代東正教<sup>8</sup> (Krofta, 1935: 2-4; Thomson, 1953: 10-11;

<sup>7</sup> 後來發展為西里爾字母 (Cyrillic script)，廣為斯拉夫人採用。

<sup>8</sup> 因此採取拉丁字母 (Latin script)，不像信奉東正教的東斯拉夫人繼續使用西里爾字母。

Heymann, 1966: 25-27; Kirschbaum, 1995: 24-33; Wikipedia, 2025: Great Moravia; Mojmir I of Moravia; Rastislav of Moravia; Svatopluk I of Moravia )。



來源：Wikimedia（2025: File:Holy Roman Empire 11th century map-en.svg）。

圖 3：神聖羅馬帝國的邊區（1000）

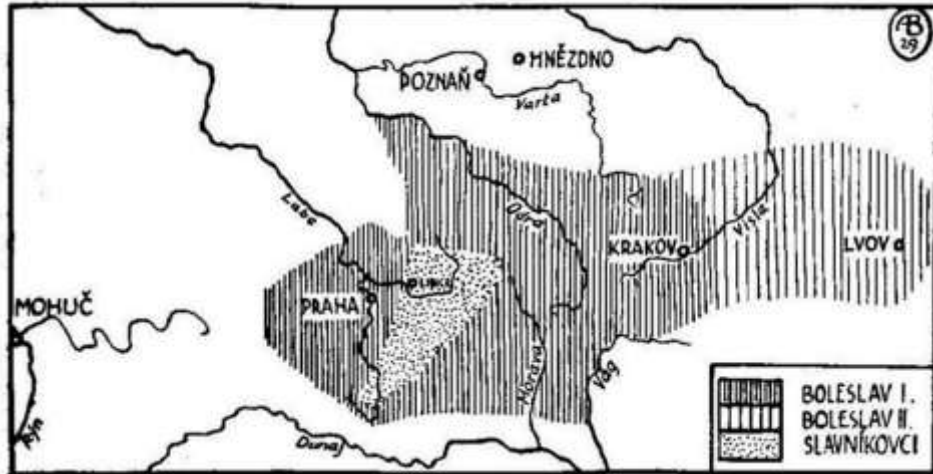
大摩拉維亞公國壯大後，開始挑戰東法蘭克國王阿努爾夫（Arnulf of Carinthia, King of East Francia, 887-99）的霸業，原本充當傭兵的馬扎爾人<sup>9</sup>（Magyars）乘機坐大，在普雷斯堡之戰（Battle of Pressburg, 907）大敗兩軍，漁翁得利佔領摩拉維亞的東部，切斷西斯拉夫人與南斯拉夫人的聯繫，大摩拉維亞公國崩解，政治與文化重心轉向波希米亞，從此，捷克人與斯洛伐克人分治將近千年；東法蘭克國王鄂圖一世（Otto I, King of East Francia, 936-73）重整旗鼓，在第二次萊希菲爾德之戰（Battle of Lechfeld, 955）結合波希米亞兵團奏捷，被加冕為神聖羅馬鄂圖大帝（Otto the Great, 962-73）（Krofta, 1935: 4; Thomson, 1953: 11-16; Heymann, 1966: 27-29; Kirschbaum, 1995: 33-38; Johnson 1996: 20; Wikipedia, 2025: Great Moravia; Battle of Pressburg）。

## 貳、波希米亞王國

波希米亞公國（Duchy of Bohemia, 870-1198）原本臣屬大摩拉維亞公國，由博日沃伊一世（Bořivoj I, Duke of Bohemia, 867-89）開創普熱米斯爾王朝（Přemyslid Dynasty, 867-1306），他選擇與神聖羅馬帝國結盟、接受基督教化，用來收服內部桀驁不馴的捷克人部落，貴族逐漸日耳曼化，而日耳曼人也趁機透過薩克森（Saxon）與巴伐利亞（Bavaria）的天主教士擴張勢力<sup>10</sup>，拉丁語很快就取代斯拉夫語為彌撒用語，甚至於支配文化、司法領域，

<sup>9</sup> 馬扎爾人吸納匈人成為匈牙利人（Hungarians,）的核心，在 830 年來到聶伯河與喀爾巴阡山脈間，阿爾帕德大公（Árpád, 889-907）創立匈牙利公國（Principality of Hungary, 895-1000），帶領族人跨越喀爾巴阡山脈，於 899 年來到多瑙河下游，次年完全佔領潘諾尼亞盆地，在匈牙利大公史蒂芬一世（Stephen I, Grand Prince of the Hungarians, 997-1000）時定居下來；史蒂芬一世接受教宗領洗，被加冕為匈牙利王國（Kingdom of Hungary, 1000-1301）首任國王（King of Hungary, 1000-38），致力擺脫神聖羅馬帝國、及東羅馬帝國的制約，於 1030 年擋住羅馬皇帝康拉德二世（Conrad II, Holy Roman Emperor, 1027-39）的攻勢，又阻止巴伐利亞人的東進。根據 Leff（1988: 11），儘管馬扎爾人與匈牙利人兩個名詞往往互用，前者用來區隔斯拉夫人、後者代表地域性。

<sup>10</sup> 早期日耳曼人移居捷克分有 3 波：首先是在漫長的 6-12 世紀，前導的主要是權貴、教士、及旅商，隨之而來的是工匠、及農民，普熱米斯爾王室鼓勵他們前來、特許有自己



來源：Wikimedia（2025: File:Český stát v X. století za Boleslava I. a II.jpg）。

圖 4：波希米亞公國版圖（10 世紀）

這時，公國雖逐漸崛起、卻必須奮力維持自主；斯皮季赫涅夫一世（Spytihnĕv I, Duke of Bohemia, 889-915）臣服東法蘭克國王阿努爾夫，在大摩拉維亞崩解後聯手擊敗匈牙利人；傳到波列斯拉夫一世（Boleslaus I, Duke of Bohemia, 935-72），他併吞接壤的摩拉維亞及西里西亞、收攬所有捷克部落，又東進波蘭的克拉科夫（Kraków），等到奧托王朝（Ottonian Dynasty, 919-1024）入主東法蘭克王國，他原本不想繼續朝貢，面對鄂圖一世在 950 年大軍壓境，只好虛與委蛇；早先，波希米亞與波蘭結盟（865-77）對抗日耳曼人，終究反目成仇，在波列斯拉夫二世（Boleslaus II, Duke of Bohemia, 972-99）時敗陣（Polish-Bohemian War, 990），失去西里西亞；經過多年與波蘭、及匈牙利的周旋，波希米亞終於在奧爾德日赫（Oldřich, Duke of Bohemia, 1012-34）時取回摩拉維亞（1029）；布熱季斯拉夫一世（Bretislav I, 1034-55）東進波蘭，橫遭神聖羅馬皇帝亨利三世（Henry III, Holy Roman Emperor,

---

的城鎮、法律、及教士。這些人來自德國各地，包括薩克森、巴伐利亞、圖林根（Thuringia）或萊茵地區（Rhineland），甚至更遠的法蘭德斯（Flanders）；接著是 12-14 世紀，適逢德國的東向移民運動（*Ostsiedlung*），影響捷克的商業、礦業、及中產階級發展；再來是 14-16 世紀，日耳曼人與捷克人共生（Thomson, 1953: chap. 7; Wandycz, 1992: 29-32）。

1046-56) 阻撓，波希米亞再度臣服，直到腓特烈一世 (Frederick Barbarossa, 1155-90)，神聖羅馬帝國依然不斷介入波希米亞事務 (Krofta, 1935: 5-11; Thomson, 1953: 16-23, 132-34; Heymann, 1966: 32-33, 36-37; Kohut, 1989: 7-9; Wikipedia, 2025: Bořivoj I, Duke of Bohemia; Kingdom of Bohemia)。

波希米亞公爵普熱米斯爾·奧托卡一世 (Ottokar I of Bohemia, 1192-93, 1197-98) 稱王 (1198-1230)，神聖羅馬皇帝腓特烈二世 (Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, 1220-50) 頒佈『金璽詔書』( *Golden Bull of Sicily, 1212*) 冊封為世襲波希米亞國王，王國的權力相對於貴族不斷擴增、對於帝國的義務逐漸遞減；蒙古人-韃靼人 (Mongol-Tatars) 在 1241 年來襲，波希米亞國王瓦茨拉夫一世 (Wenceslaus I of Bohemia, 1230-53) 雖然守住波希米亞，卻無法阻止摩拉維亞被蹂躪；後來腓特烈二世與匈牙利開戰，死於萊塔河之戰 (Battle of the Leitha River, 1246)，瓦茨拉夫一世安排長子弗拉迪斯拉夫 (Vladislaus III of Moravia) 娶其姪女奧地利的格魯迪 (Gertrude of Austria)，未料弗拉迪斯拉夫次年去世，格魯迪再嫁巴登藩侯赫爾曼六世 (Herman VI, Margrave of Baden, 1243-50)，復於 1250 年喪夫；奧地利貴族打算迎來瓦茨拉夫一世的次子、未來的波希米亞國王普熱米斯爾·奧托卡二世 (Ottokar II of Bohemia, 1253-78) 接位，條件是必須娶寡嫂格魯迪，或神聖羅馬皇帝腓特烈二世的寡姐<sup>11</sup>(格魯迪的姑姑)巴本堡的瑪格麗特 (Margaret of Austria)，他最後選擇迎娶長他 26 歲的瑪格麗特為后 (Queen of Bohemia, 1253-60)，囊括奧地利；人算不如天算，奧托卡二世競爭皇位失利，眾人擁簇弱勢的德意志國王魯道夫一世 (Rudolf I of Germany, 1273-91)，他在杜恩克魯特戰役 (Battle on the Marchfeld, 1278) 與匈牙利聯手大敗前者、曝屍維也納，建立哈布斯堡君主國 (Habsburg Monarchy, 1282-1918) (Krofta, 1935: 16-19; Thomson, 1953: 23-26, 49-52; Heymann, 1966: 37-39; Polišíenský, 1991: 25-29)。

波希米亞普熱米斯爾王朝末代國王瓦茨拉夫三世 (Wenceslaus III of Bohemia, 1305-1306) 死後無嗣，經過 4 年空位期，盧森堡王朝 (House of Luxembourg, 1247-1451) 的約翰一世 (John of Bohemia, 1310-46) 獲貴族之

<sup>11</sup> 她是奧地利公爵利奧波德六世 (Leopold VI, Duke of Austria, 1198-1230) 的女兒。



來源：Wikimedia（2024: File:Map of bohemia 1301.png）。

圖 5：普熱米斯爾王朝時的波希米亞王國（1301）

邀當王，他在巴黎長大、不諳捷克語，雖周遊歐洲、卻很少久留捷克地域，領地雖擴張、王權卻陡降；其子卡雷爾一世（Charles I, King of Germany, King of Bohemia, 1346-78）先繼承德意志、及波希米亞王位，終究被推舉為神聖羅馬皇帝查理四世（Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor, 1355-78），波希米亞成為帝國核心、布拉格為都，其盛世被譽為「黃金時代」；查理四世在 1348 年確立波希米亞王冠領地，這些不可分的領地不再屬於國王、或朝代，而是

歸於波希米亞王國，此外，他為了防止教皇操控神聖羅馬皇帝選舉，頒佈『金璽詔書』( *Golden Bull of 1356* ) 確認包含波希米亞國王在內的 7 大世襲選帝侯<sup>12</sup> ( prince-electors )，此後皇帝必須與諸侯分享權力；儘管波希米亞王國得以維持獨特的認同，由於跟神聖羅馬帝國糾纏不清，難抵日耳曼人的影響，在查理四世死後，因為王位繼承不確定而陷入動亂，加上貴族抗拒王權擴張而國力日漸衰退 ( Krofta, 1935: chap. 4; Keefe, et al., 1972: 33-34; Thomson, 1953: 27-33; Heymann, 1966: 42-44; Polišenský, 1991: chap. 4; Wikipedia, 2025: John of Bohemia; Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor; Lands of the Bohemian Crown )。



來源：Wikimedia ( 2024: File:Karte Böhmen unter Karl IV.png )。

圖 6：查理四世時的波希米亞王冠領地

<sup>12</sup> 其他還有美因茨大主教 ( Archbishop of Mainz )、科隆大主教 ( Archbishop of Cologne )、特里爾大主教 ( Archbishop of Trier )、茵-普法爾茨伯爵 ( Count Palatine of the Rhine )、薩克森-維滕貝格公爵 ( Duke of Saxony-Wittenberg )、及布蘭登堡藩侯 ( Margrave of Brandenburg )。



來源：Wikimedia（2024: File:Muttich, Kamil Vladislav - Mistr Jan Hus na hranici v Kostnici 1415.jpg）。

圖 7：胡斯被火刑（1415）

查理四世之子西吉斯蒙德（Sigismund, King of Hungary and Croatia, 1387-1437）是匈牙利國王拉約什一世（Louis I of Hungary, 1342-82）的女婿，他在岳父死後與妻子瑪麗亞一世（Mary, Queen of Hungary, 1382-85, 1386-95）共治；西吉斯蒙德在 1396 年發動十字軍東征失利、被匈牙利貴族軟禁（1401），因緣際會當上波希米亞國王（King of Bohemia, 1419-37）、及神聖羅馬帝國皇帝（Holy Roman Emperor, 1433-37），疲於奔命；西吉斯蒙

德在位時，宗教改革(Reformation)的先驅傳道者、布拉格查理大學(Charles University)校長揚·胡斯(Jan Hus)被判異端活活燒死，引發胡斯戰爭(Hussite Wars, 1419-34) (Krofta, 1935: chap. 5; Heymann, 1966: 49-57; Kohut, 1989: 10-13; Thomson, 1953: 33-34, 141-44; Poliřenský, 1991: chap. 5; Johnson, 1996: 65-68; Wikipedia, 2025: Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor; Sigismund, Holy Roman Emperor: Jan Hus; Hussite Wars)。

### 參、奧地利哈布斯堡統治

盧森堡王朝在西吉斯蒙德死後斷嗣，哈布斯堡王朝(House of Habsburg, 1020-1780)出身的女婿奧地利大公阿爾布雷希特五世(Albert V, Duke of Austria, 1404-39)雖然繼承匈牙利、及波希米亞王位(1437-39)、也被選為德意志國王阿爾布雷希特二世(Albert II of Germany, 1438-39)，卻無緣皇位，終究接任神聖羅馬皇帝的是腓特烈三世(Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor, 1452-93)；經過波希米亞戰爭(Bohemian-Hungarian War, 1468-78)，波希米亞王位一度落入匈牙利雅蓋隆王朝(Jagiellonian Dynasty, 1386-1596)烏拉斯洛二世(Vladislaus II of Hungary, 1471-1516)、及拉約什二世(Louis II of Hungary, 1516-26)手裡，不過，匈牙利君王的影響力有限；拉約什二世死於摩哈赤戰役(Battle of Mohács, 1526)無嗣，奧地利大公斐迪南一世(Ferdinand I, Archduke of Austria, 1521-64)以宗教寬容交換當選波希米亞、匈牙利、及克羅埃西亞國王(King of Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia, 1526-64)，他為了確保神聖羅馬皇位，把波希米亞納為奧地利哈布斯堡<sup>13</sup>的世襲

<sup>13</sup> 斐迪南一世的兄長神聖羅馬皇帝查理五世(Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 1519-56)·在1552年將哈布斯堡王朝的領地分為西班牙哈布斯堡(Spanish Habsburgs, 1516-1700·又稱哈布斯堡西班牙 Habsburg Spain·包括西班牙、及西屬尼德蘭 Spanish Netherlands, 1556-1714)·以及奧地利哈布斯堡(Austrian Habsburgs, 1556-1740·又稱哈布斯堡奧地利 Habsburg Austria·即奧地利世襲領地 hereditary lands/Erblande·含奧地利大公國 Archduchy of Austria, 1453-1804, 1867-1918·內奧地利 Inner Austria·提洛伯國 County of Tyrol, 1140-1919·及外奧地利 Outer Austria, 1278-1805)·他將後者讓賢胞弟斐迪南一世·賄選助其當上皇帝(1556-64)。

領地（直到 1618），然而由於實施中央集權統治，又下令以日耳曼語為官方語言，引發王室與貴族之間 200 年齟齬，與宗教改革者時起勃谿（Krofta, 1935: chap. 6; Thomson, 1953: 37-41, 53-61, 69-95; Heymann, 1966: chap. 4; Polišíenský, 1991: chap. 6; Wikipedia, 2025: Lands of the Bohemian Crown (1526-1648))。



來源：Wikimedia（2025: File:Poprava na Hradčanech 1547 (Česko-moravská kronika, J. Scheiwl, 1881).png）。

圖 8：波希米亞百姓起義反抗（1547）

在 1531 年，神聖羅馬帝國境內奉路德宗（Lutheranism）的邦國組成軍事同盟施馬爾卡爾登聯盟（Schmalkaldic League, 1531-47），聯手對抗皇帝查理五世，多半是新教徒的捷克貴族樂觀其成，因此，當奧地利大公斐迪南一世在 1546 年令其出兵、支持兄長羅馬皇帝查理五世攻打薩克森選侯國（Electorate of Saxony, 1356-1806），捷克心不甘情不願；次年，神聖羅馬帝國再度動武，同情路德宗的波希米亞人起義反抗（Estates Revolt in Bohemia in 1547），聯盟兵敗，參加反抗的聖杯派（Utraquism）貴族慘遭無情報復；終究，斐迪南一世雖與對手簽訂『奧格斯堡和約』（*Peace of Augsburg, 1555*），同意百姓追隨諸侯的信仰，卻對於波希米亞王冠領地嚴加控制，更引入耶

穌會 (Jesuits) 修士、恢復天主教化 (Krofta, 1935: 57-67; Thomson, 1953: 61-62, 95-98; Heymann, 1966: 77-79; Wikipedia, 2025: Schmalkaldic League)。

神聖羅馬皇帝馬克西米連二世 (Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor, 1564-76) 身兼波希米亞選帝侯 (1562-76)，他對宗教採取懷柔，其子魯道夫二世 (Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor, 1576-1612) 還將皇宮遷往布拉格，頒布包容波希米亞新教徒的『皇帝帝國憲章』( *Letter of Majesty, 1609*)；然而，接任皇帝的馬蒂亞斯 (Matthias, Holy Roman Emperor, 1612-19) 除了將皇宮移回維也納，還違反先皇的承諾、把矛頭指向波希米亞，新教徒群情激憤衝進布拉格王宮，指控 2 名皇家行政官員為叛徒、將其丟出窗外 (Defenestrations of Prague, 1618)，引爆所謂的波希米亞叛亂 (Bohemian Revolt, 1618-20)，進而擴大為三十年戰爭 (Thirty Years' War, 1618-48)，波希米亞淪為戰場，貴族及中產階級面對迫害大規模流亡，百姓淪為奴隸；最後，神聖羅馬帝國被迫簽訂『布拉格和約』( *Peace of Prague, 1635*)，割盧薩蒂亞給薩克森<sup>14</sup> (Krofta, 1935: 67-74; Thomson, 1953: 62-66, 98-108, 148-49; Heymann, 1966: 79-80; Polišenský, 1991: chap. 7; Wikipedia, 2025: Bohemian Revolt)

神聖羅馬皇帝斐迪南二世 (Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor, 1619-37) 獲得日耳曼選帝侯中的天主教聯盟 (Catholic League, 1609-35) 支持，在白山戰役 (Battle of White Mountain, 1620) 重挫新教聯盟 (Protestant Union, 1608-21) 所扶植的捷克對手，得以取得奧地利世襲領地、加上波希米亞與匈牙利；斐迪南二世在舊城廣場處決 27 名貴族 (Old Town Square execution, 1621)，5/6 貴族倉皇流亡，他又堅持展開反宗教改革 (Counter-Reformation)、恢復天主教會的優越地位，更在 1627 年下令非天主教徒必須在半年內改宗、否則將驅逐出境，15 萬波希米亞新教徒在 6 年內被迫悲痛離去；斐迪南二世頒佈『新版邦地條例』( *Revised Ordinance of the Land, 1627*)，乾脆把捷克地域納為哈布斯堡王朝世襲地、國王不再透過選舉產生，又採取中央集

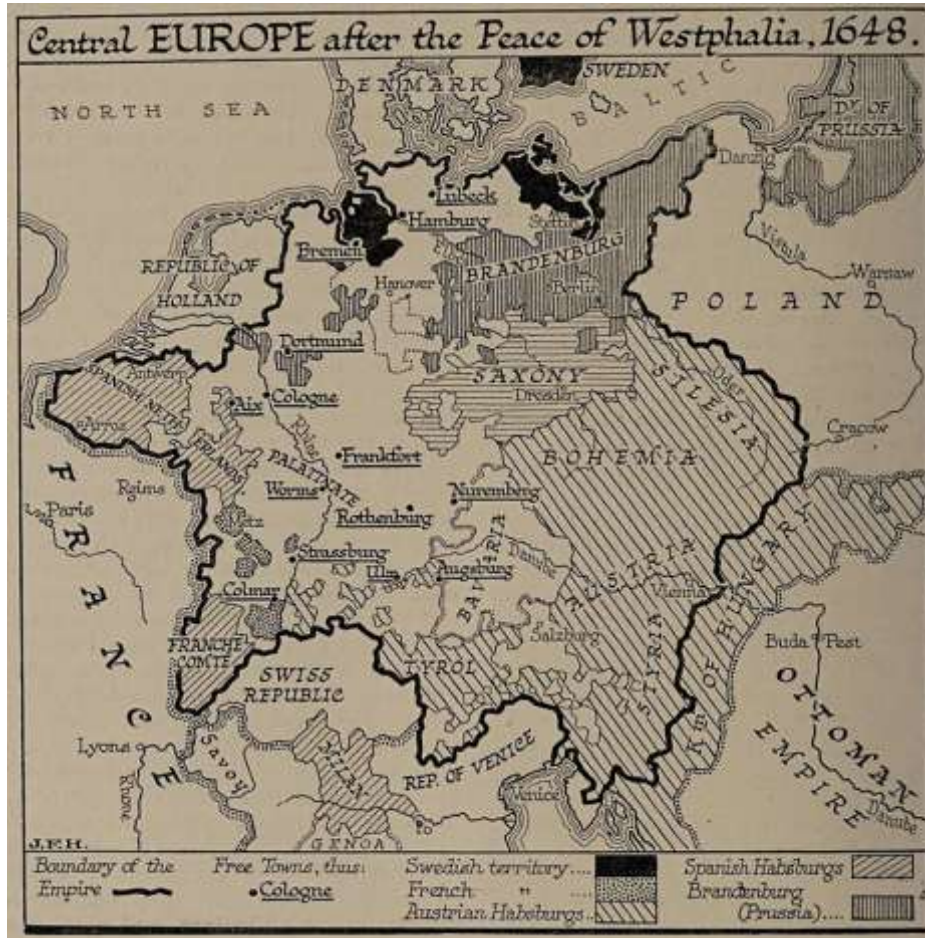
<sup>14</sup> 盧薩蒂亞是在 1367 年被神聖羅馬皇帝查理四世納入波希米亞王冠領地 (Wikipedia, 2025: Lusatia)。

權，波希米亞實質上淪為行省；他指派來自奧地利、及德國的天主教徒填補政府職位，這批日耳曼人新貴又接收被充公的貴族土地及工商業，左右社會各階層，從此政治、社會、及經濟結構丕變；儘管捷克語一度享有官方地位，日耳曼語終究被訂為帝國的單一官方語言，甚至成為商業、社交語言，捷克語被逼地下化，有抱負的捷克人必須具有雙語能力，日耳曼人則不屑學習底層百姓的在地語言，日耳曼文化瀰漫整個波希米亞社會（Krofta, 1935: chap. 8; Heymann, 1966: 81-85; Keefe, et al., 1972: 35-36; Thomson, 1953: 66-68, 108-15, 151, 189; Wandycz, 1992: 82-83; Dowling, 2002: xiii; Polišínský, 1991: chap. 8; Wikipedia, 2025: Lands of the Bohemian Crown (1526-1648); Czech language; Sudetenland; Verneuerte Landesordnung）。



來源：Wikimedia（2025: File:Prager.Fenstersturz.1618.jpg）。

圖 9：布拉格拋窗事件（1618）



來源：Wikimedia (2024: File:Central Europe after the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, H. G. Wells' Outline of History, page 414.jpg)。

圖 10：西發里亞和約後的中歐（1648）

哈布斯堡王朝在查理六世（Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor, 1711-40）時盛極而衰<sup>15</sup>，他擔心世襲領地被瓜分，在 1713 年頒佈『國事詔書』

<sup>15</sup> 三十年戰爭結束後，各國簽訂『西發里亞和約』（Peace of Westphalia, 1648）。奧地利獨大，大邦則逐漸發展成領土型國家，其中，布蘭登堡透過共主邦聯布蘭登堡-普魯士（Brandenburg-Prussia, 1618-1701），進而在腓特烈一世（Frederick I of Prussia, 1701-13）時提升為普魯士王國（Kingdom of Prussia, 1701-1918），與奧地利互別苗頭，稱為「德意志二元」。

(*Pragmatic Sanction of 1713*)，說服各國首肯，萬一自己的沒有男嗣時可以接受女兒瑪麗亞·特蕾莎 (Maria Theresa) 繼承，然而各國在他駕崩後食言而肥，爆發奧地利王位繼承戰爭 (War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-48)，普魯士國王腓特烈二世 (Frederick the Great, 1740-86) 聯手法國、及巴伐利亞，在 1741 年併吞波希米亞所屬富庶的西里西亞；巴伐利亞選帝侯卡爾·阿爾布雷希特 (Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, 1726-45) 甚至攻入波希米亞首都布拉格，在薩克森及法國軍隊簇擁下自立為波希米亞國王 (King of Bohemia, 1741-43)，進而選上神聖羅馬皇帝查理七世 (Charles VII, Holy Roman Emperor, 1742-45)，哈布斯堡王朝戛然而止 (Krofta, 1935: 78-79; Thomson, 1953: 117-19; Polišenský, 1991: 74-79)。



來源：Wikimedia (2023: File:Silesia-map.svg)。

說明：紅色是普魯士在 1740 年併吞前的奧地利西里西亞 (Austrian Silesia)，藍色是 1871 年時的普魯士西里西亞 (Prussian Silesia)。

圖 11：西里西亞 (1740-1871)

瑪麗亞·特蕾莎不久取回布拉格、刻意前往加冕為波希米亞女王 (Queen of Bohemia, 1743-80)，她為了安撫普魯士割讓大部分西里西亞領土，等到阿爾布雷希特病死、其子同意求和，王夫法蘭茲一世 (Francis I, Holy Roman Emperor, 1745-65) 接下神聖羅馬皇位，哈布斯堡-洛林王朝 (House of Habsburg-Lorraine, 1736-1918) 入主；對外，奧地利為了取回西里西亞，先後三度與普魯士對陣<sup>16</sup> (Silesian Wars, 1740-63)，無濟於事；對內，瑪麗亞·特蕾莎與子約瑟夫二世 (Joseph II, 1765-90) 著手改革、採取中央集權，儘管母子頒佈『宗教寬容令』 (Patent of Toleration, 1781) 容許新教自由、結束反宗教改革，又廢除農奴 (1781)，被譽為開明專制 (enlightened absolutism)；然而，由於國家化的教育實際上是日耳曼化，日耳曼語變成公務用語 (1784)、又堅持教學只能使用日耳曼語 (1786)，捷克語淪為農民、或僕人所使用的方言；教育改革、及就業機會孕育中產階級，無意帶動捷克民族復興運動 (Czech National Revival)，不過，由於當時的捷克貴族不是日耳曼人、就是已經被同化者，領導運動的新知識份子多出身農民；由 18 世紀末、到 19 世紀初，歐洲各地政治、經濟、及文化結構醞釀丕變，浪漫式捷克民族主義 (Czech nationalism) 蓄勢待發 (Krofta, 1935: chap. 9; Thomson, 1953: 120-28, 152-61, chap. 9; Bradley, 1984; Leff, 1988: 16-17; Kohut, 1989: 19-22; Polišínský, 1991: chap. 9; Kirschbaum, 1995: 81; Wikipedia, 2025: Silesian Wars; Third Silesian War)。

短命的神聖羅馬皇帝利奧波德二世 (Leopold II, Holy Roman Emperor, 1790-92) 面對強烈反彈，被迫放棄前朝所推動的改革措施；其子末代皇帝法蘭茲二世 (Francis II, Holy Roman Emperor, 1792-1806) 對於法國大革命 (French Revolution, 1789-99) 的遺毒戒慎小心，不許官員、或教師提及先前的改革之議；他為了確保哈布斯堡王朝能夠續命奧地利，東施效顰拿破崙<sup>17</sup>、未雨綢繆自封為奧地利帝國 (Austrian Empire, 1804-67) 的首位世襲

<sup>16</sup> 前兩次 (First Silesian War, 1740-42、Second Silesian War, 1744-45) 屬於奧地利王位繼承戰爭，普魯士結合他國侵門踏戶，而第三次 (Third Silesian War, 1756-63) 則是歐洲強權之間七年戰爭 (Seven Years' War, 1756-63) 的一部分，奧地利反守為攻。

<sup>17</sup> 拿破崙 (Napoleon, Emperor of the French, 1804-14, 1815) 在拿破崙戰爭 (Napoleonic Wars,

皇帝法蘭茲一世 (Francis I, Emperor of Austria, 1804-35)；奧地利於第三次反法同盟戰爭 (War of the Third Coalition, 1805-1806) 聯手俄國，卻在摩拉維亞南部奧斯特利茨戰役 (Battle of Austerlitz, 1805) 敗陣，被迫簽訂『普雷斯堡和約』 (Peace of Pressburg, 1805)，法蘭茲二世唯恐拿破崙搶走神聖羅馬皇位，在 1806 年放棄神聖羅馬皇帝封號，神聖羅馬帝國走進歷史<sup>18</sup>；拿破崙戰爭結束，奧地利首相梅特涅 (Klemens von Metternich, 1821-48) 主導維也納會議 (Congress of Vienna, 1814-15)，對內嚴格控制思想言論 (Krofta, 1935: chap. 10; Thomson, 1953: 197-98; Wikipedia, 2025: Battle of Austerlitz)。

受到法國 1848 年二月革命 (French Revolution of 1848) 鼓舞，德意志爆發三月革命 (German revolutions of 1848-49)，革命份子召開法蘭克福國民議會 (Frankfurt National Assembly, 1848-49)，除了討論日耳曼人的統一方案，還制訂『保羅教堂憲法』 (Frankfurt Constitution, 1849)，決議以君主立憲的日耳曼帝國 (German Empire, 1848-49) 取代德意志邦聯，並推普魯士國王腓特烈·威廉四世 (Frederick William IV of Prussia, 1840-61) 為世襲德皇，卻不被接受，議會無疾而終，德意志邦聯死灰復燃<sup>19</sup>；儘管波希米亞的日耳曼人有代表與會，捷克民族主義者、及自由主義者拒絕參加<sup>20</sup>，另起

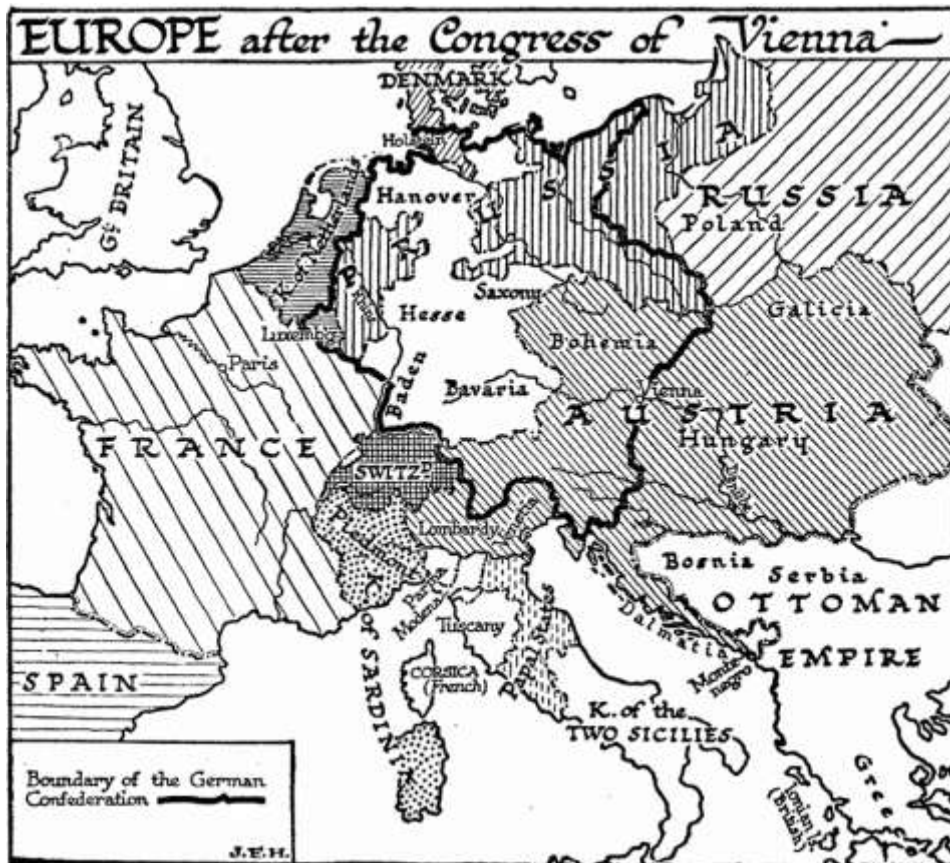
1803-15) 期間自封為皇。

<sup>18</sup> 拿破崙在日耳曼扶植了一個由 35 邦結合而成的萊茵邦聯 (Confederation of the Rhine, 1806-13)。戰後，39 個德語邦在戰後成立德意志邦聯 (German Confederation, 1815-66)。奧地利帝國 (含捷克，不含匈牙利) 亟思如何不讓普魯士王國掌控；終究，38 個德意志邦聯的邦在 1834 年合組德意志關稅同盟 (German Customs Union, 1834-1919)，刻意排斥奧地利。

<sup>19</sup> 由於法蘭克福國民議會只想納入奧地利帝國的日耳曼、及波希米亞部分，也就是所謂的「小日耳曼方案」 (Lesser Germany)，實質上不讓奧地利加入，而奧地利則希望其所有領地都能全體一起加入，即「大日耳曼方案」 (Greater Germany)；進入 1860 年代，奧地利仍然不放棄主導日耳曼，奧皇法蘭茲·約瑟夫一世在 1863 年親赴法蘭克福，所提聯邦方案換湯不換藥；奧地利終究在普奧戰爭 (Austro-Prussian War, 1866) 落敗，簽訂『布拉格條約』 (Peace of Prague, 1866)，日耳曼邦聯解體，22 個邦成立北德意志邦聯 (North German Confederation, 1867-71)，排除奧地利。

<sup>20</sup> 被稱為捷克民族之父 (Father of the Nation) 的法蘭提塞克·帕拉茲基 (František Palacký) 原本獲邀參加，表示捷克人從來不是日耳曼人、未來也不會是，因此，以身為捷克人沒有道理介入日耳曼的事物而婉拒 (Heymann, 1966: 106-107; Palacký, 1848; Wikipedia, 2025: František Palacký; Prague Slavic Congress, 1848)。

爐灶召開斯拉夫民族會議（Prague Slavic Congress, 1848），希望能以聯邦制重組哈布斯堡帝國，充當日耳曼、及俄羅斯擴張主義之間的緩衝國，希冀讓中歐、南歐的斯拉夫人可以跟日耳曼人、及匈牙利人平起平坐，稱為奧地利-斯拉夫主義（Austro-Slavism），他甚至於說，要是奧地利不存在，必須創造出來（Thomson, 1953: 44-46, 206-11; Zeman, 1961: 14-17; Heymann, 1966: 105-107; Wikipedia, 2025: Prague Slavic Congress, 1848; 2024: Austro-Slavism）。



來源：Horrabin（1920:）。

圖 12：維也納會議後的歐洲（1814-15）

革命延燒奧地利（Revolutions of 1848 in the Austrian Empire）、帝國四處烽火，奧皇費迪南一世（Ferdinand I of Austria, 1835-48）無計可施，遜位給侄子法蘭茲·約瑟夫一世（Franz Joseph I of Austria, 1848-1916），多虧神聖同盟（Holy Alliance, 1815-53）盟友俄羅斯相助，才擋住匈牙利革命浪潮（Hungarian Revolution of 1848），而義大利人的邦國 1848 年革命（Revolutions of 1848 in the Italian states）也被擊潰；捷克人不落人後發動布拉格六月起義（Prague Uprising of 1848）要求實施聯邦體制，在年底接位的新皇虛與委蛇，終於出兵無情鎮壓，奧地利-斯拉夫主義無疾而終；此時，波蘭人、斯洛維尼亞人、及魯塞尼亞人<sup>21</sup>（Ruthenians）也躍躍欲試，而助奧地利一臂之力的羅馬尼亞人、克羅埃西亞人、及斯洛伐克人<sup>22</sup>則認為有功無賞（Krofta, 1935: chap. 11; Thomson, 1953: 205-206, 211-12; Wikipedia, 2025: Revolutions of 1848 in the Austrian Empire; Prague uprising (1848)）。



來源：Wikimedia（2025: File:Amazonka na barikádě, Praha 1848.jpg）。

圖 13：布拉格起義（1848）

<sup>21</sup> 是指哈布斯堡君主國統治下的烏克蘭人（Ukrainians），居於喀爾巴阡山脈（Carpathian Mountains）的河谷、務農，多數在 17 世紀中皈依魯塞尼亞天主教（Ruthenian Uniate Church）。原本與俄羅斯（烏克蘭）、或加利西亞（Galicia）的族人沒有多大接觸，直到 19 世紀末，受到俄羅斯的泛斯拉夫主義（Pan-Slavism）宣傳影響，許多魯塞尼亞人才改奉東正教（Eastern Orthodox Church）；在 1848 年，他們有派代表參加斯拉夫民族會議（Kohut, 1989: 29-31; Walters, 1988: 87-88; Wikipedia, 2025: Ruthenians; Ruthenian Uniate Church）。

<sup>22</sup> 斯洛伐克人聯手奧地利對付匈牙利，希望能抒解民族壓迫（Jeff, 1988: 28）。

奧皇法蘭茲·約瑟夫一世通過新憲 (*March Constitution, 1849*)，由於採取單一體制，匈牙利人大為不滿宣佈獨立，俄羅斯出兵幫忙鎮壓；到了第二次義大利獨立戰爭 (*Second Italian War of Independence, 1859*)，他親自領軍，由於未獲得俄羅斯支持<sup>23</sup>，在索爾費里諾戰役 (*Battle of Solferino, 1859*) 大敗，幾乎失去在義大利所有的領土；法蘭茲·約瑟夫一世為了平息眾怒，先後頒佈『十月文告』 (*October Diploma, 1860*)、及『二月敕令』 (*February Patent, 1861*) 著手憲政改革，未能獲得匈牙利支持；奧地利在普奧戰爭 (1866) 落敗，被迫與匈牙利妥協，達成『奧地利-匈牙利折衷方案』 (*Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867*)、制訂『十二月憲法』 (*December Constitution, 1867*)，成立由奧地利王國 (*Cisleithania* 內萊塔尼亞) 與匈牙利王國 (*Transleithania* 外萊塔尼亞) 結合而成的二元君主國 (*dual monarchy*) 奧匈帝國 (*Austria-Hungary, 1867-1918*)，波希米亞歸奧地利、斯洛伐克及魯塞尼亞歸匈牙利 (*Krofta, 1935: 116-20; Thomson, 1953: 213-14; Walters, 1988: 58-63, 67-68; Kirschbaum, 1995: chap. 7*)。

奧匈帝國境內的少數民族目睹匈牙利人獲得某種形式的獨立，紛紛要求自治、共組邦聯，其中又以捷克人最為積極，企盼能跟匈牙利一樣取得王國地位、恢復波希米亞傳統的自治，他們與日耳曼人的保守派、以及已經日耳曼化的波希米亞貴族合作，被稱為老捷克黨 (*Old Czech Party, 1848-1918*)，徒勞無功，在 1891 年大選被青年捷克黨 (*Young Czech Party, 1874-1918*) 取代；當時的奧地利帝國為自由派所掌控，他們打定主意捍衛日耳曼人的優勢，末代首相貝斯特 (*Friedrich Ferdinand von Beust, 1867*) 直言不諱，「我充分理解斯拉夫人對於新政心存質疑，然而，政府不可能公平以待所有的民族，因此只好仰賴最有活力者的支持，也就是日耳曼人、及匈牙利人」；奧地利首相波託基 (*Alfred Józef Potocki, 1870-71*) 對於斯拉夫人比較包容，他提出架構聯邦的『基本條款』 (*Fundamental Articles of 1871*)、同意恢復波希米亞王國的地位，匈牙利人卻以『折衷方案』為單一體制而橫加阻撓，

<sup>23</sup> 克里米亞戰爭 (*Crimean War, 1853-56*) 爆發，俄國希望奧地利投桃報李、或至少維持中立，奧地利原先同意調停，終究加入對手陣營，俄羅斯耿耿於懷。

同樣地，原本讓捷克語在波希米亞法庭、及公務取得跟日耳曼語同地位的計畫，也因日耳曼人在特普利策 (Teplice) 暴動抗議而碰壁，波希米亞只能屈居奧地利的少數族群地位；二度拜相的塔夫 (Eduard Taaffe, 1868-70, 1879-93) 略施小惠，以免族群的不滿擴大為極端的民族情愫，譬如捷克語在 1880 年於波希米亞取得跟日耳曼語同等的公務地位；首相卡西米爾·費利克斯·巴登 (Kasimir Felix Badeni, 1895-97) 進一步立法，要求派駐捷克的官員必須通曉雙語，引起日耳曼人自由主義者、及民族主義者強烈反彈、四處騷動，旋被廢止，此後不再有重大妥協；捷克的男性直到 1907 年才獲得投票權，民族主義者得以在奧地利帝國議會 (Reichsrat, Imperial Council) 嶄露頭角，儘管飽受威嚇，他們開始進入體制訴求聯邦體制下的獨立國家；相對之下，斯洛伐克人面對馬扎爾化 (Magyarization) 的壓力，第一個政黨斯洛伐克民族黨 (Slovak National Party, SNS, 1871-1938) 應運而生，不少人選擇移民 (Krofta, 1935: 120-33; Thomson, 1953: 178-79, 214-32; Zeman, 1961: 2; Heymann, 1966: 115-18; Leff, 1988: 18-32; Walters, 1988: 74-78; Kohut, 1989: 25-27; Dowling, 2002: xiv-xvii; Wikipedia, 2025: Old Czech Party; Young Czech Party; 2024: Fundamental Articles of 1871)。

進入 20 世紀，奧匈帝國的儲君法蘭茲·斐迪南大公 (Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, 1889-1914) 夫妻，在波士尼亞和赫塞哥維納首府塞拉耶佛 (Sarajevo) 遇刺，引發一次大戰，德奧土保同盟國 (Central Powers) 與法俄英等協約國 (Allied Powers) 對峙；其實，法蘭茲·斐迪南的妻子是捷克人，他主張以國協、或聯邦來安排境內少數族群的自治，奧皇法蘭茲·約瑟夫則認為不能示弱，擔心外部勢力趁機加緊介入內部的民族騷動，然而，捷克人、羅馬尼亞人、波蘭人、及南斯拉夫人的獨立呼聲卻是越來越強；戰爭爆發後，捷克、及斯洛伐克民族主義領導者覺悟，唯有協約國戰勝、逼迫奧匈帝國解體，獨立才有可能，因此同情俄羅斯、及塞爾維亞；捷克人除了秘密結社、還公開反對奧國，政府宣佈戒嚴、禁止政治活動，大肆搜捕異議分子，將青年捷克黨的領導者卡雷爾·克拉馬日 (Karel Kramář) 以叛國罪下獄，他人紛紛流亡 (Krofta, 1935: 134-36; Zeman, 1961: 33, 42-46, 74)。



來源：Wikimedia (2025: File:Austria Hungary ethnic.svg)。

圖 14：奧匈帝國的族群分布（1910）

此後，捷克民族運動把重點放在海外移民的動員，特別是托馬斯·馬薩里克（Tomáš Masaryk）、愛德華·貝奈斯（Edvard Beneš）、及米蘭·拉斯蒂斯拉夫·什特凡尼克（Milan Rastislav Štefánik），他們擔心奧地利會片面與協約國謀和，因此一面在巴黎組捷克斯洛伐克民族議會（Czechoslovak National Council），爭取協約國承認、支持獨立，另一方面則積極號召捷克斯洛伐克兵團<sup>24</sup>（Czechoslovak Legions）對抗同盟國，又前往美國向同鄉募款，並遊說威爾遜總統（Woodrow Wilson, 1913-21）支持獨立建國，被尊為「開國三

<sup>24</sup> 捷克人不願意幫日耳曼人打其斯拉夫兄弟俄羅斯人，斯洛伐克也不想替匈牙利人打塞爾維亞人（Serbs），逃兵加入在俄羅斯、法國、及義大利的捷克斯洛伐克軍團（Krofta, 1935: 139-40; Thomson, 1953: 278-79; Heymann, 1966: 124-26; Polišenský, 1991: 108-109; Dowling, 2002: 9-12）。

元勳」( Krofta, 1935: 136-39; Thomson, 1953: 233-37, 279-313; Zeman, 1961: 54-57, 76-94, 168-69; Dowling, 2002: 1-13; Heimann, 2011: 21-32; Wikipedia, 2025: Karel Kramář; Tomáš Masaryk; Edvard Beneš; Milan Rastislav Štefánik )。



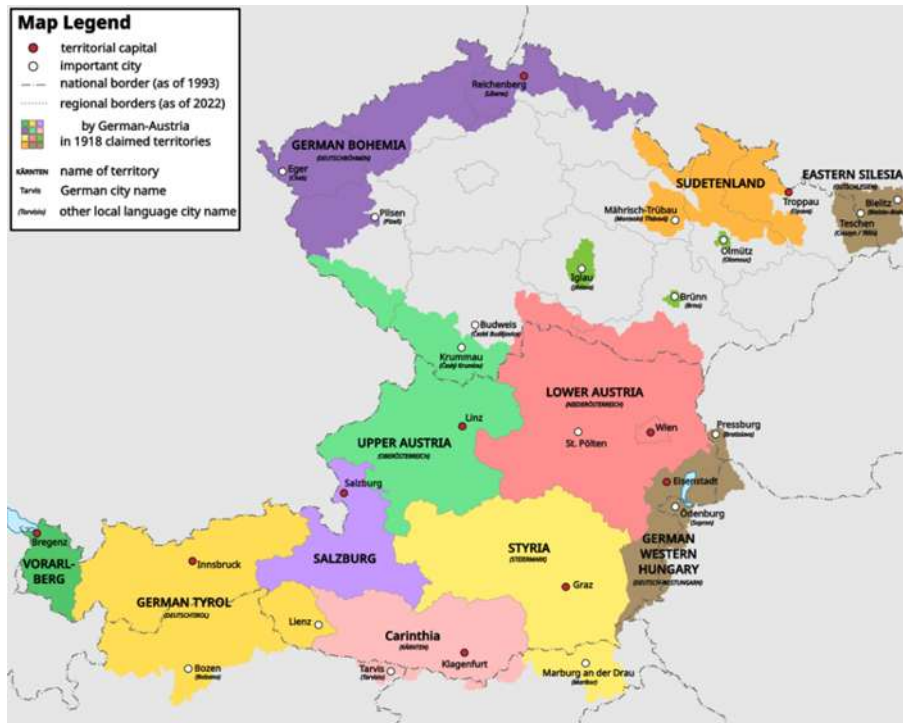
來源：Wikimedia ( 2025: File:Masaryk Štefánik Beneš.jpeg )。  
說明：馬薩里克（左）、什特凡尼克（中）、貝奈斯（右）。

圖 15：捷克斯洛伐克開國三元勳

法蘭茲·約瑟夫一世在 1916 年病死，接任奧地利皇位的卡爾一世 ( Charles I of Austria, 1916-18 ) 四面楚歌，在戰爭後期構思如何維持帝國，除了讓步宣布解嚴、特赦克拉馬日，還試圖將國體調整為由奧地利、匈牙利、克羅埃西亞、波希米亞、及加利西亞等王國所組成的聯邦國家，然而，各民族的獨立運動已如脫韁之馬，除非獨立、已非自治所能安撫；治絲而焚的是捷克斯洛伐克境內的日耳曼人 ( 日耳曼裔奧地利人 German-Austrians，或德意志裔人 *Volksdeutsche* )，主要分佈在波希米亞與摩拉維亞-西里西亞靠近德國或奧地利、呈馬蹄形的邊區，即蘇台德地區 ( Sudetenland )、加上一些語言孤島<sup>25</sup>，他們與奧匈帝國其他地方的日耳曼人代表於 1918 年 10 月 21 日在帝國議會宣布成立短命的日耳曼-奧地利共和國 ( Republic of German-

<sup>25</sup> 一般把捷克斯洛伐克的日耳曼人分為 8 個單位：西北波希米亞、東南波希米亞、北波希米亞、東北波希米亞、北摩拉維亞、南摩拉維亞、斯維塔維 ( Svitavy ) 飛地、及伊希拉瓦 ( Jihlava ) 飛地；除了後兩者，語言孤島還有歐洛慕奇 ( Olomouc )、歐洛慕奇 ( Brno )；其實，當時日耳曼人口過半的城市有卡羅維瓦利 ( Carlsbad, 94.3% )、切布 ( Cheb, 94.1% )、利貝雷茨 ( Liberec, 84.6% )、尼斯河畔亞布洛內茨 ( Jablonec nad Nisou, 84.5% )、拉貝河畔烏斯季 ( Ústí nad Labem, 81.2% )、及杜赫佐夫 ( Dutchcov, 51.2% ) ( Luža, 1964: 3-5 )。在其他地方，日耳曼人約佔 20-40%，主要是在大小城鎮當公務人員或退休者、以及生意人，他們對於捷克民族復興運動的感受良深，特別是中產階級的挑戰 ( Walters, 1988: 80-82 )。

Austria, 1918-19)，將蘇台德劃歸為 4 個省<sup>26</sup>；奧地利持續與德國商議統一事宜，卻受限於『聖日耳曼條約』( *Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1919* )，不得跟德國政治統一、或經濟聯盟，國名都被迫改為奧地利共和國( Austrian Republic, 1919-34 )( Zeman, 1961: chap. 4; Seton-Watson & Seton-Watson, 1981: 314-15; Dowling, 2002: 20; Wikipedia, 2025: Province of the Sudetenland )。



來源：Wikimedia ( 2025: File:German Austria (1918) en.svg )。

圖 16：日耳曼-奧地利共和國號稱的 9 個省 (1918)

<sup>26</sup> 包括日耳曼波希米亞 ( Province of German Bohemia )、蘇台德省 ( Province of the Sudetenland )、日耳曼南摩拉維亞 ( Province of German South Moravia 歸下奧地利 Lower Austria )、及波希米亞森林地區省 ( Province of the Bohemian Forest Region 歸上奧地利 Upper Austria ) ( Luža, 1964: 3, 30-31; Mamatey, 1973a: 27; Heimann, 2011: 40 )。

## 肆、捷克斯洛伐克第一、第二、第三共和國

美國總統威爾遜在 1918 年初揭櫫『十四點和平原則』(*Fourteen Points, 1918*)，其中第 10 條針對奧匈帝國用字含混<sup>27</sup>，國務院於年中發表聲明支持捷克獨立運動；協約國與奧地利的秘密談判在夏天不歡而散，所有政黨在克拉馬日的領導下，不顧一切於 7 月 13 日成立布拉格全國委員會 (Prague National Committee)，而位於巴黎的捷克斯洛伐克民族議會也在 9 月 26 日成立臨時政府、獲得協約國的承認，人在美國的臨時政府總統馬薩里克，風聞奧地利打算以聯邦制支應，趕緊於 18 日公布獨立宣言 (*Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, 1918*)；奧匈帝國在 28 日投降，布拉格全國委員會與流亡政府互通聲氣<sup>28</sup>，裡外聯手正式宣佈獨立、接收政府；斯洛伐克全民族議會 (Slovak National Council) 兩天後重申斯洛伐克是捷克斯洛伐克的一部分，而魯塞尼亞人民中央議會 (Central Ruthenian People's Council) 也在次年號召魯塞尼亞以自治區方式加入捷克斯洛伐克；布拉格全國委員會在 11 月 14 日轉換為革命國民議會<sup>29</sup> (Revolutionary National Assembly)，制訂臨時憲法、成立臨時政府，推馬薩里克為總統 (1918-35)、克拉馬日為總理 (1918-19)、貝奈斯為外交部長 (1918-35)、及什特凡尼克為國防部長<sup>30</sup> (1918-19)，此即捷克斯洛伐克第一共和國 (First Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-38)；正式的『1920 年捷克斯洛伐克憲法』(*Czechoslovak Constitution*

<sup>27</sup> 未明文提獨立、而是委婉的「自主發展」(autonomous development)，原文如下：

The people of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.

<sup>28</sup> 在 10 月 28-31 日，布拉格全國委員會的代表與捷克斯洛伐克民族議會的成員於日內瓦會商，雙方同意成立臨時政府 (Keefe, et al., 1972: 39)。

<sup>29</sup> 由於當時尚且無法舉行普選，單院的國民議會 256 席，根據奧地利在 1911 年舉行的首度國會選舉結果，由各政黨依據實力推派，加上額外 54 名斯洛伐克代表，日耳曼人拒絕推入、要求參加奧地利國會選舉 (Thomson, 1953: 327; Keefe, et al., 1972: 39; Jeff, 1988: 51; Kohut, 1989: 32; Wikipedia, 2025: 1911 Cisleithanian legislative election in the Czech lands)。有關於這些政黨的發展、在第一共和國的國會實力、及政黨政府的運作，見 Beneš (1973: 66-73)、Mamatey (1973b)、及 Leff (1988: 48-64)。

<sup>30</sup> 什特凡尼克當時在西伯利亞領軍捷克斯洛伐克軍團，次年搭機返國，不幸在跨入斯洛伐克領空時墜機而殞命 (Krofta, 1935: 145)。

of 1920) 採取雙院制 (國會議員選舉採取政黨比例代表制), 形式上是雙首長制, 不過, 從首任總統馬薩里克、到繼任的貝奈斯 (1935-38), 實際上的運作傾向於總統制; 比較特別的是保障所有公民使用母語的權利, 同時, 學童可以使用母語受教 (Krofta, 1935: 140-45; Thomson, 1953: 326-31; Zeman, 1961: chaps. 6-8; Beneš, 1973: 53-56, 92-98; Dowling, 2002: 14-15, 23-24; Heimann, 2011: 32-40)。

根據巴黎和會 (Paris Peace Conference, 1918-19) 所簽訂的『聖日耳曼條約』(1919), 新建的捷克斯洛伐克除了由奧地利王國繼承而來波希米亞王冠領地 (包含波希米亞、摩拉維亞、及西里西亞), 還加上取自匈牙利的斯洛伐克、及魯塞尼亞<sup>31</sup>; 蘇台德地區的日耳曼人 (Sudeten Germans) 約有 350 萬, 要是按照民族自決原則, 理當歸併以日耳曼人為主的奧地利才對<sup>32</sup>, 然而, 這些土地佔了捷克斯洛伐克固有領土的 1/3、人口是新國度的 1/4, 馬薩里克政府自然不肯讓步, 而協約國也以該原則的適用必須考慮歷史因素、地理現實、及經濟可行性而加以拒絕<sup>33</sup>, 約有 30 萬人選擇移往奧地利、或德國; 等到奧皇卡爾一世於 11 月 11 日宣布遜位, 新政府立即派軍佔領、並未遇到蘇台德日耳曼人多大的抗爭, 日後卻成為德國入侵的藉口; 匈牙

<sup>31</sup> 蘇聯及匈牙利想要魯塞尼亞, 然而, 前者未被承認、後者是戰敗國 (Walters, 1988: 146)。

<sup>32</sup> 除了早期的移民, 日耳曼人不斷移入, 由於他們的移墾地沒有連在一起, 彼此尚難發展出共同的意識, 也因為是支配者的地位, 在現代民族主義興起之際, 尚難與捷克人有休戚與共的集體認同; 對他們來說, 由奧地利主導的大日耳曼 (Greater Germany) 無庸置疑, 因此, 當反拿破崙的德國解放戰爭 (German campaign of 1813) 爆發, 蘇台德日耳曼人兵團英勇作戰, 後來也派代表參加法蘭克福國民議會 (1848-49), 甚至於普魯士軍隊在普奧戰爭 (1866) 跨過蘇台德地區, 當地的日耳曼人夾道歡迎, 戰後, 普魯士首相俾斯麥 (Otto von Bismarck, 1862-90) 主導北德意志邦聯 (North German Confederation, 1867-71)、刻意排除奧地利, 蘇台德日耳曼人情何以堪; 然而就現實面來看, 住在奧地利境外的日耳曼人更多, 他們不禁憂心是否還能維持自己原來的支配地位? 究竟要支持泛日耳曼民族主義、與捷克人聯手建立具有自由主義色彩的波希米亞王國、還是尋求在奧地利帝國中維持優勢? 答案很明顯, 就是繼續支持奧地利! 直到美國總統威爾遜提出民族自決原則, 他們才發現一道曙光, 希望能歸併奧地利 (Thomson, 1953: 160-86)。

<sup>33</sup> 馬薩里克與貝奈斯主張, 蘇台德地區原本是捷克人的, 而日耳曼人是在三十年戰爭後才前來, 他們長年壓迫當地人, 自然沒有道理讓他們行使自決權, 另外, 他們也指出, 要是沒有蘇台德地區, 捷克在戰略上根本對德國沒有防護的障礙; 英國接受歷史觀, 而對德國戒慎小心的法國同意戰略說詞 (Walters, 1988: 146)。

利於 1918 年 11 月 1 日宣布退出奧匈帝國，雖然試圖保有斯洛伐克，眼見捷克人在協約國的首肯下出兵佔領，只好黯然撤軍；至於原來的奧地利西里西亞，在打完波捷戰爭（Polish-Czechoslovak War, 1919）後，雙方察覺過於敏感而未訴諸公投，經過斯帕會議（Spa Conference of 1920）劃為南部的捷克西里西亞、及北部的切申西里西亞（Cieszyn Silesia），另外，盧薩蒂亞則索討不成（Krofta, 1935: 145-50, 166-67; Thomson, 1953: 253, 351-55; Luža, 1964: 31-33; Heymann, 1966: 131-32; Bruegel, 1973: 167-72; Mamatey, 1973a: 30-36; de Zayas, 1979: chap. 2; Seton-Watson & Seton-Watson, 1981: 370-72; Walters, 1988: 144-46; Dowling, 2002: 20-22; Heimann, 2011: 40-45, 53-63; Wikipedia, 2025: Austrian Silesia）。



來源：The Times（1920: 416）。

圖 17：奧匈帝國解體(1919-20)

在內政上，捷克斯洛伐克的最大挑戰還是如何調和多元族群之間的關係，當下除了人數最多的捷克人（51%），還包括日耳曼人（22%）、斯洛伐克人（16%）、匈牙利人（5%）、魯塞尼亞人（4%），與人數不到 2%的猶太

人、波蘭人、及吉普賽人（羅姆人）（表 1）；貝奈斯雖在巴黎和會上高唱入雲這將是一個新的瑞士，而捷克也簽署少數族群權利保障條約（minorities treaty<sup>34</sup>），同意將少數民族的權利納入國際聯盟（League of Nations, 1920-46）的保障，少數族群因為比例代表制得以進入國會，然而，由於新憲採取單一體制，政治結構傾向中央集權、地方政府缺乏實權，因此，儘管新憲明文宣示保護少數族群的語言文化、法律也難說有所歧視<sup>35</sup>，少數族群真正嚮往的卻是聯邦體制下的政治自治（Keefe, et al., 1972: 39; de Zayas, 1979: 27; Jeff, 1988: 48, 133-40; Walters, 1988: 193; Dowling, 2002: 31-32; Heimann, 2011: 5-6; Wikipedia, 2025: Ethnic minorities in Czechoslovakia）。



來源：Wikimedia（2024: File:Czechoslovakia01.png）。

圖 18：捷克斯洛伐克第一共和國（1928-38）

<sup>34</sup> 正式名稱為 *Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Czechoslovakia, 1919*。

<sup>35</sup> 根據新憲而來的語言法（1920），少數族群在特別為其所設立各級學校有母語受教；在地方上，要是某種語言如果有 2/3 居民通曉，可以具有官方語言地位；要是地方上有超過 20% 的居民使用該母語，可以使用母語受教（Luža, 1964L 36）。

表 1：捷克斯洛伐克的族群組成 (1921, 1931)

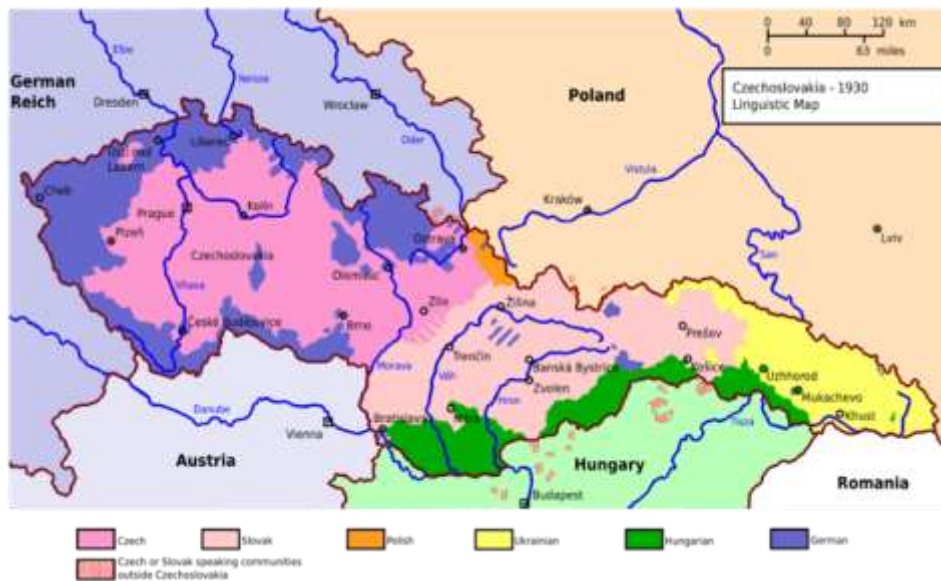
地區	捷克人	日耳曼人	匈牙利人	魯塞尼亞人	猶太人	外國人	總數
波希米亞	4,382,788	2,173,239	5,476	2,007	11,251	93,757	<b>6,668,518</b>
	4,713,366	2,270,933	7,603	7,162	12,735	94,817	<b>7,041,559</b>
摩拉維亞	2,048,426	547,604	534	976	15,335	46,448	<b>2,649,323</b>
	2,295,534	799,995	4,012	4,012	17,267	63,322	<b>3,501,688</b>
西里西亞	296,194	252,365	94	338	3,681	49,530	<b>602,202</b>
	1931 年人口普查併入摩拉維亞						
斯洛伐克	2,013,792	139,900	637,183	85,644	70,529	42,313	<b>2,989,361</b>
	2,345,909	147,501	571,988	91,079	65,385	75,694	<b>3,254,189</b>
魯塞尼亞	19,737	10,460	102,144	372,884	80,059	6,760	<b>592,044</b>
	33,961	13,249	109,472	446,916	91,255	16,228	<b>709,129</b>
全國	<b>8,760,937</b>	<b>3,123,568</b>	<b>745,431</b>	<b>461,849</b>	<b>180,855</b>	<b>238,080</b>	<b>13,410,750</b>
	<b>9,688,770</b>	<b>3,231,688</b>	<b>691,223</b>	<b>549,169</b>	<b>186,642</b>	<b>249,971</b>	<b>14,479,565</b>

來源：1921 據 Wikipedia (2025: Ethnic minorities in Czechoslovakia)、1931 據 Beneš (1973: 40)。

說明：住民分類主要根據母語使用，不分捷克人、或斯洛伐克人，而是合稱為捷克斯洛伐克人 (Czechoslovaks)，魯塞尼亞人則稱為烏克蘭人與魯塞尼亞人。其實，原表 1921 年的其他是指外國人，Beneš (1973: 40) 則區分外國人、波蘭人、及其他，在這裡為了一致，未呈現後兩者。

直到一次大戰爆發之前，斯洛伐克人一向視奧地利為抗拒日耳曼、及匈牙利民族主義的保障，與捷克人的關係並非水乳交融，政治團結的想像相當含糊；在戰爭期間，人在美國的馬薩里克與斯洛伐克僑民先後訂有『克利夫蘭協議』(Cleveland Agreement, 1915)、及『匹茲堡協議』(Pittsburgh

*Agreement, 1918*)，雙方除了同意共組新的國家捷克斯洛伐克，還約定在獨立後採行聯邦制，讓斯洛伐克將擁有自己的政府、國會、及法院，又承諾把斯洛伐克語列為斯洛伐克的官方語言；只不過，臨時議會主張新國度暫且需要中央集權來穩住政權，自治之議成為明日黃花<sup>36</sup>，此外，由於匈牙利人離去，政府引入捷克人填補行政、教育、及司法的空缺，所謂「斯洛伐克人才不足」的弦外之音令人不悅，斯洛伐克人持續要求自治、進而爭取獨立（Thomson, 1953: 313-46; Leff, 1988: 32-41, 151-77; Kohut, 1989: 36-38; Kirschbaum, 1995: chap. 8; Dowling, 2002: 12-13, 32-34; Wikipedia, 2025: Pittsburgh Agreement）。



來源：Wikimedia（2025: File:Czechoslovakia 1930 linguistic map - en.svg）。

圖 19：捷克斯洛伐克語言分布（1930）

<sup>36</sup> 捷克人領袖言而無信，主要是認為斯洛伐克人不論是在政治、或文化上都不夠成熟，擔心貿然實施自治，恐怕會弱化剛成立的國家，當務之急是如何儘快提升斯洛伐克人識字率，因此必須移入教師、及公務員，這樣的作法，讓當地人相當反感（Walters, 1988: 201-202）。

魯塞尼亞人與馬薩里克在戰爭期間也有協議，允諾未來加入獨立的捷克斯洛伐克，條件是獲得自治，這項協議並獲得巴黎和會、及『聖日耳曼條約』認可；然而，根據新憲，不只是魯塞尼亞總督必須由總統提名，連魯塞尼亞議會有關地方事務的立法還必須經過總統核可，更不用說實施自治，當地人怨聲載道；戰後，除了捷克政黨競相前來開發政治支持、百花齊放，另外，戰時湧入的烏克蘭、及俄羅斯移民也帶來政治與文化影響力，分別推動與捷克、蘇聯結合來取得自治，共產黨則在鄉下地方頗有斬獲，推銷與烏克蘭結合而自治；對於捷克斯洛伐克來說，魯塞尼亞相當落後，雖說可以直接跟羅馬尼亞有銜接而取得戰略優勢，其實是負擔（Krofta, 1935: 150-51; Heymann, 1966: 134; Mamatey, 1973a: 36; Kohut, 1989: 38-39; Dowling, 2002: 34）。

日耳曼人自來居於支配者地位，不甘一夕變成少數族群，除了嫌惡語言政策、及土地改革，地方小吏難免頤指氣使<sup>37</sup>，特別是面對經濟大蕭條（Great Depression, 1929-33）日益騷動；納粹德國（Nazi Germany, 1933-45）所扶植的蘇台德日耳曼人黨（Sudeten German Party, SdP, 1933-38）興風作浪，旋於 1935 年躍為該地第 2 大黨，黨魁康拉德·亨萊因（Konrad Henlein, 1933-38）心口不一，而且不斷提高價碼，捷克斯洛伐克政府瞭然背後是德國在下指使；希特勒（Adolf Hitler, 1933-45）在 1938 年展開對外擴張，揚言保護所有境外日耳曼人，進而在 3 月 12 日悍然併吞奧地利（Anschluss），亨萊因在 28 日趕往柏林晉見希特勒，受命要求立即自治<sup>38</sup>，政治動盪導致戒嚴，亨萊在 9 月 15 日率眾竄逃德國（Thomson, 1953: 375-83; Luža, 1964: chaps. 3-4; Bruegel, 1973: 173-87; de Zayas, 1979: chap. 2; Dowling, 2002: 19-20, 35, 47-50; Heimann, 2011: 75; Wikipedia, 2025: Germans in Czechoslovakia (1918-1938); Sudetenland; Sudeten Germans）。

<sup>37</sup> 對於新政府來說，不論是教育、還是語言政策，已經夠寬容了，日耳曼人應該感恩圖報才對；相對地，日耳曼人認為自己從來不是少數族群，所謂的包容只會讓他們的處境更壞（Walters, 1988: 202-203）。

<sup>38</sup> 蘇台德日耳曼人黨在 4 月 24 日召開大會，提出包括自治等 8 項『卡爾斯巴德計畫』（Carlsbad Programme, 1938）（Wikipedia, 2025: Carlsbad Programme）。

表 2：日耳曼人口（1921）

地區	日耳曼語人口	%	總數
波希米亞	2 173 239	32.6%	<b>6 668 518</b>
摩拉維亞	547 604	20.7%	<b>2 649 323</b>
西里西亞	252 365	41.9%	<b>602 202</b>
斯洛伐克	139 900	4.7%	<b>2 989 361</b>
盧薩蒂亞	10 460	1.8%	<b>592 044</b>
<b>全國</b>	<b>3 123 568</b>	<b>23.3%</b>	<b>13 410 750</b>

來源：Wikipedia（2025: Germans in Czechoslovakia (1918-1938)）。

說明：這是 1921 年人口普查的結果（依據母語），到了 1931 年的人口普查，日耳曼人口為 3,231,688（22.3%）（Beneš, 1973: 40）；根據一份 1936 年的宣傳，日耳曼人的人口百分比逐漸降低，36.0%（1880）、35.4%（1900）、35.0%（1910）、30.3%（1921）、及 29.2%（1930）（Luža, 1964: 3-5）。

在外交上，捷克斯洛伐克第一共和國積極追求集體安全（collective security），寄望在國際聯盟的框架下獲得國家安全的保障；直到二次世界大戰（World War II, 1939-45）爆發前，外交部長貝奈斯為了防範匈牙利的擴張、及奧匈帝國死灰復燃，先在 1920 年跟南斯拉夫（Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, 1918-29）簽訂互助條約，進而在 1921 年擴及羅馬尼亞成為小協約國（Little Entente, 1921-38）；此外，捷克斯洛伐克為了制衡重振旗鼓的德國，又跟法國結盟（*Treaty of Alliance and Friendship between France and Czechoslovakia, 1924*），然而，『羅加諾公約』（*Locarno Treaties, 1925*）雖確立萊茵地區永久非軍事化，卻讓德國加入國際聯盟，法國軍隊因而被綁死在萊茵河（Rhine）；貝奈斯擴大聯盟、進一步與蘇聯簽訂互助條約（*Treaty of Mutual Assistance, 1935*），只不過，先決條件是法國必須先有作為，條約形同廢紙；貝奈斯在 1935 年接任總統（1935-38），總理米蘭·霍賈（Milan Hodža, 1935-38）兼任外長，嘗試推動中歐的整合，可惜回天乏術（Thomson, 1953: 355-72; Wandycz, 1973; Seton-Watson & Seton-Watson, 1981: 406-408; Kohut, 1989: 41-42; Dowling, 2002: 41-46; Heimann, 2011: 60-63）。

德國在 1936 年在萊茵地區進行再軍事化，法國無力獨自對抗德國，無奈對英國言聽計從，英國則無意相助，首相內維爾·張伯倫（Neville Chamberlain, 1937-40）要求「受邀」充當調人；希特勒食髓知味，在併吞奧地利後進一步要求併吞蘇台德地區，在 1938 年 9 月 12 日於紐倫堡（Nuremberg）演講煽風點火，要求讓蘇台德地區的日耳曼人實踐民族自決權；他在 15 日接見張伯倫，以蘇台德日耳曼人被屠殺為由，語帶威脅要求速「還」該地，英法兩國政府竟然聽信其說辭，遂向捷克斯洛伐克承諾保證獨立，交換條件是與蘇聯斷交、及割讓在蘇台德日耳曼人口過半地區給德國，未被貝奈斯接受；不死心的張伯倫於 22 日再度前來，希特勒得寸進尺，英法義排除捷克斯洛伐克，在 29-30 日試圖跟德國曉以大義未果，遂達成『慕尼黑協定』（*Munich Agreement, 1938*），逼迫捷克斯洛伐克在 10 月 10 日前割讓蘇台德，捷克斯洛伐克遲遲未能獲得蘇聯回應，遂在 9 月 21 日屈辱接受條件，德軍在 10 月 1 日開入併吞，希特勒於 3 日前來巡視，蘇台德百姓夾道歡迎；波蘭在這時候趁火打劫佔領西里西亞東南部富庶的工業地區捷欣<sup>39</sup>（Těšín），報一箭之仇、趕走 4 萬捷克人與日耳曼人，而斯洛伐克南部、及魯塞尼亞也先後在 11 月、及次年 3 月被匈牙利併吞（Thomson, 1953: 380-98; Luža, 1964: chap. 5; Eubank, 1973; de Zayas, 1979: 32; Walters, 1988: 165; Dowling, 2002: 52-54, 58; Heimann, 2011: 77-85, 92-94; Wikipedia, 2025: Interwar Britain; Remilitarisation of the Rhineland; Munich Agreement; First Vienna Award; Hungarian invasion of Carpatho-Ukraine）。

由於蘇聯袖手旁觀，貝奈斯束手無策，在 1938 年 10 月 5 日辭去總統、流亡英國籌組臨時政府，捷克斯洛伐克第二共和國<sup>40</sup>（*Second Czechoslovak Republic, 1938-39*）則由前最高行政法院主席埃米爾·哈查（Emil Hácha, 1938-39）接任總統；山雨欲來風滿樓，捷克斯洛伐克展開動員、強化邊界的要塞，而李伯大夢法國、及英國終於積極備戰；這時，斯洛伐克雖然獲得自治（*Autonomous Land of Slovakia, 1938-39*），總理約瑟夫·蒂索（Jozef Tiso,

<sup>39</sup> 德語泰申（Teschen）·波蘭語切申（Cieszyn）。

<sup>40</sup> 正式國號是捷克-斯洛伐克共和國（Czecho-Slovak Republic）。

1938-39) 在希特勒慫恿下要求獨立，哈查出兵加以罷黜；德國由於跟波蘭談判不成，希特勒開打必須先解決捷克斯洛伐克這個障礙，乾脆把哈查召喚到柏林、要求交出剩下所有的領土；德軍在 1939 年 3 月 15 日早上 9 點大搖大擺開進布拉格，百姓站在大街的兩邊觀看德國機械化部隊前進，一些人含著眼淚、有些人揮舞著拳頭、大部分的人面無表情，有些媒體報導捷克人帶著敵意、也有報導說他們對德軍表示善意，不管如何，當下並未出現自發性的抗爭；納粹德國卵翼波希米亞和摩拉維亞為保護國<sup>41</sup> (Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, 1939-45)、實為殖民地，扶哈查為傀儡總統 (1939-45)，第二共和國壽命不到 2 年；斯洛伐克擔心被匈牙利併吞，在德國的鼓勵下宣布成立共和國 (Slovak Republic, 1939-45)，以蒂索為總統 (1939-45)，對外接受德國的間接統治、對內淪為如假包換的警察國家 (Thomson, 1953: 400-; Luža, 1964: chaps. 6-7; Prochaka, 1973; Hoensch, 1973; Kohut, 1989: 44-45; Kirschbaum, 1995: chap. 9; Dowling, 2002: 54-56, 59-64; Heimann, 2011: 96-110; Wikipedia, 2025: Emil Hácha; Jozef Tiso; Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia)。



來源：Wikimedia (2024: File:Bundesarchiv Bild 183-R69173, Münchener Abkommen, Staatschefs.jpg)。

說明：前排由左至右分別是張伯倫、達拉第 (Édouard Daladier 法國總理)、希特勒、墨索里尼、及齊亞諾 (Galeazzo Ciano 義大利外交大臣)。

**圖 20：慕尼黑會議 (1938)**

<sup>41</sup> 納粹德國認為捷克人是斯拉夫人當中比較文明的，有 3 種選項，自治 (不可行)、趕走 (大費周章、曠日廢時)、或同化 (估計一半人口可以教化)，因此決定採取保護國方式 (Johnson, 1996: 214)。



來源：Wikimedia（2025: File:Czechoslovakia 1939.SVG）。

圖 21：被瓜分的捷克斯洛伐克第二共和國（1938-39）

在德國佔領時期，希特勒指派康斯坦丁·馮·諾伊拉特（Konstantin von Neurath, 1939-43）為波希米亞與摩拉維亞保護者（Reich Protectors of Bohemia and Moravia），他解散當地軍警、查禁政黨及工會、打壓媒體、鎮壓學生抗議，在二次大戰爆發後乾脆關閉大學、技術學院，加緊搜刮資源、清算鬥爭知識分子；終究，希特勒認為他過於寬容，指定黨衛隊出身的萊因哈德·海德里希（Reinhard Heydrich, 1941-42）掌握實權，後者因為打擊抵抗運動的手段殘暴而遇刺，德國展開血腥報復，在利迪策（Lidice）當場槍斃 172 名男人及大男孩，婦孺則送進集中營<sup>42</sup>，這時，英法才在 1942 年趁勢廢除『慕尼黑協議』（Thomson, 1953: 409-15; Luža, 1964: chap. 8; Keefe, et al., 1972: 41-43; Rhode, 1973; Luža, 1973; Walters, 1988: 282; Kohut, 1989: 45-48; Dowling, 2002: 72-73; Heimann, 2011: 111-40; Wikipedia, 2025: Konstantin von Neurath; Reinhard Heydrich）。

貝奈斯在巴黎號召成立捷克斯洛伐克全國解放委員會（Czechoslovak National Liberation Committee, 1939-45）、組織陸軍及空軍與同盟國（Allies）並肩作戰對抗軸心國（Axis powers），於 1939 年 11 月 14 日獲得法國承認，

<sup>42</sup> 納粹為了殺雞儆猴，才故意讓這場報復性屠殺曝光，否則，捷克斯洛伐克至少還有一個村子遭受到同樣的命運，另外，在波蘭、及南斯拉夫，野蠻的屠村行徑司空見慣（Walters, 1988: 282; Wandycz, 1992: 231）。

在法國於 1940 年 6 月淪陷後轉進英國，英國於 7 月 21 日承認流亡政府；貝奈斯對於西方國家的姑息主義耿耿於懷，對於史達林有所期待，遂在德國於史達林格勒戰役（Battle of Stalingrad, 1942-43）受挫後與蘇聯簽訂友好互助條約（*Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance between Czechoslovakia and USSR, 1943*）；他擔心蘇聯在戰後鼓動流亡莫斯科的捷克斯洛伐克共產黨<sup>43</sup>（Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, KSČ, 1921-92）份子奪權，因此同意包容，卻埋下日後捷共鏟除異己的因子；蘇聯紅軍在 1945 年初攻到斯洛伐克東部，解放布拉格指日可待，貝奈斯在 3 月急飛莫斯科，臨時政府於 4 月 4 日成立於紅軍解放區科希策（Košice），與捷共在 1945 年 4 月 5 日通過『科息斯綱領』（*Košice Program*），同意諸多框架未來捷克斯洛伐克第三共和國（Third Czechoslovak Republic, 1945-48）的方針，包括大企業國有化、斯洛伐克自治、及剝奪日耳曼人與匈牙利人的國籍（Thomson, 1953: 422-25, 429-31; Luža, 1964: chaps. 9-10; Taborsky, 1973; Kohut, 1989: 48; Wandycz, 1992: 232-33; Johnson, 1996: 226; Dowling, 2002: 65-67, 76-77; Heimann, 2011: 140-49; Wikipedia, 2025: Czechoslovak government-in-exile; Košice Program）。

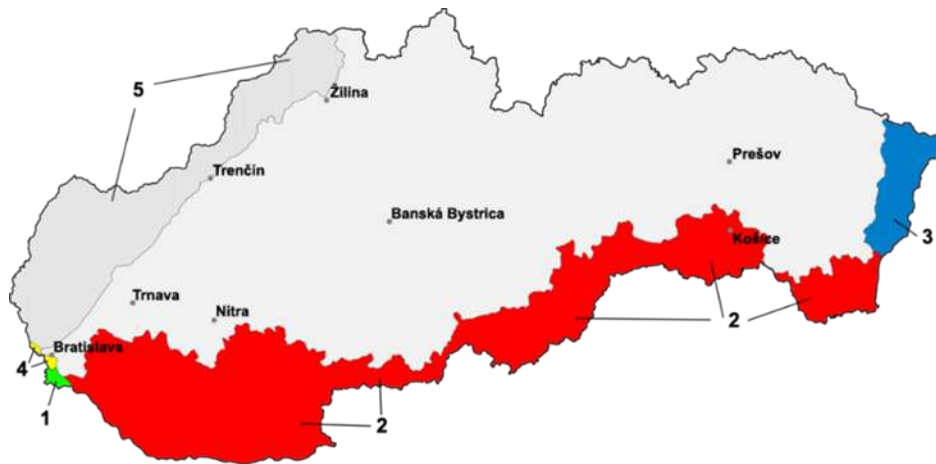
新政府在 1945 年 5 月 10 日班師回朝布拉格，以民族陣線<sup>44</sup>（National Front of Czechs and Slovaks, 1943-90）的門面組成聯合政府，由貝奈斯擔任總統（1945-58），蘇聯專機載回在大戰期間（1937-45）駐節莫斯科、的茲德涅克·費林格<sup>45</sup>（Zdeněk Fierlinger, 1945-46）出任總理，政府由捷共、斯

<sup>43</sup> 捷克斯洛伐克共產黨是在 1921 年由社會民主黨（Czech Social Democratic Party, ČSSD, 1878-）分裂出來，在第一共和的選舉表現不甚起眼，領導者在『慕尼黑協定』後流亡莫斯科；由於蘇聯與納粹德國簽訂互不侵犯條約（Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, 1939），對於蘇共忠心耿耿的捷共臉上無光，留在國內的抗爭也平淡無奇，直到德國在 1941 年 6 月攻打蘇聯，捷共才又回神起來（Mamatey, 1973b: 101-107; Kohut, 1989: 49; Wandycz, 1992: 242）。

<sup>44</sup> 民族陣線由 6 個政黨組成，包含捷克人的捷克斯洛伐克共產黨、捷克社會民主黨（Czech Social Democratic Party, ČSSD, 1978-）、捷克國民社會黨（Czech National Social Party, ČSNS, 1897-）、捷克斯洛伐克人民黨（Czechoslovak People's Party, ČSL, 1919-）、以及斯洛伐克人的斯洛伐克共產黨（Communist Party of Slovakia, KSS, 1939-90）、民主黨（Democratic Party, DS, 1944-48）（Wikipedia, 2025: National Front (Czechoslovakia)）。

<sup>45</sup> 費林格聽命史達林（Joseph Stalin, 1922-52），表面上是社會民主黨員，骨子裡頭應該是潛伏的捷共（Dowling, 2002: 77）。

共、及社會民主黨控制，重要部會握在捷共手裡，包括內政、教育、農業、社福、新聞，為未來的奪權鋪路；新政府除了將通納粹分子的財產充公、分配給農民，同時展開工業的國有化；貝奈斯雖然認為蘇聯不至於介入內政，也寄望蘇聯儘快撤軍，卻又擔心捷共不受節制發動政變，所以言聽計從，另外，由於不認識共黨的本質，一相情願認為官位連帶的權力與責任可加以馴化，又相信民主程序或可達到制衡；捷克斯洛伐克老百姓因為『慕尼黑協定』怪罪西方國家，加上紅軍捷足先登前來解放，自然張臂擁抱捷共，而捷共毫不客氣加緊控制工會、在地方大肆擴張，除了勞工，也拉攏農民、及小資產階級入黨，黨員人數一下就衝破百萬（Luža, 1973b: 387-409; Kohut, 1989: 55; Wandycz, 1992: 236-38, 242-43; Dowling, 2002: 77-80; Heimann, 2011: 150-55; Wikipedia, 2025: Zdeněk Fierlinger; National Front (Czechoslovakia)）。



來源：Wikimedia（2023: File:Slovakia borderHungary.png）。

說明：1.布拉提斯拉瓦橋頭堡（Bratislava bridgehead）歸匈牙利直到 1947 年；2.南斯洛伐克（Southern Slovakia, 1938-45），經過德國與義大利主導的所謂『第一次維也納仲裁』（*First Vienna Award, 1938*）劃歸匈牙利；3.東部斯塔克欽（Stakčín）與索布蘭采（Sobrance）在斯洛伐克-匈牙利戰爭後歸匈牙利（1939-45）；4.布拉提斯拉瓦（Bratislava）的德文（Devín）與佩特扎爾卡（Petržalka）劃歸德國（1938-45）；5.被德國「保護」的軍事佔領區區（German Protection Zone）。

圖 22：斯洛伐克戰後的領土變更（1939-45）

捷克斯洛伐克軍隊在 1945 年 5 月進駐蘇台德地區，蘇台德日耳曼人原本有 325 萬，約有 60 萬在戰爭末期逃往德國，剩下的則根據『波茲坦協定』（*Potsdam Agreement, 1945*）遣送德國，新政府視為第五縱隊，通過一系列處置通敵者的法令（*Beneš Decrees, 1945-45*），從 1946 年初起，共有 170 萬（70%）遣往美國佔領區、75 萬（30%）往蘇聯佔領區<sup>46</sup>，至於留下來的 22 多萬人，最後有 5 萬人不是移民、就是被驅逐出境<sup>47</sup>，捷共趁機分配充公的土地而大肆擴張；至於斯洛伐克境內有 70 萬匈牙利人，匈牙利政府終究在 1946 年 2 月同意收留願意前來者，以交換在匈牙利境內想要離去的 7.3 萬斯洛伐克人，共有 16 萬匈牙利人重新安置；捷欣的 10 萬波蘭人在國土收回後賦予公民權，而魯塞尼亞人則因魯塞尼亞割讓蘇聯迎刃而解<sup>48</sup>（*Thomson, 1953: 435-37; Luža, 1964: chaps. 11-13; Luža, 1973: 397-99; Němec, 1973; de Zayas, 1979: chap. 2; Kohut, 1989: 52-54; Keefe, et al., 1972: 45-46; Kirschbaum, 1995: 225; Dowling, 2002: 80-82; Heimann, 2011: 155-65; Wikipedia, 2025: Beneš decrees; Expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia; Ruthenia; Transcarpathia; Carpathian Ruthenia during World War II; Soviet annexation of Transcarpathia*）。

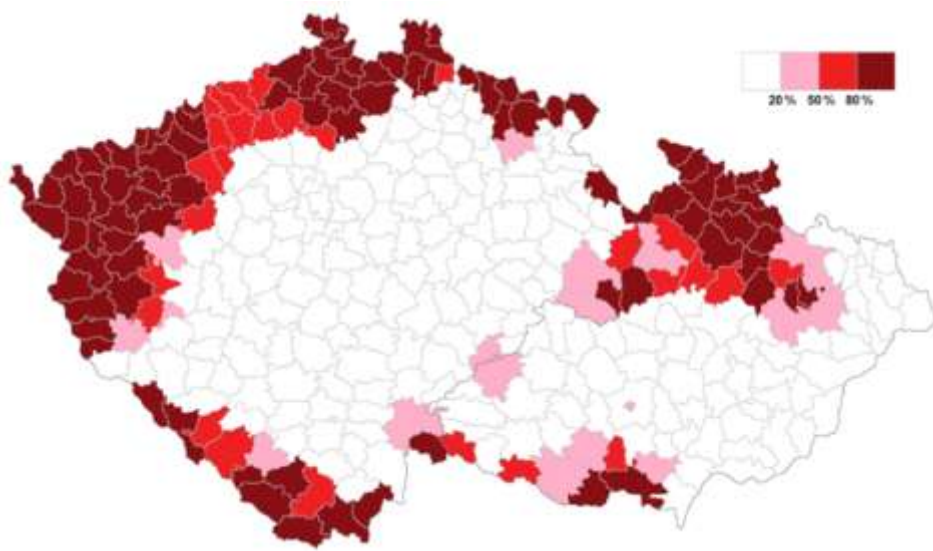
捷克斯洛伐克在 1946 年舉行制憲國民議會選舉<sup>49</sup>，捷共獲得 31% 的選票，貝奈斯留任總統，由捷共頭子克萊門特·哥特瓦爾德（*Klement Gottwald, 1946-48*）組聯合內閣，吃下所有重要部會、安排同志進駐，進而打壓其他政黨；在 1948 年，捷共有驚覺將在大選挫敗，遂在蘇聯的撐腰下發動不流

<sup>46</sup> 最後，留在西德的有 191 萬、東德 91 萬、奧地利 15 萬人（*Luža, 1964: 300*）。參見 *Pust (2000)* 對蘇台德日耳曼人比較同情的觀點。

<sup>47</sup> 捷克斯洛伐克在 1930 年以後就沒有人口普查，根據 1947 年的估計，日耳曼人還有 25 人，到了 1950 年的估計，跟波蘭人、及猶太人共同被列為其他，總數 33 萬（*Němec, 1973: 416*）。

<sup>48</sup> 貝奈斯比較關心的是西部，多次跟蘇聯代表、甚至於史達林本人表示，不太在意魯塞尼亞的去留；蘇聯半信半疑，紅軍在 1944-45 年加以佔領，還興煞有介事當地人「自由」表達與蘇聯兄弟合併的意願（*Walters, 1988: 280*）。

<sup>49</sup> 在 300 席當中，捷共獲得 93 席、捷克國民社會黨 55 席、捷克斯洛伐克人民黨 46 席、捷克社會民主黨 37 席、斯洛伐克共產黨 21 席（*Wikipedia, 2025: 1946 Czechoslovak parliamentary election*）。



來源：Wikimedia（2024: File:Sudetendeutsche.png）。

圖 23：日耳曼人的分布（1930）

血政變奪權，制訂『五月九日憲法』（*Ninth-of-May Constitution, 1948*）、建立粉飾的捷克斯洛伐克共和國（*Czechoslovak Republic, 1948-60*），將國家定位為共產的人民共和國（*people's republic*），貝奈斯拒絕簽署、憤而去職，由哥特瓦爾德接任總統（1948-53）；共黨政權甘心屈從為蘇聯的衛星國，除了在政治上採取史達林式的高壓統治、迫害異議份子，在經濟上還東施效顰蘇聯五年計劃（1949-53, 1956-60），將工業國有化、農場集體化；總統安東寧·諾沃提尼（*Antonín Novotný, 1957-68*）在 1960 年頒佈『1960 年捷克斯洛伐克憲法』（*1960 Constitution of Czechoslovakia*），毫不靦腆改國號為捷克斯洛伐克社會主義共和國（*Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, 1960-90*），承襲蘇聯的意識形態、採取民主集中制（*democratic centralism*）（*Thomson, 1953: 438-47; Suda, 1969; Keefe, et al., 1972: 46-48; Luža, 1973b: 409-15; Jeff, 1988: chap. 3; Kohut, 1989: 55-60; Wandycz, 1992: 247; Kirschbaum, 1995: 231-37; Dowling, 2002: chap. 5; Heimann, 2011: 166-76, chap. 7; Wikipedia, 2025:*

Klement Gottwald; 1948 Czechoslovak coup d'état; Economy of communist Czechoslovakia)。

到了 1960 年代初期，捷克經濟幾乎崩盤，各地食物匱乏、生活品質惡化，民不聊生，政府被迫放棄第 3 期五年經濟計畫（1961-65），加上經濟困頓，百姓揮之不去的政治不滿浮現，包括在 1950 年代被迫害的斯洛伐克領導者的平反、而知識份子更嫌惡政府對於言論的箝制，社會普遍要求自由化；在 1962 年底的捷共第 12 次全國代表大會上，領導階層同意著手改革、限制共黨的控制、去除政府決策的政治考量；由於總統諾沃提尼冥頑不靈，終於由出身斯洛伐克的亞歷山大·杜布切克（Alexander Dubček, 1968-69）接手捷共第一書記，他揭櫫「帶有人性面孔的社會主義」（Socialism with a human face）、加速改革，稱為布拉格之春（Prague Spring, 1968），卻不見容於莫斯科，蘇聯在 1968 年 8 月 20 日率同華沙公約組織（Warsaw Pact, 1955-91）成員波蘭、匈牙利、保加利亞大軍入侵，杜布切克等人被軍機押往莫斯科<sup>50</sup>；古斯塔夫·胡薩克（Gustáv Husák）先後接任第一書記（1969-87）、總統（1975-89），展開清算鬥爭，終究被天鵝絨革命（Velvet Revolution, 1989）逼下台，由瓦茨拉夫·哈維爾（Václav Havel, 1989-1992）接任總統；自由化的捷克暨斯洛伐克聯邦共和國（Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, 1990-92）沒多久就勞燕分飛，各自成立捷克共和國、及斯洛伐克共和國（Keefe, et al., 1972: 49-50; Wandycz, 1992: 255-59, 267-68; Kirschbaum, 1995: 237-71; Dowling, 2002: chaps. 6-8 Heiman n, 2011: chaps. 8-11; Musil, 1995）。

<sup>50</sup> 眾人被迫簽訂『莫斯科議定書』（*Moscow Protocol, 1968*），形同自我否定布拉格之春，唯獨改革派的弗朗蒂謝克·克里格爾（František Kriegel）抵死不從；克里格爾於 1936 年參加國際縱隊（International Brigades），在西班牙內戰（Spanish Civil War, 1936-39）幫助第二共和國（Second Spanish Republic, 1931-39）對抗法蘭西斯科·佛朗哥（Francisco Franco）所領的法西斯保皇派，落敗後跨越庇里牛斯山（Pyrenees）到法國，後來加入挪威紅十字會（Norwegian Red Cross）前往中國參與中國抗日戰爭（1937-43），到了戰爭末期，他與美軍及中國軍隊輾轉印度、及緬甸，目睹日軍投降；有關克里格爾夫婦不受脅迫的情景，見電影〈春天的英雄〉（*The Man Who Stood in the Way, 2023*，又譯為〈莫斯科對峙：自由守護者〉）（Wikipedia, 2025: František Kriegel; *The Man Who Stood in the Way*）。杜布切克在 1969 年被迫辭掉捷共第一書記職務，被選為有名無實的聯邦議會主席，不久出使土耳其，卻未伺機流亡，捷共乾脆將其解職、開除黨籍。



來源：Archiv Františka Kriegla (n.d.)。

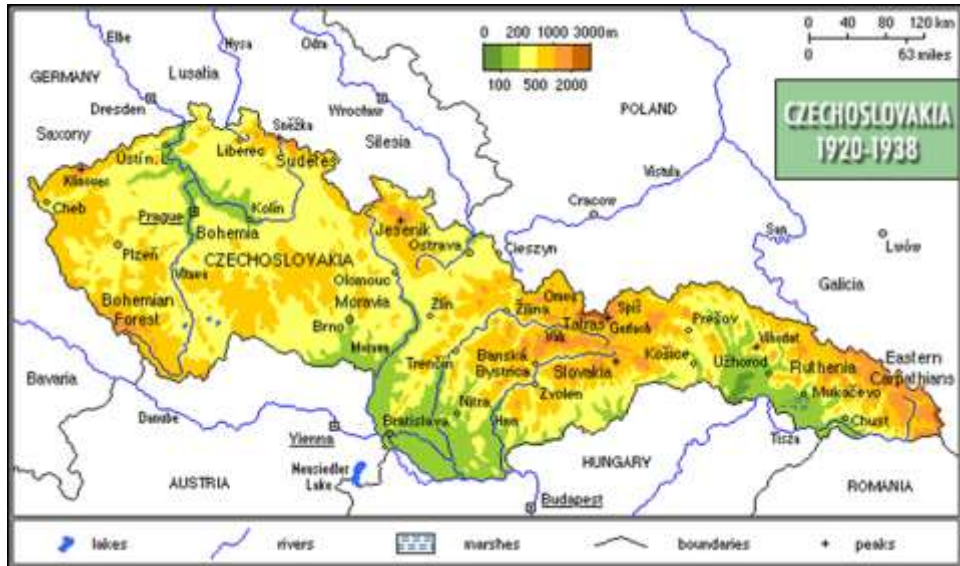
圖 24：弗朗蒂謝克·克里格爾夫婦（1946）



來源：Wikimedia (2024: File:Czechoslovakia.png)。

圖 25：捷克斯洛伐克解體前（1969-90）

附錄 1：捷克斯洛伐克地形圖（1920-38）



來源：Wikimedia（2025: File:Czechoslovakia1920-38.jpg）。

## 附錄 2：帕拉茲基致法蘭克福國民議會的一封信（1848）

51

Gentlemen,

The post has just brought me the letter of 6 April in which you do me the honour of inviting me to Frankfurt to take part in the deliberations, the main purpose of which is to summon a German Parliament. It was a pleasant surprise to me to find in that letter full and authentic evidence of the confidence which the most distinguished men of the German Empire continue to have in my opinions; for in inviting me to a Diet of ‘German patriots’ they themselves acquit me of the unjust accusation so repeatedly brought against me of having shown myself an enemy of the German nation. It is with a sincere sense of gratitude that I acknowledge in that the noble kindness and justness of that excellent assembly; I consider myself therefore to be all the more obliged to answer it with full trust, directly and without reservation.

I am unable, gentlemen, to accept your invitation for my own person, nor can I send any other ‘trustworthy patriot’ in my stead. Permit me to give you, as briefly as possible, my reasons.

The object of your assembly is to establish a federation of the German nation in place of the existing federation of princes, to guide the German nation to real unity, to strengthen the sentiment of German national consciousness, and in this manner expand the power and strength of the German Empire. Although I respect such effort and the sentiments upon which it is based, I cannot, precisely for the reason that I respect it, participate in it in any manner whatsoever. I am not a German—at least I do not feel myself to be one—and you would assuredly not desire to call me in to join you as a mere assenter, a ‘yes-man’ without a mind or will of his own; for in that case I should at Frankfurt either have to deny my

---

<sup>51</sup> Palacký ( 1848 ) .

true feelings and appear in false colors, or if it came to the point, raise my voice loudly in opposition. For the first I am too forthright and direct of speech, for the second I am not shameless and ruthless enough. I cannot therefore bring myself to break in with hostile notes upon a consensus and harmony which I regard as gratifying and desirous, not only in my own home but also in my neighbor's.

I am a Bohemian of Slavonic origin [Ich bin ein Böhme slawischen Stammes], and with all the little I possess and all the little I can do, I have devoted myself for all time to the service of my nation. That nation is a small one, it is true, but from time immemorial it has been a nation of itself and based upon its own strength. Its rulers were from olden times members of the federation of German princes, but the nation never regarded itself as pertaining to the German nation, nor throughout all the centuries was it regarded by others as so pertaining. The whole union of the Bohemian lands, first with the Holy Roman (German) Empire and then with the German confederation, was always a mere dynastic tie of which the Czech nation, the Czech Estates, scarcely desired to know anything and to which they paid no regard. This is an actual fact equally well known to all German historians and to myself; and if anyone is still prepared to doubt it, I offer to make the matter in due time perfectly clear and certain. Even if it were to be fully accepted as true that the Bohemian Crown had at one time been in feudal relationship with the German Empire (a contention which Czech publicists, however, have always denied), it cannot occur to any real historian to doubt, in so far as internal affairs are concerned, the one-time sovereignty and independence of the government and land of Bohemia. The whole world is well aware that the German Emperors had never, in virtue of their imperial dignity, the slightest to do with the Czech nation; that they possessed neither legislative, nor judicial, nor executive power either in Bohemia or over the Czechs; that they never had the right to raise troops or any royalties from that country; that Bohemia together with its crown lands was never considered as pertaining to any

of the one-time ten German states; that appertenance to the Imperial Supreme Court of Justice never applied to it, and so on: that therefore the entire connection of the Bohemian lands with the German Empire was regarded, and must be regarded, not as a bond between nation and nation but as one between ruler and ruler. If, however, anyone asks that, over and above this heretofore existing bond between princes, the Czech nation should now unite with the German nation, this is at least a new demand—devoid of any historical and juridical basis, a demand to which I for my person do not feel justified in acceding until I receive an express and authentic mandate for so doing.

The second reason which prevents me from taking part in your deliberations is the fact that, according to all I have so far learned of your aims and intentions as publicly proclaimed, it is your irrevocable desire and purpose to undermine Austria as an independent empire and indeed to make her impossible for all time to come—an empire whose preservation, integrity and consolidation is, and must be, a great and important matter not only for my own nation but also for the whole of Europe, indeed, for humanity and civilization itself. Grant me there, too, a brief, favourable hearing.

You know, gentlemen, what Power it is that holds the entire East of our Continent. You know that this Power, now grown to vast dimensions, increases and expands of itself decade by decade in far greater measure than is possible for the countries of the West. You know that, secure at its own centre against practically every attack, it has become, and has for a long time been, a menace to its neighbors; and that, although it has unhindered access to the North, it is nevertheless, led by natural instinct, always seeking, and will continue to seek, to extend its borders southwards. You know, too, that every further step which it will take forward on this path threatens at an ever accelerated pace to give birth to, and to establish, a universal monarchy, that is to say, an infinite and inexpressible evil, a misfortune without measure or bound, such as I, though heart and soul a Slav, would nonetheless profoundly regret from the standpoint

of humanity even though that monarchy be proclaimed as a Slavic one. Many persons in Russia name and regard me as an enemy of the Russians, doing me the same injustice as those in Germany who regard me as an enemy of the Germans. I am not, I would declare loudly and publicly, an enemy of the Russians: on the contrary, I observe with pleasure and sympathy every step forward which that great nation makes within its natural borders along the path of civilization; but with all my fervid love of my own nation I always pay greater respect to the good of humanity and learning than to the national good, and for this reason the bare possibility of a universal Russian monarchy has no more determined opponent or foe than myself—not because that monarchy would be Russian but because it would be universal.

You know that in the south-east of Europe, along the frontiers of the Russian empire, there live many nations widely differing in origin, in language, in history and morals—Slavs, Wallachians, Magyars, and Germans, not to speak of Turks and Albanians—none of whom is sufficiently powerful itself to bid successful defiance to the superior neighbor on the East for all time. They could only do so if a close and firm tie bound them all together as one. The vital artery of this necessary union of nations is the Danube. The focus of power of such a union must never be diverted far from this river, if the union is to be effective and remain so. Assuredly, if the Austrian State had not existed for ages, it would have been in the interests of Europe and indeed of humanity to endeavor to create it as soon as possible.

Why is it, however, that we have seen this State, which by nature and history is predestined to be the bulwark and guardian of Europe against Asiatic elements of every possible type—why is it that we have seen it at a critical moment lacking help and almost devoid of counsel in the face of an advancing storm? It is because, in the unhappy blindness that has long afflicted her, Austria has long failed to recognize the real juridical and moral basis of her existence, and has denied it; the fundamental rule, that is, that all the nationalities and all the

religions under her scepter should enjoy complete equality of rights and respect in common. The rights of nations are in truth the rights of Nature. No nation on earth has the right to demand that its neighbors should sacrifice themselves for its benefit, no nation is under an obligation to deny or sacrifice itself for the good of its neighbor. Nature knows neither dominant nor subservient nations. If the bond which unites a number of diverse nations in a single political entity is to be firm and enduring, no nation can have cause to fear that the union will cost it any of the things which it holds most dear. On the contrary, each must have the certain hope that in the central authority it will find defense and protection against possible violations by neighbors of the principles of equality. Then will every nation do its best to confer upon that central authority such powers as will enable it successfully to provide the aforesaid protection. I am convinced that even now it is not too late for this fundamental rule of justice, this sacra ancora for a vessel in danger of foundering, to be publicly and sincerely proclaimed in the Austrian Empire and energetically carried out in all its sectors by common consent. Every moment, however, is precious; for God's sake do not let us delay another hour with this! Metternich did not fall merely because he was the greatest foe of liberty but also because he was the bitterest, the most determined, enemy of all the Slavic races in Austria.

When I direct my gaze beyond the frontiers of Bohemia, natural and historical considerations constrain me to turn not to Frankfurt but to Vienna, to seek there the centre which is fitted and predestined to ensure and defend the peace, the liberty, and the rights of my nation. But your endeavors, gentlemen, seem now to me to be directed, as I have already said, not only towards ruinously undermining, but even utterly destroying, that center to whose authority and strength I look for salvation for the Bohemian lands and not alone for them. Or do you think that the Austrian State can continue to exist when you forbid it in its hereditary domains to maintain an army of its own independent of Frankfurt as the joint head? Do you think that the Austrian Emperor or any sovereign

who succeeds him will be able to maintain his position if you impose upon him the duty of accepting all the most important laws for your committee, and in this manner make the imperial Austrian Parliament and the provincial Diets of the united Kingdoms mere shadows without substance and power? And suppose that Hungary, following her own instincts, should sever her connection with the State, or what is much the same thing, should withdraw within herself—would such a Hungary as refuses to hear of racial equality within her borders be able to maintain herself free and strong in the future? Only the just is truly free and strong. A voluntary union of the Danubian Slavs and Wallachians, or even of the Poles themselves, with a State which declares a man must first be a Magyar before he can be a human being is wholly out of the question; and much more so is a compulsory union. If Europe is to be saved, Vienna must not sink to the role of a provincial town. If there exist in Vienna people who ask to have your Frankfurt as their capital, we can only cry: Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they ask!

Lastly, there is a third reason I must refuse to participate in your meeting—and that is that I consider all existing projects to give the German Empire a new system on the basis of the national will to be impossible and short lived in their performance, if you do not resolve to use real, life-and-death, medical methods. By that I mean the declaration of a Republic of Germany, even if it were only of a transitional form. All the prescriptions that have been attempted so far to divide power between the half-rule of the princes and the full-rule of the people, remind me of phalansterism,<sup>1</sup> which is also based on the fundamental rule that those whom it concerns will behave as numbers in calculations, and will not seek any validity other than what theory provides them. Perhaps my view is unjustified, perhaps I am wrong in my conviction—I honestly admit that I myself wish that it were so—but this is my genuine conviction, and I cannot relinquish this compass for even a moment if I do not want to drown in the tempest of the times without aid. As for the establishment of a republic in the German Reich,

that is a matter entirely beyond the scope of my competence, and I have no wish therefore to express my opinion on it. From the borders of the Austrian Empire, however, I must in advance reject, resolutely and emphatically, any thought of a republic. Imagine an Austrian Empire divided up into a number of republics, large and small—what a lovely basis for a universal Russian Monarchy!

In conclusion, to sum up these somewhat lengthy but only general re-marks, I must briefly express my conviction that those who ask that Austria (and, with her, Bohemia) should unite on national lines with Germany are demanding that she should commit suicide—a step that has neither moral nor political sense. It would, on the contrary, be much more justifiable to demand that the German Empire be attached to the Austrian Empire, that is to say, that Germany should be incorporated into the Austrian State under the aforementioned conditions. As that, however, is not in accord with German national sentiment and German thinking, nothing remains but for the two Powers to organize themselves on an equality side by side, to turn their existing attachment into a eternal union for defense and resistance, and, if it is also to their mutual territorial benefit, to set up a customs union between themselves. I am glad to give a helping hand at any time to all means that are not a threat to the independence, integrity and development of the powers of the Austrian Empire, particularly to the east.

### 附錄 3：捷克斯洛伐克獨立宣言<sup>52</sup>

At this grave moment, when the Hohenzollerns are offering peace in order to stop the victorious advance of the Allied armies and to prevent the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and Turkey, and when the Hapsburgs are promising the federalization of the empire and autonomy to the dissatisfied nationalities committed to their rule, we, the Czechoslovak National Council, recognized by the Allied and American Governments as the Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak State and Nation, in complete accord with the Declaration of the Czech Deputies made in Prague on January 6, 1918, and realizing that federalization, and, still more, autonomy mean nothing under a Hapsburg dynasty, do hereby make and declare this our Declaration of Independence.

We do this because of our belief that no people should be forced to live under a sovereignty which they do not recognize, and because of our knowledge and firm conviction that our nation cannot freely develop in a Hapsburg mock-federation, which is only a new form of the denationalizing oppression under which we have suffered for the past three hundred years. We consider freedom to be the first prerequisite for federalization, and believe that the free nations of Central and Eastern Europe may easily federate should they find it necessary.

We make this declaration on the basis of our historic and natural right. We have been an independent State since the seventh Century; and, in 1526, as an independent State, consisting of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, we joined with Austria and Hungary in a defensive union against the Turkish danger. We have never voluntarily surrendered our rights as an independent State in this confederation. The Hapsburgs broke their compact with our nation by illegally transgressing our rights and violating the Constitution of our State, which they

---

<sup>52</sup> Provisional Government ( 1918 )。

had pledged themselves to uphold, and we therefore refuse longer to remain a part of Austria-Hungary in any form.

We claim the right of Bohemia to be reunited with her Slovak brethren of Slovakia, once part of our national State, later torn from our national body, and fifty years ago incorporated in the Hungarian State of the Magyars, who, by their unspeakable violence and ruthless oppression of their subject races have lost all moral and human right to rule anybody but themselves.

The world knows the history of our struggle against the Hapsburg oppression, intensified and systematized by the Austro-Hungarian Dualistic Compromise of 1867. This dualism is only a shameless organization of brute force and exploitation of the majority by the minority; it is a political conspiracy of the Germans and Magyars against our own as well as the other Slav and the Latin nations of the Monarchy. The world knows the history of our claims, which the Hapsburgs themselves dared not deny. Francis Joseph, in the most solemn manner repeatedly recognized the sovereign rights of our nation. The Germans and Magyars opposed this recognition; and Austria-Hungary, bowing before the Pan-Germans, became a colony of Germany, and as her vanguard to the East, provoked the last Balkan conflict, as well as the present world war, which was begun by the Hapsburgs alone without the consent of the representatives of the people.

We cannot and will not continue to live under the rule, direct or indirect, of the violators of Belgium, France, and Serbia, the would-be murderers of Russia and Rumania, the murderers of tens of thousands of civilians and soldiers of our blood, and the accomplices in numberless unspeakable crimes committed in this war against humanity by the two degenerate and irresponsible dynasties. We will not remain a part of a State which has no justification for existence, and which, refusing to accept the fundamental principles of modern world-organization, remains only an artificial and immoral political structure, hindering every movement toward democratic and social progress. The Hapsburg dynasty,

weighed down by a huge inheritance of error and crime, is a perpetual menace to the peace of the world, and we deem it our duty toward humanity and civilization to aid in bringing about its downfall and destruction.

We reject the sacrilegious assertion that the power of the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties is of divine origin; we refuse to recognize the divine right of kings. Our nation elected the Hapsburgs to the throne of Bohemia of its own free will, and by the same right deposes them. We hereby declare the Hapsburg dynasty unworthy of leading our nation, and deny all of their claims to rule in the Czechoslovak Land, which we here and now declare shall henceforth be a free and independent people and nation.

We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nation for centuries. We accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson: the Principles of liberated mankind, of the actual equality of nations, and of governments deriving all their just power from the consent of the governed. We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite Wars five hundred years ago, for these same principles, beside her Allies in Russia, Italy and France, our nation is shedding its blood today.

We shall outline only the main principles of the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Nation. The final decision as to the Constitution itself falls to the legally chosen representatives of the liberated and united people.

The Czechoslovak State shall be a Republic. In constant endeavor for progress it will guarantee complete freedom of conscience, religion and science, literature and art, speech, the press, and the right of assembly and petition. The Church shall be separated from the State.

Our democracy shall rest on universal suffrage. Women shall be placed on equal footing with men, politically, socially, and culturally. The rights of the

minority shall be safeguarded by proportional representation; national minorities shall enjoy equal rights. The government shall be parliamentary in form and shall recognize the principles of the initiative and referendum. The standing army will be replaced by militia.

The Czechoslovak Nation will carry out far-reaching social and economic reforms; the large estates will be redeemed for home colonization; patents of nobility will be abolished.

Our nation will assume its part of the Austro-Hungarian pre-war public debt; the debts for this war we leave to those who incurred them.

In its foreign policy the Czechoslovak Nation will accept its full share of responsibility in the reorganization of Eastern Europe. It accepts fully the democratic and social principle of nationalism and subscribes to the doctrine that all covenants and treaties shall be entered into openly and frankly without secret diplomacy.

Our Constitution shall provide an efficient, rational, and just government, which will exclude all special privileges and prohibit class legislation.

Democracy has defeated theocratic autocracy. Militarism is overcome—democracy is victorious; on the basis of democracy, mankind will be reorganized. The forces of darkness have served the victory of light—the longed-for age of humanity is dawning.

We believe in democracy, we believe in liberty—and liberty evermore

Given in Paris, on the eighteenth day of October, 1918.

Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, Prime Minister and Minister of Finance

General Dr. Milan R. Stefanik, Minister of National Defense

Dr. Edward Benes, Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Interior

#### 附錄 4：捷克斯洛伐克 1920 年新憲的少數族群保障專章<sup>53</sup>

##### Chapter Six: Protection of National, Religious and Racial Minorities

§ 128. (1) All citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic shall be in all respects equal before the law and shall enjoy equal civic and political rights whatever be their race, their language or their religion.

(2) Difference in religion, belief, confession or language shall within the limits of the common law constitute no obstacle to any citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic, particularly in regard to entry into the public services and offices, of attainment to any promotion or dignity, or in regard to the exercise of any trade or calling.

(3) Citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic may, within the limits of the common law, freely use any language they choose in private and business intercourse, in all matters pertaining to religion, in the press and in all publications whatsoever, or in public assemblies.

(4) This, however, does not affect the rights conferred on the state organs in these matters by laws already in force or to be passed in the future with a view to public order, the security of the state or effective control.

§ 129. The principles on which the rights as to language in the Czechoslovak Republic are based shall be determined by a special enactment which shall form part of this constitutional charter.

§ 130. In so far as citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic are entitled by the common law to establish, manage and administer at their own cost philanthropic, religious, or social institutions, they are all equal, no matter what be their nationality, language, religion or race and may, in such institutions, make use of their own language and worship according to their own religious ceremonies.

§ 131. In towns and districts in which there lives a considerable fraction of

---

<sup>53</sup> *Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1920* .

Czechoslovak citizens speaking a language other than Czechoslovak, the children of such Czechoslovak citizens shall, in public instruction and within the bounds of the general regulations relating thereto, be guaranteed a due opportunity to receive instruction in their own tongue. The Czechoslovak language at the same time may be prescribed as a compulsory subject of instruction.

§ 132. In towns and districts where there is living a considerable fraction of Czechoslovak citizens belonging to some minority, whether in respect of religion, or nationality, or language, and where specific sums of money from public funds are set out in the state budget or in the budget of local or other public authorities to be devoted to education, religion, or philanthropy, a due share in the use and enjoyment of such sums shall be secured to such minorities within the limits of the general regulations for public administration.

§ 133. The method of carrying out the principles embodied in §§ 131 and 132 and especially the interpretation to be assigned to the expression

§ 134. Every manner whatsoever of forcible denationalization is prohibited. Non-observance of this principle may be proclaimed by law to be a punishable act.

### 附錄 5：捷克斯洛伐克語言法（1920）<sup>54</sup>

§ 1. The Czechoslovak language shall be the state, official language of the Republic (Art. 7 of the Treaty made between the leading Allied and Associated Powers and the Czechoslovak Republic and signed at St. Germain on Laye on the 10th September 1919).

It is thus in particular the language:

1. In which the work of all the courts, offices, institutions, undertakings and organs of the Republic shall be conducted, in which they shall issue their proclamations and notices as well as their inscriptions and designations. (Exceptions to this section are laid down in § 2 and § 5 as well as in § 6 relating to Russia.)

2. In which the principal text on state and other banknotes shall be printed.

3. Which the armed forces of the country shall use for the purpose of command and as the language of the service; in dealings with men and companies not knowing this language their mother tongue may also be used.

Detailed regulations will be issued as to the duty of state officials and employees, as well as of officials and employees of state institutions and undertakings to know the Czechoslovak language.

§ 2. In respect of national and language minorities (Chap. 1. Treaty of St. Germain) the following rules shall apply:

It shall be the duty of courts, offices and organs of the Republic whose competence relates to a jurisdictional district in which according to the latest census at least 20% of the citizens speak the same language—and that a language other than Czechoslovak—to accept (in all matters which they have to settle on the ground of their competence applying to such a district) from any member of this minority any complaints in this language and to deal with complaints not only in the

---

<sup>54</sup> *Act in pursuance of § 129 of the Constitutional Charter establishing the principles of language rights within the Czechoslovak Republic, 1920* °

Czechoslovak language but also in that in which the plaint itself is presented. Where there are several district courts in one community that whole community shall be deemed to be a single jurisdictional district.

It shall be laid down by regulation to what extent and for what courts and offices it will be possible to restrict the settlement of cases to the language of the parties themselves. These courts and offices are those whose competence is limited to one district, namely a district with such a national minority, as well as courts and offices immediately subordinate to them.

Under similar conditions it is the duty of the Public Prosecutor to frame the charges against an accused speaking another tongue in this language too, or even in this language alone.

The executive authority shall determine in such cases what language shall be used.

If the party to any matter is not the initiator of the proceedings, he shall (if the other conditions of § 2 are fulfilled) be entitled on the same principles to have his case dealt with also in his own language, or even in it alone so far as it is known, or otherwise at his request.

In districts where there lives a national minority in the terms of § 2 the language of the national minority shall be used concurrently with the Czechoslovak language in proclamations and notices issued by the state courts, offices and organs and for their inscriptions and designations.

§ 3. It is the duty of autonomic offices, representative councils and all public corporations in the state whatsoever to accept and to deal with oral or written matter in the Czechoslovak language.

It shall always be possible to make use of this language in meetings and conferences; proposals and suggestions put forward in this language must be dealt with.

The state executive authority shall determine upon the language to be used for public proclamations and notices and for the inscriptions and designations for

which the autonomic offices are responsible.

It is the duty of the autonomic offices, representative councils and public corporations to accept—under the conditions of § 2—all matters presented to them in a language other than Czechoslovak and to deal with the same, and also to permit the use of another language in meetings and conferences.

§ 4. The State offices, using the state official language, shall, in their official proceedings in those parts of the Republic which before the 28th of October 1918 pertained to the Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial (Austro-Hungarian) Council or to the Kingdom of Prussia use regularly the Czech language, in Slovakia regularly the Slovak language.

Matters presented in the Czech language and officially dealt with in Slovak or presented in Slovak and dealt with in Czech shall be deemed to have been dealt with in the language in which they were presented.

§ 5. The instruction in all schools established for members of a national minority shall be given in their language. Likewise educational and cultural institutions set up for them shall be administered in their language. (Art. 9. Treaty of St. Germain).

§ 6. The Diet which shall be set up for Ruscina shall have the right reserved to it of settling the language question for this territory in a manner consonant with the unity of the Czechoslovak State. (Art. 10. Treaty of St. Germain.)

Until this settlement has been made this law shall apply, due regard, however, being paid to the special circumstances of that territory in respect of language.

§ 7. Disputes regarding the use of a language in the courts, offices, institutions, undertakings and organs of the State as well as in the autonomic offices and public corporations shall be settled by the competent organs of State control as matters of state administration detached from the causes out of which they arose.

§ 8. Details as to the carrying out of this law shall be fixed by the State executive authority which will, in the spirit of this law, lay down rules regulating the use of languages for autonomic offices, representative bodies, and public

corporations as well as for those offices and public organs whose competence extends to districts which are less than jurisdictional districts, or organs which have no district of their own.

The rules shall also prescribe what measures shall be taken towards facilitating the dealings of officials with persons who do not speak the language in which the Court, office or organ conducts its business in the sense of this law. They shall also prescribe the measures to be taken to protect the different parties from legal damage which might accrue to them from ignorance of the language in question.

Exceptions to the terms of this act necessary for securing undisturbed administration may also be made by regulation for the period of five years commencing from the day on which this law comes into force.

Finally rules shall be laid down which are essential for securing the successful carrying out of this law.

§ 9. This law shall come into force on the day on which it is promulgated. It abrogates all rules relating to language which were in force previous to the 28th of October 1918.

## 附錄 6：捷克民族的最高道德賭注<sup>55</sup>

### 悲劇的荒謬、現實的勇者

捷克人權組織 Charter 77 的創始人之一哈瓦 (Vaclav Havel 瓦茨拉夫·哈維爾)，是著名的荒謬戲劇作家。哈瓦擅常將現實生活中人類所遭受的苦難與荒謬，轉化為深刻感人的藝術品。由於作品中一再觸及統治者無數的惡德，哈瓦的創作不僅屢遭查禁，他本人也成為捷克政治黑牢中的常客。在去年 (1989) 11 月的捷克革命中，哈瓦扮演了無比重要的角色，他不僅是革命運動中的劇作家，同時還粉墨登場，身兼導演、場務、與主角數職。革命成功後，哈瓦受推選為捷克臨時政府大總統，直到今年 6 月大選為止。

當捷克學生在 11 月 7 日發動和平示威遊行，觸發全國各地一連串反抗統治者的示威時，哈瓦統合了各路地下組織，成立「公民論壇」，導引廣大群眾展開與統治者的抗爭。10 日內，澎湃的人民力量終於逼得捷克共黨下台，成功地完成了一場光榮革命。

哈瓦是一位充滿社會關懷的藝術家，他不僅下筆能文，更能發而為行，積極參與社會改造運動，呼籲並從事捷克民族人心重建的大工程。儘管他屢遭捷克當局迫害，哈瓦還是不妥協地忠於自己的信仰。無數的朋友，甚至敵人，都建議他識時務地移民他國，出亡捷克，但他都不為所動，仍然堅持對不義的政權鬥爭到底，終於成功地見證了這一場令人無法想像的革命。

哈瓦的作品直刺當權的共黨高幹，並不惜指名道姓，然而他的終極關懷卻是整個捷克民族的人心改造。哈瓦不會只說好話討好同胞，反而時常挑戰人民對正義的執著。好比是一隻烏鴉，或是一隻刺鳥，忠言逆耳，哈瓦早就心有所準備：人民或許會視己為人民公敵，抗拒他的忠告。然而他還是勇往直前。

哈瓦在 1990 年新年演講詞中，公開向捷克同胞挑戰：

捷克人必須承認，統治者之所以能猖狂數十年，原因之一便是人民缺乏

<sup>55</sup> 根據 Havel (1990) 以筆名歐海默譯寫，刊於《台灣學生》4 期，頁 17-19 (1990)。

勇氣與不義對抗，默默地任惡質政權蹂躪，無形中，受害者間接成為統治者的幫兇。哈瓦認為捷克人民如果要捍衛和平革命的成果，一定要通過勇敢對抗不義的道德試煉，才可能改造整個民族的心靈，奠定穩固的民主基石。

類似的道德危機也發生在羅馬尼亞。過去，羅馬尼亞人民縱容共黨胡作非為，甚至為了一些蠅頭小利，就加入共黨，造成全國二千三百萬人口中，就有三百八十萬共產黨員，每四個人之中就有一個是「報馬仔」或「三腳仔」。有一種更誇張的說法「略在羅馬尼亞，有一半的人口在監視另一半的不穩定份子。」

這種社會整體的惡德，不也正是台灣的寫照嗎？洪奇昌曾說過類似的警語：「台灣之所以許久未能獨立，台灣人本身要負很大的責任。」大多數台灣人民，未積極支持國民黨政權，但除了「逃稅」之外，也未能形成大規模的不合作抗議運動。每當台灣人自怨自艾無法與國民黨對抗之時，不就正是幫著國民黨往自己頭上套枷鎖嗎？

讀我們來共同思考哈瓦演講詞中所提揭的真知灼見。向自己挑戰吧！  
台灣人民！

### 哈瓦的新年演說稿：

過去四十年來的這一天，你們都可以聽到在我之前的總統重複著同樣的花言巧語。他們說，我們的國家是多麼的欣欣向榮，生產了多少鋼鐵；我們又是如何的快樂，對政府如何的信任，大家又是如何前程似錦。我以為你們選我當總統，並不是要我也重複同樣的謊言。

事實上，我們的國家一點也不興隆，我們民族龐大的創造與精神潛力並未發揮到極致。工業部門正生產若沒人想要的東西，人民需要的產品卻付諸闕如。

我們自稱是工人的國度，事實上卻一直在羞辱並壓榨勞工！我們落伍的經濟體系，更不斷地消耗著整個民族的能量。曾經，我們擁有引以為傲的教育水草，而今，由於吝於教育支出，我們竟然淪落到世界上排名第 72！原本祖先傳承下來美麗的山川、沃土與森林，如今，因著我們胡亂傾倒無數

廢物，而大為失色，竟成為歐洲污染最嚴重的國度！！

最最糟糕的是：我們正生活在一個敗德的心理環境中。在道德上，捷克民族正生著重病，因為我們已習於口是心非了！我們學會不信任，不相互關懷，只顧自己。像是愛、友誼、憐憫、謙遜、寬容等美德，都早已喪失了應有的深度與廣度。對許多人來說，這些東西只不過是心理學上的特色，或是偶而出現的千古遺跡；他們覺得，在這個電腦與火箭的太空時代，這些名堂聽起來未免可笑。

過去的統治政權，以其傲慢而狹隘的意識型態，把捷克人民當做機械的生產力，更把大自然驅使為生產工具。這樣，人類與大自然的本性以及兩者之間的關係便飽受摧殘。原本有能力掌握自己事務的人們，如今被迫茫然地成為某種臭氣沖天，搖搖欲晃的巨型機器裡的一顆齒輪。我們幾乎可以肯定，這部機器必會慢慢地自我磨蝕，聯帶地將所有齒輪帶向滅亡。

剛剛我說的敗德環境之所以能存在，正是因為所有的人都對這個極權制度習以為常，接受這個事實，並且以為它是不可改變的。結果，我們反而助長了這種惡德的持續運轉。換句話說，我們每個人對這部統治機器的運轉，都要負一份責任，只不過是責任的程度有差別罷了。正因為我們無一不助紂為虐，身為受害者的我們，更是不折不扣的幫兇了！

我為什麼要提這段傷心的往事？因為，我認為我們如果把過去四十年來的悲慘日子當成某些遠親遺留下來的古怪遺產，那是極為不智的。相反的，我們必須承認這一切是大家自己造成的，接受這個事實之後，我們才能進步認清：只有捷克民族自己才能解決這個問題。

我們不應將過去的悲慘完全怪罪於先前的統治者，因為這不只背離事實，而且將使我們逃避自己必須讀面對的責任——也就是有條有理的，自由又迅速的進行我們社會改造的責任。

然而，一向馴服、飽受屈辱、凡事狐疑的捷克人竟然能在這個星期中找到神力，以優雅而和平的方式推翻極權政府！這件事的確讓世人驚訝不已，連我們自己都要感到大惑不解。尤其令人難以置信的是，我們這些從未知悉其他政治體系的年輕人，到底是從何處找到追求真理的信念、自由思考、政治想像力、公民勇氣和遠見的泉源呢？而早一代被視為從歷史上消失的

父母輩，竟然也會加入在年輕人的行列呢？到底捷克民族是怎麼頓悟到大家必須作的事呢？



當然，我們今天的自由是付出昂貴的代價爭取而來的。許多同胞在五十年代死於獄中，無數人被公開處死，數千人的性命受到殘害，忠於自己信念，追求獨立思考的人也難逃其罪。這些為我們付出了追求集體自由代價的先行者，我們應永誌不忘。

同樣的，還有其他民族為了自由，付出了更高的代價，也因而間接地替我們承擔了苦難。這些人，我們也不應忘記。我們更要記得，無數先人流血

犧牲所匯成的匈牙利、波蘭、德國奔流的血河，更不要忘記，那羅馬尼亞恐怖的血泊以及蘇聯境內的血海！正是這些偉大的犧牲所編織而成的悲壯史詩，引導了我們爭取今日和來日的自由，並促成了東歐集團各國的逐步解放。

我以為，這一切正是我們此刻最高的道德賭注。在未來，我們有希望不必永久虧欠於前人的努力與犧牲。我們的公民、民族與政治自信心是否能在歷史上以一種嶄新的姿態復甦呢？連個開花結果的盼望，完全就要看我們自己的努力了！

### 附錄 7：捷克共和國



來源：Wikimedia( 2024: File:Czech Rep. - Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia III (en).png )。

### 附錄 8：斯洛伐克共和國



來源：Wikimedia (2024: File:Slovakia map rivers and cities 2008-11-17.svg)。

## 參考文獻

歐海默（譯）。1990。〈捷克民族的最高道德賭注！〉《台灣學生》6月·4期·頁17-19。

*Act in pursuance of § 129 of the Constitutional Charter establishing the principles of language rights within the Czechoslovak Republic, 1920*

([https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The\\_Constitution\\_of\\_the\\_Czechoslovak\\_Republic/An\\_act\\_dated\\_the\\_29th\\_of\\_February\\_1920\\_in\\_pursuance\\_of\\_%C2%A7\\_129\\_of\\_the\\_Constitutional\\_Charter\\_establishing\\_the\\_principles\\_of\\_language\\_rights\\_within\\_the\\_Czechoslovak\\_Republic](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Constitution_of_the_Czechoslovak_Republic/An_act_dated_the_29th_of_February_1920_in_pursuance_of_%C2%A7_129_of_the_Constitutional_Charter_establishing_the_principles_of_language_rights_within_the_Czechoslovak_Republic)) (2025/8/5)

Archiv Františka Kriegla. n.d. “Komunista, který odmítl okupaci. František Kriegel na snímcích z mládí i konce života.” (<https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/foto-frantisek-kriegel/r~e88e9fd4a17d11e9b16b0cc47ab5f122/r~74ef20daa17d11e9a3>) (2025/8/19)

Beneš, Václav. 1973. “The Establishment of the Republic,” in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 39-98. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bradley, John F. N. 1984. *Czech Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century*. Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs.

Bruegel, J. W. 1973. “The Establishment of the Republic,” in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 167-87. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

*Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1920*

(<http://czecon.law.muni.cz/content/en/ustavy/1920/>) (2025/8/5)

*Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, 1918*

([https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Declaration\\_of\\_Independence\\_of\\_the\\_Czechoslovak\\_Nation\\_by\\_its\\_Provisional\\_Government\\_\(1918\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Declaration_of_Independence_of_the_Czechoslovak_Nation_by_its_Provisional_Government_(1918))) (2025/7/12)

De Zayas, Alfred-Maurice. 1979. *Nemesis at Potsdam: The Anglo-Americans and the Expulsion of the Germans*, 2nd. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Dowling, Maria. 2002. *Czechoslovakia*. London: Arnold.

Eubank, Keith. 1973. “Munuch,” in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 239-54. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Havel, Vaclav. 1990. “New Year’s Address to the Nation.” January 1

- ([http://old.hrad.cz/president/Havel/speeches/1990/0101\\_uk.html](http://old.hrad.cz/president/Havel/speeches/1990/0101_uk.html)) (2025/8/14)
- Heimann, Mary. 2011. *Czechoslovakia: The State That Failed*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Heymann, Frederick G. 1966. *Poland and Czechoslovakia*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Hoensch, Jorg K. 1973. "The Slovak Republic, 1939-1945," in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 371-95. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Horrabin, J. F. 1920. "Europe after the Congress of Vienna," in H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History: Being a Plain History of Life and Mankind*, p. 941. London: Cassell.
- Johnson, Lonnie R. 1996. *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Keefe, Eugene K., Donald W. Bernier, Lyle E. Brenneman, William Giloane, James M. Moore, Jr., and Neda A. Walpole. 1972. *Area Handbook for Czechoslovakia*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Kirschbaum, Stanislav J. 1995. *A History of Slovakia: The Struggle for Survival*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Kohut, Zenon E. 1989. "Historical Setting," in Ihor Gawdiak, ed. *Czechoslovakia: A Country Study*, 3rd ed. pp. 4-72. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Krofta, Kamil. 1935. *A Short History of Czechoslovakia*, trans. by William Beardmore. London: Williams & Norgate.
- Leff, Carol Skalnik. 1988. *National Conflict in Czechoslovakia: The Making and Remaking of a State, 1918-1987*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Luža, Radomír. 1964. *The Transfer of the Sudeten Germans: A Study of Czech-German Relations, 1933-1962*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Luža, Radomír. 1973a. "The Czech Resistance Movement," in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 343-61. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Luža, Radomír. 1973b. "Czechoslovakia between Democracy and Communism, 1948," in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 387-415. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Mamatey, Victor S. 1973a. "The Establishment of the Republic," in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 3-38. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mamatey, Victor S. 1973b. "The Development of Czechoslovak Democracy, 1920-1938," in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 99-166. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Musil, Jiří, ed. 1995. *The End of Czechoslovakia*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Němec, Ludvík. 1973. "Solution of the Minorities Problem," in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 416-27. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Palacký, František. 1848. "Letter to Frankfurt, 11 April 1848."  
(<https://books.openedition.org/ceup/2345>) (2025/7/26)
- Polišenský, Josef Vincent. 1991 (1947). *History of Czechoslovakia in Outline*. Prague: Bohemia International.
- Prochaska, Theodor. 1973. "The Second Republic, 1938-1939," in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 255-70. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Provisional Government. 1918. "Declaration of Independence of the Czechoslovak Nation by Its Provisional Government." October 18  
([https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The\\_Czechoslovak\\_Review/Volume\\_2/Declaration\\_of\\_Independence\\_of\\_the\\_Czechoslovak\\_Nation\\_by\\_Its\\_Provisional\\_Government](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Czechoslovak_Review/Volume_2/Declaration_of_Independence_of_the_Czechoslovak_Nation_by_Its_Provisional_Government)) (2025/7/27)
- Pust, Ingomar. 2000 (1998). *Sudeten German Inferno: The Hushed-up Tragedy of the Ethnic Germans in Czechoslovakia*, trans by Victor Diodon  
(<https://www.wintersonnenwende.com/scriptorium/english/archives/sginferno/sgi00.html>) (2025/8/14)
- Rhode, Gotthold. 1973. "The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, 1939-45," in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 296-321. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Seton-Watson, Hugh, and Christopher Seton-Watson. 1981. *The Making of a New Europe: R. W. Seton-Watson and the Last Years of Austria-Hungary*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

- Suda, Zdenek. 1969. *The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Taborsky, Edward. 1973. "Politics in Exile, 1939-45," in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 322-42. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- The Times*. 1920. *The Times History of the War*. London: *The Times*.
- Thomson, S. Harrison. 1953. *Czechoslovakia in European History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Travis, James. 2022. "Great Moravia: Svatopluk I and Mojmir II (870-907)." (<https://www.czechcenter.org/blog/2022/8/19/great-moravia-part-2>) (2025/7/12)
- Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Czechoslovakia, 1919* (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1919Parisv13/ch30>) (2025/8/18)
- Walters, E. Garrison. 1988. *The Other Europe: Eastern Europe to 1945*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Wandycz, Piotr S. 1973. "The Foreign Policy of Edward Beneš, 1918-1938," in Victor S. Mamatey, and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*, pp. 216-38. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wandycz, Piotr S. 1992. *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*. London: Routledge.
- Wikimedia. 2023. "File:Silesia-map.svg." (<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Silesia-map.svg>) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2023. "File:Slovakia borderHungary.png." ([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Slovakia\\_borderHungary.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Slovakia_borderHungary.png)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2024. "File:Bundesarchiv Bild 183-R69173, Münchener Abkommen, Staatschefs.jpg." ([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv\\_Bild\\_183-R69173,\\_M%C3%BCnchener\\_Abkommen,\\_Staatschefs.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv_Bild_183-R69173,_M%C3%BCnchener_Abkommen,_Staatschefs.jpg)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2024. "File:Central Europe after the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, H. G. Wells' Outline of History, page 414.jpg." ([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Central\\_Europe\\_after\\_the\\_Peace\\_of\\_Westphalia,\\_1648,\\_H.\\_G.\\_Wells%27\\_Outline\\_of\\_History,\\_page\\_414.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Central_Europe_after_the_Peace_of_Westphalia,_1648,_H._G._Wells%27_Outline_of_History,_page_414.jpg)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2024. "File:Czech Rep. - Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia III (en).png." ([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Czech\\_Rep.\\_-](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Czech_Rep._-)

- [\\_Bohemia,\\_Moravia\\_and\\_Silesia\\_III\\_\(en\).png](#) (2025/6/7)  
Wikimedia. 2024. “File:Czechoslovakia.png.”  
(<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Czechoslovakia.png>) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2024. “File:Czechoslovakia01.png.”  
(<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Czechoslovakia01.png>) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2024. “File:Czechoslovakia1920-38.jpg.”  
(<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Czechoslovakia1920-38.jpg>) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2024. “File:Karte Böhmen unter Karl IV.png.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karte\\_Böhmen\\_unter\\_Karl\\_IV.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karte_Böhmen_unter_Karl_IV.png))  
(2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2024. “File:Map of bohemia 1301.png.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map\\_of\\_bohemia\\_1301.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_bohemia_1301.png)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2024. “File:Muttich, Kamil Vladislav - Mistr Jan Hus na hranici v Kostnici 1415.jpg.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Muttich,\\_Kamil\\_Vladislav\\_-\\_Mistr\\_Jan\\_Hus\\_na\\_hranici\\_v\\_Kostnici\\_1415.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Muttich,_Kamil_Vladislav_-_Mistr_Jan_Hus_na_hranici_v_Kostnici_1415.jpg)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2024. “File:Slavic tribes in the 7th to 9th century.jpg.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Slavic\\_tribes\\_in\\_the\\_7th\\_to\\_9th\\_century.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Slavic_tribes_in_the_7th_to_9th_century.jpg)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2024. “File:Slovakia map rivers and cities 2008-11-17.svg.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Slovakia\\_map\\_rivers\\_and\\_cities\\_2008-11-17.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Slovakia_map_rivers_and_cities_2008-11-17.svg)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2024. “File:Sudetendeutsche.png.”  
(<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sudetendeutsche.png>) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2025. “File:Amazonka na barikádě, Praha 1848.jpg.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Amazonka\\_na\\_barikádě,\\_Praha\\_1848.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Amazonka_na_barikádě,_Praha_1848.jpg)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2025. “File:Austria Hungary ethnic.svg.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Austria\\_Hungary\\_ethnic.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Austria_Hungary_ethnic.svg)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2025. “File:Český stát v X. století za Boleslava I. a II.jpg.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Český\\_stát\\_v\\_X.\\_století\\_za\\_Boleslava\\_I.\\_a\\_II.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Český_stát_v_X._století_za_Boleslava_I._a_II.jpg)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2025. “File:Czechoslovakia 1930 linguistic map - en.svg.”

- ([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Czechoslovakia\\_1930\\_linguistic\\_map\\_-\\_en.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Czechoslovakia_1930_linguistic_map_-_en.svg)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2025. “File:Czechoslovakia 1939.SVG.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Czechoslovakia\\_1939.SVG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Czechoslovakia_1939.SVG)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2025. “File:František Kriegel (Časopis lékařů českých, no. 16, 1968).png.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:František\\_Kriegel\\_\(Časopis\\_lékařů\\_českých\\_no\\_16\\_1968\).png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:František_Kriegel_(Časopis_lékařů_českých_no_16_1968).png)) (2025/8/19)
- Wikimedia. 2025. “File:German Austria (1918) en.svg.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:German\\_Austria\\_\(1918\)\\_en.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:German_Austria_(1918)_en.svg)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2025. “File:Holy Roman Empire 11th century map-en.svg.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Holy\\_Roman\\_Empire\\_11th\\_century\\_map-en.svg#mw-jump-to-license](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Holy_Roman_Empire_11th_century_map-en.svg#mw-jump-to-license)) (2025/6/23)
- Wikimedia. 2025. “File:Masaryk Štefánik Beneš.jpeg.”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Masaryk\\_%C5%A0tef%C3%A1nik\\_Bene%C5%A1.jpeg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Masaryk_%C5%A0tef%C3%A1nik_Bene%C5%A1.jpeg)) (2025/6/23)
- Wikimedia. 2025. “File:Poprava na Hradčanech 1547 (Česko-moravská kronika, J. Scheiwl, 1881).png”  
([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Poprava\\_na\\_Hradčanech\\_1547\\_\(Česko-moravská\\_kronika,\\_J.\\_Scheiwl,\\_1881\).png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Poprava_na_Hradčanech_1547_(Česko-moravská_kronika,_J._Scheiwl,_1881).png)) (2025/6/7)
- Wikimedia. 2025. “File:Prager.Fenstersturz.1618.jpg.”  
(<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Prager.Fenstersturz.1618.jpg>) (2025/6/7)
- Wikipedia. 2024. “Austro-Slavism.” (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austro-Slavism>) (2025/7/18)
- Wikipedia. 2024. “Fundamental Articles of 1871.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fundamental\\_Articles\\_of\\_1871](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fundamental_Articles_of_1871)) (2025/7/18)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “1911 Cisleithanian legislative election in the Czech lands.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1911\\_Cisleithanian\\_legislative\\_election\\_in\\_the\\_Czech\\_lands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1911_Cisleithanian_legislative_election_in_the_Czech_lands)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “1946 Czechoslovak parliamentary election.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946\\_Czechoslovak\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946_Czechoslovak_parliamentary_election)) (2025/7/1)

- Wikipedia. 2025. “1948 Czechoslovak coup d'état.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948\\_Czechoslovak\\_coup\\_d%27état](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948_Czechoslovak_coup_d%27état)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Austrian Silesia.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austrian\\_Silesia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austrian_Silesia))  
(2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Battle of Austerlitz.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Austerlitz](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Austerlitz)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Battle of Pressburg.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Pressburg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Pressburg)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Beneš decrees.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beneš\\_decrees](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beneš_decrees))  
(2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Bohemian Revolt.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bohemian\\_Revolt](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bohemian_Revolt)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Boii.” (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boii>) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Bořivoj I, Duke of Bohemia.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bořivoj\\_I,\\_Duke\\_of\\_Bohemia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bořivoj_I,_Duke_of_Bohemia)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Carlsbad Programme.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlsbad\\_Programme](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlsbad_Programme)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Carpathian Ruthenia during World War II.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carpathian\\_Ruthenia\\_during\\_World\\_War\\_II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carpathian_Ruthenia_during_World_War_II))  
(2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Carpatho-Ukraine.” (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carpatho-Ukraine>)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles\\_IV,\\_Holy\\_Roman\\_Emperor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_IV,_Holy_Roman_Emperor)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Czech language.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czech\\_language](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czech_language))  
(2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Czechoslovak government-in-exile.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czechoslovak\\_government-in-exile](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czechoslovak_government-in-exile)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Duchy of Bohemia.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duchy\\_of\\_Bohemia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duchy_of_Bohemia)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Economy of communist Czechoslovakia.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy\\_of\\_communist\\_Czechoslovakia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_communist_Czechoslovakia)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Edvard Beneš.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edvard\\_Beneš](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edvard_Beneš))

(2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “Emil Hácha.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emil\\_Hácha](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emil_Hácha))

(2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “Ethnic minorities in Czechoslovakia.”

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic\\_minorities\\_in\\_Czechoslovakia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_minorities_in_Czechoslovakia)) (2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “Expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia .”

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Expulsion\\_of\\_Germans\\_from\\_Czechoslovakia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Expulsion_of_Germans_from_Czechoslovakia))

(2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “First Vienna Award.”

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First\\_Vienna\\_Award](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Vienna_Award)) (2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “František Kriegel.”

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/František\\_Kriegel](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/František_Kriegel)) (2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “František Palacký.”

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/František\\_Palacký](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/František_Palacký)) (2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “Germans in Czechoslovakia (1918–1938) .”

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Germans\\_in\\_Czechoslovakia\\_\(1918–1938\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Germans_in_Czechoslovakia_(1918–1938)))

(2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “Great Moravia.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great\\_Moravia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Moravia))

(2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “Great Moravia.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great\\_Moravia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Moravia))

(2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “History of the Czech lands.”

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Czech\\_lands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Czech_lands)) (2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “Hungarian invasion of Carpatho-Ukraine.”

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian\\_invasion\\_of\\_Carpatho-Ukraine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian_invasion_of_Carpatho-Ukraine))

(2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “Hussite Wars.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hussite\\_Wars](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hussite_Wars))

(2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “Interwar Britain.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interwar\\_Britain](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interwar_Britain))

(2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “Jan Hus.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan\\_Hus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_Hus)) (2025/7/1)

Wikipedia. 2025. “John of Bohemia.”

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_of\\_Bohemia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_of_Bohemia)) (2025/7/1)

- Wikipedia. 2025. “Jozef Tiso.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jozef\\_Tiso](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jozef_Tiso)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Karel Kramář.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karel\\_Kramář](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karel_Kramář)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Kingdom of Bohemia.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Bohemia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Bohemia)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Klement Gottwald.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Klement\\_Gottwald](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Klement_Gottwald)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Konstantin von Neurath.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Konstantin\\_von\\_Neurath](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Konstantin_von_Neurath)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Košice Program.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Košice\\_Program](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Košice_Program)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Lands of the Bohemian Crown (1526–1648).” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lands\\_of\\_the\\_Bohemian\\_Crown\\_\(1526–1648\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lands_of_the_Bohemian_Crown_(1526–1648))) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Lands of the Bohemian Crown.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lands\\_of\\_the\\_Bohemian\\_Crown](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lands_of_the_Bohemian_Crown)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Lusatia.” (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lusatia>) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Milan Rastislav Štefánik.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milan\\_Rastislav\\_%C5%A0tef%C3%A1nik](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milan_Rastislav_%C5%A0tef%C3%A1nik)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Mojmir I of Moravia.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mojmir\\_I\\_of\\_Moravia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mojmir_I_of_Moravia)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Moscow Protocol.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moscow\\_Protocol](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moscow_Protocol)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Munich Agreement.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Munich\\_Agreement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Munich_Agreement)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “National Front (Czechoslovakia).” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Front\\_\(Czechoslovakia\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Front_(Czechoslovakia))) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Old Czech Party.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old\\_Czech\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_Czech_Party)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Pannonian Avars.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pannonian\\_Avars](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pannonian_Avars)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Pittsburgh Agreement.”

- ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pittsburgh\\_Agreement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pittsburgh_Agreement)) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Prague Slavic Congress, 1848.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prague\\_Slavic\\_Congress,\\_1848](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prague_Slavic_Congress,_1848)) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Prague uprising (1848) .”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prague\\_uprising\\_\(1848\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prague_uprising_(1848))) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Protectorate\\_of\\_Bohemia\\_and\\_Moravia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Protectorate_of_Bohemia_and_Moravia)) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Province of the Sudetenland.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Province\\_of\\_the\\_Sudetenland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Province_of_the_Sudetenland)) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Rastislav of Moravia.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rastislav\\_of\\_Moravia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rastislav_of_Moravia)) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Reinhard Heydrich.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reinhard\\_Heydrich](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reinhard_Heydrich)) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Remilitarisation of the Rhineland.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Remilitarisation\\_of\\_the\\_Rhineland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Remilitarisation_of_the_Rhineland)) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Revolutions of 1848 in the Austrian Empire.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutions\\_of\\_1848\\_in\\_the\\_Austrian\\_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutions_of_1848_in_the_Austrian_Empire))  
(2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Rusyns and Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia (1918–1938) .”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rusyns\\_and\\_Ukrainians\\_in\\_Czechoslovakia\\_\(1918–1938\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rusyns_and_Ukrainians_in_Czechoslovakia_(1918–1938))) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Ruthenia.” (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruthenia>) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Ruthenian Uniate Church.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruthenian\\_Uniate\\_Church](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruthenian_Uniate_Church)) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Ruthenians.” (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruthenians>)  
(2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Samo.” (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samo>) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Samo’s Empire.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samo%27s\\_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samo%27s_Empire)) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Schmalkaldic League.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schmalkaldic\\_League](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schmalkaldic_League)) (2025/7/1)  
Wikipedia. 2025. “Sigismund, Holy Roman Emperor.”  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sigismund,\\_Holy\\_Roman\\_Emperor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sigismund,_Holy_Roman_Emperor)) (2025/7/1)

- Wikipedia. 2025. “Silesian Wars.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silesian\\_Wars](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silesian_Wars)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Soviet annexation of Transcarpathia.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet\\_annexation\\_of\\_Transcarpathia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_annexation_of_Transcarpathia)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Sudeten Germans.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudeten\\_Germans](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudeten_Germans)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Sudetenland.” (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudetenland>) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Svatopluk I of Moravia.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Svatopluk\\_I\\_of\\_Moravia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Svatopluk_I_of_Moravia)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “*The Man Who Stood in the Way*.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Man\\_Who\\_Stood\\_in\\_the\\_Way](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Man_Who_Stood_in_the_Way)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Third Silesian War.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third\\_Silesian\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_Silesian_War)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Tomáš Masaryk.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tomáš\\_Masaryk](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tomáš_Masaryk)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Transcarpathia.” (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transcarpathia>) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Verneuerte Landesordnung.” ([https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Verneuerte\\_Landesordnung](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Verneuerte_Landesordnung)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Young Czech Party.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Young\\_Czech\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Young_Czech_Party)) (2025/7/1)
- Wikipedia. 2025. “Zdeněk Fierlinger.” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zden%C4%9Bk\\_Fierlinger](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zden%C4%9Bk_Fierlinger)) (2025/7/1)
- Zeman, Z. A. B. 1961. *The Breakup of the Habsburg Empire, 1914-1918: A Study in National and Social Revolutions*. London: Oxford University Press.

# The Development of the Czechoslovak State and Nation

Cheng-Feng Shih\*

*Political Scientist, Taipei, TAIWAN*

## Abstract

We start with a review of Czechoslovakia's early history, that is the union of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia, and Ruthenia, particularly the foundation-laying of the Kingdom of Bohemia in the Middle Ages. We then look into the rule of the Austrian Habsburgs, and the rise of Czechoslovak nationalism in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, with a special focus on how it obtained its independence under the arrangement of dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. Finally, we will observe the evolution from the First Czechoslovak Republic, through the Second Czechoslovak Republic, to the Third Czechoslovak Republic

**Keywords:** Czechoslovakia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia, Ruthenia, Austrian Habsburgs, Czechoslovak Republic

---

\* The author may be reached at ohio3106@ms8.hinet.net.